

**THE HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF WOMEN
PARTICIPATION IN THE SWAZI PARLIAMENT: BREAKING
THE BARRIERS OF PATRIARCHY 1968–2015**

by

Patience Vumile Gama

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the field of History

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Student number: 201551074

Supervisor: Dr HS Ntuli

NOVEMBER 2019

DECLARATION

I assert that this thesis is my single-handed work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa. It has not been subjected to any examination board at any other University.

Patience Vumile Gama (AUTHOR)

Student University Number: 201551074

Signature.....

Date.....

COPYRIGHT

All rights held in reserve. No part of this dissertation may be replicated or stored in any form or by any means without erstwhile permission in writing from the author or the University of Zululand.

DEDICATION

To all Swazi women who passionately made a valuable contribution to the history of Swaziland and stalwarts of feminism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, may I open up by giving praise to the Lord Almighty for the gift of life, strength, sound well-being, fortitude, and optimism. Praise be to the Most High.

To Dr HS Ntuli, you are simply prodigious, phenomenal and outstanding in your academic supervision. I consider myself privileged, honoured and fortunate to work under such a distinguished selfless and committed supervisor. The professionalism displayed with incisive comments in all the pages yielded to the thesis compilation. The exposure of working under the tutelage of Dr HS Ntuli ignited critical thinking and instilled scholarly zeal to engage more in future research. Professor Simelane's plethora of publications on the History of Swaziland helped in directing and refocusing the thesis, particularly the *Journal of African Elections*. I would have not done justice to the services offered if I fail to emulate my mentor Dr HS Ntuli.

Sincere thanks go to the Faculty of History at the University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa campus for the support afforded in seeing the study completion. The insightful seminars organised by the Department were of great help and a source of inspiration. I was motivated by the dedication, devotion and meticulous collaboration depicted by the History Department. The History Department of the University of Swaziland helped in sharpening my research skills by inviting me to attend seminars. Dr. Estella Musiiwa, thanks for words of encouragement to pursue this project. The research skills tapped from the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) experience added value and love for exploration to this scholar. Thank you for adding value to the study.

To my entire family members, my dear mom would be saying, "*Lilililili Ntfombiyami.*" To my ever-supportive husband Bhekinkhosi J. Mavuso who literally became my chauffeur to UNIZULU and to other places around Swaziland to conduct interviews, thank you. The financial support sacrificed in seeing the study come to fruition cannot be

overemphasised. To my children, Noncedo, Sinenkhosi and Ntsandvoyenkhusi, many thanks for the varied support given to me throughout the project.

Colleagues, I thank your ever-available upkeep, including Inkhosikati Make LaGama Nkhosi! and Gogo Faith Simelane-Thwala.

ABSTRACT

The integration of women's experiences in Swazi historical discourse is still at an elementary development stage. This is particularly the case if we consider the involvement of women in the parliamentary affairs of the country in both the colonial and post-colonial periods. The little that we have deals with women from the royal family and their experiences, which hardly represents the experiences of women at grassroots level. This thesis is a contribution to historical writing on Swazi women and focuses on the evaluation of the magnitude to which Swazi women contribute in the Swazi political system, particularly their access to Parliamentary positions. The study shows that the ideology of patriarchy, as perpetrated by the adoption of a traditional system of governance since 1978, has frolicked an important role in limiting the access of women to Parliamentary positions and the general participation of women in the country's political affairs. The fundamental argument of the thesis is that, in spite of public pronouncements by the Swazi leadership, and in spite of the provisions of the constitution of the country, women participation and representation in the Swazi Parliament remains peripheral. The adoption and implementation of a democratic electoral process has also done very little to allow women easy access to Parliament as representatives of their local communities. The thesis shows that women still struggle against the barriers of patriarchy that are systematically reinforced and buttressed in all rural areas where voting takes place. Through the use of a qualitative research methodology, the thesis generated data that indicates that the paths and avenues for women's access to Parliament in Swaziland have been made narrow since the gaining of independence in 1968. The thesis is an input to the existing literature on Swazi history, particularly the history of Swazi women's access to Parliament and the country's general political/ parliamentary system.

