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Western Norway
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MASTER'S THESIS



«It starts at home» Gender and Education in Swaziland

«It starts at home»
kjønn og utdanning i Swaziland

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Avdeling for lærarutdanning

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Eg stadfestar at arbeidet er sjølvstendig utarbeida, og at referansar/kjeldetilvisingar til alle kjelder som er brukt i arbeidet er oppgitt, *jf. Forskrift om studium og eksamen ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet, § 10.*

Abstract (In English)

The theme for this master's thesis is gender and education in Swaziland. Swaziland is a small kingdom bordering to South Africa and Mozambique. Traditionally, this is a patriarchal society. It has one of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS in the world. One in three women have reported experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 18. My master's thesis address how adolescents' lives are structured by their gender, and to what degree there are gender equality at a secondary school in Swaziland. The school is understood as closely linked to the rest of the society.

The data is collected during a fieldwork that lasted for two months. The first month I interviewed some adolescents outside school. The second month was spent at a secondary school, where I used different forms of interviews, participant and non-participant observation, and student texts, to collect my data.

To understand what is expected of women and men in Swaziland, I have examined what my informants see as prototypically masculine and feminine, through how they describe family marriage, relationship and future dreams. In addition, I have used Bourdieu's forms of capital to show how men and women may gain a position in society in a gendered way. I have compared how teachers and students understand gender equality in education, and have examined how girls and boys perform their gender through my observations.

The main conclusion is that the lives of students are likely to be structured by their gender. While boys see themselves as head of household and a provider, girls will most likely have to take care of the reproductive tasks in a household. All the girls opt for their own income. There is gender equality at the school to a certain extent, however, girls and boys seem to perform their gender differently. The school contribute to gender equality in a passive way through giving the same opportunities to both girls and boys. As the title suggest, this research, found that the main differences between women and men are found in the household. Gender differences originate from the home, and have to be addressed also in the context of family and home.

Abstract (In Norwegian)

Denne oppgåva handlar om kjønn og utdanning i Swaziland. Swaziland er eit lite kongedømme som grenser til Sør Afrika og Mosambik. Dette er tradisjonelt sett eit patriarkalsk samfunn. Swaziland er blant dei landa med høgast tall for HIV/AIDS. Ei av tre kvinner har opplevd seksuelt misbruk før dei fyller 18 år. Masteren min undersøker korleis liva til ungdommar vert strukturert av kjønnnet deira, og i kva grad det er likestilling på ein ungdomsskule i Swaziland.

Materialet mitt har blitt samla inn iløpet av eit to månader langt feltarbeid. Den første månaden blei brukt til å intervju nokre ungdommar utanfor skulen. Den andre månaden var eg på ein ungdomsskule. Der brukte eg ulike metodar for å samle inn data: ulike intervjuformer, deltakande og ikkje-deltakande observasjon og eg samla inn tekstar frå studentar.

For å forstå kva som er forventa av menn og kvinner i Swaziland, har eg undersøkt kva informantane mine ser som prototypisk maskulint og feminint, gjennom korleis dei har skildra familie, ekteskap, og framtidige draumar. Eg har også brukt Bourdieu sitt kapital-omgrep for å vise korleis menn og kvinner kan oppnå status i samfunnet. Eg har samanlikna elevar og lærarar sine syn på likestilling, og korleis elevar utfører kjønnsrolla si på skulen.

Hovudkonklusjonen i denne oppgåva er at mest sannsynleg vert liva til ungdommar strukturert av kjønnnet deira. Medan gutar forventar å bli «familiens overhode» og forsørgjar, må jenter mest truleg ta seg av reproduktive oppgåver i heimen. Alle jentene eg intervjuar ynskjer å ha si eiga inntekt. Det er til ein viss grad likestilling på skulen, men jenter og gutter oppfører seg ulikt. Skulen bidrar til likestilling på ein passiv måte, gjennom å tilby jenter og gutter like moglegheiter. Slik ein kan sjå i tittelen på oppgåva, er dei største forskjellane mellom kjønna i heimen. Likestilling i samanheng med familie og heim må bli snakka om.

Acknowledgement

Writing a master's thesis can be a challenging process, but I have learned so much! I chose to do my fieldwork in Swaziland, because I lived there for two years, and have visited the country multiple times. Through conducting my research there, I met many wonderful people, and I am grateful to all my informants and acquaintances in Swaziland, that helped me to find the information I needed.

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1. Introduction

The research topic for my master's project is education and gender equality in Swaziland. The reason why I want to study gender differences in Swaziland is that I lived in Swaziland for two years and attended an international high school close to the capital, Mbabane. In many ways, we were sheltered from the Swazi society in the international enclave that this school represent. However, almost every day the media presented cases of gendered violence. I also saw the clear division in occupations women and men chose. One time I visited a chief in a rural area. As a woman, I had to wear a long skirt, and sit on the ground with crossed legs, while the men could sit on chairs. I wanted to go back and learn more about this country and its culture. How do they perceive gender, and are their school system able to create more gender equality? If I find that girls and boys are treated differently at the school I am visiting, I want to contribute to awareness around it. I want to share my findings with my informants. Hence, I will write my master's in English.

According to Albert Bandura, one of the most important factors for a child's learning, is the belief that he or she will master new tasks (Manger, Lillejord, Nordahl & Helland, 2009). I will show if girls are expected to manage the same tasks as boys, and if they are motivated in the same way through school, society and by their families. Education can be an important tool to close the gender gap in a society. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (2015) states that 89 per cent of women's jobs in Africa are in the informal sector. This means they cannot rely a minimum wage, nor other work rights. One of the first steps to secure women and girls access to formal sector employment is to make sure they have an education.

The gender gap in Swaziland seems to be more substantial than in the neighbouring countries. According to *Global Gender Gap report* (World Economic Forum, 2016) Swaziland ranks as number 107 according to four key factors measuring the gap between men and women; education, health, economy and politics. The neighbouring countries ranks higher. South Africa ranks as number 15 and Mozambique ranks as number 21. Swaziland scores well when it comes to school enrolment and literacy for both sexes. On the other hand, when it comes to economic participation and opportunity and political empowerment, the inequality is significant. (World Economic Forum, 2016).

Studies done in South Africa shows that a higher number of boys finishes upper secondary school than girls (Mahlomaholo, 2011). There can be many reasons for this. Mahlomaholo

(2011) points out that one of the major causes for school dropout is early pregnancy among female students. His study also showed that more girls than boys dropped out of school due to lack of motivation or a feeling of failure at school. This can be caused by stereotypical ideas about femininity, and maybe different expectations are communicated to girls through school, society and home, than for boys.

There is a strong belief in development literature and policies that girls' education will cause more equality between the sexes. The government in Swaziland have started to offer free primary education to reduce the gender gap. However, schools should offer quality education and treat girls and boys equally, and have the same expectations to both genders. The school reflects and involve in the community. What is communicated to girls and boys by their providers? Which expectations do girls and boys meet in their local communities? All the adolescents I met have dreams, plans and expectations for their future. At the same time structures in the society they live in might not allow them to achieve their dreams.

1.1. Research Question

In my master's project, I aim to find out:

- 1) How do young people in Swaziland expect gender to structure their future?
- 2) Which gender differences are visible in a secondary school in Swaziland?

1.2. Background Swaziland

Swaziland is a landlocked country that borders to South Africa and Mozambique. Its area is 17363 km² and have approximately 1.2 million inhabitants. The population consist mostly of one ethnicity; Swazis (Skatvik, 2015), and average number of children per woman is 3 (World Economic Forum, 2016). Swaziland is one of the last absolute monarchies in the world, and king Mswati III, through a parliament, rules it. The king can veto any law that does not satisfy him (Skatvik, 2015). Even though it is not a democratic state, it is very peaceful and has not been at war nor had much unrest inside the country for the last century. (Daly, 2001). The current king has 15 wives. (Skatvik, 2015). Polygamy is allowed in Swaziland and is a part of the traditional culture (Poulsen, 2006). The traditional culture may be characterized as

patriarchal. The urban population is 30 per cent. There is a division between urban and rural areas and this division is visible through, for example, living conditions and access to good quality education (Mbatha, 2011). Swaziland's major challenges is firstly the HIV pandemic; 28,8 per cent of adults between 15 to 49 in Swaziland has HIV or AIDS (UNAIDS, 2015) and secondly, poverty. 63 per cent of Swazis live below the poverty line (UNDAF, 2016) and are dependent on self-sustainable agriculture. Some regions in Swaziland has currently experienced a drought that enhance these problems. The last years there has been poor or irregular rainfall due to the El niño phenomenon (World Food Programme, s.a.).

1.3. Structure

Chapter 2 will present previous research, followed by Chapter 3, where I present the theory I have used in analysing my material. In Chapter 4, methodology, I describe my access to the field, the methods I have used, and my role during the fieldwork.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I will present and analyse my data. Chapter 5 focus on how my informants view gender, while Chapter 6 focus on the school where I conducted my research. These chapters are followed by a concluding analysis where I will tie my findings to the theories I have used, and finally, answer my research question.

2. Previous Research

Most studies I have found about gender in Swaziland focus on HIV/AIDS and transactional sex or domestic violence. At times, I have therefore looked at research articles from neighbouring countries. At other times, I have used information from newspapers and human rights activists, because I have not found research on the area in question. This chapter gives a brief overview of previous research about gender and education in Swaziland.

2.1. Family and Marriage

Traditionally the dominant form of families in southern Africa is polygamous patriarchal families (Brear & Bessarab, 2012, p. 33), however, as in many other African countries, Swaziland have had a European influence that advocate monogamy. The polygamous traditions are still strong and seen as a cultural norm, but weakens parallel with the growth of women's education and urbanization (Buseh, Glass & McElmurry, 2002). In 2014, 11,7 per cent of women (15-49) and 10,4 per cent of men (15-59) reported to be in a polygamous union (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). According to Brear and Bessarab (2012) traditional ideas of masculinity centres around the fierce man, who is risk-taking and is sexually competitive. Women, on the other hand, should be sexually submissive, caring and avoid risk-taking. These ideals resonate in a traditional patriarchal society (Brear and Bessarab, 2012). As we will see in chapter 5.7., Swaziland is a country where the culture and norms seem to be in a process of change. There is a difference between urban and rural areas. In rural areas, the family structure tend to be more traditional than in urban areas. In this part of the text, we will look closer at *lobola*, polygamy and sexual transaction and the gender roles in a Swazi household.

2.1.1. *Lobola*

Something that illustrates much of the family structure and the value of women is the traditions involved in weddings. As in many other southern African countries, the sons ideally stay in the family and continue to live close to their parents after marriage, while daughters are married in to new families and have to move to the husbands' localities in Swaziland. When a daughter is given away, it is common that the grooms' family has to pay a bridal price, *lobola*, traditionally paid in cattle, but today a price in money is also normal (Heeren,

Jemmott III, Tyler, Tshabe & Ngwane, 2011). From a European perspective, this can be seen as a custom that makes a woman into an object that can be sold, but Heeren et.al. (2011) points out that to pay the *lobola* is a way to show gratitude “to the bride’s family for raising a wonderful woman”. Furthermore, it shows that the man is economically capable to care for a family (Heeren et.al. 2011, p. 74).

This is a challenge for many Swazi men as Swaziland struggles with low employment rates and poverty. Through not being able to pay *lobola* and raise their own homestead many men feel like they are not real men, something that can contribute to ill-treatment of women through intimate partner violence (Brear & Bessarab, 2012). When Ansell (2001) used focus group discussion at rural secondary schools in Zimbabwe and in Lesotho, she found that the youths saw the value of *lobola* because it was a part of their culture. According to Heeren et.al. (2011) the bridal price is determined by factors such as the bride’s background, the social position of her family, but also her education is a symbol of higher social status and worth. The fact that education is one of the factors that determine the price suggest that it is a status symbol for women to have an education. Nevertheless, the youths Ansell interviewed also saw it as a financial transaction that devalued women (Ansell, 2001). Some of the boys reflected that if they paid *lobola*, their wives should do all the work at home, and some of the boys said that they were worth more than what women were and it was natural that they should be the leader of a household (Ansell, 2001).

Even though *lobola* is an important part of culture in Swaziland as well as in Zimbabwe and Lesotho, it is a system where men pay to marry women, and it fits in to a patriarchal social structure. Additionally, the payment of *lobola* makes it harder for women to get a divorce even if they are ill-treated. To get a divorce, their family has to pay back the *lobola* to the husband and the husband’s family will have custody of any children they have produced (Daly, 2001, p 51). Some of the boys Ansell (2001) interviewed saw a woman they had payed *lobola* for as their property, and therefore justified beating her, if she disrespected him through being unfaithful.

2.1.2. Polygamy and Sexual Transactions

In Swaziland, polygamy is legal and women have until recently been seen as minors according to the law (Brear & Bessarab, 2012). As mentioned, the king has currently 15 wives. Each year virgins from all over Swaziland will dance for the king, the *Umhlanga*

ceremony, and he can pick a new wife if he wants to (Sone, 2010). Feirman (2012) says that the king's actions influence the culture in Swaziland. It is social acceptance for a man to have many wives and that an older man can marry a teenager girl. Social norms also encourage unmarried men, monogamous married men and polygamous married men to have multiple sexual partners. Women on the other hand is discouraged from such activities (Feirman, 2012). According to Swazi law, adultery occurs when a married woman has intercourse with another man than her husband, meaning that if a married man has sex with an unmarried woman it is not seen as adultery (Daly, 2001). In other words, men have a much greater sexual freedom.

Transactional sex is also common in southern Africa. Transactional sex means when a man is giving a woman money or gifts and expect sexual favours in return (Brear and Bessarab, 2012, p. 39.) This form of relationship is not equal and points to men as the strong gender that can purchase sexual favours from women. Brear and Bessarab (2012) say this type of relationship can increase intimate partner violence as well. Some men may get violent if they feel rejected even though they give gifts to a woman (Brear and Bessarab, 2012). These types of relationships are often intergenerational, with older men and younger women, for example, a man that is 50 years old and a girl that is 15 years old. In Swazi culture one is supposed to respect those who are older than you, and the difference in age strengthen the inequality in the relationship (Cockroft et.al. 2010, p. 507). In 2014, 14,5 per cent of women between the ages of 15-24 reported to have had sex with a partner who was 10 years or older than them (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). According to Cockroft et.al. (2010), the reason young women engage in such relationships are because of money or other material payments. In urban areas, Cockroft et.al. (2010) found that sexual relation was a way to achieve items like a new cellphone and modern clothes to "keep up" with their peers. They engaged in these relationships because of things they wanted, not thigs they needed (Cockroft et.al. 2010). In rural areas, on the other hand, girls engaged in transactional sex because of things they needed (Cockroft et.al. 2010). In one way, we can say that these girls are willing to risk their health for a short-term gain, because many of the girls reported that they were afraid to ask older men to use condoms.

The sexual structures that are outlined here, is part of the reason for the high number of HIV positive people in Swaziland. Brear and Bessarab's (2012) informants suggested that many men might blame women for their sexual health and some wants to revenge this through

purposely infect women with HIV. This view of women being responsible of men's sexual health becomes clear through the fact that king Mswati III tried to push through a law not allowing women to wear miniskirts, and attempted to forbid unmarried women to have sex to prevent the spread of HIV (Brear & Bessarab, 2012).

2.1.3. Gendered Roles in a Swazi Household

Peter (2006) found in his study that males and females perform different roles in a male-headed household. Males see the productive role as the most important. The productive role includes work for wage, ploughing the field and herding cattle. They did not participate in the reproductive role; child bearing/care, cooking, washing, clearing the house and gather firewood. Women on the other hand participate in both these roles, even though women under male-headed households see the reproductive role as the most important (Peter, 2006). As in many other countries, this shows a double workload for women. There is also a large portion of female-headed households in Swaziland, either because the men have left to find work, have died or have started a new family (Daly, 2001). These women have a double role where they both have to do the all the productive tasks, but also the reproductive tasks. Children are also expected to participate in the work of a household. Boys are often sent to herd cattle, while girls are expected to help with childcare, cooking, washing and collecting firewood and water. This burden is even greater if one or both parents are ill, dies or struggles with poverty. The girls are expected to care for both parents and younger siblings (Nordtveit, 2010).

2.2. Education in Swaziland

Swaziland's school system has three levels. There is almost an equal number of girls and boys enrolled in to all three levels (World Economic Forum, 2016). However, while 78 per cent of females and 79 per cent of males were enrolled into primary school, there were only 38 per cent of females and 31 per cent of males enrolled in secondary education. At tertiary (university) level, the enrolment was as low as 5 per cent for both genders (World economic forum, 2016). The high enrolment numbers at primary level can be due to the free primary education program. The free primary education program started in 2010 by cutting the school fees for 1st and 2nd grade. By 2015, all grades in primary school is free, and by 2030 Swaziland wishes to make secondary schooling free in Swaziland as well (Ministry of Education and Training in Swaziland, 2015). The Ministry of Education and Training in

Swaziland (2015) also states that Swaziland aim to secure girls' education. Even though these are great goals, the educational system has some major challenges. The education and training principal secretary Pat Muir said, according to the *Swazi observer*, that “of the 240 000 children, who enrolled for FPE (free primary education) in the country only less than a 100 000 make it into secondary schools” (Nhlabatsi, 2015a). In other words, Swaziland struggles with significant dropout rates. One of the main reasons for boys dropping out of school is the use of corporal punishment. Even though girls can endure corporal punishment as well, it occurs less often for them. This can be due to the masculine ideal that men are more aggressive and should handle this type of punishment (Poulsen, 2006). The most important reason for girls dropping out of school is pregnancy; however, harsh school environments and lack of opportunity for further education and jobs are also important reasons (Poulsen, 2006). In Swaziland, 60 per cent of the population that are in the age of attending secondary school, but is not in the education system, are girls (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). In the neighboring country, South Africa, there are also more girls dropping out of school than boys (Mahlomahlo, 2011). There are more female teachers in the Swazi school; however, there are more male head teachers (Alert, 2005). Since this is the first formal sector the girls meet, they should see some female leaderships as well as this could be an important role model for the young girls (Alert, 2005). Even though the numbers I have shown to here does not show the gendered problems at schools in Swaziland, they are visible in different studies I have looked at. In the coming paragraphs, I will look at gender inequality in education in Swaziland.

2.2.1. Poverty and HIV/AIDS

Two of Swaziland's major issues are poverty and HIV/AIDS. Both issues affect children and youth. More than two thirds of Swazi families live in poverty (Alert, 2005). Poulsen (2006, p. 47) states that “the impact of HIV/AIDS at school and at home plays out in gendered ways”. Furthermore, she speculates that girls who have lost one parent is more likely to drop out of school than boys. These speculations are built upon the numbers of boys and girls who are single and double orphans in second grade. There is a much higher rate of boys attending school when they are single or double orphans than girls, even though the enrollment rates for both sexes are close to equal (Poulsen, 2006).

As already mentioned HIV/AIDS is one of Swaziland's major challenges. One of the effects is that there are a huge number of single or double orphans in Swaziland, and they are a

vulnerable group. There are many orphans in Swaziland who are sent to other family members or caregivers and we also find child-headed households. In the child-headed households, girls are more likely to take care of her siblings and end her education (Poulsen, 2006). The education office in Swaziland has raised the issue of sexual abuse against vulnerable children and especially girls, who must live with other caregivers than their parents (Poulsen, 2006). Children that are either in a household with parents that are ill, or have to move to other caregivers often have to work long hours in the informal sector. This can force them not to attend school (Nordtveit, 2010). Poverty can also force children to work instead of going to school, especially if one of the breadwinners have died.

There are more late coming and absence from girls (Alert, 2005). The late coming can be due to that girls have to carry water and gather firewood for the family before they attend school, since these tasks are seen as female tasks (Mbatha, 2011). Even though the school fees are covered at primary level of education, many families cannot afford to pay school fees at secondary level. Even at primary level, there are some additional costs to school apart from the fees. An example of this is the school uniform. Although both sexes must wear uniforms, the girls' uniforms are more expensive because they need an additional set of uniform (Alert, 2005). Boys have two different uniforms, while girls have three different types of uniform (see chapter 6.3.1.).

2.2.2. Water and Sanitation

Some areas in Swaziland experience water scarcity. It is normal to gather rainwater, but many places the only access to water is small pounds that animals and humans have to shear. Families might have to carry water for hours to bring to their homestead (Mbatha, 2011). At many schools in rural areas there is no access to tap water and the toilets are often holes in the ground (Mbatha, 2011). Mbatha (2011) conducted focus-group interviews at two rural schools in Swaziland. She found a correlation between lack of water and good sanitary facilities and girls' attendance at school. Firstly, this was because girls were expected to fetch water at school, because of their gender, and missed classes because of it. Secondly, the sanitary facilities at these two schools were a concrete bench with holes in and there was no privacy for the girls who had to go to the toilet. This was a problem especially when the girls had their period (Mbatha, 2011). Girls' monthly period is a normal reason for girls not attending school. Because of poverty, many girls cannot afford sanitary pads, and would rather stay at home than face the embarrassment if someone noticed the blood.

2.3. Times Are Changing

Even though the traditional Swazi-culture is patriarchal, there are some changes in the family structure, which are caused both by external and internal factors. One of the external causes are information from television and internet. This gives the Swazis an opportunity to see how gender is performed in other countries, e.g. through American television-shows. “With increased frequency, the citizens are provided with comparative evidence of how women are treated elsewhere vis-a`-vis how Swazi women are treated locally” (Daly, 2001, p 47). This has caused some women to call for more gender equality (Daly, 2001).

Family structures are also changing because of economy. Due to low employment rates, men often have to travel from their homestead in search for work. Sometimes they find new partners when they leave to find work. This means that the mothers have the sole responsibility for family income. In 1996 40per cent of the households in Swaziland were women-headed. (Daly, 2001, p. 48). Another reason for change is urbanization. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also forced through some changes. The government sees gender inequality as one of the main reasons for the spread of HIV. In 2010 the parliament agreed on a National Gender Policy (The Kingdom of Swaziland, 2014). Furthermore, some women’s organizations and social movements fight the violence and sexual abuse of women. We can see this through the movement called *One Billion Rising* who describe themselves as the “biggest mass action to end violence against women in human history” (One Billion Rising, 2015). *One Billion Rising* is active in Swaziland, and the movement uses valentine’s day, as a day to demonstrate against gender based violence. On 14th of February 2014 women walked through Manzini with signs saying “love should not hurt” and “Swaziland rises against violence”. Women told their stories in front of a Member of Parliament, traditional leaders, non-governmental organizations and lawyers. The women sang songs about abuse and the need for more women in parliament (Hlatjwako, 2014). There is also an activity on social media. On Facebook for instance, organizations such as *Women and Law Swaziland* are active. Women post information of events and underline the importance of gender equality. The women also urge each other to vote for women in the next election in 2018, and not let themselves be bribed by one-day meal, by men. This activity show that things are changing in the Swazi society. Many women do not accept the traditional gender roles and want to change the way the Swazi culture see gender.

2.4. Summary

This short chapter is not able to show the complexity of what gender means in Swaziland. There are differences between rural and urban areas, differences between economic classes and differences between the older and younger generation. However, research shows that, women in Swaziland often are objectified and do not have the same rights as men. Cultural traditions are still prominent in the society. In family life, men are expected to do the productive tasks, while women are expected to do the reproductive tasks. When it comes to sexual relationships, men have more freedom and power. We can see this through social norms and laws. Polygamy and the use of *lobola* are further indicators of a patriarchal society. At first glance, Swaziland have gone a long way to enroll girls into school. However, there are some gender challenges at school as well. Girls miss school due to homely duties such as fetching water and firewood. School environment can also be harsh. Both girls and boys may experience corporal punishment and verbally abuse from teachers. In addition, there are some hidden costs for students such as school material and uniforms. The school uniform is more expensive for girls. Some parents might not be willing to pay the extra costs of sending their daughters to school as well. It is also important to make sure that rural schools have access to water so that female pupils do not have to carry water to school as well as to their family. Good sanitation facilities are also important. Many girls feel ashamed of their period and do not attend school when they are bleeding.

The Swazi society is in a process of changes. Media technology has opened for more people to see how gender roles may be in other places. 54,9 per cent have television set in their home (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). Because of poverty, a large number of men leave their family to find work elsewhere. As several of them do not come back, women have to be the sole breadwinner for the family. Many women work in the cities as house maids as well, and this may grant them more freedom. Swaziland is also working towards keeping children in school. They wish to make secondary school free, and continue to focus on girls' education. The government see the need to work towards gender equality because of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. But most importantly, some Swazi women are protesting the patriarchal traditions and violence against women, which according to Simone de Beauvoir, is the only way women can rid themselves of oppression (Egeland et.al., 2008).

3.Theory

In this chapter, we shall first look at what it means to be gendered. Afterwards, I will give a brief summation of the theories I have used to analyse my material.

3.1. Gender

According to Grimen (2012), the relations and the power divisions between men and women has been seen as a natural order or even God-given for hundreds of years. Men work outside the house, while women are at home and take care of children. However, Grimen continues to say that modern research has shown that gender relations are created through social structures. They vary from society to society and time in history. (Grimen, 2012).

Snyder and Tadesse (1998, p. 75) state that “in a large number of early African societies the gender division of labour allocated responsibility of cultivation to women [...], while men engaged in hunting”. The colonialists however, brought to Africa a Victorian image of what a woman should be like, and equated male with breadwinner. Furthermore, when land consolidation and settlement schemes came, the title deeds were given to men as “head of household” (Snyder and Tadesse, 1998). This contributed to a weakening of women’s position in many African countries.

According to Brear and Bessarab (2012, p. 33) traditional ideas of masculinity picturing a fierce man, who is risk-taking and is sexually competitive. Women, on the other hand, should be sexually submissive, caring and avoid risk-taking. They further argue that these ideals resonate in traditional polygamous and patriarchal societies in southern Africa, where female reproductive capacity, and males’ ability to be the breadwinner, is seen as important (Brear & Bessarab, 2012).

The term “patriarchy” is used in women’s liberation, and describe the overall subordination of women and dominance of men (Connel, 1996). In a patriarchal society, there is often a strong cultural opposition between what is seen as masculine and feminine (Connel, 1996, p.164). In addition, in a patriarchal society, policymakers tend to be men, and their policies may try to reinforce male control, because they see it as natural or in line with their customs (Koopman, 1998).

Two important philosophers preoccupied with gender during the 20th century are Simone de Beauvoir and Judith Butler. According to Simone de Beauvoir, we are all born with a sex, but gender is something that is created (Egeland et.al., 2008). She said that a woman is not born as a woman but she becomes a woman, pointing to the significance of socialisation and cultural context. Furthermore, men are generally the acting part, while women are passive. The subject (men) manipulate and control the object (women). The only way to change this is through women fighting against oppression and demand their rights (Egeland et.al., 2008).

Butler does not see gender as something we possess or naturally are, gender is something we do. Our actions come before our gender, and our gender is created as a result of our actions (Butler, 1988). She has named this performative gender, moving the focus to social construction of gender relations. It is created through practises and in the discourse about gender. Butler (1988, p. 522) says that “to be a woman is to have *become* a woman, to compel the body to conform to a historical idea of woman, to influence the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to a historically delimited possibility”. In addition, she argues that those who fail to do their gender right are regularly punished (Butler, 1988).

I place myself in in the feminist tradition that sees gender as something that is socially constructed, and not as something naturally given by birth. What it means to be a man and woman changes depending on what culture one is born in to and what the gender discourse in that culture is.

3.2. Categories and Prototypes

In a fieldwork in a different culture it is important not to interpret the data through the researcher’s own cultural categories, but to find and understand the cultural categories that the informants are using. Categories are the way we systemize all the sensations and experience we gather through our senses (Aase and Fossåskaret 2014, p130). I will recognise both an eagle and a sparrow in the category “bird”. There will be some expectations connected to this category based on previous experiences, like the idea that a bird can fly and have feathers. Through categorising the objects around us, we create order and predictability to the world around us. Categories are based on previous experience. However, how humans categorise something is based on what culture they come from. Every culture has a category for “men” and “women”, nevertheless, these categories have a different meaning and different

expectations in for example Norway and Swaziland. The difference in the biological sex is obvious, but the difference in the socially constructed gender can be diverse in different cultures.

Gender as a social construct does not appear as a constant across time and space. In my research, I have looked at what my informants see as typical feminine or typical masculine. There have also been discussions about what people see as feminine or masculine. In cognitive science, it is found that we do not think through clear categories, but through prototypes. A prototype means the observation that fits best to the constituent idea in a category (Aase and Fossåskaret, 2014, p. 157). In my material, it seems like some ways of behaviour fits best to the idea of a woman or a man. I asked for instance some of my male informants how they would react if their future wife was the breadwinner, and they did the household chores. One of the boys answered “*when the woman takes your duties [as a provider], then you become a woman*” (i3). He becomes less of a man because he is provided for, and not the provider, something that better fits with the prototype for women in Swaziland, and not for men.

A prototype is more open than a category. A prototype is the ideal, and what people strive to achieve. What a society see as prototypical is more in line with how human understanding of the social world seems to be. Social practice may correspond more or less with prototypical ideals. If a woman “acts” like a man sometime, she is still a woman, but does not always act in accordance with the female prototype.

In my analysis, I will study how my informants present the prototypes of a man and a woman. What role does education play in changing the prototypes? I will also study what boys and girls expect their future to be like, and compare their expectations with prototypes that are identified in cultural or traditional gender ideals. In addition, I will use Bourdieu’s four capital forms to demonstrate how adolescents view their future and how they hope to achieve a successful life, and how this interact with gender prototypes.

3.3. Bourdieu and Forms of Capital

Pierre Bourdieu was a French philosopher and sociologist. An important theme throughout his research was domination in society (Prieur, 2006). The concept of capital was central in his

academic work, and this concept is relevant for my project. Bourdieu saw peoples' assets as something more than just money, and in a social system we use different types of assets to achieve what we want. The four types of capital are economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Economic capital is important, as it can give us immediate access to goods and services (Bourdieu, 1997). If you have invited dinner guests, and are going to serve an expensive wine without the knowledge of what type of glass it should be served in, how much that should be in a glass or how to drink it, and understand what makes it expensive, some of your guests might find it vulgar. It shows a lack of cultural capital. I will now give a brief summation of cultural-, social-, and symbolic capital.

3.3.1. Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu cultural capital exists in three forms. The first form is the *embodied* cultural capital. It is created through primer and secondary socialisation, and is expressed through how you talk, how you dress, knowledge and taste and the ability to appreciate cultural expressions (Bourdieu, 1997). In the example above, the person who bought the wine might come from a working class background where they usually drink beer and not wine, but is newly rich. He might want to impress some new acquaintances with high cultural capital, through showing his economic capital. But because of lack of cultural capital he seems uneducated and unrefined. Embodied cultural capital tends to be inherited to a large degree (class), and has to do with education and experience. Hence, differences in cultural capital is often hereditary, and is evident in different upbringing, socialisation and experience in life. To gain cultural capital it is often necessary to have economic capital (Bourdieu, 1997). Children from rich families in Swaziland will often have educated parents and have the opportunity to attend expensive private schools and have the opportunity to travel abroad to take a good university degree, which later in life will help them to gain a position in society. This is an example of how economic capital can be converted in to cultural capital. But cultural capital cannot be bought in one transaction. Bourdieu (1997) argues that embodied cultural capital always is marked by the earliest acquisition (primer socialisation) and can therefore be a cause for reproduction of differences in a society.

However, what cultural capital is, can also be changeable. In the example above I used wine as something associated with "high culture", and beer as something associated with "low culture". Though, it should be noted that in Norway today, beer-tasting and microbrewery has become something high cultural. As a researcher enters a new field it is important to look at

what is seen as high cultural capital in the field that you access. In some parts of Swaziland, high cultural capital is seen as being part of the modernization wave, where high education is important. In other more traditional parts it might be seen as cultural capital to have knowledge about the traditional rites, and to be the son of a chief. Since much of my research was done at a school, many of the adolescents that I interviewed focused on the importance of a good education to get a successful life.

The second form of cultural capital is the *institutionalised* cultural capital. In contrast to the embodied one, this type of cultural capital is more visible and concrete. It exists through academic degrees, titles and profession, and is less changeable. If you have completed a higher education, your diploma shows your abilities and make you attractive when you are applying for a job. The institutionalised cultural capital also eases the transformation of cultural capital in to economic capital, and vice versa.

The third form of cultural capital is the *objectified* cultural capital. This is expressed through objects that you own, such as books, paintings or equipment. However, you need the embodied cultural capital to benefit the objectified cultural capital. If you are not able to read, or discuss the books in your large bookshelf, they will not contribute to your cultural capital.

3.3.2. Social Capital

Social capital is another important element with which constitutes different positions in a society, and is important in a Swazi context. Social capital refers to the networks of family, friends, colleagues and other networks that a person can access and can mobilise or gain prestige from, because they belong to a special network (Esmark, 2006). Social capital, can to a certain extent, be inherited. If you are a member of a powerful family with a well-known surname, you might experience that doors opens easily for you in other social networks. But it can also be obtained through marriage or through gaining a membership in a club. To keep continued viability of social capital requires its maintenance through visits, gifts, receiving and giving favours, attend meetings and be a part of social rituals (Esmark, 2006). One has to nurture friendships and contacts to build trust, respect, a feeling of solidarity and a feeling of affiliation. Many of my student informers stressed the importance of being respected, and give back to the community, because if you had a hard time they would help you in return. This is one example of how social capital can be transformed in to economic capital. Another student

said it was important to know the right people because it would make it easier to get a scholarship to higher education.

3.3.3. Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as “economic and cultural capital when it is known and recognised” (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 21). Economic, cultural and social capital can be converted in to recognition and prestige, which is symbolic capital. To achieve symbolic capital, other people must perceive and appreciate your actions. Bourdieu (1989) calls this the symbolic struggle. However, there are ways to validify your symbolic capital, either through a prestigious diploma from academia (Bourdieu, 1989), or be in association with a rare prestigious group (Bourdieu, 1997). If a person has a profession such as a lawyer or a doctor, they will often receive respect based on their profession. Swaziland is a monarchy and the royal family is an institution that receive respect from Swazis. This may cause people to want to live in line with how the king lives his life.

Through my analysis I will try to define the prototypes for gender that are presented in my material, and how men and women achieve different forms of capital. This will give us an understanding of what gender means in Swaziland, and how it structures the informants’ lives. In addition, we will examine if how gender is performed, creates differences between girls and boys at school. Before the analysis, I will present the methods used to obtain my material.

4. Methodology

Method, in a broad sense means the way to a goal (Kvaale and Brinkmann, 2009). In my master's project, I have chosen to use different qualitative methods, because they will enable me to understand the social actors' views on gender equality in Swaziland. I have aimed to access their personal experiences. My study is an empirical study. I went to Swaziland for two months to do fieldwork. My initial plan was to gain access to two different schools, one in an urban area and one in a rural area, and I was going to use different qualitative methods: semi structured interviews, participant observation, focus group interviews and text analysis. I had chosen these methods because I wanted to understand the individuals as subjects, and look closer at the classroom as a social system. However, in a field research you will always meet unforeseen challenges, which can also be opportunities.

4.1. Accessing the Field

I landed in Swaziland 2nd of September 2016, and learned that schools would not open before the 12th of September. I therefore tried to establish contact with a child support centre because I knew they had an afternoon club for primary school children where they could get help with homework. As I entered this club I was told that the participants were too young. Their English would not be good enough for me to do interviews with them without a translator. The leader of the afternoon club also warned me that it would almost be impossible to gain access to secondary schools during their third term, because all schools were very busy with exams. She told me that I had to get a permission from the Ministry of Education to be allowed to do research at schools, and their practice was to allow people to do research in 1st term of the schoolyear (January-April).

Even though I was left with an impression that it would be very hard to access schools, I had not given up hope. I contacted an organization called Gone Rural boMake which is a community development organization. They help paying school fees for many children and are therefore in contact with schools. They listened to my research proposal and decided to help me get in touch with schools and help me to get permission from the government. During my first meeting with the Ministry of Education, I realized I would not have been allowed to access my field of interest without this organization. At the ministry, I was first told that I was

not allowed to do research during the third term, and that I had to wait until the first term. My partner from boMake started to speak in siSwati and suddenly, the person from the ministry told me that I could access schools if I handed in chapter 1,2 and 3 of my masters. The bureaucracy in Swaziland is not a straight forward process. To sum it up, I had to go to the Ministry of Education three times before they had told me all the different documents I had to hand in, and I had to wait for an answer for two and a half weeks. As I only had two months in Swaziland, I was afraid that it would take too long and that I would not be able to do the research I had planned to do.

It took an entire month before I could access a school in Swaziland, but it did not mean that this time was without value. I decided to do the best of the situation and start my data gathering and learn about youths' life outside school, and to learn more about gender issues in Swaziland. I got in touch with different youth organizations in the nearby area to where I stayed.

One of the most interesting organizations I got in touch with was a male youth group that focus on boys between the age of 14-26. In Swaziland one in three females experience sexual violence before the age of 18 (UNDAF, 2016). This group focus on positive male mentoring to battle these statistics. A huge number of Swazis also grow up without adult male figures in their life due to HIV/AIDS and unstable relationships. There are many organisations that focus on gender equality in Swaziland, however, most of them focus on girls and women. The male youth group believe it is important for young men in Swaziland to be empowered, and break free from a male prototype that can be hard to achieve.

It was very interesting for me to do interviews with the boys attending this group, because some of them had learned about gender issues through this organisation. Additionally, when I finally entered the school, it was harder to get in touch with male informants. At this youth group, I conducted four semi-structured interviews. The boys from the male youth group also made drawings to me of their present situation in life, and how they imagined their future to be like. A group of girls from homesteads close to where I lived also did this drawing task.

During my first month, I also saw that there is a focus on women's rights in Swaziland. I went to a launching meeting in Manzini with the *1 Billion Rising Revolution*, where they presented the topic of the demonstration that was to occur around valentine's day 2017. There were women there from different organisations in Swaziland like *Women and Law* and *The*

domestic workers' union present. The guests of honours also included the US ambassador, the EU ambassador and a member of parliament. They all spoke about the continuous undervaluing of women in Swaziland and how they had to change the culture and the traditions in the country. They were planning a demonstration on valentine's day 2017 where they will focus on solidarity.

Furthermore, I went to the premiere of a documentary about abuse in Swaziland called *Tibitendlu*. *Tibitendlu* means "the dirt that binds", and is a cultural code in Swaziland of keeping the dirt inside the family. If someone gets raped or beaten in a family, this can be seen as *tibitendlu*, as something that the community should not know about. The plan is to show this documentary to as many Swazis as possible to create awareness around abuse. The creators of the documentary think that acknowledging that abuse against women is an issue in Swaziland, is the first step to do something about it. After the documentary was shown, there was a discussion among the audience. Some women came with testimony that supported the message in the documentary, while some men criticised it because it was made by foreigners that did not understand Swazi culture, and that the documentary portrayed all men as violent.

After one month, I finally accessed a secondary school in a semi-urban area. The school had around 1000 students. In agreement with the headmaster, I was supposed to follow one Religious Studies (RS) teacher and one History teacher. The school offered me to share an office with the career guidance teacher, something that turned out to be to my advantage, because students could come there to talk with the career guidance teacher if they experienced any issue, or if they felt sick. In addition, she handed out pads and some toiletries to students that could not afford to buy these articles. Students often came knocking, and I could have informal conversations with them.

Since my time was limited, I decided to only stay at one school. As we can see in chapter 4.3, there are some challenges when entering a new field, and therefore it was beneficial for my research to focus my remaining time in one place.

4.2. Methods

I have chosen the methods I have used based on my research question. To answer the first part: *How do young people in Swaziland expect gender to structure their future?* I have used the different interviewing methods and text analysis. For the second part of my research question: *which gender differences are visible in a secondary school in Swaziland?* I have used participant- and non-participant observation, combined with answers from students and teachers. Through these methods, I want to look at students' perceptions and thoughts to find the answer. I will now present the methods I used to obtain my material.

4.2.1. Interviews

There are different types of interviews. In a structured interview, the interviewer has prepared all the questions in advance, and there is no room for follow-up-question. A questionnaire is an example of a structured interview (Grønmo, 2016). In an unstructured interview, the interviewer has a conversation with the interviewee and controls the conversation as little as possible (Halvorsen, 2008). The first method I was planning to use when I arrived at the school was a semi-structured interview, an interview type that can be placed between those I have mentioned. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer follows an interview guide, with themes for the interview. The interviewer will ask questions to the interviewee, but there are room for follow-up questions. I conducted all the interviews myself, without the use of a translator. Since all my informants had siSwati as their first language it may have been beneficial with a translator in the interviews. Some of the informants could probably contributed more with their views in siSwati, than what they did in English. However, a translator would have stopped the flow in the discussion. Since English is the official language in secondary education, I decided their oral English would be good enough, to avoid an intermediary.

Appendix 3 contains an overview of all the interviews I conducted during my research, with information about the informants, and a list of how I have named them in the text. The semi-structured interviews will be named as i1-i6 in the text, and the focus group interviews are named FG1-FG4 in the text. I have given two informants fictive names, namely Gloria (i6), who is a person from the school leadership, and Nathi (i2), who is a mentor at the male youth group. I have decided to give them names, because they are representatives from relevant organisations. The other interviews are with adolescents.

4.2.1.1. Semi-structured Interview

Before I entered the school, I conducted some semi structured interviews. The first interview (i1) was with a girl that comes from a traditional homestead close to where I lived. Through her academic achievements she has gained a scholarship to attend a private secondary school. She was trying to start a girls group in the neighbourhood, and after I interviewed her, she also arranged for me to meet some of the other girls in the area.

I also conducted four semi structured interviews at the male youth group, that I have mentioned above. The first interview was with one of the youth leaders, Nathi (i2), while the rest of the interviews were with boys who are members of the youth group. Initially, I was planning to use focus group interviews at the male youth group. However, there were only two boys present for each interview. In addition, since I did not have any relation with them before the interview, it was difficult to start a discussion with them. In most of the interviews one of the boys became dominant. The interviews with them became more like semi structured interviews.

As I arrived at the school, I hoped to conduct semi structured interviews with the headmaster and some teachers. I wanted to learn about the school leaders' views on gender equality, and what they did to reduce dropout rates among girls and boys. But I quickly understood why the Ministry of Education did not want researchers to disturb schools during the third term. All the teachers were very busy with orals, markings and preparations for the exams. The headmaster was also hard to get an appointment with while I was there. Instead of interviewing the headmaster, I interviewed another important member of the administration. Since the teachers were busy during school-time I made a short open questionnaire that they could answer instead (appendix 1).

4.2.1.2. Focus Group Interviews

Focus group interview is an interview method where the researcher becomes a facilitator in a group discussion. Some of the advantages of using focus group interviews is that the group members can disagree with each other, or confirm what others are saying. In other words, the interaction can make the group members tell and discuss more than what they would have done in separate interviews (Halvorsen, 2008).

At the school, I had four focus group interviews. I had decided to divide them by gender because I believed it would be easier for them to answer truthfully on questions if there were no one of the opposite sex there. However, the last focus group was male dominated, but there were also two girls present. At times, this prevented me from asking some of the questions I had asked in the other groups, but it also contributed to more discussion on some topics.

To participate in an interview was voluntary. It was easy to recruit female informants, but it was harder to get boys to speak to me. I conducted the interviews during my last two weeks at the school, with students from Form 4, that I had gotten to know through being in their History and Religious Studies classes. All the interviews were conducted at school in free periods, or when a teacher did not show up for class. This meant that each interview could only last between 45 minutes and 1,5 hours. It was hard to plan location and time in advance, and I had to seize the opportunity when possible.

I used the same interview guide in semi structured interviews outside school, as I used in the focus group interviews (appendix 2). But the interview guide, is only a guide. If the informants contributed with interesting information on one topic, we would spend the time discussing that topic, instead of hurrying to the next question. In addition, some topics were better covered by girls or boys, e.g. the girls' focus groups discussed issues such as transactional sex and gender based violence in more detail than what boys did. In the interviews with Gloria and Nathi, I also asked about the organisations they represented.

There are some challenges related to this method. It is important that none of the participants in the group becomes too dominant. The group members have to be able to engage in discussions together and they have to be active (Grønmo, 2016, p. 167). In some of my interviews, I met some challenges. I tried to involve all the participants through directing some questions at more quiet informants. Another issue was that all the informants started to talk at the same time, or that some started to speak in SiSwati. I tried to regulate this through my role as a facilitator.

4.2.1.3. Open Questionnaire

Since the teachers did not have time for interviews during the school hours, I had to find a different way of gathering information about teachers point of view. I handed out 25 questionnaires that teachers could answer when they had time, and hand in two days later (appendix 1). Four female teachers and 6 male teachers answered. I will refer to them as T1-

T10 in the text. Appendix 4 contain background information for each teacher (age, gender, education and subjects they teach in).

4.2.2. Observation

To be able to answer the second part of my research question, *Which gender differences are visible in a secondary school in Swaziland?*, I decided to use both participant- and nonparticipant observation. In participant observation, the researcher both observe and take part in a society (Grønmo, 2016). For four weeks, I was a part of the daily life at school. I went to classes and walked around the school area, or stayed in the career guidance office. From my first day at school, I was given responsibility by other teachers. This gave me the opportunity to start interacting with teachers and students. However, as I will discuss in the chapter 4.3., my interaction was limited by a various of factors, such as language, being a white foreigner and being a woman. It was organised that I would follow a teacher in Religious Studies (RS) and a teacher in History and take part in their classes in two Form 4 classes. In the beginning, I used non-participant observation to learn about the interaction between teacher and students. I made maps of how the classes were seated and tables of who would answer questions from the teachers. But after a short while I became a participant. I started to teach the history classes, while in RS I became a student, because the teacher started to teach about Swazi traditional religion. In addition, I became a substitute teacher in a subject called Life Skills, in Form 2. I used these classes to learn about how the students perceived gender.

During break time, I had planned to spend time in the schoolyard with students, talking to them, and at other times join the teachers at their staffroom. But the students mostly spoke siSwati during break time, and many of them were not comfortable speaking English with me. The teachers did not have a staffroom and many of them left the school area during break time, or they sat in their offices. However, this issue solved itself. Some students and some teachers were curious about me, and came to me to eat their lunch. In hindsight, I should have eaten the lunch meal served by the school. Through queuing with students and eating the same food, I would probably have learnt more and spoken to more students.

I brought my field journal to school every day, where I wrote down my observations. I made notes about interesting conversations or what I saw. After I had been in the field for a while I started to write down my reflections about my role in the field as well.

4.2.3. Text Analysis

To supplement the observation and focus group interviews, I asked Form 2 students to write letters about themselves and their current situation, and where they saw themselves in 10 years. An advantage with this task was that I was able to gather texts from many students. It was an individual task, and their answers would not be affected by each other. I wished to compare the answers in the texts with what I find in the interviews. The aim with the student texts is to see what differences there are in the current situation between girls and boys, and to see if their plans for the future is determined by gender. Some students may find it easier to write this down, than to tell it in front of others, and I will be able to include the voices of those that normally are not that outspoken.