Keywords:

Westminster Parliament, patriarchy, Parliament, women, monarchy, King Sobhuza II, Tinkhundla, gender, feminism, critical mass theory.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

Pages

DECLARATION.....	i
COPYRIGHT	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND.....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	6
1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	7
1.4 CONTRIBUTION TO THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE	10
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	11
1.6 FOCUS OF CHAPTERS AND SUMMARY	15

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT OF SWAZILAND 1967–2015

2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	19
2.2 LITERATURE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN LEGISLATORS	19
2.3 LITERATURE ON AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS AND LEGISLATURE	36
2.4 LITERATURE ON SWAZI WOMEN IN POLITICS	38
2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	48
2.6 CRITICAL MASS THEORY	62
2.7 CONCLUSION.....	67

CHAPTER 3 SWAZI WOMEN'S PATHS TO PARLIAMENT 1967–2015

3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	68
-----------------------	----

3.2 PATHWAYS	69
3.3 CONCLUSION	111
 CHAPTER 4 SWAZI WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN.....	 112
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	112
4.2 ELECTIONS CONDUCTED UNDER THE 1978 TINKHUNDLA SYSTEM, THE EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATURES AND CABINET.....	114
4.3 THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SELECTION PROCEDURE OF MEMBERS	116
4.4 THE OXYMORON OF THE CO-EXISTENCE OF ELECTED LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT FROM 1978 AND THE CONTINUOUSNESS OF ORDERS AND DECREES AND ORDERS-IN-COUNCIL TO 2015	119
4.5 VOICING WOMEN’S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION	125
4.6 CONCLUSION.....	160
 CHAPTER 5 PARLIAMENT, CONSTITUENCIES AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES.....	 161
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	161
5.2 CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATION	163
5.4 WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	170
5.6 CONCLUSION	198
 CHAPTER 6 PATRIARCHY AND WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT	 199
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	199
6.2 THE MONOLITHICALLY PATRIARCHAL STATE	201
6.3 THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN SWAZILAND	203
6.4 ADVANCEMENT OF THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE SWAZI CONTEXT	221
6.5 CONCLUSION.....	236
 CHAPTER 7.....	 237
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	237
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 254

APPENDIX 1	285
LETTER OF CONSENT FROM THE PARLIAMEN TOF SWAZILAND	285
APPENDIX 2	286
QUESTION GUIDE FOR OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEWS	286
APPENDIX 3	290
FIRST PARLIAMENT 1967–2003.....	290
SECOND PARLIAMENT	292
THIRD PARLIAMENT.....	293
FOURTH PARLIAMENT.....	296
FIFTH PARLIAMENT	298
SIXTH PARLIAMENT.....	300
SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.....	304
APPENDIX 4	306
ELECTION NOMINEES BY GENDER.....	306
APPENDIX 5	307
VOTER REGISTRATION FORM	307
APPENDIX 6	308
WRIT OF ELECTIONS	308
APPENDIX 7	309
POLLING PROCEDURE	309
APPENDIX 8	310
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING’S-ORDER-IN COUNCIL 1 CONTINUED	310
APPENDIX 9	311
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING’S ORDER-IN-COUNCIL 2 CONTINUED	311
APPENDIX 10.....	312
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING’S ORDER-IN-COUNCIL 3 CONTINUED	312
APPENDIX 11.....	313
THE 1963 SWAZILAND CONSTITUTION	313
APPENDIX 12.....	317
THE 1967 FIRST MINISTERS AND ASSISTANT MINISTERS	317
APPENDIX 13.....	318
THE 1967 ELECTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	318
APPENDIX 14.....	321

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TINKHUNDLA SYSTEM IN 1978	321
APPENDIX 15.....	323
HIS MAJESTY’S SPEECH DURING FIRST SESSION OF OPENING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF SWAZILAND, 7 MAY, 1967	323

LIST OF KEY ACRONYMS

ACC	Anti Corruption Commission
ABE	Adult Basic Education
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
EBC	Elections and Boundary Commission
EC	Electoral College
RCC	Royal Constitutional Commission
CAC	Constitution Advisory Committee
CANGO	Council of Swaziland Churches and other members of the Coordinating Assemble of Non-Governmental Organisations
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ART	Anti-Retroviral Treatment
CCSO	Child Care Service Order
CON	Commonwealth of Nations
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission
CEDAW	Convention of Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentarians Association
CTA	Central Transport Administration
DP	Democratic Party
DPM	Deputy Prime Minister
FLAS	Family Life Association
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IDM	Institute of Development and Management
INM	Imbokodvo National Movement
IWT	Imbita Women's Trust
LLN	Lutsango LwakaNgwane
MP	Member of Parliament
TRC	Tinkhundla Review Commission