There were some challenges in obtaining these texts. The class consists of 60 students, sitting in a classroom meant for half that amount. I gave them the writing task in a Life Skills period, a subject that they had not had a teacher in for a year. I was thrown in as a substitute teacher in this class during my stay. It was the last period of the day, and these students were used to being threatened with a stick if they misbehaved. I did not manage to create a good work environment, and some of the students handed in very short answers. Others were very excited to write a letter to a European woman, something that might have coloured what they wrote.

4.3. My Role in the Field

Aase and Fossåskaret (2010) describe how a participant observer has to go through many statuses before he or she is accepted in a society. I expected that during the first phase of the fieldwork student and staff would understand me as “the white, European female foreigner researcher”, and tried to take steps to prevent this, such as from the first time I entered the school I was wearing long skirts and shirts that covered my shoulders. I greeted people in Siswati, and told them that I had lived there for two years during my high school education. I did not present myself as a researcher since that could have given me an elevated status. Instead I told teachers and students that I was a teacher student from Norway, doing research in Swaziland for my M.Ed. However, I soon realised that there was much more than clothing that set me apart at the school.

4.3.1. Language

The first matter that I realized would be a challenge is that I do not speak siSwati. I knew that all education at secondary level is supposed to happen in English, and I therefore expected that there would not be an issue with the communication. I soon realized that I was mistaken. Outside the classroom all students and most teachers communicated in siSwati. The language barrier excluded me from much of what I wanted to observe. If I was there and teachers were talking to each other, they often started the conversation in English, but it soon switched over to siSwati. During lunch time, students would say “hi” and “how are you?” to me in English, but many of them were embarrassed to continue the conversation in English. The guidance teacher that I shared office with told me that some students were afraid of talking with me, because they did not think their English were good enough. As she showed me around the school many students asked her to translate for them. Later in my research, as I was looking for participants for focus group interviews, I had problems with getting enough male participants because they did not want to speak English to me. I had to ensure them by telling them that English is my second language as well, and I did not care if their English is not perfect, as long as I understood what they were trying to say.

4.3.2. Skin Colour

A second and very visible challenge was my skin colour. I was the only white person at the school. Almost everybody had a set of connotations linked to being white. Firstly, many believed that all white people are rich. During my first week, a teacher came up to me and said he wanted to invest on the stock market, but he needed some money. He was wondering if I could borrow him 20 000 emalangeni¹. Because of my skin colour I was assumed to have high economic capital. I had to explain to him that I was a student and could not afford to give him such a loan. Some students asked me what clothing brands I liked, and when I told them that I usually didn't buy branded cloths because I thought it was too expensive, they were surprised. Many of the students also believed that English was my first language because I was white or that I did not have any culture because I was white. As I started to speak with students about gender differences and relationships I often heard “I want a white boyfriend”

¹ The currency in Swaziland. 1 emalangeni equals 0.10 USD (30.04.2017) <https://m.dnb.no/valutakalkulator>

or “I want a white girlfriend”, because they saw white relationships as something good, while black people did not have good relationships in their opinion.

4.3.3. Religion

The longer I stayed I also realized that religious beliefs separated me from teachers and students. Every morning started with prayer at assembly and each lunchtime many students gathered for school church. During my first day, I sat next to a pastor and we started to talk. I pointed out that I thought it was a nice thing that there are many female pastors in Swaziland. He agreed with me, but then he said “but according to the scripture it is not right. A man should not be led by a woman.” I excused myself and said I had something important to do in my new office, I did not want to get in to a theological discussion. I later met this argument from students as well, when we discussed gender equality in Swaziland.

My new office was also the office of the career and guidance teacher. It had a mattress, and sick students would come there if they had to lay down and relax. One day in the middle of my stay a sick girl was carried to the office in the morning. She was throwing up, passing out and had extreme pains in the abdominal region. Her father had been contacted but he did not come to pick her up. She said she was going to die. At one point, two pastors entered the room, because they wanted to help her get rid of the demons inside her. I had to leave the office while they were praying for her. This was the only treatment offered by the school. Another time, a girl came in with a panic attack. The pastors wanted to pray for her as well, because they said she had a demon in her. I could not accept this. I told them to wait for a while and locked the door. I told her that she was safe and should start to breath calmly with me and that everything would be alright. When she had calmed down I asked her if something had happened. It turned out that it was her birthday and someone had stolen her backpack with her birthday gifts. I was not able to accept demon-explanations when people were ill or had a hard time. I avoided public comments as far as possible.

After a long time in the field, I also realised that when something happened it was normal to explain it as witchcraft. In a RS-class where they discussed different family types in Swaziland, one girl pointed out that one of the negative things with polygamy was that it could lead to witchcraft if the wives were envious of each other. Initially I believed that they meant witchcraft as a metaphor for something, but after an interview, I asked some of the students if they believe in witchcraft. They said of course, they had seen it, and I would not

understand unless I experienced it. There are many believes that were obvious for teachers and students, but it took a long time for me to even be aware of some of them. This may have lead me to not fully understand some comments made by teachers or students.

4.3.4. The Guest, the Student and the Teacher

As I was planning my fieldwork, I hoped to access a role of a teacher's assistant. In many Norwegian classrooms, there is an assistant present, in addition to a teacher. This role did however not exist in Swaziland, and I will now describe the roles that I entered.

The first day at school I felt like a guest of honour. Everyone greeted me kindly and a teacher took me for a guided tour around the school. But I soon saw an opportunity to try and change this. The next day it was going to be a Prize Giving Day². One of the program directors was ill, and I was asked to step in together with the career guidance teacher. At this ceremony, I did not get the role of being a guest, but being an important part. I was also very visible, and I hoped this would make me a more familiar face among the students as well.

Some of the staff continued to treat me as a guest during my entire stay. The headmaster would for instance always call on me when he saw me ask how the "Norwegian guest" was doing. The RS-teacher also introduced me as a guest in the RS classes. She even changed the topic in one class to Swazi traditional religion to accommodate to my interests and research topic. But because of this she also helped me to change out of the role as a guest, to a role as one of the students.

The history teacher never saw me as a guest but more of a colleague and someone he could share his workload with. He wanted me to teach many of the classes. In the beginning this was very beneficial for me. I got to know some of the students from a teacher's perspective. However, it was also very time consuming. I had to plan many lessons about the Russian revolution. The norm there was that the teacher would lecture for 1,5 hours. I tried to do student based activities, something that was challenging due to lack of resources. During my last week, I realized I had to break out of the role as a history teacher because I wanted the

² The entire school was gathered, and prizes were given to the students who performed best in different subjects. In addition, there were speeches and entertainment. I have described the Prize Giving Day in chapter 6.1.

students to see me in a different way. I told the history teacher that I would not be a part of his classes anymore because I had to focus more of my time on my research.

Even though I tried to become a part of the society, there were many things that set me apart in addition to my skin colour, religion and language, and stopped me from fully being a part of the society. An example of this is that I would not use or threaten to use corporal punishment. When I told students that it was not legal where I came from they were surprised. And even though I tried to fit in from the beginning through wearing skirts and shirts, there were some parts of the dress code that I did not follow. Almost all the female teachers had also manicured and colourful nails and high heels. I did not want to use high heels or sandals every day. I used my running shoes, which seemed sensible from my Norwegian perspective.

Despite all the challenges in becoming a part of the school environment I gradually found my place. For most of the students I was a curiosity, but the students in the classes where I took part accepted me gradually as a part of their school day.

4.4. Ethical Considerations

In a fieldwork, one of the first matters that needs to be decided is the degree of openness to the social actors. Field observation may be covert or overt (Grønmo, 2016). My observation was overt. I presented myself in front of the entire school and told them that I was a teacher student from Norway, doing a study for my master's project. I told them that the theme of my master's project is gender equality. Being open is a way to gain trust, and make it easier to build relations with the informants in my study. Openness is additionally important because of research ethics. The people in my study were able to take an informed decision whether they wanted to be a part of the study or not.

There are, however, challenges with being open about the research topic. Openness may affect behaviour and representation of self. Teachers might change their way of addressing students. Openness may affect behaviour and representation of self. Teachers might change their way of addressing students. One of the teachers would for instance almost always tell someone who misbehaved off in siSwati, which excluded me from understanding what was being said. The RS teacher made comments in the classes about Swazi traditional religion, criticising the things she saw as an obstacle to gender equality in Swaziland, which might be a

result of her knowing my research topic. In the student texts I gathered, some of the students may have been affected by my research topic, and chosen to write differently about their future. This methodological issue is called reactivity. The fact that both students and teachers got used to me over time might have lessened the reactivity. That was the main reason that I decided to do the focus group interviews towards the end of my stay at the school, and decided to do my research at only one school.

In addition, the information the researcher receives from social actors has to be anonymous. To ensure the anonymity of the people involved in my study, I have decided not to reveal the name of the school I visited. The names that I use in the text are fictive names. I have used audio recordings, in agreement with the interviewees. After I transcribed the interviews, I deleted the recordings.

4.5. Transparency and Quality of Research

In a positivistic tradition, concepts such as reliability and validity are important. Reliability pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Validity is a measure to indicate if the method investigates what it is supposed to investigate (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Reliability is often measured through repeated data gathering with the same research design (Grønmo, 2016). As a qualitative research design are often less structured and more flexible than a quantitative research design, it will be impossible to reproduce the exact same research design at other times and by other researchers. I have chosen to call this part of my text transparency, because, through being open, I can ensure the trustworthiness of my research.

Firstly, it is important that the data is based on factual social conditions, and not on subjective judgements and random circumstances (Grønmo, 2016). Therefore, it is important with a systematic gathering of data. I always carried a field diary, where I either during, or shortly after, wrote down my observations. During my stay, I could observe the social actors in almost the same situations more than one time. If I observed an action more than once, this can enforce the reliability of the data. An example of this is that I made a seating map of the classroom five times, and since they all gave almost the same result, this enhance the reliability of the data.

Both the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. This will allow others to read the quotations I use in my master's thesis in context if necessary. The fact that I use method triangulation will also contribute to the trustworthiness of my research. I will compare the data gathered from the different methods I have used. During my fieldwork and analysis of data I have reflected on my personal bias that may influence my findings. I am a woman that come from a Norwegian culture, and see gender equality as something natural and important in a functioning society. I have tried to not let my personal views colour my conversations in the field, and have been aware when I have done it. During my participant observation, I also wished to become a part of the society. I have tried to be aware that I do not see them as the others, and distance myself from the informants of my study.

Since this study only contain data from one school, it will not be possible to generalize the answers for all of Swaziland, but it can be a starting point to more research on gender equality and Swazi schools. We should also bear in mind that almost all the adults that I spoke to in this research have a tertiary education, something that might have coloured their views on gender. In addition, far from all adolescents in Swaziland have access to secondary education, but most of my informants have been students.

5. Masculinity and Femininity

I have mentioned that Swaziland traditionally is a patriarchal society (Brear & Bessarab, 2012), and the male is seen as the provider, while the women have reproductive duties (Peter, 2006). In an open questionnaire where 10 teachers responded, I asked “what does it mean to be a man in Swaziland?” and “what does it mean to be a woman in Swaziland?” In the first question, especially the female teachers, emphasized that men have authority, and is the head of the family. *“Being a man in Swaziland today means society easily accepts you are a figure of authority hence it is much easier for you to be afforded opportunities professionally, politically and academically.”* (T1). Women, on the other hand, were described as *“submissive”, “housewife”, “second class citizen”* and *“under the authority of men”*. However, some of the teachers thought this was changing due to access to education. They mentioned that it was now possible to find women in powerful positions and they were co-providers for the family. In conversations during the fieldwork, the topic of change was repetitive.

Since family and marriage is something general, all the students I interviewed had opinions connected to it. At the same time, it is an arena that tells us much about the relations between women and men. In some of my interviews I would ask if they thought gender would structure their life, and most answered no, because they argued that girls and boys could take the same education, and therefore they will have the same opportunities in the future. However, when I asked about family life and expectations for their future husband or wife, their answers show that there are expectations of how women and men are supposed to perform their gender, and the informants will most likely be formed by these expectations.

I will analyse different aspects around family life, marriage and relationships, to find out what adolescents see as prototypically male or female. The prototypes can help us understand how gender may structure my informants’ lives. Furthermore, I will analyse how boys and girls envision their future. In the end of this chapter I will also discuss the friction between culture and modernity.

5.1. Forms of Family

The family is one of the most important structures in a society, and this is true for Swaziland as well. Your family is the network that will help you when you are in need, and parents in

Swaziland rely on that their children or grandchildren will provide for them in their old age. There are many different types of families in Swaziland. During one of my class observations in RS, the teacher had a teacher lead discussion about family structure. I listened to what the students thought about different types of family. They defined family as those you are related to and/or live with. Firstly, they discussed single parents, and concluded that to only have one parent often results in poverty. A boy also added that he thought boys need a father as an ideal to look up to. There are many children in Swaziland growing up without a father. 20 per cent of households are solely female headed, and this is a growing phenomenon (UNDAF, 2016). In addition, 20 per cent of households are managed by women, while the man has left home because of work migration (UNDAF, 2016). Nathi, from the male youth group, also thought that many children do not grow up with both parents, when he underlined the importance for young males in Swaziland to have positive male role models, because many boys are growing up with only their mother or grandmother (i2).

A second family type that the students saw many flaws with, is a child-headed family. They argued that it is difficult for a child to be a provider, and there are no one there to report your needs to. They claimed that a child need to be a child, and not play the part of an adult. In addition, they saw it as a vulnerable position for the oldest girl child, because they might engage in a relationship with a “blesser”, an older man expecting sexual favours, who will give money or gifts in return (see chapter 5.4).

Thirdly, they looked at a very normal family structure in Swaziland, the extended family. A traditional homestead may contain one hut for the grandparents, one for the parents and children and other huts for uncles and aunts with their children. They identified both positive and negative aspects concerning the extended family. Some thought it could cause more arguments, especially around livestock, which again could lead to witchcraft. However, many students commented that it is good to live next to your *Gogo*³. In addition, the extended family can cooperate and help each other, and offer protection to each other against external threats.

A fourth family type that occurs in Swaziland is polygamous families. In 2014, 11,7 per cent of women and 8,7 per cent of men in the age between 15-49 reported to be in a polygamous

³ Grandmother

union (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). Some of the students argued that a polygamous family can be beneficial because there are more people to share the workload. One student commented that polygamy promotes sharing, *“they even share the husband”*. But when the teacher asked the girls in the class if they liked polygamy, they all answered with a load no. The students mentioned several disadvantages connected to polygamy as well. They argued that it would lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS, and in turn leave more children as orphans. In addition, they argued that many men take more than one wife, while they are not able to provide for the number of wives. This can lead to poverty. This argument shows that the students in the class identified the provider role as a role for the man in the family.

The fifth family type is the nuclear family. This was clearly seen by a majority as the preferred form of family. The students made comments such as *“children experience love and get support from the family”*. It was also underlined that this type of family created *“peace and harmony”*.

5.1.1. Students and their Household

During my fieldwork, I gathered texts from students where they were asked to write about their life today (Appendix 5). 43 of the texts were gathered in a Form 2 class, while 6 of them are written by Form 4 students during a free period. 42 of the texts mention family structure:

Table 1: family structure

Nuclear family*	Single parent**	sibling	Grandmother (grandfather***)	Extended family	Alone	Did not write
18	9	4	7	3	1	7

*Some of these students might have lived in an extended family, but they have written that they live with their parents.

**Only one student reported that she lived with only father.

***Only one student wrote that she lived with her grandfather.

We can see that around 43 per cent of those who answered, live in a nuclear family, which most of the students from the observation saw as the best family type. This view corresponds with how students from nuclear families describe their family: *“In my family we do not have much challenges, all is well, but that does not mean that I should throw away the opportunity*

of building my own future that my parents has offered me” (f, 15, Form 2). Another girl writes “*In my family we don’t have much challenges as my parents are both working and they are able to provide needs and wants for the three of us*” (f, 16, Form 2). An important aspect of why this family structure is seen as favourable, seems to be because there are two parents who can provide for the children and create a safer environment.

However, we can see that other forms of family are also represented in the student texts. In texts written by students who live with a single parent, economic hardship is often mentioned. One girl writes;

My mother is working at [a place nearby as a cleaning lady] but she does not give me sufficient things that I need in life. So, that forces me to be in love with someone who will give me what I need every day. But I don’t want to be in love at this age of mine.

(F, 15, Form 2).

Even though this girl does not explicitly write that she engages in transactional sex, or that she has a blesser (see chapter 5.4.), it is most likely what she means. Most of the girls that I spoke to would not say they had sex, but that they were in a “love relationship”. This was the only student text that expressed the need to have a boyfriend that could support her economically. Everyone who lives with a single parent lives with their mother, except from one girl, who lives with her father. She writes that even though it can be hard to only have one parent she is praising her father: “*In time of trouble he is always there for us as a mother and father*” (f, 16, Form 2) In periods she has also lived with her grandmother.

A family structure that was not mentioned in the class discussion I observed, is the fact that many students live with their grandmother. Around 17 per cent of those who described their family structure, said they lived with a grandparent. In field conversations, other students also reported living with grandmothers, either because their parents had passed away, or because their parents had moved to a city, or South Africa, to find work. Many of them write that they are grateful for their grandmother because she makes sure they do not have to sleep on an empty stomach. In contrast to those who live in a nuclear family, it seems like the students who live with a grandparent, must contribute more in household chores at home. But as the grandparents grow older, it can be hard to make ends meet. One girl writes about how she received help to continue schooling:

I don't say that everything is well, but since my grandmother retired she could not pay my school fees so we seek for help in [Swazi company] to pay my school fees, so everything went well and now I do not stress of how I will achieve my dreams after all (F, 16, Form 2).

A small number of the students also wrote about living with siblings, or by themselves. One girl, who takes care of her 7 years old brother wrote that school was very important to her because it is a place where she is around people her own age, and she can release stress (f, 17, Form 4). Another girl, who lives with her older siblings, wrote that "*Sometimes we sleep without food and only drink water that we fetch from a stream. Sometimes we find the water dirty and we must wait until they are clean* (f, 18, Form 2). Gloria from the school administration said that many learners head their families, and it is often a girl that must take care of her younger siblings (i6).

As we look at the comments from the students, it is important to remember that the adolescents that have written these texts are attending secondary education. This means that they either have relatives who pay school fees for them, or they get help from the government or private organization to pay their school fees. The fact that as few as 43per cent of students report living in a nuclear family may suggest that even less children outside the educational system live in this family structure in Swaziland. It is reasonable to believe that relatively more children living with both their parents attend secondary education, due to a better economic situation.

There is a tendency in my material that many youths only have a female as a care giver, either it is a mother or a grandmother. There seems to be a close link between responsibility for children and femininity. Many men have left to find work elsewhere, but not all of them come back to their family. Since many women are left with the tasks of being a provider for the family as well as doing the reproductive tasks, one may believe that they would earn respect for their achievements. Even though many boys describe their mothers as heroes, Gloria did not believe that women in general will gain a better status because of it:

But at community level, no. We are taught that even if your husband can leave you for 20 years, when he comes back you must accept the husband. That's what we are taught to do. So, that's what happens here. The girls they, I mean in our society, we don't appreciate much of the work done by the woman. It's like, they are supposed to do that. (i6)

In a situation where women take household responsibility due to male labour migration, or otherwise male absence, women do not seem to gain symbolic capital by filling the place that is traditionally defined as male.

5.2. The Institution of Marriage

My material suggest that marriage is seen as an important part of life, and the roles as husband and wife are essential elements in prototypical roles of men and women. Through these roles one may achieve respect in local community. I have visited Swaziland, both as an unmarried woman, and as a married woman. From my personal experience I believe that I had a higher status after I had married, because I belonged to a man. The headmaster was delighted when he saw my wedding ring. Because of that, he did not have to worry about male students giving me unwanted attention. When I travelled with public transport I often experienced men who tried to flirt with me, but most of them accepted my refusal when I said I was married. In all my interviews, and field-conversations with adolescents, there was only one girl, and one boy who expressed that they do not want to marry. The girl (FG2) argued that she does not want a husband because he would always try to control and dominate her, while the boy (i3) said it is not possible to trust a woman, especially if you are poor, because he thought girls only go after guys with money.

Gloria from the school administration expressed that marriage is important for girls because:

They want to belong. Because if you are old enough, [and] you don't have a husband you are insulted. And in the community, those who are married will think that you will take their husband. So, you want to fit[in] and have your own. Then you will become a second or a third wife. (i6)

This statement shows how important she thinks it is for a woman to be married. She continued to say being married is also important for men, because being married gives a higher status in the community. In the citation above, we can see that she thinks polygamy is something bad, but she expressed an understanding of why some women chose to become second or even third wife. It will give them a better status in the community, especially among the women. An unmarried woman has a lesser social capital. She may be perceived as a threat to married women, because she does not belong to a man, and is therefore treated badly (insulted) by the other women in the community.

5.2.1. Framework and Rights

In Swaziland, there are two types of marriage. Firstly, there is the civil-rites marriage which is governed by the Marriages act of 1964 in the common law (Amnesty International, 2010). In my material, informants have referred to this wedding as “common law wedding”, “white wedding”, “western wedding” or the “civil wedding”. The second type of marriage is under Swazi law and custom (Amnesty International, 2010), and in my data, it is referred to as the traditional wedding. In article 20(1) in the Constitution of 2005 state that “*All persons are equal before and under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect and shall enjoy equal protection of the law*” (The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 2005). Even though Swaziland passed a new Constitution in 2005, that is supposed to ensure women’s equality with men, there are many laws in Swaziland, such as the Marriages Act of 1964, that contradicts the Constitution.

The legal age of marriage in Swaziland is 16 for girls and 18 for boys (Amnesty International, 2010), but at the homepage of Ministry of home affairs, it is written that “*A minor may not enter into marriage unless the marriage officer is in possession of a written consent from both parents or the guardian.*” (Ministry of Home Affairs, s.a.). Under the customary law, girls as young as 13 can be married (Amnesty International, 2010). In 2014 it was reported that 8.8 per cent of women between 20-49 said they had been married before the age of 18 (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). The ministry state that in a civil-rites marriage, one can only absolve the marriage through “death or a competent court of law” (Ministry of Home Affairs, s.a.).

Amnesty International (2010) has criticized both forms of marriage because of *Marital Power*. Marital power refers to the fact that the law acknowledges the husband as the head of the household. Hallward-Driemeier and Hasan (2012) points out that this is a relic from colonial laws (Roman-Dutch law) in the region. In Swaziland’s neighbouring countries these laws have been repealed, but is still present in Swaziland (Hallward-Driemeier and Hasan, 2012). In the civil-rites marriage almost all women need their husband’s consent and assistance to administer property, sign contracts or conduct legal proceedings.

A woman can ensure equal rights in the marriage through explicitly agree on that in a prenuptial contract, but few women are aware of this possibility (Amnesty international, 2010). The Traditional marriage can be even more restrictive when it comes to women’s

rights. The Civil-rites wedding does not allow polygamy, but the traditional marriage opens for men to take an unlimited number of wives (Amnesty International, 2010). In my material, many informants have told how a man will start a new family with a second wife, and leave the first wife without any economical support for her and her children. The wife, on the other hand, are bound by the marriage to her husband, and cannot remarry.

Another issue that is important to secure gender equality, is the issue of landownership. In my questionnaire to teachers, I received different answers concerning whether a woman can own land in Swaziland or not. One female teacher stated that even *“unmarried women can have land both in urban and rural areas”* (T4). Another female teacher wrote *“now some women are educated, working and owning things e.g. properties.”* (T2). A male teacher on the other hand stated that *“Man is viewed as the only one who should own property (land)”* (T9). I asked some women at a shopping-market, and they said it was no problem for a woman to be granted land without company of a husband or an older male relative, as long as she had a son. The Constitution of 2005 states that *“A person has a right to own property either alone or in association with others”*.

Doo Aphane, a lawyer by training and a human rights activist, became well known in Swaziland, as she went to court in 2008, and argued that according to the Constitution of 2005, she should be allowed to co-own land with her husband. She won her case in 2012 (Langwenya, 2012, p 4.). Langwenya (2012, p. 8) states that *“The Aphane case has helped to break the silence and begin to tackle the out-dated and discriminatory practices based around male marital power but much more still needs to be done.”*, a sentiment that Aphane shares in an interview with Wisdom Exchange TV in 2012. She said that 70 per cent of land in Swaziland is National land, which is distributed by chiefs, and very few chiefs allow women to access land in their own name. They must use the name of a male relative, such as a husband, father, brother, or even child or grandchild (Wisdom Exchange TV, 2012)

Even though the Constitution of 2005 states that women shall not be discriminated against, older legislation has not been revised, and still see women as inferior. This may be the reason for conflicting answers in my material. In addition, the traditional customs, represented by king and chiefs are colliding with their new constitution and international agreements that Swaziland has ratified.

Above, we have looked at some of the framework around a Swazi marriage. In the succeeding section, I will examine what my informants think of the different kinds of wedding.

5.2.2. Civil or Traditional?

In both focus group interviews with girls, all the participants stated that they would like to get married through the civil-rites wedding. A main argument for the civil-rites wedding is that polygamy is not allowed. One girl stated that *“I do not want him to have other wives, so I want the western wedding”* (FG1). Another important argument is the possibility of divorce. They underlined that there is no divorce in traditional wedding, and would therefore prefer the civil-rites wedding. However, some of the girls did not believe that divorce is socially acceptable. In FG2, two of the girls said that even if their future husband mistreated them, they would not get a divorce, because it is shameful *“I don’t want to embarrass my family”* (FG2). This suggests that a divorce may lessen the girl’s family’s symbolic capital. But the general opinion among girls was that the possibility of getting a divorce is important.

Although many girls believed they would have more rights in a civil-rite marriage, one girl was sceptical if they would gain more rights in the civil wedding; *“traditional or the white, when you are staying together, it becomes the same”* (FG2). Other girls agreed saying that a man would not keep his vows and *“if you’re still not married, the man is going to be humble, and very good and you’ll think he is the best man ever. But if you’re married, how, you’re gonna see him”* (FG2). Gloria understood why the girls have this sentiment, and informed me that many men marrying under the common law, still think they have a right to have more than one partner *“The culture allows them, and even those who are married. The husband will tell you that I have a right to have girlfriends because I am a man.”* (i6).

At the same time as the girls wanted civil-rites marriages, they would like the wedding to include traditional Swazi customs. All of those who want to get married, expect their future husband to pay *lobola* (see chapter 5.2.3.). In FG2, the girls also expressed that in a proper engagement, the man should ask her parents for her hand in marriage. This may be interpreted as an example for the idea that girls is the property of first her parents, and then her husband. In this tradition, a man has an active role in arranging a marriage, while a woman is passive, and given away by her parents.

The male adolescents point of view, on which marriage they wanted, varied. One boy from the youth group argued that civil-rites marriage is better *“Because in common law marriages*

there are rights that protect the wife, but traditionally there are no rights that protect the wives. No rights. And there's no divorce culturally here in Swaziland" (i5). The participants in FG3 on the other hand were sceptical to civil weddings. One boy uttered that the traditional wedding is their culture. They also did not like the fact that a woman can ask for divorce; *"they will claim your property, leave you with the clothes that you wear"* (FG3). According to the boys, in a traditional marriage, the wife can be sent back to her parental home if the marriage is dysfunctional, but she cannot remarry, and when she dies she will be sent back to her husband's homestead for burial. The husband, on the other hand, can remarry.

When they were confronted with the fact that women may have more rights in a civil-rites marriage, and therefore might prefer that kind of marriage, one of the boys stated that *"they don't need to have rights in the home. They have the right to their husband. So, he can tell the family that she has rights here, because she is my wife"* (FG3). This statement shows that he views women as inferior to men. They do not need to have rights on their own, but they can be given rights through their husband.

In this chapter, we have seen that most the girls want a civil-rites wedding, firstly because they want a monogamous marriage, and secondly, many girls saw the opportunity of a divorce as important. However, some girls thought that divorcing your husband was shameful and would embarrass her family. This suggest that divorce will lower a family's social capital. Some of the girls thought that what type of marriage you entered did not matter, as men would act in the same way in both marriages. Many boys preferred the traditional wedding, arguing that it was their culture, and did not like the fact that women have the right to divorce in civil marriage. At the same time as most girls want civil-rites marriages, they would also like traditional customs such as *lobola* being performed when they get married. I will now examine adolescents view *lobola*.

5.2.3. *Lobola*

Lobola, or bridal price is a part of the Swazi traditional culture, and the customary wedding. It was traditionally paid in cattle, but now some also pay in cash. It is a payment from the groom to the bride's family, and is still important in the marriage ritual in Swaziland today. Most of the adolescents that I spoke to saw *lobola* as an important part of marriage. Everyone, apart from one, in the two focus group interviews with girls conducted at school, wanted *Lobola* to be paid when they get married. In the eyes of these girls, *lobola* is a proof of that their coming

husband value them, and at the same time it contributes to create an amicable relationship between the two families who are involved. They saw it as an important part of their culture, and one girl alleged that if *lobola* was not paid, the marriage would not be good.

Another argument that was raised in the girl focus group interviews was that paying *lobola* has a symbolic role of showing gratitude “*for everything [my parents] have done for me, for my school, for my knowledge, for my everything to my parents*” (FG2). But they also saw it as an economic transaction. One girl argued that the future husband had to pay for her bearing children for him. During an RS class that I observed, the teacher lectured about traditional marriage. She said that, in her experience, much of what was paid to the bride’s family in form of *lobola*, was given back to the groom’s family, because the bride’s family is supposed to give gifts to all members of the groom’s family during the wedding. In her opinion this shows that *lobola* is not merely an economic transaction, but also a way to create good relationships between the families of the bride and groom. Economic capital is transformed in to social capital.

Most of the boys were also positive to paying *lobola*. They said that through paying *lobola* they will prove their love for their future wife and establish a good relationship with her family. One of the boys in FG4 said that even though *lobola* can be expensive, it is important, because “*it shows to the girl’s parents that you love their child, and, such that you even sacrificed all your belongings, lots of cattle going away. And it shows that you are willing to take care of their daughter. And they will give you respect*” (FG4). Again, we can see the symbolic importance of *lobola*, and how it can contribute to a man’s symbolic capital. Nevertheless, some boys were negative to *lobola* because they thought it is too expensive. This may be the reason for the median age at first marriage is as high as 27.7 for men (Central Statistical Office and Macro International, 2008).

When I asked the different focus groups what determine the number of cattle that should be paid for a bride, all groups pointed to the fact that it is important that the girl is a virgin. Many girls experience social control while they are growing up to ensure their purity. In FG2 girls said that they will be punished if they have a boyfriend. Some also expressed that they are asked to dress decently and cover their body, by their mothers. In a conversation with some girls at school, they said that if they got pregnant, their mothers would throw them out from home, because it would reflect badly on her for raising daughters that would have sex before marriage. If a woman has been married before, or has a child, the bridal price will be lower.

In contrast to what Heeren et.al. (2011) found in her research, most of my informants did not think the level of a girl's education affects the bridal price. Only one girl disagreed; *"If you have higher education your lobola should also be high, because the money that you earn when working, will no more go back to your parents, but it will go to your family with your husband."* (FG4). After a discussion in then group she said *"it all depends on the negotiations with the groom's family"* (FG4).

Ansell's (2001) informants suggested that through paying *lobola*, a woman becomes a man's property. If she is unfaithful, a man can be justified in beating her, because he is protecting his property. I asked my informants if paying *lobola* puts married women in an inferior position, where she is seen as a man's property. Can a husband demand that his wife take care of all household chores, because *lobola* has been paid? Most of the adolescents said that this interpretation is wrong, and argued that *lobola* is about love and showing respect. In FG1 some girls said that house duties are a wife's responsibility regardless of *lobola*. Others said it is not like that, because now men and women have equal rights. In FG2 on the other hand, four out of five girls agreed that paying *lobola* place women in an inferior position, even though they had earlier said that they wanted *lobola* to be paid when they get married; *"You're right. When the man pay lobola, he's buying the woman to do everything for him [...] you must wash my clothes, you must, because he will tell you, I paid the lobola. now you are mine"* (FG2). One boy from the youth group, who was a school dropout, expressed the same view when we spoke about expectations to a future wife:

My wife, I expect her to respect me. And just like I've paid the *lobola* she is expected to almost do everything for me. Wash for me, cook for me, do all of those things for me, you know. Because when I paid the *lobola* for her, I bought her for my family. (i4)

On the other hand, a boy in FG4 strongly disagreed with my question, and said that if you treat your future wife like this she will leave you. He continued to say that it might have been like this earlier, but today women will not accept this treatment. And again, he underlined that *lobola* is about love, and a compensation to her parents from taking her away from the homestead.

Daly (2001) states that if a woman wants a divorce, her family has to pay back the *Lobola*, and this can place a woman in an inferior position in a marriage. In the chapter above, however, we can see that students argue that there is no divorce in a traditional marriage, and

if the marriage is not working, the wife can be sent home to her family's homestead, but cannot remarry. None of my informants mentioned that a woman's family has to repay the *lobola* if a woman leave her husband.

In summary, we can see that adolescents think *lobola* is important part of the marriage ritual. On one hand, *lobola* can be seen as a financial transaction, where the groom's family buy a woman's labour and her ability for childbirth. On the other hand, *lobola* has a symbolic value, and is a way of proving love and showing respect. A girl's virginity is most important in deciding the bridal price, something that can cause girls experience being subjected to social control. In one girls focus group, they agreed that the tradition of *lobola* give men a dominant position in marriage, and one boy in an interview came with a statement that suggest the same. But most of the adolescents that I interviewed, saw *lobola* as a sign of love and respect, and a way to create a good relationship between the families that are united through marriage. It is a way of building a family's social capital.

Even though the girls want *lobola* to be paid, we have seen that there are parts of the traditional marriage they do not accept. In the following chapter I will examine adolescents' attitudes towards polygamy.

5.2.4. Attitudes towards Polygamy

As mentioned above, polygamy is legal in a traditional marriage. In the first interview, I conducted I found out that my informant's father has six wives. She has around 15 siblings, and she does not know all of them. She said "*it's normal in Swaziland. I really don't know how I feel about it*" (i1). She pointed out some challenges connected to polygamy, such as it would be hard for a man to provide for that many children. She did not live with her father. She continued to say that of course most girls want to be the only one, but one can never know what will happen. If the man chose to take another wife, it is not that much a woman can do about it. However, as more and more women has become the breadwinner of the family she thinks this is about to change. Because as the woman has her own money, she also has more control in the family. Most of the adolescents that I interviewed saw polygamy as a bad practice, but their reasoning differed.

An important factor why adolescents saw polygamy as a bad practice was due to the transferring of HIV and aids. If parents die from diseases, it leads to more children becoming orphans. In the interview with Gloria from the school administration (i6), she mentioned that

many of their students come from child headed families, so it is likely that some of my informants are orphans. In most of the interviews this was the first argument that was mentioned against polygamy.

At the same time, however, there seems to be an acceptance in some of the interviews with male adolescents for having more than one girlfriend: *“Having many girlfriends is good, because it will give that insurance that a certain someone is satisfying my needs, so then I can pick that one. In that case I can see and determine that this one is better than this one”* (FG4). They did not think STDs is an argument against having many girlfriends. But some of the boys believed that a negative thing with having multiple partners, was that some girls started to act in the same way. One of the boys said that *“Since it is the fact that it is we that marry the girls, they are not supposed to take the structure from us.”* (FG4). It seems like they have been taught that polygamy can lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS, but for many of the boys it is still important to have many girlfriends to show that they are a man. In the citation above it is also clear that he who said it sees the male as the acting part in marrying a woman, while women are passive. In FG2 the girls claimed that all the boys in their school have many girlfriends, while the boys in FG3 contradicted this. The girls argued that boys did it for their ego, and that they are competing for most girlfriends. In addition, they thought boys are raised in a way that encourage them to have many girlfriends, because this shows that they are a man. When I asked the girls in FG1 about relationships they said *“it is impossible”*, *“almost all of them cheat!”* and *“they are not civilized!”*.

A second argument against polygamy, that was mentioned in all interviews with boys, are the challenges connected to the provider role for the husband. *“Men are not affluent enough to support their children from polygamous families, and the man will support the children from the favourite wife”* (i5). This was not mentioned in the interviews with girls. It seems like the boys want to achieve the ideal of a man through being a provider, and saw a polygamous marriage as a challenge to this. In many of the groups, they mentioned that polygamy might have been a good thing in the past, but not today, due to the lack of job opportunities and economic challenges it is not good.

A third argument that were mentioned in both girls' and boys' focus groups is that *“there is no peace and harmony in a polygamous family”* (FG1). A boy stated that polygamy *“can be dangerous if one wife is jealous on the other one”* (FG3). A girl pointed out that it could lead to family disputes, something that in turn can lead to witchcraft, while another girl mentioned

that the wives will always fight over the husband. In addition, both the girl focus groups mentioned the hierarchy among the wives: *“it’s not good [to be the second wife], because the first wife will harass me”* (FG2). They also thought it was a higher risk of women committing adultery in polygamous marriages *“because they see the husband will sleep with others, like the king”*. That they feel they are “allowed” to cheat can be because if a man can have many partners, the woman can as well, or because they feel betrayed and want revenge.

One of the most important reasons why girls was against polygamy is because *“it is just not right”* (FG1), and that because *“a person only has one heart”* (FG2). This attitude was expressed in some of the interviews at the male mentoring program, but not among the boys at school. In FG1 I asked what the girls would do if their future husband found a second wife:

3: I would leave him! Leave him!

2: go home!

4: divorce!

6: just go..

7: I would kick him. Hey mama

3: walk out on him.

7: I would cut away his private part, making him feel the pain.

Most of the girls that I spoke to in field conversations at the school expressed the same type of attitude. It is interesting to note that only one girl in the citation above say that she would divorce. This may be because some people still see divorce as an embarrassment for the woman’s family (see chapter 5.2.2.). The girls expressed a wish to be the only one. It is impossible for me to say if this is the general attitude among girls in this age group around Swaziland. All the girls that I interviewed, or spoke to about this attended secondary education, and expected to get a job in the formal sector. One of the teachers told me that her husband had been approached by the parents of a girl from the village that he originated from, asking if he would take their daughter as a second wife. The teacher said that this of course would not be acceptable for her, but it shows that it happens.

We have now looked at some of the arguments against polygamy, but some of the students also defended a polygamous marriage. One boy did not see it as beneficial, but he also mentioned that it was part of the culture, and should therefore be allowed (i3). Another boy

said that he would not say that he would only have one wife in the future (FG3). Furthermore, a third boy meant that it was good that polygamy was allowed because people could choose how they would live their life (FG4). In one girls' focus group, there was a discussion about the positive attributes to polygamy:

In polygamous families, they are usually happy, there is unity in the family. And the kids that grow up is looking out for one another. They know how to treat each other. Like, for example if a kid grows up in a family from a father and a mother, and one from a polygamous family, this one from a polygamous family know how to treat people, but this one believe that everything is mine. They don't know how to share (FG1).

Another girl in this group mentioned that it could be a good thing if a family had large fields, because there would be more people that could contribute to the workload. However, she summed up the discussion saying "*but, I would not advice it*".

We can see that there are many arguments against polygamy, but Nathi explained why he thought that it will be hard to get rid of polygamous marriage in Swaziland. He explained in a whisper that many men in high authority, such as priests, the chiefs, members of parliament and the king have many wives, and it causes those further down in the hierarchy of wanting a second wife, because it is seen as a status symbol. It shows that you have symbolic capital. He said that "*we are seen as respectable men if we have many wives*". Having more than one wife, and being a good provider for the wives, will make other people in society recognise your economic and social capital, and this will be transformed in to symbolic capital. In some of my field conversations with one or two girls, they would also mention the fact that the king has many wives is a challenge for gender equality. One of the girls said that because the king has so many wives, many Swazi men also wish to have many wives or girlfriends as well, because they look up to the monarch, and want what he has. According to Swazi law it is not allowed to publish any criticism about the ruling family (Freedomhouse, 2016), and many Swazis avoid criticising the king. The fact that some of my informants still chose to point at the king as a factor as to why it is hard to change some of the traditional customs, such as polygamy, shows that this is an important argument. This is in line with Feirmans's (2012) findings, who state that the king's actions influence the culture in Swaziland. My research is not able to answer to what extent my informants are influenced with the king's practices. However, during my fieldwork, I have heard more people criticise the king, than what I previously have done while visiting Swaziland. A couple of my informants raised the point

that he should prioritise his people through providing for orphans and build good schools and hospitals, instead of spending money on roadbuilding and conference centres. They often said that the king had bad advisors, and did not directly put the blame on the king.

5.3. Expectations to Married Life

Above we have looked at the legal framework surrounding a wedding, the different types of wedding, and traditional customs such as *lobola* and polygamy. We shall now go one step further, and see how my informants expect the role of a husband and a wife to be like. In my focus group interviews I asked both girls and boys what the expectations to a wife and a husband in Swaziland are. The expectations to a wife that were presented by the adolescents, limits a woman's freedom and time to pursue her own interests. In all the interviews, most informants saw the wife as the person who should take care of the homestead through cooking, cleaning and taking care of children. In FG1 the first argument was that a married woman is expected to be "*bearing children for the husband*" and "*increase the surname*". The way this is phrased indicates that this is something that a woman is supposed to do for her husband. It is the husband's surname that she will increase by giving him successors.

Even though the unemployment rates in 2013 was as high as 41.7 per cent, and women and youths are more affected, there are women who participate in the labour force (UNDAF, 2016, s. 9). Today girls have same access to education as boys, and the girls I interviewed want jobs in the formal sector, such as being a teacher, a doctor, a journalist or even a pilot. But it does not seem like this affect how the adolescents think the workload at home should be managed. In some of the interviews I asked if the husband and wife may share the duties of a household if both are employed, or if only she is employed. In FG 4, they suggested that if both are employed they should hire a maid to do the workload at home, or maybe a female relative could step in. If only the wife is employed, some boys replied that they could perform some of the duties at home, but not all. According to these boys, the wife would, in that case take advantage of his kindness, and use him, just because she is earning the money. Many boys mentioned that some women take advantage of men:

Interviewer: like, if you guys were not able to get a job, but she had?

2: and then she makes me cook?

Interviewer: yes.

4: then that is the advantage

8: yes, that's the advantage.

(FG4)

By taking advantage they meant that the wife makes him do the “wifely duties”, while she is the provider. They said this would make the husband a woman, and people in his community will laugh at him. This answer shows that a man that does household chores breaks the social norms in Swaziland of how to perform the masculine gender. Even though most of the boys did not see themselves participate in household chores, one boy in FG3, said he would not mind doing duties at home. *“we can help each other. If she is busy, I can cook, and if I'm busy, she can cook, and playing the role of being the mother at the homestead”* (FG3). Later in the interview, he also commented that *“if I have to do the cleaning, if I'm not working, and she is working, I will do it”* and the other members of that interview made some agreeing sounds. One of the boys in FG4 also expressed that he could participate in some of the workload at home *“because in that way, someone who will do his duties, will not overrun someone else's rights.”* (FG4). This shows that even though a majority of the boys see household chores as a task for women, there are some exceptions as well.

Even though some boys said they could help with household chores, everyone saw childcare as a task for females. When I asked the boys in FG3 if they expected their future partner to stay at home when they had children, all of them said yes. One of the boys expanded on it by saying *“I can allow her to stay at home with the child for several months, but after the child has grown, she must go and work. If we have to find a nanny, we will, so that she can continue her career.”* In one way, this boy thinks it is important that his future wife can continue her career, but at the same time, he shows a patriarchal way of thinking, through saying that he can allow her to stay at home. The fact that it is seen as a woman's task to take care of children became even more obvious when I asked the boys in FG4 if it would be acceptable for a man to change nappies:

I think that if you mention that to a friend you see... Maybe I'm a boy and I say “eish I'm from home” “what do you do at home?” “eish, I changed my sister's nappy” I'm gonna be the topic! They will talk bad about me! That's why! We won't do things like that as a boy, because, hey, our friends will make fun of us the whole day. Such that they end up provoking you! They will keep on mentioning that even if you are sad, they will not stop you see. (FG4)

If a man or a boy participate in some house chores, such as child care, it seems like most of the students think he is losing his symbolic capital. Through acting against the social norms, he becomes someone to make fun of. In the citation above we can see that the boy experience pressure by his peers, not to change nappies on his smaller siblings.

In FG2 I told the girls that my husband and I share the workload evenly at home. Some of the girls reacted with disbelief, but others saw this as a good thing. One of the girls exclaimed that *“when you are married here in Swaziland, you get to do all the things!”* They said that when a man comes home from work he will only control the remote, or read the newspaper while he is waiting for the food. A girl expressed that *“every day he comes home from work, he will carry the newspaper, and you will carry everything for the family! Not even bread, but a newspaper.”* By this she points at how the man has entered a shop but he does not think of the needs of his family, but of his leisure time. Another girl added *“he’ll say, ey, I gave you money to buy food! I’m giving you all these things, so give me food”*. These girls show how men expect to sit down and relax as they come home from work, while women are expected to cook for her husband. The way this group spoke about men’s behaviour show that they do not like it. They saw it as unfair, and they thought that men only thought of their own needs and wants.

In FG1, some girls also expressed that it is a wife’s duties to cook and clean, but some of the participants disagreed. When I asked who did the cooking at their home, many of them said that they did, so their mothers could rest after a day at work. One of the girls said that her father sometimes cooks, but this was met with strong reactions from some of the other girls. One called it an abomination, and said that *“men don’t cook”*. Another girl added that *“They cook when they are alone, not when the wife is still alive or around”*. It was also mentioned that men cooking is seen as a bad omen in Swazi tradition. Only one boy in the focus group interviews, said that he cooked at home. His sister cooks on the weekdays, while he cooks and does other house chores during the weekend (FG3). He comes from a single parent household.

Even if both are working it seems like there is a clear division of labour in the household. This was also confirmed in conversations with female teachers. One of the teachers told me how she would always make enough dinner for the entire weekend, if she was going away to visit her parents. If she did not make food for her husband for the time that she was not home, he would go to a restaurant to eat. Furthermore, two working women I met at their workspace, told how their husband was not working. After a long day at work, they would go home, make

dinner, and take care of the household. I asked one of the women what the husband did all day. She said that he was just sitting around with other unemployed men.

5.3.1. Respect

Another important aspect of being a wife in Swaziland according to the adolescents is that a wife has to act respectfully. This was uttered in all the interviews. One boy said that *“The woman doesn’t have love, she only has respect. That’s why the most important thing is respect. If you respect me, I will love you right, so when I’m getting married with my future wife, I expect her to firstly respect me”* (i4). He continued to say that he did not mean that she should not voice her opinions, or be inferior, but;

I mean that she has to know her boundaries, she has to know her lifestyle. “I’m married to this guy, so for him to be taken as a good man in the community, I have to live this life.” By respecting yourself you’re making up my name and my manhood in the community. (i4)

Through acting in an honourable way, the wife contributes to a man’s symbolic capital. Her behaviour contributes to his reputation. She should show respect to her husband, to her in-laws and the elders in the community. It is normal in Swaziland that a wife moves to her husband’s homestead, and it is to his community that she must prove to respect her husband. As mentioned in chapter 5.2.3., some see women as men’s property, like Ansell (2001) found in her study, if the men had paid lobola. This may explain why a woman’s actions is reflected on a man’s symbolic capital. If a woman misbehaves, or does not perform her gender correctly, a man might be seen as weak, and not able to control his wife.