NCCU	National Children's Coordination Unit
NEPAD	National Emergency Political Association and Development
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NERCHA	National Emergency Response to Combat HIV and AIDS
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NNLC	Ngwane National Liberatory Congress
RDA	Rural Development Area
RSP	Royal Swaziland Police
SBIS	Swaziland Broadcasting and Information Services
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SCOGWA	Swaziland Committee on Gender and Women's Affairs
SNA	Swaziland National Archives
SNC	Swazi National Council
SPP	Swaziland Progressive Party
SWAGAA	Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse
NDS	National Development Strategy
ANC	African National Congress
SYWON	Swaziland Young Women's Network
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Food and Population Age
VMS	Voter Management System
WIP	Women in Politics and Decision-Making
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa

Bagcugcuteli: Community motivators

Bandlancane: Advisory Council in the Constituency

Bantfwabenkhosi: Emalangen (princes and princesses)

Bucopho: Constituency elect

Indlovukazi: Queen Mother/ Elephant

Indvuna yeNkhundla: Headman/ woman of the Constituency

Ingwenyama: Lion/ King

Inkhundla: Constituencies that are of a number of chiefdoms

Ligunqa: Prince of the Realm

Liqoqo: King's Advisory Council

Sikhulu: Chief

Umntfwanenkhosi Lomkhulu: Senior Prince

Refer to Appendix 3 for the names and lists of Parliamentarians from 1967–2003.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Members of the Electoral Committee.....	112
Table 2	Members of Cabinet Coining from the Tinkhundla System.....	114
Table 3	Ministers and Assistant Ministers.....	115
Table 4	Swaziland's List of Speakers of the House of Assembly from 1967 to date.....	141

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Mary Mdziniso, First Swazi Woman Parliamentarian, 1967–1998.....	83
Figure 2	Election Processes in Swaziland	104

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Women representation in legislature in Southern Africa dates back to 1923,¹ and the sub-region has experienced an unprecedented increase of women in the legislature. Swaziland gained independence from the United Kingdom of Britain on 6 September 1968 through the Westminster modelled Constitution.² Nkonzo Hlatshwayo averred that components of the Swazi Constitution embraced the establishment of the three arms of government: the Parliament,³ the executive⁴ and the judiciary.⁵ This Constitution was preceded by the 1967 Constitution under which national elections were held for the first time in the history of Swaziland under the multi-party system on 20 April 1967⁶ (See Appendix 15).

Swaziland committed itself to ensuring gender equality and the advancement of women by signing the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action was adopted with the hope that it would be nurtured in an attempt to comply with global requirements.⁷ This

¹E. Tawse Jollie became the first woman parliamentarian in the British empire in 1923 (D. Lowry, "White Woman's Country": E. Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2007.23(2), 259-281. Other earliest women Parliamentarians in Southern Africa were Muriel E. Rosin and M. Watson. Kufakurinani and E. Musiiwa. 2012. "The Unsung Heroine: Muriel E. Rosin's Political Experiences in Rhodesia, 1945-1980", *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 30, 36-48). In West Africa, African women started to take up legislative positions in 1960, although others had started taking up positions in councils during the late 1950s (L. Denzer. 1994. "Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 27(1), 1-39.

²Swaziland Independence Constitution Act 50 1968 in Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336.

³N.A. Hlatshwayo. 1992. The Ideology of Traditionalism and implications for principles of Constitutionalism. The case of Swaziland. An unpublished LLM Dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University. Ontario 130. Cited in Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *The African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336.

⁴Constitution of Swaziland Ch V 1968.

⁵Constitution of Swaziland Ch V 1968.

⁶J.S.M. Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Longman, London.1972. (n 2 above) 265. See also Hamilton Sipho Simelane, *Journal of African Elections. The Evolution of the Unique Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978-2015, 16(1), EISA.

⁷Ministry of Home Affairs Report, Gender Coordination Unit, Swaziland Country Report. "Sub-regional Review on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty Third Special of the General Assembly (2000)", Zambia, 26th-29th April, 2004 Ministry of Home Affairs Quarterly Report. June 1995.

declaration was a result of the fourth International Conference on Women in September 1995, themed “Equality Development and Peace”, followed by the Beijing Plus Five session held in New York in June 2000.