Some of the adolescents said that a way of showing respect, is to be submissive, and even *“when the man comes home from work late, maybe even he’s been out with his friends, you don’t ask him anything!”* (FG2). The wife should not shout at the husband if she is angry with him, but rather always be supportive of him, always be honest and, of course, not commit adultery. Some of the boys also emphasised that she must go to church, and not be talkative, but look adorable. All these elements create a narrow prototype for a woman. A wife is expected to be as innocent and as “ladylike” as possible. This idea a girl being a “lady” is also visible in their daily language. Both teachers and students would usually say “lady” or young lady” instead of “girl”. In addition, through speaking to the adolescents, it seems like they have an idea of that a good wife’s place is in the kitchen, and her duty is to bear children for

the husband. Moreover, her physical appearance is of significance, she is expected to look adorable, but respectable.

5.3.2. The Husband

In my material, there were many expectations communicated around being a husband as well. As I have mentioned earlier, the open questionnaire answers from teachers show that men are expected to be the provider for a family and head of household. The students mentioned other expectations as well. The first expectation that was expressed by both girls and boys was that a husband must pay *lobola*. As mentioned above, the bridal price is an important part of the Swazi culture. It shows respect to the in-laws and that a man values his wife. The boys also emphasised that a man is supposed to be the leader of a family. While some boys said that a man ought to be the leader because it is their culture, others used Christianity to show why men should have a dominant position in the family; “*Adam was born first, so that is why we should rule you see*” (FG4). Some of the girls in FG2 also saw the man as the head of a household; “*the Bible say that a man has to rule the woman*”, but one girl underlined that “*you have to respect each other*” and that the husband should not abuse his role as the head of the family. One of the girls in FG2 did not want to get married, because of this idea of a man as the leader in the family;

Once you get married it’s like the man owns you. Everything you do, you have to let him know. Everything you want to do, like go and buy your parents something that you like, he be like, why did you take our money now? Like when you’re single, you just do what you want. Not being judged by someone. (FG2)

In her opinion men act like they own their wife, and in the role of head of household, they control the family’s income.

For many of the girls, the most important qualities in a future husband is that he is loving and caring, respect them and treat them properly. They would also like him to be handsome, kind and a proper Christian (FG1). The girls in FG2 underlined that it is important that he is not abusive. They said that many women in Swaziland experience abuse in different forms such as verbal, physical and sexual abuse (See chapter 5.5.). One of the girls also said that it is important to her that he is not a drunk. The fact that they felt the need to underline they did not want a man who physically or psychologically mistreats them, when I asked how they want their future husband to be like, shows that this is an issue in Swaziland.

In the same way as women should be respectful, for most of the boys, an important aspect of being a man, is to be respected. In FG3 the boys spoke of what they thought it meant to be a man. One boy mentioned that traditionally it was important to be rich *“Have cows, a big home, and you have more than one wife, in that way, you become respected”* (FG3). In other words, traditionally, economic capital was important to achieve symbolic capital. In chapter 5.2.4. Nathi explained how having more than one wife still can contribute to a man’s symbolic capital. However, the boys in FG3 thought it has changed today to some extent. Today, they argued that a man must do all his responsibilities, such as care for his family and respect other members of the community to achieve respect (FG3). The way these boys believe they will gain respect, may contribute to men of their generation not to abandon wife and children.

5.3.3. Who Has the Power/Money?

Throughout the conversations in the field, it seems like marriage is an area where traditional and modern ideas clash. Even though boys that I spoke to initially were positive to gender equality, they would not like to give away their marital powers when they get married. Most of them see a man as a leader of a household. The way they use the term respect is placing women in an inferior position. Even though most were positive to women being a part of the workforce, many expressed that if she earned more money than they did, it could lead to lack of respect for the husband.

In addition, household chores seem to be a woman’s domain. A few students expressed ideas of gender equality in the household as well, but the majority saw house chores as a woman’s task. The fact that one of the girls thought that a man who cooked is an abomination, or that a boy say that if he changes a nappy on his smaller siblings, everyone will laugh of him, show how strong the gender norms are in Swaziland. If women expect a man to contribute at home, boys think the woman is taking advantage of her husband. I met the phrase “take advantage” in all my interviews with boys. This wording creates a narrative of women wanting equality inside the household, as egoistic and abusing. In some interviews, I asked if men took advantage of women, if they expected women to do all the household duties. They disagreed saying that this is the norm, and a part of being a woman. In my material, marriage seem to be an arena where most of the girls want more equality, while the boys want to keep the traditional gender norms. This became evident as we spoke about the relation between money and power in a marriage.

Nathi, the youth leader, explained how it would be for a man, if his wife was the provider of the family:

As much as we are trying to readdress that, trying to redefine masculinity, but it is a trouble. There's a lot of struggle. Even a girl, she would tell you, you're not a man. "You are asking for my money. I'm taking care of the children, and I'm also taking care of you." And even you as a man, don't feel like a man really. So, we have a lot of cultural troubles. Unfortunately, you don't feel like a real man. (i2)

In his point of view, a man that cannot provide for his family, and has to rely on his wife's income, will not be respected by his partner, and he will not feel like a real man. This shows how important it is to be a provider in the masculine prototype in Swaziland.

The boys in FG3 firstly said that they would not mind if their future wife earned more money than them. However, one of the boys underlined that his future wife must "*stay under my arm, as my wife*" (FG3). By this statement he meant that his future wife must respect him as the head of household. The other boys agreed emphasising the importance of respect. Further out in the discussion, one boy said he would not be comfortable if his wife earned more than him, because "*even the bible say that a man is the leader of the family. So, if the woman earns more money, if the wife earns more money than the husband, that wife will not respect her husband because she has more money than him.*" (FG3). This statement clearly shows that in his point of view, there is a correlation between who has the money and who is the leader of a household. Some of the boys from the youth club agreed with this sentiment, saying that if their wife earned more money than them, she would take away his manhood. One of the boys said it would be like "*you're pulling out some of my strength, so me, I will not be respected. [...] When the woman takes your duties, then you become the woman*" (i3).

Almost all the girls participating in the focus group interviews underlined that they wish to be a breadwinner for their future family. The girls in FG1 described how it was important to them to have their own income. Through having their own income, they think they will achieve a greater level of freedom in their adult life. According to Gloria, this is not the case for all married women. She said that "*We have some cases whereby the woman get payed; the money will be given to the husband. Because the husband is believed to be the head of the family*" (i6).

Moreover, the girls underlined that they would not be comfortable if only their future husband had an income and forcing them to be dependent on a man. The girls continued saying that if the husband is the only one with an income “*your husband may use that to his advantage*” (FG1) and believed it could be that the wife “*just need to bow before him always*” (FG1), meaning that she would be in an inferior position, because she always must ask permission from her husband to spend money. In their opinion, if they do not have their own income, a man may use this to control his wife. Furthermore, they thought that a man could “*run away, having many girlfriends*” and use his money on the girlfriends, instead of his wife and children, and a wife should therefore not rely only on a husband’s income.

In FG2, some girls said that if they earned more money than their future husband, it could be an issue. According to them, some men will be “*jealous of your money*” and “*feel belittled when the woman gets higher income than him*” (FG2). The girls continued telling me that some old people do not think women should take higher education and work, because that would provide women with more knowledge, and their own income. Since Swaziland is a country with patriarchal traditions (Brear and Bessarab, 2012), men are used to having power over women. Through education and access to the labour market, however, women increase their cultural and economic capital and this can in turn can give them more independency from men.

In the adolescents’ opinion, money seems to equal freedom and power. If a woman earns more money than her husband, this seems to challenge his role as a leader of the household. While girls saw having their own income as a way to gain more freedom in their adult life, the boys thought that this could lead to a lack of respect from women to their husbands. All the girls that participated in focus group interviews wanted to be a provider for their future family. They argued that through earning their own money, the partnership would be more balanced. One of the girls even expressed that she does not want to be married, because she does not want to be controlled by a man. The way the male adolescents describe their views on who is the breadwinner for the family, suggest that when a woman is the breadwinner, she can become disrespectful and take advantage of her husband, and the husband can feel belittled. On the other hand, when a man is the breadwinner, and can provide for his family, he will gain respect, and fulfil the role as the leader of the homestead.

5.4. “They don’t want the name sugar daddies; they use the name blessers”

We have seen that some men may feel that their position and authority is challenged because women enter the labour force and earn their own money. In this section, we will look closer at a form of relationship, where men have most of the power and an economic overhand. In my first class with Form 2 in Life Skills, we talked about peer pressure. After a class discussion about what peer pressure was, I divided them into groups and they should make a role play that showed a situation where adolescents in Swaziland experienced peer pressure. Two out of four groups that performed in front of the class had made a roleplay about blessers. In one of the groups a girl suddenly had everything she wanted of money, clothing, shoes and so on. The other girls wanted the same, but realised that she had a fifty-year-old blesser. Some in the group tried to talk her out of this type of relationship, while others were tempted by the money and gifts that she received. Through the reactions of the other students it seems like this is a current issue that many girls face.

A blesser is a man who give gifts or money to girls for sexual favours. In the literature, it is often referred to as transactional sex, but the students at the school called them blessers. In a questionnaire from 2014, 14,5 per cent of women between the age of 15-24 reported that they had had sex with a man that was 10 years or older (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). Since having a blesser is seen by many as something negative, it might be an under-reported phenomenon. The name blesser can indicate that all your problems are solved if you can find an older man that can provide for you. However, as one of the girls put it, *“I don’t think they are blessers, they are cursers”* (FG1). In both focus groups with girls, they all agreed that there are a lot of blessers. According to the girls, there are students from Form 1-5 who engage in transactional sex. The girls offered three different explanations for why some of their peers engage in this type of relationships, namely poverty, peer pressure and the need for attention. The first two explanations are the same explanations that Cockcroft et.al. (2010) found in their study. They also found that in urban areas girls engage in transactional sex because of peer pressure, while in rural areas girls engage in transactional sex because of basic need. In the semi-urban area where I conducted my research, both explanations seem to be present. In the following paragraphs, we will look closer at the female students’ explanations of why some girls have blessers.

The first explanation was due to poverty; *“it’s because some girls lack money, maybe at their homesteads. Then they might feel good or comfortable when they, when they are being*

provided for by their sugar daddies.” (FG1). Another girl expressed that *“sometimes they must take care of their parents, who are ill at home. And they [the blessers] are more caring than boys.”* (FG2). The fact that she says that the blesser is more caring than a boy her own age, may be because a blesser can take care of a girl in an economic sense, while the boys the same age cannot. According to Gloria it is a common reason for girls to drop out of school to take care of their sick parents (i6). This is also in agreement with Poulsen’s (2006) findings. On the other hand, there are many girls that see education as the only way to better their situation in life. One of the girls said that if a girl’s parents are ill or if she is the leader of a child headed household, she might not see another solution than to get a blesser, to be able to continue her education:

I think they don’t [see another solution], because they cannot work while they go to school. Maybe there’s no money to start a business, and they might have to quit school, so they have to go to the blessers, their older boyfriends. I think that’s the best way for them to get money.
(FG2)

In this explanation, a view of a female as a caring person who should take responsibility of the homestead is also integrated. The daughter is expected to care for the sick parents, or take care of the younger siblings, not the son. In addition, a girl in Form 2 that visited me in my office, expressed that some parents might put pressure on their daughters to get a blesser through questions such as “what shall we eat today?”, implying that it is the daughter’s responsibility to ensure food for the family.

The second explanation that both focus groups offered was that peer pressure could lead to blessers: *“peer pressure among us, wanting things that you cannot afford can lead you to blessers”* (FG1). They mentioned that if they saw friends having money to buy what they wanted, it could be tempting to act in the same way. At the same time, they spoke of those who entered these types of relationships in a negative way. One of the girls said *“the girls that work in the industry, in Matsapa, they do this thing, they have a boyfriend who pay rent, food, another boyfriend, clothes, airtime, transport, many, many boyfriends”*. She said it in a way that indicated that the girls who attended school was better than those in the industries, and another girl replied *“they are just prostitutes”* (FG1). They also saw it as dangerous to enter in to this type of relationship due to diseases, and the girls who had a blesser was seen as home wreckers, since the blesser is often a married man. It is the girl who is described as a home wrecker, and not the unfaithful man. One way of explaining the negative attitudes

towards having blessers can be due to the fact that it contradicts with what is seen as a female prototype. An unmarried woman is not supposed to have many sexual partners, but stay a virgin. This view is probably reinforced because the school promote no sex before marriage, because many girls drop out of school due to pregnancy, and there is a high number of HIV-positive people in Swaziland.

The third explanation that was voiced is the need for attention and compliments. *“Sometimes you find that the blesser gives you the best attention you want”* one girl said. Some of the girls said that they never heard that they were beautiful or felt any self-value at home;

sometimes your mother at home doesn't tell you that you are beautiful, or that she loves you, and then the blesser will tell you “ooh, you look beautiful, I love you too much” you know. That's the attention you don't get at home. (FG1)

One of the teachers explained why girls wanted relationships with older men in the same way. She said that many girls have low self-esteem and would go far to feel loved. This explanation suggests that the blesser perhaps becomes a substitute for lacking parental care and love.

The teacher continued to say that some men might become blessers today, because women their own age do not accept the same treatment today, as they did before. In the relationship between a blesser and a young girl the man will have much more control because of money and the age difference. In the interviews with boys we did not directly mention blessers, but some of the boys mentioned that the girls would only go after boys with money, and accused girls for choosing a partner based on economy, and not love.

Brear and Bessarab (2012) say transactional sexual relationships can increase intimate partner violence. In the next section I will discuss the harassment of girls and the issue of gender based violence.

5.5. Harassment and Gender Based Violence

As a background on gender based violence in Swaziland, I will first look at how the juridical system handle these issues, and thereafter examine this topic in my material. The definition of rape in the common law is non-consensual penetration of vagina by a penis (Amnesty International, 2010). This is a very narrow definition. In addition, in the Girls' and Women's

Protection Act from 1920, the accuser can argue that the abused girl appeared to be over 16, or that a woman seemed to be a prostitute, as a line of defence (Amnesty International, 2010). In a field conversation, a female student told about a woman who was raped. When the man had finished, he threw 20 rand at her, and in court he was freed, because she had taken the money.

Furthermore, there are no laws that criminalise marital rape, or any other form of domestic violence (Amnesty International, 2010). There are many people and organizations in Swaziland who continually work to get a new law, that will defend girls and women against gender based violence. The Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Bill (SODV) was established already in 2005 (Simelane, 2016), but has stalled in parliament, and was modified in 2015, and is by the beginning of 2017 still not approved in parliament (Simelane, 2017). According to *The Nation Swaziland* (10.01.2017) the reason why SODV has not been passed through parliament, is because there is a belief that it will conflict with Swazi culture and tradition. They continue to say that “*The belief based on manipulated cultural norms that a man cannot rape his wife, whom he paid lobola for and officially wedded, is still very strong.*” (The Nation Swaziland, 10.01.2017). The fact that the juridical system does not protect women against gender based violence, may be one of the reasons for the high occurrence in Swaziland. Around one in three females experience sexual violence before the age of 18 (UNDAF, 2016).

The issues around sexual violence is also present in my material. Many of the girls that I spoke to at school expressed that it was an issue that they are harassed by men on the street or in *kombis*⁴, especially if they are alone. They experience drunk men coming with suggestions to them. The drunk men will call at the girls, telling them that they are rich and can help them. One of the girls said that she usually ignores them, however, when she does, they start calling insults after her. If she sees drunk men, she will try to walk another way to avoid them. In FG1 one of the girls whispered that a neighbour had tried to rape her. She told her mother, who tried to speak with the man, but he did not listen and tried to rape her one more time. As a solution, the mother and daughter moved to family somewhere else. After this, another girl said that a man close to her homestead use to look at girls when they go to the toilet. One of

⁴ Mini-bus transport

the girls tried to explain men's behaviour through saying that they are provoked by girls wearing short skirts. Another girl continued "*our mothers believe that you should cover yourself, so that people should not fantasise about sleeping with you*" (FG1). However, many of the other girls in the group argued that what a woman is wearing is not a cause for rape. Some girls said that men would drink a small amount of alcohol and excuse their actions claiming that they were drunk. Another girl told that a relative of her was raped by her father, because he wanted to test if his daughter was a virgin. It was also mentioned that if the mother dies, or the father is not satisfied with his wife, he might start to abuse his daughters. The girls in this group saw sexual abuse inside a family as common.

They continued to say that they do not learn about harassment and gender based violence at school. Violence and sexual abuse in a homestead may be seen as *tibitendlu*, something you do not talk about. This cultural code may cause people not to report abuse occurring at a homestead. Instead, they believe the issue should be resolved inside the family, and those outside the family should not know about it. Few survivors of sexual abuse seek institutional help. Cases are rarely reported to the police, or taken to court. And even though there are organisations that offer counselling, there seems to be a barrier to seek help (Frisone, 2014). At the same time as many people seem to think it is difficult to address issues of sexual violence and abuse, many cases are reported through the media. The girls in FG1 said that they did not learn about gender based violence at school, but through newspapers and television.

In addition to sexual violence, there is also a large acceptance for men beating their wives. One in five women think men is justified in beating/hitting their wives for at least one of the following issues: "(1) she goes out without telling him, (2) she neglects the children, (3) she argues with him, (4) she refuses sex with him, (5) she burns the food" (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). This shows that a woman that fail to perform her gender in accordance with the social norms can risk to be physically punished by her husband. In addition, Nathi, thought if men failed as providers, this could lead to a violence spiral;

It causes anger in men, because they feel they are lesser men. Like a woman. So, to prove a point, they end up using violence. Trying to prove their masculinity like "I'm still a man", but deep inside they are affected by the fact that I'm not able to provide for myself, for my family for my girlfriend, so they end that side. (i2)

This statement agrees with Brear and Bessarab (2012), who state that when men are not able to perform the acts of the male gender, this may result in intimate partner violence. Because a man is not able to live up to the prototypical idea of what it means to be a man, he may resolve to extreme measures, like violence to prove his masculinity. Nathi continued to say that they try to redefine masculinity in the male youth group, but it is difficult. He said that even women will criticise a man if he must ask her for money, or in other ways does not fit the male prototype. One of the boys in the youth group, however, showed that the group has formed his future dreams:

In the future... I aspire to become a prosecutor, so that I can defend women's right, who can't defend them. Currently in Swaziland we are experiencing a lot of rape of women by men. So, I want to help women to protect their rights, because they are looked upon, traditionally they are looked upon as they are inferior. (i5)

He expressed that during his time in the male youth group, he has learned about gender equality, and he wish to ensure equal rights for women.

Gloria also confirmed that there are many cases of abuse against women, but she separated women into two groups, those who are educated, and those who are not educated. She said that *"those that are not educated, they face emotional abuse, physical abuse"* (i6). She thought that the reason why women experienced abuse from their spouse is because *"men still believe that they have more power than the ladies"* (i6), and continued to explain how women are advised to take a husband that are 10, or even 15 years older than they are, and the age-difference will give the husband power over the wife. 32,5 per cent of girls between 15-19, and 22 per cent of girls between 20-24, who were married reported that their spouse was 10 or more years older than them (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). Later, in the interview, Gloria described educated women as liberated. They have *"liberated themselves from all the stigmas, all the norms of the society"* (i6). In her point of view, education is a way to achieve gender equality. As women take higher education they will increase both their cultural and social capital, which also can be converted into economic capital. However, only 38 per cent of females and 31 per cent of males enrolled in secondary education, and at tertiary level, the enrolment is as low as 5 per cent for both genders (World Economic forum, 2016).

Above, we have seen that Swaziland struggles with girls experiencing harassment, and that gender based violence is a great problem in Swaziland. In addition, their legislations do not protect women against abuse. In the next section I will examine adolescents' future dreams. Many girls appear to agree with Gloria, and view education as a way to achieve more freedom in their adult life.

5.6. Future Dreams

Many adolescents have dreams and hopes towards a better future. Through looking at adolescents' future dreams, we can compare the future boys and girls imagine for themselves, and if there is a difference in how they perceive their future. As a second part of the writing task I conducted with the Form 2 students, they were asked to write how they wished their life to be in ten years from today. Not all the students had enough time to finish this task, but 27 girls and 11 boys handed in a text of how they imagined their future to be like. Additionally, the boys attending the youth group, and some teenage girls from homesteads close to where I lived during my stay in Swaziland, made drawings or wrote down ques about how their life is today, and how they desire their life to be in the future. In the drawings, we can see what they believe symbolise a successful future. When analysing the texts written by Form 2 students, I divided what they wrote in to different categories, namely: profession, family, material goods and other. We shall first look at what they hoped their future profession would be.

Certain professions appear from my material as expressions of what the girls dream to achieve. Medical doctor is the dominant profession, but also other jobs that yield high social status are mentioned, such as accountant, lawyer, pilot and one girl even wish to become the Minister for Education. It does not seem like they see their gender as a limitation when dreaming about their future profession. Most of the girls wrote that they wanted these professions to secure a high income, but some also gave idealistic reasons. One girl wants to become a lawyer to fight for women's rights, while another wants to fight for human rights in general. Some of the girls who want to become doctors also pointed to the fact that many people in Swaziland suffers from illness and they want to help improve their country. Not all girls wrote a specific profession, but wrote statements such as "*earn my own money*", "*a job so that life will be easy and so that we can survive in life*" and "*provider for the family*". It seems like it is important for these girls to have their own income, and not rely on a man to be

a provider for them and their future families. In addition, possessing a title such as a doctor or a lawyer, may be a way for girls to validate their symbolic capital. In chapter 5.3., we saw that boys expect their wife to be respectful, and they see it as important to be respected to be a proper man. Culturally, women may not have the same opportunities to gain symbolic capital, as men, because what a woman does for her family may be taken for granted and not appreciated and acknowledged. But through a prestigious profession, a woman's economic and cultural capital can be known and recognised by the society.