Swaziland has participated and signed a number of international and regional declarations and conventions that promote gender equality. The dispensation of a Constitution that was introduced at independence in 1968, initiated by the Swazi authority with its impact on women in Parliament must be probed further. The Constitution of Swaziland was ratified by King Mswati III on 26 July 2005 and was adopted as a governing instrument in 2006. Leadership and politics in the 21st century still remain a highly gendered phenomenon. While women have begun to realise the promise of more fair representation in these fields, the signs of success in attaining such positions seem faint. In this era, in many parts of the world, leadership and politics are still considered masculine, Swaziland is no exception. There is, therefore, a need to hear women’s voices in order to produce a more credible, balanced and gender-sensitive history of Swaziland’s Parliament after close to 50 years of independence.

Evidently, domestic laws in Swaziland are based on gender insensitive customary laws and the Roman-Dutch laws which promulgate women's minority status. Both forms of law prevent women from having full admittance to essential assets such as land, property, inheritance and other rights which promote autonomy and agency,⁸ according to Stewart and Armstrong, Amnesty International and Langwenya 2010.

Noticeably, the sub-region has experienced an unprecedented increase of women in the legislature from the 1990s and actually boasts the fastest growth rate of female

⁸M. Langwenya. *Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa*. Describing the case of Mary-Joyce Aphane vs the Registrar of Deeds. The case highlights the contradictory laws of Swaziland. D. Aphane used the 2005 Constitution to challenge the Registrar of Deeds that prohibit women married in Community of Property to register property in their own names. Occasional paper presented in 2010.

representation (for example, South Africa, Uganda, and Rwanda) to date.⁹ However, the global call for gender equality in the process of democratisation has been a far cry in Swaziland during the period under investigation (1968 to 2015). This study, therefore, closes the yawning gap by investigating and documenting the findings that highlight such an assertion.

Regionally, Swaziland joined the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries in pledging herself to the establishment of a policy framework for mainstreaming gender and strengthening efforts to achieve gender egalitarianism.¹⁰ Nationally, the Swazi government has included gender equity in the National Development Strategy (NDS) (1999).¹¹ The strategy enunciates a number of strategies aimed at offering equal opportunities to all citizens irrespective of their gender. This revelation came about after extensive consultations and detailed analytical reviews of national, social and economic performance since independence. The NDS adopted a gender-balanced approach to politics, development in national development plans, policies, and projects. The critical focuses of the NDS are poverty obliteration, employment formation, gender impartiality, social integration, and environmental protection.

The evident dynamics in Swazi women's representation in Parliament warrants more exploration, hence the study was worthwhile. The *Tinkhundla* (constituencies that are made of a number of chiefdoms) system of government, though said to be democratic by its proponents, needs more probing in order to qualify the notion held. The study traced the representation and participation of Swazi women in Parliament in the only surviving absolute monarchy in Africa with a unique blend of a 'home-grown' democracy. The

⁹J. Ballington, Promoting Credible Elections and Democratic Governance in Africa. The report was compiled from the findings and case studies presented at an International IDEA, EISA and SADC Parliamentary Forum workshop held on 11-12 November, 2004, Pretoria, South Africa. Generally, there has been a global slow progress in achieving gender equality in legislature representation. <http://www.ipu.org> (Accessed on 18 April 2015).

¹⁰Ministry of Home Affairs Report, Gender Coordination Unit, Swaziland Country Report. "Sub-regional Review on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty Third Special of the General Assembly (2000)", Zambia, 26th-29th April, 2004.

¹¹*Ibid.*

history of Swazi women in Parliament dates back to 1967 when Mary Tutu Mdziniso responded to an invitation by King Sobhuza II to be the first woman Senator in the first Parliament.¹² Dr. Mary Mdziniso is renowned for being one of the most distinguished women in Swaziland, who became the first and only woman to venture into Swazi politics as first President of *Lutsango LwakaNgwane* (enclosure of the Ngwane nation), a Senator from 1968 to 1974, she was then recalled as Senator from 1978 to 1983 and again in 1993 to 1998. See Appendix 1.