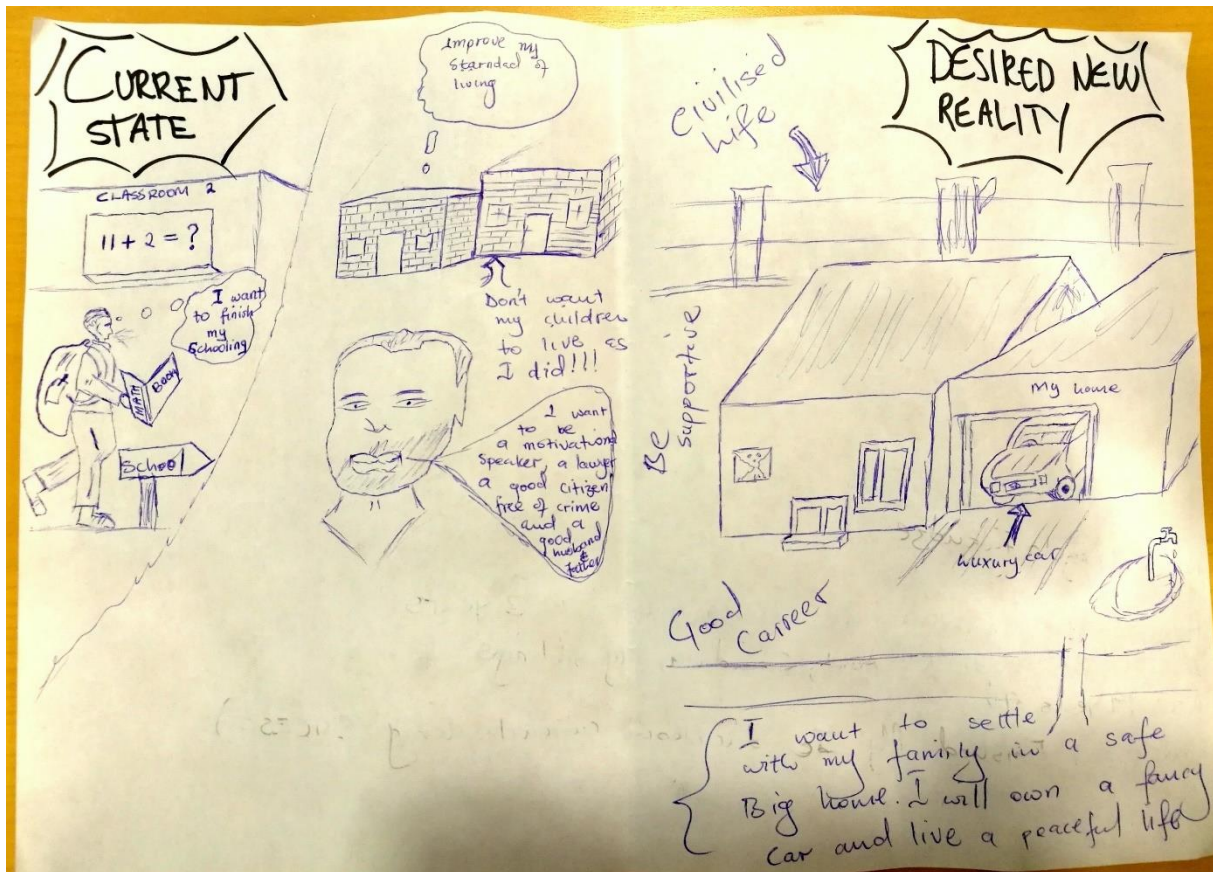
As well as the girls, many boys dream of professions that will secure a high income. But instead of writing "*earn my own money*", they wrote "*be rich*" or "*wealthy*". This may suggest that it is more natural for boys seeing themselves earn their own money in comparison with girls. Two of the boys wrote that they wished to have the same type of traditional high status professions, like the girls, but some boys had more far fetching dreams; two of them wish to become famous football players in premier league, and another two wish to have a music career producing Deep house music. Only one boy wrote an idealistic reason for the choice of profession he wants. He wants to become a police man to help reduce drug abuse among teenagers in Swaziland. In contrast to the other boys, one boy had a gloomy view of his opportunities in Swaziland. He wrote that he wished to migrate due to lack of opportunities in Swaziland. Some of the girls also mentioned that they wished to move "overseas" meaning Europe or the United States, but this boy was the only person that mentioned the lack of opportunities in Swaziland when he envisioned his future.

Some contrasts appear in the texts written by girls as compared with boys. While only 1 boy wrote how he imagined his future family to be, 22 girls described their future family. Even though most girls picture themselves having their own income, many girls explained that they want a husband who may "*take care of*" them. One girl wrote that she wants to get married after receiving five salaries, so that she can use her first salaries to improve the lifestyle of her own family before getting married. Some of the other girls echoed this sentiment. This may suggest that they expect less freedom in how they can spend their salaries after being married. In accordance with a view I met in field conversations, some of the girls write that they do not want to marry a Swazi man, because they do not think they are trustworthy. Almost all the girls wrote that they wished to have two or four children, and they hoped to have an equal number of girl and boy children. Some of the girls think that two children are enough, because they want to be able to ensure their children an economically safe future.

Both girls and boys hope to acquire material goods such as a large house and fancy cars. To have a large house and fancy cars is a way of turning economic capital into symbolic capital. This may be because they see people with high status in society, such as members of the royal family and members of parliament driving in expensive cars, and living a luxurious life, while many students grow up in brick huts. While the boys write that they want a big house, the girls write that they want their “*own house*”. I cannot answer if they meant that they want to own a house, or live in a house that they do not share with other relatives. But one of the girls underlined that she wants to “*own something, like having my own house*”.

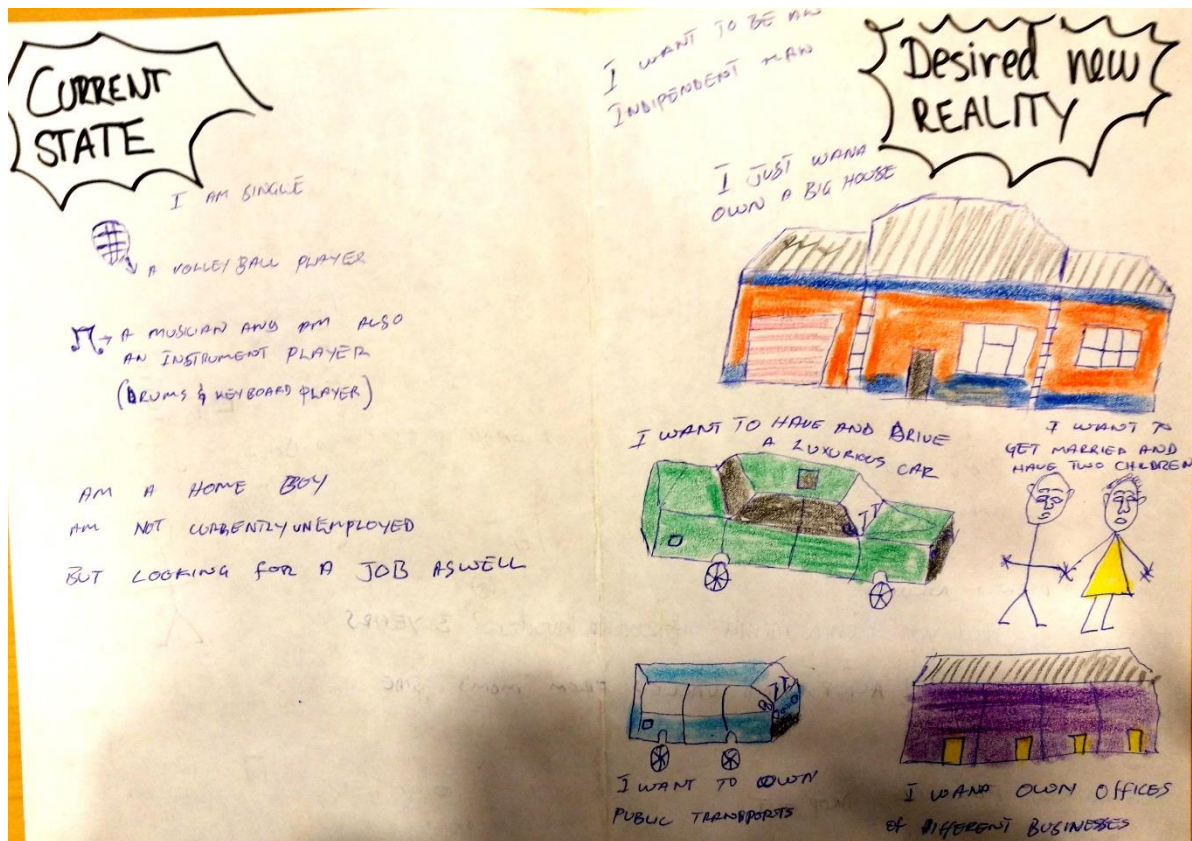
In addition to dream of their future profession, family and marital goods, some students, especially girls, wish to travel to other countries, and learn about different cultures. A large number of students also write that they want to become successful and rich, so that they can help poor people, and especially orphans in Swaziland. Both girls and boys share this sentiment. This may be due to the fact that some of these students are orphans themselves, and rely on help from others. Moreover, in my material, we can see that to offer help to others seem to be important to establish your own position in society as well. Firstly, to help others will give a person social capital. They will create bonds to other people in the society, and if they one day find themselves in a position where they need help, they expect to receive it because they have helped others. In addition, through helping others, they will also achieve symbolic capital. Through giving back to society, the community will respect you. One of the boys write that he “*want people to see, appreciate and love my work*”.

The students I met outside school presented equal dreams and hopes. We shall now look at some of the drawings and texts they handed in to describe their present life, and how they want it to be in the future.



Picture 1 Drawing by boy from youth group (Private picture)

Picture 1 shows how a boy describe his present life, and how he imagines his future to be like. His present life is dominated by an urge to improve his life. He wants to finish his education, and write that he does not want his children to grow up in the same type of brick house that he lives in today. He wishes to have a “civilised life”. The civilised life is represented with a large house and a luxury car, something that many students also reported that they dreamed to possess. This suggest that to be civilised is to be rich. We can also see that this boy has drawn a fence around his property, and underline that he wants to settle with his family “in a safe big house”.



Picture 2 Drawing by boy from youth group

Picture 2 is drawn by a boy in his early twenties. He dropped out of school in Form 4. He is currently unemployed, but is looking for work. The first thing he writes on the page about his future, is that he wishes “to be an independent man”. He dreams about starting a family, having a large house and luxurious car. But in contrast to the students in Form 2, he does not plan to use higher education to achieve his goals. As an unemployed man in his twenties, he is well aware that there are few job opportunities in Swaziland. To achieve his future dreams, he wants to start his own business. He therefore wishes to own a public transport business and an office building.

The girls from the homesteads close to where I lived, also dreamt about big houses, luxurious cars and starting their own businesses. However, they mention some things that the boys did not mention. One girl points out that she lives in a house where she has many chores, and she dreams of a life where she has freedom of expression. Another girl claims that her mother loves her brother, more than the mother loves her. All the girls that I met outside school write that they want to find a “steady boyfriend”.

Through the youths' dreams about the future, we can see that girls dream to occupy high status professions, and they do not see their gender as a barrier. Furthermore, the girls wish to be providers for a future family, something that indicate that they do not want to rely on a man's income. When it comes to material goods, many of the girls write that they want their "own house". It is unclear if they want to own a house, or if they want a house away from their family's homestead. In contrast to the boys, more girls described how they wished their future family should be like. Both girls and boys put a great importance on having material goods, such as big houses and luxurious cars. As we can see in *picture 1* and *picture 2*, these material goods may be symbols of what is perceived as a civilized life.

5.7. Culture, and a Changing Society

During an RS class, students had a debate around the tradition of mourning in Swaziland. In a traditional marriage, a wife is supposed to mourn her husband for two years, and show this through cutting her hair, only wear black clothes and not remarry in this period. The teacher said that the period of mourning was not statutory anymore. The boys who defended a mourning period exclaimed "it's our culture", and continued arguing that the mourning period is part of what a woman agree to, when she marries. She must show respect to her dead husband's family and to the community. A girl who was against this tradition commented that men always use culture as a defence, and continued saying that a woman cannot put her life on hold for two years. This debate is one example of how culture is used as an argument against change. Above, we have seen the same argument mentioned, when I asked informants about patriarchal family structure, *lobola* or polygamy.

The way some students speak about culture suggest that it is not changeable. Some students would praise the culture, while others accepted it. Some of the girls that handed in student texts write that they love their culture, and especially like attending the *Umhlanga*, a ceremony where all virgins are supposed to dance in front of the king only covering their private parts, and traditionally, he can choose a new wife among the virgins. In contradiction to other gatherings in Swaziland, this is a gathering where girls are in focus. However, they are in focus because of their body, and they can become objects, for men to admire. Other girls that I spoke to uttered that they do not like the culture, especially in conversations about

polygamy. At the same time as some informants excused, or used culture as an argument as to why a custom should remain, they all acknowledged that Swaziland is in a process of change.

When teachers were asked about gender equality in Swaziland, three teachers mentioned their culture as a challenge. A Male teacher stated that many of *“our cultural beliefs do not encourage gender equality”* (T6). In a later question, he also thought that to achieve greater gender equality in Swaziland *“Our culture should be reviewed and adapted to the constitution of the land.”* He is raising the issue that we can see in chapter 5.2.1(Framework and Rights) and 5.5. (Harassment and Gender Based Violence). Swaziland has a progressive constitution that say all persons shall have equal rights. However, there are legislations that still discriminate against women. The SODV bill is an example of a new law that is still not passed due to parliament members who claim that the bill collides with Swazi culture, even though gender based violence is a massive issue in Swaziland. T8 shows how women are not allowed to stand up and speak in gatherings: *“In our communities and our culture still have the gender inequality. Women in most places are not given chances to address gatherings while standing, yet men do.”* The fact that women are not allowed to stand and speak, shows that they are perceived as inferior. In meetings women are supposed to take less space than men. Men on the other hand can stand up and take space and be an active part in the gathering.

One of the female teachers wrote that there is no gender equality in Swaziland, and explained why she thought so;

There is still a lot of resistance to gender equality due to misconceptions which emanate from the ideology that the female can never be equal to the male in every aspect, be it home or work environment. Gender based activists are labelled as a bad influence to other women, pushing others to usurp men’s authority endorsed by creation and culture. (T1)

In her view, religion and culture is used as arguments as to why men shall be in authority. We can see that the adolescents have used the very same arguments, when they describe their expectations to a future spouse, and when I have asked about issues such as household chores and the provider-role. She also comments on how gender activists are labelled as a bad influence to other women. During the *1 Billion Rising Revolution launch* that I attended, in the beginning of my research, the African Regional Coordinator said that women in Swaziland cannot wait for culture and traditions to change in Swaziland. They, as women,

must demand change today. I spoke to a female teacher that attended the meeting. She told that every time a gender activist was on television or on the radio, her husband used to turn it off.

Furthermore, a female restaurant owner showed the documentary “*Tibitendlu*” to her workers. In the first showing, there were only female workers, while in the other group there were men and women. In the first group, she told that the women had discussed gender based violence in an open way. In the second group, the men contradicted the documentary, stating that it gave a wrong impression of men in Swaziland, while the women were quiet. This suggest that in a discussion with both men and women present, men become the acting part, while women remain passive, quiet and occupying less space compared to men.

This suggest that women in Swaziland are victims of social control. If they are fighting for gender equality, they can be labelled as bad influence and be subjected to ostracism. In the experience of the restaurant owner we can see that women were comfortable speaking of issues concerning gender inequality when there were no men present, but when men were present, they controlled the conversation. At the same time, the fact that the *1 Billion Rising Revolution launch* was well attended by different groups of women and organisations fighting for gender equality, and had guests of honours such as the EU and US ambassador, and a member of parliament shows that there is a dialogue about women’s position in Swaziland. The member of parliament also addressed how Christianity is used by many men to solidify their dominant position in society. In his point of view, God created men first, but God saw that men needed women, because women are selfless and think beyond themselves.

The students that participated in the focus group interviews all stated that their culture is changing. Both girls’ focus groups said that Swaziland has been modernized now, because women are at work, and girl children are also learners. At the same time, when they explained why women could participate in the workforce, both groups said that aunts, or maids would “*clean and do the role of a wife*” (FG1). In Swaziland, it is normal to live close to your extended family. The students thought that if a wife is working fulltime, an unemployed female relative could help with the household chores. This shows that even though women enter the labour market, many still perceive household chores as woman’s work. At the same time, the need for maids, will ensure that a larger number of women have access to paid work. However, many women, working as maids, experience challenges. One of the groups that

participated in the *1Billion Rising Revolution* launch was the Domestic Workers' Union. A member told me that maids can experience abuse inside a household, and receives low wages.

Even though the girls participating in focus group interviews expressed that Swaziland is changing, the participants in FG1 expressed that in rural parts of Swaziland, the traditions are still standing strong. In FG 2, the girls thought that they needed more change to acquire gender equality. They argued that *"the way females are treated"* must change *"Because we are all people, so we have to treat each other equally"* (FG2). Another girl added that men had to learn how to take care of women. Even though there have been some changes, they blame the culture for lack of gender equality: *"in the culture, the culture must, because it started from the culture, to say that the men are bigger than the women, the culture has to change"* (FG2). These girls saw their "culture" as the opposite of a "modern lifestyle". They also thought that the culture was carried out in a larger extent in rural areas, in contrast to urban areas. At the same time, they thought that cultural norms still prevented gender equality all over Swaziland.

The male dominated focus group interviews also stated that society is changing. However, the attitude towards change was different. As we discussed traditional and civil-rites wedding, one of the boys in FG3 expressed *"but the problem is Swazis are losing their culture. Most of them are losing their culture and the respect is no longer there"* (FG3). Later in the interview, another boy stated that some of the changes in society are good, while others are bad. In the same way as the girls, he thought that the fact that both girls and boys are allowed education to be good, but he continued saying that *"some of them [girls], they lose respect, because they believe that they have rights, so they don't respect their elders and their culture because of their rights"* (FG3). Another boy expanded on this point *"they lose the respect for the adult, because they are staring to date, they spend more time with their boyfriend, not at home doing their duties"* (FG3), and according to the boys, this starts conflicts in the homesteads. These statements underline that the boys in FG3 see house chores as a women's duty, and emphasise that if a woman does not act according to society norms, she is disrespectful.

The informants in FG4 agreed that many young Swazis are losing their culture. A boy stated that *"our Swazi culture has been eliminated by maybe another language or other culture."* (FG4). Another boy added that he did not think it was good that Swazis are losing their culture *"because we end up losing everything due to the mostly based on these other, exotic cultures that are coming from the outside."* (FG4). Even though parts of Swazi culture and

calls for gender equality is not reconciliatory, this group looked at other aspects of their culture, such as their language, that is important for their identity. More and more people in Swaziland are fluent in English, and English is also used as an administrative language. Issues such as this, might explain why some adolescents are against the changes occurring in Swaziland. These informants also saw one of the main reasons for the dissolution of their culture as a result of many from their parents' generation, "*people who knew the culture*", passing away early due to illness. At the same time, Christianity has a strong foothold in Swaziland, and can challenge some traditions, such as polygamy. One of the girls in FG4 said that many young people turn to Christianity, instead of their traditional culture, because Christianity is "documented down" while their traditional culture is not.

In field conversations with girls, many of them commented that men in Swaziland are not civilised, or that they are primitive. By these comments they meant that men in Swaziland are not trustworthy, because many of them are not monogamous. There seems to be an attitude among men that it is acceptable to have more than one girlfriend. Even though there is not a high per centage in polygamous marriages, the tradition still appears to colour men's behaviour. Some uttered that they wanted a white boyfriend, because they thought relationships between white people focused on love and trust. This idea of a "white" relationship is probably shaped through what they see on television.

The general picture in my material is that boys are more positive to the Swazi culture and traditions, than girls. While many boys expressed that it is important to preserve their culture, as they face foreign impulses, many girls expressed that the culture has to change, because they see parts of the culture as oppressive towards women.

Throughout chapter 5, we have seen that there are clear expectations to men and women in Swaziland. The first part of my research question concerns whether youths think their gender structure their lives. When I asked directly, most students answered that gender will not structure their life, but in their views concerning marriage and family life, we see that women and men are expected to perform their genders differently. In many situations, men are the active part, while women are the passive part. In this chapter I have shown some parts of what it means to be a woman and a man in Swaziland. In the next chapter, I will examine gender equality at the school where I conducted my research.

6. A Gendered School?

The school where I conducted my research is a National High School placed in a semi-urban area in Swaziland. This is a public school. Secondary schools in Swaziland have five grades named Form 1-5. There are approximately 1000 students, with almost an equal number of girls and boys enrolled. The leadership at the school is represented with both women and men, and a small majority of teachers are women.

The ordinary classrooms⁵ are placed in brick buildings, and most of them do not have electricity. There is no insulation, and the temperature inside and outside is almost the same. The classrooms are furnished with chairs and desks for the students, and a chalkboard that the teacher can use in the front of the classroom. In addition, the school have some facilities such as a library and a computer room. However, the library does not contain a great variety of books. One of the shelves only contained English dictionaries. When I looked for additional sources in history, apart from the subject book, I could not find anything in the library. The computer room is rarely used by students. There is access to internet there, but as internet is very expensive in Swaziland, students do not have access. In the administration building teachers have access to a copying machine.

In this chapter, we will look at how teachers and students view gender equality at school. I will start this chapter by describing my second day at the school.

6.1. Prize Giving Day

During my second day at school, there was a Prize Giving Day, an important celebration at school. In many ways, this was my introduction to the school, and it showed different aspects connected to gender. During the morning, as I walked around, looking at the preparations, I saw that there were five female teachers, and only one male teacher preparing food. All the students who helped with cooking were girls. The other students helped preparing the schoolyard, or sat under trees, waiting for the celebration to start.

⁵ Their main classroom where they are taught languages, mathematics, history, RS, and other theoretical subjects. Some classrooms are built for specific subjects, such as the classroom for design and technology, where they use machines to build things, or Home Economics, where they have sowing machines.

The entire school was gathered in the school yard, under huge tents, protecting us against the burning sun. The five students that performed best in each subject received prizes. Speeches were made and students stood for the entertainment. A majority of the students who received prizes at the ceremony were girls. They excelled by taking all five prizes in *English*, and took four out of five prizes in *Home Economics*, *Literature in English* and *History*. The boys took most prizes in subjects such as *Design and Technology*, and *IT*.

The first speech that was made during the festivities, was made by the Head Girl⁶, who welcomed the guests from the schoolboard. In headmaster's speech, he focused on high dropout rates, and saw that as the most important challenge for the school. He said that there are too many students dropping out because of pregnancy, but there are also other reasons such as drug-abuse⁷, and challenges connected to paying school fees. He informed that because of free primary school, there are more applicants for secondary education, and if the school shall be able to build new classrooms to accommodate for the increased student number, they are dependent on students paying what they owe the school.

The last post on the program was a speech by the guest of honour, who is a successful female university professor. She has the same background as the students, but through her achievements at school, she has had the opportunity study at well-known universities in both USA and Europe. She used much of her speech to appeal to girl students. Almost all the student-performances during the day had only included boys. She asked "why are there no girls performing at stage?" and continued to say that "you don't wait for a boy to lead you!". At the end of the speech, she gave students advice, asking them to utilize their time, and told them that sex was good, but they should wait until the right time and until they had found the right person. It did not seem like the students were used to hear an adult saying something positive about sex. During the next days, many students commented that she had said that sex was good, but did not seem to remember the rest of her statement.

During Prize Giving Day, my pre-established assumptions became clear to me, firstly because I was surprised that girls won the majority of prizes. Furthermore, the school had chosen a successful woman as the Guest of Honour, who focused much of her speech on girls, and how

⁶ The school had a British system with prefects and head boy and girl. There was an equal number of girls and boys being prefects.

⁷ He underlined that there are also cases of girls dropping out of school due to drug abuse.

they can achieve accomplishments in academia. During this day, some of my pre-established expectations were discarded, and this enabled me to listen to teachers and students' point of view on gender equality in a more open way.

6.2. Teachers Point of View

When I asked Gloria from the school administration if girls and boys have the same opportunities in Swaziland today, she answered “*yes, in education, yes. The same opportunities.*” (i6). She stated that there is gender equality at school. Additionally, she said that teachers at school believe “*everything that a boy can do, a girl can do too. So, at school we expect that when they go to colleges, they have the same opportunities for both boys and girls. No difference*” (i6). In her point of view the parents also supported and encouraged their children equally; “*They don't prioritise. If I have 1000 [emalangeni], let me pay for the boy. No. Yeah, they get equal opportunities at home*” (i6). She underlined that they have approximately equal numbers of boy and girl students, and that they do not prioritise boys over girls in the enrolment process. When they choose prefects, they “*make sure that we balance between boys and girls*” (i6).

Out of ten teachers that answered the open questionnaire, seven teachers argued that the school practice gender equality, while two teachers agreed that there is gender equality to a certain extent, and only one teacher thought there is no gender equality. The latter (T9, male) argued that males are discriminated against, because a majority of school-leadership and teachers are female. T5 (male) who thought there is gender equality at school, shared some of the same sentiment. After using the same arguments as Gloria, pointing to the fact that there is a fair mix among teachers and students, of both genders, he added that it “*has even begun tipping the scales to the opposite end*” (T5), but in contradiction with T9, he wrote that he thought it “*is quite pleasing to see happening*” (T5). As Alert's (2005) article points out, there are more male headmasters in Swaziland. The school is the first formal sector that girls will meet, and it may be beneficial for them to see women in leadership positions there. The school where I conducted my research has a male headmaster, but the other members of the leadership are female.