In the subsequent years, more women gradually entered Parliament in Swaziland. The commencement and expansion of women figures in Parliament was likely driven by King Sobhuza II in response to local and international pressures such as the Beijing Conference of 1995. Thereafter, King Mswati III augmented women representation in the Swazi Parliament largely because of pressure from international women's organisations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).¹³ The study evaluated if collaboration exists between women in the policymaking processes and Parliamentarians; secondly, what informs women to a common agenda? Thirdly, how do women choose the strategies that they pursue in the process and what role do they play, if there is any? Fourthly, do feminists ideas or thinking have influence in the process of the presence of women in large numbers in Parliament? Lastly, does it or does it not have any effect on laws passed such that they address women's gender egalitarianism issues?

This study spurned from 1968 because Swaziland was at an advanced stage of inception of independence on 6 September 1968. History has it that Britain allowed Swaziland to be independent in 1967 on paper, but 1968 was the celebration of independence. Secondly, the first woman Parliamentarian, Dr. Mary Tutu Mdziniso, was appointed the sole first woman Senator in the first Parliament of Swaziland in 1968 and the first woman Senator in Africa. The study ends in 2015. There was a dynamic change in entry

¹²T. Nhlengethwa, *Singabakhohlwa*, A Magazine which was sourced by the researcher in the Swaziland National Archives, 2004.

¹³M. Fakudze, *The Elections and Boundaries Commission of 2008 Elections*, November, 2008, 48.

processes of aspiring candidates to the Swazi Parliament that warranted to be documented in the thesis. The eighth Parliament of Swaziland recorded the highest number of women which was twenty-one, but the numbers dropped to one in the tenth Parliament in 2013. The changing and fluctuation preferences of women over the years are a reflection of changing concerns that prompted the documentation of what actually transpired in the history of women's entry to Parliament, hence this study, with the aim of discerning whether gender equality issues were embraced or not.

Apart from journal articles, there is an emerging literature on Women Parliamentarians in the form of book-length studies and anthropologies. In the first book-length study of Women Parliamentarians in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale explores the appointment and activities of Ugandan women Parliamentarians. She notes that they are in Parliament through affirmative action and once in Parliament, they represent the interests of both women and men. Tamale points to the heterogeneous nature of women Parliamentarians but argues that even though they display some differences, women Parliamentarians have managed to effect notable legislative changes in Uganda.¹⁴

Until as recently as 2010, scholars have concentrated on the quota system and why some countries have more women Parliamentarians than others, as well as reasons behind women's paths to Parliament. This study went further and historicised efforts over the historical fifty years to elect women to the National Parliamentary Office in Swaziland. Instead of focusing on the canonical question, why women are under-represented in Parliament, this study considerably traced the trajectory of Swazi women's representation in Parliament from the inception of self-government in the first Parliament of 1968; to the eleventh Parliament of 2015, as women in Parliament remain peripheral. The eighth Parliament of 2008 recorded the highest representation of women in the Swazi Parliament with twenty-one. The tenth Parliament only had one. Irregularities of this nature were probed for documentation of historical records for future generations' knowledge. The setbacks that have frustrated the implementation of the 2005

¹⁴S. Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

constitutional allocated 30% women in Parliament quota system were further investigated.

In conclusion, the different studies and views on gender, leadership, politics and women in Parliament, and decision making were no doubt useful to this study in many ways, such that the initiation and development of women's entry to Parliament was substantially enriched. The study benefited from all the studies in different ways. Chapter two delves into the literature reviewed and the theoretical framework. In particular, the study partly added insights into the works documented by historians and showed how gender and politics had reshaped the history of Swaziland. This was done against the background of the plethora of obstacles and challenges women encounter as they traverse the male-dominated world of politics.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study distinguished that the historiography of Swazi women in Parliament from 1968 to 2015 has a lacuna that has not been sufficiently addressed and has been in obscurity for quite some time, particularly studies on gender have not been sufficiently covered by Swazi scholars. Despite the increase and decrease in the active involvement of women in the Parliament of Swaziland, there is a growing concern that women's full participation in Parliament remains peripheral. Swazi women's negligible active participation and entry in Parliament was seen against the background of the prevalence of masculine rule which gave prominence to the rule by males since the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era in the evolution of gender studies. There is a yawning gap that has not been sufficiently covered by historians in a coherent manner in this phenomenon. The absence of such documentation is a cause for concern because women, though least represented, have occupied Parliamentary positions since 1968.