The other teachers that stated there is gender equality at school, used different arguments. A female teacher wrote “*in terms of providing knowledge to students, teachers do that equally to the students. In terms of punishing them, all the students are punished equally*” (T3). T6

(male) argued in the same way, saying that “*Females and males are given the same tasks in all activities*”. T4 (female) added that students can choose what subjects they want, play any sports they like, and all students must wear uniforms. This was echoed by T8 (male), who said that all students have equal opportunities and “*they learn all the subjects regardless of their gender.*”

Both teachers who argued that gender equality prevails to some extent, were females. T1, a woman in her late 40s mentioned that in the past there was not gender equality at school, and saw this as a result of the patriarchal culture. She commented that some of the subjects students can choose today are “*designed as male or female “oriented”*”, and mentioned Home Economics and Design and Technology as examples. Gloria also pointed out that students chose some subjects in gendered ways. There are almost only girls studying *Home economics*, because the students still see it as “a woman’s thing” (i6). While *Design and technology* is dominated by boys. Gloria underlined that as a school they offer all students the same subjects.

In the interview with Gloria, she said that before there had been stigmas against girls doing well in subjects such as mathematics and science, but that they are moving past these stigmas, and she said many girls performed better in these subjects than boys. It is true that both girls and boys won prizes in these subjects during the Prize Giving Day, but in field conversations with a male mathematics teacher and a female science teacher, they both expressed that they saw clear differences in girls’ and boys’ performances in these subjects. The science teacher told that in her experience, many girls are afraid of subjects like mathematics and science, and because of a lack in self-belief they underachieve in these subjects. The mathematics teacher taught a class in advanced mathematics in Form 4. He said that in the beginning of the year, there were girls attending this class, but throughout the year, almost all the girls had changed to an easier mathematics class, because they thought it was too hard for them to keep up in the advanced class.

Even though gender seems to influence the choice of subjects, T1 mentions there has been a shift in mentality lately, and points at “world trends” to explain why this shift has occurred. As an example, she mentions the “*emergence of renowned male fashion designers in African countries, including Swaziland*” (T1). Her example is quite interesting. Traditionally, textile work used to be a female profession, but through influences from other African countries, a

new profession has been acceptable for men to partake in, and she describes how norms in society are in change.

T2 (female, 30-35) believe that the school partly has achieved gender equality. In line with other teachers, she mentions that in the administration, there is gender balance. However, she thinks some learners still believe in patriarchal norms. According to her, there are some duties in the classroom that are performed by girls, and not by boys. She did not write what she refers to, but something that many students and teachers commented on when I asked about gender equality at school, is the fact that each Friday the lessons finish at noon, and girls will clean and apply polish in the classroom. In addition, she comments on the sitting arrangements in the classrooms, and how boys always sit in the back; *“They feel that being at the back shows authority over those who are in front.”* (T2). During my structured observations in classrooms, I also saw that there is a pattern of boys sitting in the back of the classroom, while girls sit in the front.

Nine out of ten teachers believed education contributes to more gender equality in Swaziland. They used two different ways of explaining how education contributes to gender equality. The first explanation is that education change people’s minds. They explained that that students would be exposed to cultures different from their own, with different set of norms. Education can open minds, expose students to modern thinking and *“it will enlighten the misunderstandings based on gender issues”* (T2). A male teacher added that education for all *“makes us aware of the capabilities of all citizens regardless of sex/gender”* (T6).

The second explanation that teachers used is that education for all will ensure men and women the same opportunities in Swaziland in the future. Many teachers mentioned that education will ensure equal access to university and job opportunities. One of the teachers emphasised that education will ensure women financial freedom *“they are able to stand up and support themselves financially and they also allowed to have higher positions because they are educated.”* (T3). The only teacher who believed education for all did not contribute to more gender equality argued that many girls fall out of the education system due to pregnancies. He also believed that to make sure boys and girls have the same opportunities, there should be separate schools for boys and girls (T9).

6.2.1. The Efforts of the School to Create More Gender Equality

The school is to some extent trying to create gender awareness through different means. Gloria explained that two-three times in a term, teachers divide students in gender separate groups to address them separately by teachers with the same gender. She said that they wish to empower the girls, and they *“tell them about neatness and how to keep themselves, most especially, we emphasize keeping their virginity. We also tell them about HIV/AIDS and the result of engaging in bad things such as love plays, and also warn them, the girls”* (i6). When she says love plays, she means sex. Sometimes the girls can ask the teachers questions during these gatherings as well. The most common questions are about menstruation: *“they have lot of myths about it, like if you use a tampon, will you eventually lose your virginity”* (i6). The male teachers address the boys *“about issues of HIV too, about issues of circumcision, about issues of neatness and how to respect girls. They are taught to respect women”* (i6). She also said that the police have visited the school to address learners concerning abuse, and told them how to report it and the different types of abuse. This shows that the school are trying to take a proactive role in addressing gender equality. However, the students who I interviewed said that they were not, or only rarely, addressed about issues concerning gender, or gender based violence. It may not be beneficial to address these issues during assembly in the mornings. The girls’ group and the boys’ group will roughly contain 500 students, and they all must stand while listening. Some students might have questions that they do not want to address in front of all their peers and those who stand in the back might not hear what the teachers say.

In addition, Life Skills education is a compulsory part of the national curriculum in Swaziland (OSISA, 2013), and a new syllabus was launched in 2015 (Nhlabatsi, 2015b). Since I was a substitute teacher in this subject in Form 2, the school lent me the teacher’s handbook, a booklet with information on different topics the subject contains, and planned lessons for each topic. One of the chapters in the teacher’s handbook is called “Health promotion”. This chapter covers physical, social and emotional changes associated with puberty, sexual abuse and how to report sexual abuse. Under the chapter about sexual abuse, the booklet also mention cultural norms that may lead to abuse of women. However, the Life Skills subject did not seem to be prioritised in the school where I conducted my research. The form 2’s had not had a teacher in this subject during the first and second term. As there is no final exam in the subject, teachers might not prioritise it, as much as science, language and history.

Some teachers think the school as an institution can contribute to more gender equality. The last question in the questionnaire that was given to the teachers was “how can there be created more gender equality in Swaziland, and would that be a good thing?”. Some teachers mentioned actions that happens outside school. Others, however, pointed to education as an important tool to achieve more gender equality. T1 thought that *“the government should intensify its strategy of educating society on gender equality, especially in rural communities”* and continued saying that this should be done through the education system. T2 believed that through educating youngsters on gender issues, they could change people’s views. However, she thought that gender issues also should be addressed at home, by community leaders and by those in authority in the country as well. A male teacher believed that there should be created programmes that *“promote mutual respect for both males and females”* (T5). However, he underlined that these programmes should be fair and balanced, and not have *“inflammatory content”*, but instead present and promote the advantages of gender equality. By an inflammatory content, he may mean a content that can challenge established cultural norms around issues such as family life and sexual behaviour. But if the school want to create more gender equality, they may have to challenge how gender is performed today. Through allowing students to perform gender differently than what the cultural norms dictate, the established gender prototypes can be changed.

6.3. Students’ Views

After an interview at the male youth group, one of the boys showed me a shortcut back home. He had been silent during the interview, but as we walked on a mud track between homesteads, he told how he had dropped out of school in 2014, after finishing Form 4. The reason why he could not continue schooling was due to lack of funds. During the past years, he has tried to find work and applied for scholarships, to be able to pay the school fees, in order to finish his secondary education. He also added that to gain financial aid in Swaziland, you needed to know someone in a good position. At the moment, he feels like his life is put on hold, because he sees education as the only way to create a better life for himself. Every adolescent that I spoke to both inside and outside school expressed that education was important to them. Most of them saw education as a tool to achieve a better future, and make them employable. The unemployment rates are high in Swaziland, and without an education, it is hard to find a well-paid job. In addition, the girls in FG2 discussed how education is

important for them, because it “*opens up your mind*” and protect youths “*from doing bad things*”. In interview 5, one of the informants told that there was an issue of “*uncool behaviour*” among boys who have dropped out of school, meaning that he thought that many boys start smoking marihuana or drink alcohol. In the following, I will examine how students perceive gender equality at school.

6.3.1. Equality at School

The adolescents stated that there is gender equality at school to a certain extent. But during the interviews, they also mentioned some areas where they thought they were treated differently because of their gender, and both boys and girls stated that teachers treated girls and boys differently.

Most of the girls in both focus group interviews said that teachers did not treat boys and girls in the same way. One of the girls said that male teachers take them for granted and continued saying; “*While the boys, they just hear their voices. Like when they’re saying no, they are listening to them, but with us ladies they take us for granted*” (FG2). In this girl’s point of view, female voices are not listened to in the classroom. This can be because men are in a greater extent expected to speak and be active, while women are expected to be more passive in gatherings with both males and females. In my classroom observations, I saw that when girls were asked to answer a question, they would be more confined than boys. They would not rise their voice so the entire class could hear what they said, and their body language suggested that they wished to occupy less space. When the same girls visited me in my office, and there were no boys present, they did not act in the same confined way. Another girl in FG1, also saw male teachers’ treatment of female students as unfair. She thought some male teachers verbally abused girls and told that one of their teachers usually “*say that boys are not dogs, whatwhatwhat, nowadays girls are uncivilised, we fight a lot*” (FG1). By this, she meant that the teacher thought that girls who answered back, and stood up for themselves are uncivilized. This point of view may be because according to the feminine prototype, girls and women are not supposed to talk back and raise their voices, but act respectfully towards men. On some occasions during my classroom observation, I saw a male teacher addressing girls in a negative way. On one occasion, he asked a group of girls in Form 4 “*Do you want to continue to Form 5?*”. When the girls said yes, the teacher exclaimed “*oh, that’s a shame*” in an ironic tone, insinuating that they would not be able to perform well enough in their exams

to continue to Form 5. Another girl in FG1 thought that some female teachers favour boys, and treat them more kindly than girls. In the classes I attended I did not observe this.

Five out of six boys from the youth group thought that teachers treated boys and girls in the same way. It is important to remember that those boys have attended different schools than the one I conducted my research. One boy said that today, all students are equal and “*there is no one that are humiliated because of his or her gender*” (i3). Another boy thought that “*there are some teachers that are taking sides*” (i4), but this could happen both ways. Some teachers favour girls, while other favour boys. One boy in i5 thought teachers treated boys and girls differently. He said that most of the time they would treat you according to your behaviour, but sometimes teachers expected boys to misbehave, and are therefore stricter with boys.

Both girls and boys at school saw the use of punishment to be unfair, and that their gender was punished more severely. Even though Article 29(2) of the constitution states that “A child shall not be subjected to abuse or torture or other cruel inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment subject to lawful and moderate chastisement for purposes of correction” (The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 2005), corporal punishment is not prohibited. Teachers commented that schools in Swaziland are not supposed to use corporal punishment anymore, but it is still in use at the school where I conducted my research. Teachers told me that positive discipline is a concept that has been introduced to teachers in Swaziland some years ago by the Ministry of Education. They went to conferences where speakers told them about the negative consequences of corporal punishment, and that schools in Swaziland should implement positive discipline. However, they did not learn strategies and methods of how to implement positive discipline, and in their experience, it is impossible to teach without the use of corporal punishment, or threaten to use corporal punishment. If they contacted parents, telling them that their child had misbehaved at school, parents would ask why the child had not been punished. Since many students do not have parents, they are not afraid of consequences at home either. I observed corporal punishment and on several occasions. I saw both girls and boys being hit with a stick on their buttocks. In the mornings, there was always a teacher by the main gate, ready to punish students that came too late. Many teachers carried a stick, but some only threatened to use it, and told me that the threat was enough to make students behave in the way they wanted. When I was teaching a Form 2 class, I experienced that it was difficult to lead the class. Some students came to me afterwards, telling me that

next time I should carry a stick, and then everyone would behave. During my observation in Form 4, I did not see any use of corporal punishment, or any teachers that threatened to use it.

In one of the focus group interviews with boys they all thought that girls and boys are treated differently, because boys are more often punished for wrong doings and the punishment is more severe: *“the teachers they don’t treat us the same, because when let me say, when we both didn’t write the homework, the teacher might beat me, more strokes, than the girl”* (FG3). This view was also uttered by one boy from the youth group; *“according to my experience in school, when it comes to corporal punishment girls are given lesser punishment than boys. Boys are given harder punishment”* (i5).

The girls, on the other hand, points to the fact that some boys can argue their way out of punishment *“they treat us differently, because when they want to beat us for example, when a boy refuses to be beaten it’s ok, but for a girl, daah!”* (FG2). This corresponds with what a male teacher told me. He said that sometimes boys would refuse being punished by female teachers, especially if it was a young female. Sometimes, he has experienced that female teachers have asked him for help to discipline male students. Another girl added that if boys speak in class, they will receive no punishment, but if girls behave in the same way, they will be punished. This point of view was also expressed in the other girls’ focus group: *“no, it is not equal, because in every class if a boy talk, there is not any punishment, but then, when it is a girl, there is punishment. Which means that they see boys as more powerful than girls.”* (FG1).

The girls also pointed to other issues that they meant caused an imbalance between girls and boys. Firstly, they mentioned the arrangement around uniforms. Girls have three different sets of uniforms: skirts, tunica and track suit, while boys only have two: regular uniform, and track suit. They must wear different uniforms according to the week-days. If they are wearing the wrong uniform, students are punished. On Thursdays, some students did not wear their uniform, or only used part of their uniform, combined with clothes they used outside school, because on Thursdays they did not risk corporal punishment for breaking the uniform code, but instead they must pay a fee of two emalangeneni, that would go to a fund for students that needed economic help. Especially some girls decided to use this opportunity. Showing

material goods such as fashion clothes seems to be one way some girls transferred economic capital to symbolic capital.

In the picture below, we can see students wearing their uniform. The girls are wearing skirts that reach them to their knees. The tunica girls wear is around the same length.



Picture 3, showing students walking home from school (private picture).

When I asked Gloria why girls have three sets of uniform, she said:

What can I say, you know girls, we felt that as a woman you know, as a woman, even at a home setup, you find that a woman has more clothes than the husband. I think we take it from there, that they need to change and they are much neater than the boys so even if they're wearing a skirt maybe tomorrow, we are just spicing up their look. (i6)

Her answer points to an idea of girls being feminine and liking to dress up and being supposed to be neat and pretty. Girls are only allowed to wear track suits on Wednesdays because they have sports in the afternoon. Furthermore, Gloria said they have to wear skirts because *“it's the king's school. All the schools that are named National schools they belong under the king's name”*. In the same way as women in the palaces or in meetings with a chief must cover their legs, the girls at school have to do the same. In contradiction with teachers,

however, students wore skirts that showed the knees. The teachers wore skirts that covered their knees.

Some girls expressed that they thought it was unfair that they could not wear pants at school. But one girl also explained to me, that this can in fact affect their learning environment “*you see, today it is cold, but we must wear the short skirts, but are not allowed tights*” (FG2). They are only allowed to wear tights during the winter-term. Even though this was during spring, I was wearing a woollen dress that day, because it was freezing, and there is no heating inside classrooms. In addition, the uniforms present an extra cost for girls who attend school compared to boys, because they need to buy three different types of uniforms instead of two types. Many students already have difficulties with paying the school fees, and even though some may view this additional cost as small, it still contributes to education being more expensive for girls. None of the boys commented on the uniforms.

A second issue that a few girls commented on in field conversations, is the fact that they have to clean the class rooms every Friday. In FG3, one of the boys comment that there is gender equality at school, but when it comes to the cleaning, it is still a female task. During the week, the boys will brush the classrooms, but when Friday comes and it shall be done properly, most students think only girls can do that.

One challenge that none of the female students or teachers commented on, was the challenge Mbatha (2011) observed in her research at two rural schools in Swaziland. She points at how lack of water, toilet facilities that does not offer privacy, and menstruation can cause girls to miss lessons or drop out of school (see chapter 2.2.2.). In comparison to the schools where she did her research, the school I did my fieldwork at, had water taps placed around the school yard, and there was no need for students to carry water to school. The school also had proper toilets for boys and girls. Furthermore, female students that could not afford sanitary pads, could go to the career guidance office, and receive sanitary pads for free. This was donated to the school. To hand out sanitary pads may seem like a small measure to achieve gender equality at school, but none of the female students that I spoke to, saw menstruation as a reason for absconding school.

Furthermore, none of the students mentioned that they thought the routines around the lunch serving as unjust. During lunch break, girls and boys are served lunch separately. Teachers said that this was because girls would not get food otherwise, because boys will pressure past

them. This suggest teachers view boys as the active and dominant, while girls are viewed as more passive.

Despite the challenges showed above, the students believed that there is gender equality at school to a certain extent. Some of my informants argued that the issues around gender equality originates from home.

6.3.2. "It starts at home"

Already in my first interview in Swaziland, I was told that issue of gender equality starts at home. As girls and boys grow up, parents/guardians have different expectations to girls and boys. As showed in chapter 5, there are clear prototypical ideas connected to gender in Swaziland. In my first interview, I was told;

But it starts at home. You know girls aren't really supported in education and everything. So it's the boys that are really taken to school and educated and everything because they are supposed to be the leaders and everything like that. So, it should be hard for girls to go to school. (i1).

She thinks that girls are not supported in the same way as boys are in their education. This contradicts with a statement from Gloria, saying that parents do not prioritise boys over girls (i6). However, Gloria focused on the economic support through paying school fees. There are other ways of showing support in adolescents' education, such as giving them time to do their homework. In FG 2, four out of five girls thought that their parents/guardians supported their education:

1: yes, my family, they support me. Because they buy me all the basic needs. They buy me everything I need for school. That's why I think they support me.

2: my parents they switch off the tv, if I don't want to study, they help me a lot.

3: they don't. they sometimes shout at me when I'm trying to study. They say hey you, go and do that, go and do that. And I don't get enough time to study and they don't provide me with the basic needs that I need to go to school.

4: they support me a lot because they pay for me, they buy me school uniform, they buy me everything that I want. Yeah, they help me a lot.

5: they also do help me.

FG2

Some of the students also focus on economic support when they argue how their family support them, but one girl show how her parents help structuring her time, to make sure she has time to do her homework. The girl who does not get support from home show how she is expected to do tasks at home, instead of her school work. Many girls comment that they are expected do more house chores than their brothers, something that can affect the amount of time they have to invest in their studies at home. In one of the student texts from a girl in Form 2, she explains how school is challenging for her, because when she comes home from school, she has to do house chores, and does not have time for school work before it gets dark. Her grandmother does not allow her to use candles in the evening because it is an extra expense for the family. At school, she experiences to be shouted at by teachers, because she has not been able to do all her assignments. When I asked the girls in FG1, what they are expected to do at home, I first got answers such as *“to cook”*, *“washing and cleaning”*, *“look after my siblings”* and *“fetch firewood for my mum”*. After that, most of them added *“to study”*. One girl summed it up, saying *“When I’m done with all my job, then study”*.

In FG 1, some girls told that their parents encouraged them to study, while other disagreed. They also started to discuss how some parents still are against education of girls; *“they say that girls should stay home”* (FG1). When I asked why it was like that, the girls answered;

4: they say we should be married by then.

2: boys should go to school

3: because girls have to be pregnant for their husbands. So, they have to marry and go out of the home.

(FG1)

Furthermore, the girls also mentioned that some parents saw education for girls as investing in someone else’s family, since she will move away from her parental homestead when she get married. The fact that most students do not think bridal price is affected by a girl’s education, may result in some parents seeing education for girls as an unnecessary investment. On the other hand, the enrolment rates for girls and boys are close to similar in secondary schools.

6.4. Dropout

School dropout is hotly debated in Swaziland. According to teachers and students there are some main reasons for students dropping out of school, which are economy, pregnancy, peer pressure and drugs. In Swaziland, 60 per cent of secondary school population that do not attend school, is girls (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF,2016). This corresponds with my informants' views. In my material, there is a consensus that more girls drop out of school than boys. As I have mentioned earlier, Gloria stated that some girls drop out of school, to take care of the rest of the family, a reason that was also mentioned by the girls in focus group interviews, but the major reason for girls dropping out of school seems to be pregnancy.

6.4.1. Pregnancy

When a girl is discovered being pregnant, she is expelled from school. All girls in FG1 told that they know many girls that have dropped out of school due to pregnancy, including classmates. 14 per cent of women between 15-19 years have already had a live birth (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). The girls in FG2 also saw pregnancy as the most important factor for girls dropping out of school; *“some of them drop out of school because they are pregnant, some of them because there is no money, some of them because of poverty, but today most is pregnancy”* (FG2).

When I asked what type of future these girls have, they answered *“Nothing, they sell fruits in the streets”, “the industries”* (FG1), but some are also able to continue their schooling. However, they underlined that girls who have given birth, will not go back to the same school, because they will feel ashamed, and teachers will criticise them in front of class. One girl commented that teachers *“think that you will influence us to also get pregnant”* (FG1). In a field conversation, a girl told me how tough it can be for a girl who attend school to get pregnant. She said some girls experience being thrown out of the family, because her reputation is destroyed. She will ruin the family's symbolic capital. At the same time, she experience being expelled from school and being shouted at if she goes to a hospital for help. In my first interview, I was told that many girls will choose abortion because of all the challenges they will face, and how society will look at them if they choose to keep the baby. However, abortion is illegal in Swaziland, but according to one teacher that I spoke to, abortions in Swaziland is performed by “old ladies”, and can be dangerous for the girl.

The school does not expel boys if they have impregnated a girl. The boys had different attitudes concerning if they had made a girl pregnant. A boy in FG3 stated that *“I won’t drop out of school. I would talk to her and make her understand that we can’t all drop out of school”*. At the same time, he underlined that he would take responsibility for his child. The boys also discussed that some girls can claim that it was you that impregnated her, even if it is not. One of the boys said that a solution in that case, was to talk to the girl when the baby is born, *“and take the baby to the grandparents and see if it is recognised”* (FG3). One informant from the youth group on the other hand, stated that impregnating a girl was a reason for boys dropping out of school, because her parents might pressure the boy to drop out of school to be a provider. He continued *“once you get somebody pregnant you obviously have to find work so you can support the baby girl”*.

Despite the challenges girls face with an unwanted pregnancy, the school’s policy is to teach students about abstinence. Students said that if teachers spoke about sex, it was either in the context of HIV/AIDS, or that sex lead to pregnancy, which lead to girls dropping out of school. The students continued saying that they did not learn about contraception at school.

6.4.2. Economy

Three out of six adolescents that I interviewed in the male youth group, had dropped out of secondary school. All of them named lack of funds as their reason for dropping out of school. Lack of funds is also a large issue at the school where I conducted my research. During my stay, the headmaster sent students home, to find money to pay what they owed school. In a Form 4 class I entered, there were only 5 students left. The rest had gone home to ask for money, to continue their schooling. Many students have paid part of the school fees, but not all. The headmaster told me that unless they paid school fees, students will not receive their grades or diploma. In addition, he said that the school was out of money, and could not afford buying electricity at the moment. Some of the girls in FG1 suggested that lack of money can make parents prioritise paying school fees for boys instead of girls. They told me that they knew about girls who experience this. Gloria on the other hand disagreed, stating that parents prioritise girls and boys evenly. My material does not give an answer of how the economic situation in Swaziland affect girls. There seems to be need for further research on this topic.

6.4.3. Peer Pressure and Drugs

Asking about dropout, all informants mentioned peer pressure as a reason for students to end their education. As mentioned earlier, some girls turn to blessers because of peer pressure to gain items like clothes from popular brands, or cell phones. These material items can contribute to increase their symbolic capital.

Boys also experience peer pressure. Many boys expressed that they have experienced pressure from peers when it comes to drug use. Some girls also abscond school to engage in drug abuse, but in my material, it seems like boys experience more pressure to partake in such activities. In i3, one of the boys expressed that a majority of boys dropping out of school is due to drug abuse; *“Boys engage a lot in drugs: alcohol, dagga [marihuana]. You find that these things do not bond with school, so you find that they just drop out.”* (i3). The boys in FG3 agreed with this statement. The boy in i3 continued explaining why boys would start using alcohol or marijuana: *“oh well, it’s the culture... being a man. Some of them they find that if you don’t drink alcohol, you’re not a man”* (i3). This view may indicate that there is a greater pressure towards boys to start drinking alcohol or using marihuana, because they want to act in line with the masculine prototype.

Another reason for boys dropping out of school that was discussed in FG3, is that they are tempted by the lifestyle of other boys who have dropped out of school to start working. Gloria told about one student last year who dropped out just before the exams in Form 5, to become a kombi conductor. She tried to convince him to sit the exams, but were not able to get him back to school. She continued saying that a kombi conductor earned around 300 emalangenzi in a month *“300 for them is enough money, but as they grow up, it won’t be enough to feed their own families”* (i6). Among the boys I interviewed there was a consensus that schooling is important. However, many of them know of someone with a university degree who are still not able to get a job. The boys suggested that this could lead to disillusionment, and that some boys would rather try to get a job, than to continue schooling. Some informants mentioned that in addition to education, it is important to “know the right people” to get a job. This indicates that students need to accumulate both cultural and social capital in order to secure an employment.

In this chapter I have shown that most informants agree there is gender equality in the school to a certain extent. On the other hand, the students may choose subject in a gendered way,

girls saw the arrangement around uniforms as unjust and some of the reasons for dropping out of school seem to be gendered. In addition, girls and boys seem to perform their gender differently.

7. Concluding Analysis

This study shows that there are still strong gender prototypes present in Swaziland today. The inequality between men and women can be seen in the legal system, through men still being granted marital power. However, a more important difference is how women and men are perceived in society. My material indicates differences between expected gendered performance. At the same time, we have seen that some women and men challenge the established gender norms as well. In this chapter I will first describe the prototypes I found during my research. Thereafter we will examine how girls and boys achieve different types of capital. Furthermore, we will look at the school as an arena for gender equality, and in the end, I will answer my research questions.

7.1. Prototypes in Swaziland

Even though most of the boys and girls I interviewed saw gender equality as something positive, my material suggests that there are clear ideas of what it means to be a man and a woman in Swaziland. People who does not live their life in accordance with these ideals may experience ostracism or loss of their social and symbolic capital. In my material, a man who does not act in accordance with the male prototype has been described as a woman. This suggest that some of my informants see these types of behaviour as far outside the male prototype.

An area where boys and girls are met with different expectations is sexuality. Girls experience social control, to protect their sexuality. We can see the importance of a girl's virginity in chapter 5.2.3. A woman's virginity is the most important factor in determining the *lobola*. Virginity appears as critical for the value of a girl. The girls I interviewed said that they would be punished by their guardians if they were discovered being in a relationship. The social control that girls experience, may also be because of the consequences of teenage pregnancies. There are, however, some girls who engage in transactional sex. In the focus group interviews with girls, girls who had transactional sex were described in a negative way. This may be because girls with blessers do not act in accordance with the prototypical behaviour for unmarried girls. We have also seen that some girls that becomes pregnant before they are married, experience to be thrown out of their homestead, and they are expelled from school. In addition, when teachers address girls and boys separately at school, Gloria

said that they address girls of the consequences of “*bad things such as love plays*”. She did not mention boys being addressed on that topic.

Prototypically, a woman is not supposed to have any sexual partners before she marries. A man, on the other hand, is expected to be sexually active. Many men in authority have more than one wife, and having more than one wife may be viewed as symbolic power in Swaziland. Even though most of the male adolescents did not view polygamy in a positive way, they still believed that a boy could have more than one girlfriend. In addition, Gloria mentioned that some married men believe that they have the right to have girlfriends, even if they are married in a civil-rites marriage.

Women have to control and suppress their sexuality, while some men seem not to be able to restrict their sexuality. One third of women have experienced sexual abuse before the age of 18 (UNDAF, 2016). Some of my informants expressed that they cannot help themselves, and expressed a view of this is just the way Swazi men are. In addition, married women seem to be expected to agree to sex, when their husbands want to. Some men and women also believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife, if they deny their husband sex (Central Statistical Office and UNICEF, 2016). Furthermore, one of the reasons that the SODV bill is still pending in parliament, is because it opposes marital rape. My findings are in line with how Brear and Bessarab (2012) describe sexuality in traditional patriarchal societies. Men are expected to be sexually active, while women are expected to be sexually submissive.

Peter (2006) found that men participate in productive tasks, while women participate in both productive and reproductive tasks in a household. This is also visible in my material. At the same time as many girls want to challenge this idea of male control in a household, through participating in the labour force, they still see household chores, such as cleaning, cooking and child care as a woman’s responsibility. This may be because girls from an early age are expected to help with household chores at home. Some of the boys that I interviewed help with household chores at their homestead, but not to the same degree as the girls. The fact that girls contribute at home, is taken for granted, but a boy that contributes in the same way at home as girls, seem to be breaking social norms. Most of my male informants do not take part in cooking and childcare. In my material, men who cook has been described as an abomination, and many of the boys underlined that cooking was woman’s work. When FG4 discussed childcare, they said that a boy who changed a nappy on a younger sibling would be made fun of. This shows that doing tasks like this clearly does not fit with the masculine

prototype. It seems like men learn from an early age that these tasks should not be carried out by men.

Moreover, the boys see the role of a provider as an important part of being a man. If he cannot provide for his family, he will not be respected in his community. The unemployment rate in Swaziland is as high as 41,7 per cent (UNDAF, 2016), and this may put a large pressure on men. If they are not able to provide for their family, they might see themselves as a failure. As we saw in chapter 5.3.3. most of the boys do not like the idea of a future wife being the sole provider of a family. One boy expressed “*When the woman takes your duties, then you become the woman*” (i3). Furthermore, the boys did not only believe that a man should be a provider, but also head of household. In their view, a wife will be beneath her husband. This is clear in how all the male adolescents I interviewed, underlined the importance of their future wife showing them respect, and act respectfully in the community. A wife’s and daughters’ behavior seem to contribute to a man’s symbolic capital. As a woman, you are supposed to show men respect.

My material shows that many males defend a patriarchal society through using their culture and Christianity to create a picture of how a relationship, and power balance between men and women is supposed to be. The girls I interviewed do not want male dominance in their household, but some may strive to be perceived as respectful, and act in accordance with the female prototype. In return, they may expect to gain a husband that will provide for them and fulfill the masculine prototype.

As Butler (1988) expressed, if a person does not perform his or her gender right, they are punished by society. When boys discussed a future wife, we can see that a woman that does not perform her gender in accordance with social norms, is described as “taking advantage” of her husband and being “disrespectful”. Men also experience to be punished if they do not perform their gender in accordance with social norms. A man that participate in reproductive duties, has been described as women in my material.

7.1.1. Changes

All societies are dynamic, and even though the gender prototypes as described above are dominant in my material, we can also see that the established gender roles are challenged. The female students’ future dreams show that they picture themselves in professions that will ensure a good income and give them a high status in the community. Furthermore, they wish

to be a provider for their family. In addition, the girls in the focus group interviews does not wish to be married in the traditional wedding, but rather through the civil-rites marriage. They see this as the marriage that will ensure them most equality, through the fact that their future husbands cannot take a second wife, and that they have the opportunity of divorce if they are mistreated. Some of the boys from the male youth group also support more rights for women in the marriage. However, while the girls that I interviewed are to a certain extent critical to traditional Swazi culture, many of the boys I interviewed are more positive towards it, and critical to the adaptation of cultural influences from other countries. In my material, my informants often said people living in rural areas are more likely to follow traditional norms.

In addition, the government in Swaziland acknowledge the need to create more gender equality in the country, to be able to battle HIV/AIDS pandemic (The Kingdom of Swaziland, 2014). Their policies are also influenced by the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals. In 2004 they ratified the convention on the "Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (Amnesty, 2010), and in 2005 a new constitution that ensures gender equality took effect. However, they need to revise other legislations as well.

There are also many non-governmental organisations trying to enforce a greater gender equality in Swaziland. Most of these organisations focus on the girl child. The male youth group where I conducted interviews, however, believe that it is necessary to address male adolescents on the topic of gender equality as well. In their opinion, what is seen as prototypical masculinity may negatively affect men's lives. Nathi said that they try to redefine how masculinity is viewed (see chapter 5.5.). Furthermore, there are different organisations fighting for gender equality, and some of them were represented at the *One Billion Rising Launch*.

7.2. Capital and gender

According to Bourdieu, embodied cultural capital is created through primary and secondary socialisation. In my material, we can see that boys and girls from an early age are socialised into different roles. Many children that come from homesteads with both a mother and a father, will learn the gender roles from their parents, and most of them will see the father as a leader, while the mother has a reproductive role. Through access to education, however, girls are met with different expectations. They can achieve academic degrees, titles and professions. This is the institutionalised cultural capital. Even though most of the girls that

attended the focus group interviews, felt that their parents supported their education, some girls thought that boys have more time at home to invest in their studies, while girls are expected to do more household chores. In addition, the girls said that some parents still are against education for girls, because they are supposed to be married to another family. This can make it more difficult for girls to access the institutionalised cultural capital. The texts written by girl students suggest that girls want to perform well in school. They seem to understand that cultural capital can be transformed to economic capital, and give women a greater freedom.

On the other hand, to be able to access education in Swaziland a person needs economic capital. Primary education has recently become free, but students in secondary and tertiary education still have to pay school fees. Another issue that we can briefly mention, is that people said there are some private schools with a high-quality education in Swaziland, where the fees are only manageable to pay for a small elite. Magagula (2011) shows in a newspaper article, that tuition fees at private schools are much more expensive than at public schools. This create some social barriers based on parents' income.

At the same time as many students see education as a way to achieve economic capital, most of them will most likely never finish a higher degree. As we saw in chapter 5.6., many students wish to take higher education that can secure them a high-status profession. Their dreams, however, does not correspond with the reality in Swaziland. Most of them will not be able to gain access to higher education because of lack of funds. This corresponds with Madsen's (2011) findings in Zambia. Only 5 per cent are enrolled in to tertiary education in Swaziland today (World economic forum, 2016). In addition, a higher education does not necessarily secure them a job. Many students mentioned young adults in their community that have finished higher education, and still do not have a job. As one student mentioned, it may be important to know the right people to gain a scholarship. In addition, network also seem to be important to gain a job. This shows that having social capital can help in securing an income.

Some may try different strategies to gain economic capital. As my informants mentioned, many girls are engaged in transactional sex. Through having an older boyfriend, they can afford symbols of a modern life through money and presents given to them. However, transactional sex creates a higher economic dependency on men, and will in turn create less economic freedom for women. Furthermore, an important part of female symbolic capital is to

be a virgin until marriage. To use sexual favours to gain economic capital outside of a marriage is looked down upon in the community. If a girl becomes pregnant, she may experience to be thrown out of the family, because this can lessen the mother's social capital, because she has not raised an honourable daughter.

Furthermore, some boys also choose a different strategy to gain economic capital. In chapter 6.4.3., we saw that some boys drop out of school, to find a job instead. The jobs that are available to them, will not give a salary that is high enough to provide for a family. One of the boys from the youth group hopes he can achieve a successful life, not through education, but through starting his own business. In a country with high unemployment rates entrepreneurship may be an important strategy to create an income.

As mentioned above, to be respected is important of all the boys that I interviewed. They see respect as a part of being a man. The boys seem to believe that they will achieve respect through acting in accordance with what is seen as prototypically masculine. Through being a provider for their family and being a leader of the household, men appear to gain respect. As mentioned above, in all the interviews with boys, they underline the importance of their future wife showing them respect, and act respectfully in the community. If their wife does not act respectfully, it will lessen the man's symbolic capital. A woman also seems to gain symbolic capital through acting in accordance with the feminine prototype. A respectable woman follows the social norms. However, in chapter 5.6. it is shown that the girl informants dream of prestigious professions. This may be a different path for a girl to gain symbolic capital.

7.3. Education and the School as an Arena for Equality

In many aspects, the school can be viewed as an arena for creating gender equality, and change the established gender prototypes. Both girls and boys can acquire cultural capital through their education that they may transfer in to economic capital. Additionally, they can become critical thinkers through being exposed to different views and ideals. As an example, the history book in Form 4, has one chapter about the Suffragettes, where the students learn about the fight for women's rights in England. Furthermore, through the subject of Life Skills, we can see that the government in Swaziland tries to address gender issues through their educational system.

Most teachers and students thought that there is gender equality at school to a certain extent. But how do they define gender equality? In conversations with both teachers and students, many argued that there is gender equality, because both girls and boys can access secondary schools, as long as their guardians can afford their education, or has a sponsor that can help pay for their education. In addition, they argued that girls and boys are offered the same education. Through education, students also have equal opportunities at to access the labour market in the future.

Teachers also argued that education will contribute to more gender equality, because the students will see that girls can perform as well as boys, and this may change expectations of men and women in Swaziland. Some teachers pointed to the fact that girls and boys can choose what subjects they want and are given the same tasks at school. Other teachers however, believed that some subjects are male or female oriented, and that there still is a stigma against girls performing as well as boys in natural sciences and mathematics. In addition, teachers have mentioned that there are traces of a patriarchal tradition at school. Girl students are still expected to clean the classrooms, and young female teachers have experienced a lack of respect from male students.

Initially, most students stated that there is gender equality at school. However, both girls and boys believe that teachers treat them differently based on their gender. The girls thought that male teachers do not listen to girls in the same way as they listen to boys. Some of the girls accused male teachers of verbally abusing them. In my observations girls and boys were treated equally most of the time, but as I have described in chapter 6.3.1., I observed a male teacher addressing girl students in a negative manner. This is a topic for further research.

While teachers believe, they punish girls and boys equally, the students disagreed. The girls believed that boys can talk their way out of punishment, while girls cannot. The boys on the other hand, thought that they were punished more severely than girls. My material cannot answer if girls and boys are equally punished, but corporal punishment does not create a safe learning environment for any students, and teachers will hopefully learn how to implement positive discipline.

Additionally, girls thought that the uniform arrangement was unfair. While boys only have two different sets of uniforms, girls have three. This will add an additional cost for girls' education. Some of the girls also complained that they are not allowed to wear tights during

first and third term even though the weather is cold. This does not contribute to a good learning environment.

As we can see, both teachers and students point to practical arrangement, or numerical factors when describing gender equality. In my observations, however, I have seen that students perform their gender differently to some extent at school. The boys always sit in the back of the classroom, and in the classes I observed, more boys answered questions than girls. In the classroom setting, the girls had a more confined body language than boys, and when they answered questions, they would speak in a low voice. During the Prize Giving Day, almost all stage performances were done by male students. These observations suggest that boys are more active, both vocally and through their body language. Girls, on the other hand, are more quiet and physically confined when both genders are gathered. When girls came to my office during lunch-break, they would act less confined, because there were no boys present. Furthermore, boys and girls were served lunch separately. The argument for doing so, is that boys would pressure past the girls and take all the food. These observations suggest that boys are viewed as active and dominant, while girls are seen as more passive.

One of the greatest challenges the school face are the high dropout rates, as the headmaster mentioned in his speech during the Prize Giving Day. All my informants believe the dropout rates for girls are higher than for boys. Some students drop out due to lack of funds, and others due to drug abuse and peer pressure. There is however a consensus in my material that the most important reason for girls dropping out of school is pregnancy. If a girl is discovered being pregnant, she is expelled from school. Even though the school see this as a challenge they must overcome, the only way they address the topic of sexual relationships is to advice teenagers to abstain from sex because it can lead to unwanted pregnancies and spread of HIV/AIDS.

7.4. Conclusion

The first part of my research question is as following: *How do young people in Swaziland expect gender to structure their future?* When I asked students directly if they thought their gender would structure their lives, they would answer no. However, when looking at their attitudes to family and expectations to future a spouse, their future, will most likely be structured by their gender. As seen above, there is a difference in what is seen as prototypically female, and what is seen as prototypically male.

While boys envision themselves as head of household and a provider, most boys and girls perceive the reproductive tasks as solely female tasks. Nevertheless, the girls do not see themselves as housewives or being submissive to a man. They wish to have professional careers and to be providers for their family. At the present most working women seem to have a double workload. To avoid this, students suggest hiring a maid or get help from a female relative, and almost none of them suggest that a husband and wife should share the workload at home.

Swaziland is a country with a great issue of gender based violence, and many girls have experienced sexual harassment. Women's legal rights are not secured, but if the government adjust legislation to be in line with the new constitution this may ensure more gender equality in Swaziland in the long term, as laws may change social norms. During my stay in Swaziland I saw women fighting for women's rights, and some of the students wrote in their texts that they want to become lawyers that focused on women's rights.

In addition, all adolescents in Swaziland face challenges today. There is a high rate of unemployment, but through education, both girls and boys can be empowered. The school as an institution can also contribute to more gender equality, and can challenge the existing prototypes. Through a good education, boys and girls can become critical thinkers, and this will empower adolescents in Swaziland. Swaziland should provide free secondary education in addition to free primary education, so that schooling can be accessible to all adolescents.

The second part of my research question is *Which gender differences are visible in a secondary school in Swaziland?*

In my research, I observed that some tasks were seen as female tasks at school, in the same way as in a household. During the preparations for the Prize Giving Day, only female students helped preparing the food. In addition, I only observed girls cleaning the classrooms on Friday afternoons. Moreover, girls and boys performed their gender differently to some extent at school. In my classroom observations, girls seemed to take less space in the classroom than boys. They did not speak as loudly as boys and their body language were more confined.

In addition, we can see that some subjects are male or female oriented, and according to some teachers, girls may still have a negative attitude towards natural science and mathematics. Furthermore, the girls participating in the focus group interviews said that there was an

imbalance because girls have to wear three different types of uniforms, while boys only have two different types of uniforms. This is an additional cost for girls. Another issue that is gendered is high dropout rates caused by teenage pregnancies. Instead of encouraging girls to stay in school whilst they are pregnant, and finish their education afterwards, girls are expelled from school. Those who come back to school after birth, usually go to a different school, because they are afraid that teachers will address them in a negative way. Apart from this, most teachers seemed to treat girls and boys in the same way. I was positively surprised to see that the school provided sanitary pads for girls that could not afford to buy them.

Even though the school sometimes gathers girls and boys separately, and Gloria said that they wish to empower girls, and teach boys to respect women, the school generally contributes to gender equality in a passive way. They offer girls and boys the same education, and therefore contribute to giving girls and boys the same opportunities to attend tertiary education. In both female teachers and female students' point of view, the challenges to reach gender equality are not at school, but in the students' homes and in their community. Since primary education is free for all students, and most children attend primary school, this may be an important sector, where the government can change how gender is perceived through syllabus and policies. As schools are an important part of society, they may be able to challenge social norms concerning gender.

In conclusion, we can see that gender is to a certain extent performed more equally at school, for boys and girls, and women is accepted as a part of the formal sector. At home, however, gender is performed differently by males and females.

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9. Appendix

Appendix 1: Questionnaire to Teachers

Gender equality at school and in Swaziland in general:

Background information:

Age:	Gender:	What subjects do you teach?	Your education:
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- 1) What does gender equality mean to you?
- 2) Is there gender equality at school? Explain your answer:
- 3) Is there gender equality in Swaziland today? Explain your answer:
- 4) Will education contribute to more or less gender equality? Explain your answer:
- 5) What does it mean to be a man in Swaziland today? Has it changed the last 20 years?
- 6) What does it mean to be a woman in Swaziland today? Has it changed the last 20 years?
- 7) How can there be created more gender equality in Swaziland and would that be a good thing?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Focus Group Interviews, and Semi Structured Interviews

This interview guide was used in i1-i6 and FG1-FG4

Introduction: Brief information about my project, explain how the interview will be used: anonymity and professional secrecy. I will inform that the interviews are voluntary and that I will record the. I will ensure that only I have access to the recorded interviews.

Girls and boys' opportunities in general

How old are you?

what do you hope to become as an adult?

what opportunities do boys/girls have in Swaziland? Is it easier for girls or boys to get a job?

At school

What are your views on education?

How do teachers treat boys and girls?

Do you think there are gender equality at school? Why?

Do many students drop out of school? What are girls'/boys' reasons for dropping out of school?

Reasons for absconding school for girls and boys
Are girls and boys disciplined differently at school?
(corporal punishment)

At home

Does your guardian support you in your education?

Who does the home chores at home? What tasks does a mother have and what tasks does a father have?

Are girls and boys treated differently at home? How?

what are you expected to do at home? (House chores)

What is expected of your (siblings of opposite sex) to do at home?

Are the traditional culture a part of your daily life, or have the cultural norms changed?

Relationships

when is it normal for boys and girls to start dating?

what do you think of having more than one girlfriend?

would you trust a boyfriend/girlfriend?

who will girls date: the boy they fall in love with, or the boy with money?

Do many girls have Sugar daddies? Why? Condom use?

Many women experience gender based violence in Swaziland. What do you know about GBV? Does the school ever address this topic in class?

Girls: what would you do if you were in an abusive relationship?

Marriage

Do you want to be married through Civil or traditional marriage? Why?

what determine the bridal price?

Are *Lobola* important (why/why not?)

what do you think of polygamy? (advantages/disadvantages)

to girls: how would you react if your husband took a second wife?

How do you expect your future husband/wife to be like?

Rights in the marriage

Do you think there are differences between being a man and being a woman in Swaziland?

Appendix 3: Overview of Interviews Conducted During my Field Work

	Name in text	Participants	Age	Where
Interview 1	i1	Female, student	15-20	In community
Interview 2	i2/ Nathi	Male mentor	30-40	Male youth group
Interview 3	i3	2 boys	16-26	Male youth group
Interview 4	i4	2 boys	16-26	Male youth group
Interview 5	i5	2 boys	16-26	Male youth group
Interview 6	i6/Gloria	Female, school administration	30-40	At school
Focus group interview 1	FG1	7 girls	16-21	At school
Focus group interview 2	FG2	5 girls	16-20	At school
Focus group interview 3	FG3	4 boys	18-23	At school
Focus group interview 4	FG4	7 boys 2 girls	16-22	At school

Appendix 4: Background Information of Teachers Answering the Questionnaire

Informant/ name in text	Age	Gender	What subjects do you teach	Highest level of education
T1	46-50	Female	Siswati	BA
T2	31-35	Female	English and RS	Currently doing masters
T3	21-25	Female	Mathematics and science	Degree from UNISWA
T4	41-45	Female	Geography	M. ed.
T5	46-50	Male	Design and technology	Diploma
T6	-	Male	-	-
T7	31-35	Male	Maths	Diploma
T8	56-60	Male	Woodwork and carpentry	Diploma
T9	46-50	Male	History and RS	B.A.
T10	46-50	Male	English	B.A.

Appendix 5: Written Task with Form 2 Students

This is the written task I gave to students:

My life today!

1: I want to learn more about you and how life is like for young Swazis today. Can you write a short letter to me about yourself? What do you do during a day? Who do you live with? Do you have any hobbies? Do you have to work at home? Do you like school? Why/why not? Are you happy?

2: On the back of the page I want you to write down how you want your life to be like in 10 years from now.