The study advanced this assertion further, by investigating whether the neglected historical trajectory of women participation in Swaziland's Parliament does or does not hold any substance that warranted research and documentation as history. The study investigated the trajectory of the initiation, inception, adoption and development of women

in politics and leadership positions with more emphasis on women in the Parliament of Swaziland from 1968 to 2015 and how women representation elevated or did not elevate gender equality in the Swazi Parliament, this was partly covered and supported with empirical evidence.

There was a need for such a study as it ascertained the stance of Swaziland in that regard, more specifically pertaining to women's participation in Parliament. Women representation is desired for many reasons, most importantly for the fact that women are human animations and they deserve to partake in every aspect of life destined for human beings. Awotash Alemu Tefera 2010 affirms this submission by stating that, "Women have different experiences from men and have a different identity that needs to be represented in Parliament. Women in any given society constitute slightly above half of the total population in numbers, hence the legitimacy of the liberal political theory of states requires that women remain essential to form part of the seats in Parliaments. If a political institution opts out women representatives, the modern legitimacy rested upon the people will contradict itself because the will of the people includes the will of men and women."¹⁵ This study became a necessity in a bid to get a more authentic version of what actually happens in Swazi Parliament, there was, therefore, a need to catch women's voices in order to produce a more credible, balanced and gender-sensitive history of Swaziland's Parliament after 50-plus years of independence.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study investigated the historical trajectory of Swazi women in the Swazi Parliament from 1968 to 2015. The specific objectives of the study were:

- To reconnoitre the historical trajectory and developments that led to women's entry to politics and to the Parliament of Swaziland from 1968 to 2015.

¹⁵ Awotash Alemu Tefara, Women Representation in the Parliament: Comparative Analysis Special Emphasis given to South Africa and Ethiopia, A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Master of Legal Studies in Comparative constitutional Law at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, November, 2010.Pp. 345-347.

- To study the relationship between gender and politics in order to reach equity between men and women's positions in Parliament.
- To investigate women's entry to politics and Parliament.
- To explore the effect of women's presence in Parliament in facilitating the lobbying and advocacy for laws that promote gender equity and the status of women and the girl child in Swazi politics.
- To further probe on how socialisation and culture have hindered or promoted women participation in politics.

In observation of the above objectives of the study, research questions in response addressed the following questions:

1. How has the participation of women contributed to the democratisation of Swaziland?
2. Has women participation in Parliament influenced patriarchy and gender politics in order to reach gender equity or not?
3. Has women involvement in decision-making resulted in any Bills that were debated as passed or not passed as Laws governing Swaziland from 1968 to 2015?
4. How has women participation in Parliament improved or not improved community developments at Constituency and National level from 1968 to 2015?

The scholarship has acknowledged a “blurring of boundaries between women's history and gender history to such an extent that they have been seen as synonymous and have been uncritically used interchangeably.”¹⁶ Western scholars have attempted to define

¹⁶J.Bailey and J.Arnold, “Is the rise of gender history ‘hiding’ women from history once again?” <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles.html> (Accessed on 4 August 2017). The blurring boundaries in women's, feminist and gender history emanate from the overlapping fields of women's studies, feminist studies and gender studies. Women's studies focus on describing phenomena relevant to women. Gender studies go further in highlighting the socio-culturally constructed relations whereby women and men are differentially located. Feminist studies go further in identifying oppression in difference, and advocate women empowerment in their struggle for equality with men (Charmaine Pereira, in “Locating Gender and Women's Studies in Nigeria: What

‘women’s history’, ‘feminist history’ and ‘gender history’. While women’s history refers to “all history which is specifically *about* women”, feminist history “is *for* women whether or not it is solely about women.”¹⁷ Gender history focuses on “the variations within society in a particular period in the past with regard to the perceived differences between women and men.”¹⁸

The study discussed a historical trajectory of women's participation in the Swazi Parliament within the context of feminist women’s history (radical). This entailed retelling Swazi women's participation in Parliamentary history from women’s perspectives, with the solitary aim of recovering the “actual *experiences* of women in the past.”¹⁹ Focusing on women’s history does not essentially entail the dismissal of ‘gender’ as a concept of analysis. Among other scholars, Cecilia Ridgeway concur with Shelley J. Correll 2011 by noting that ‘gender’ “is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference.”²⁰ The study does not necessarily preclude the use of the concept ‘gender’ as a distraction from the process of recuperating the history of women’s proficiencies. Relatively, it is couched in terms of a gender-based approach informed by a holistic conceptualisation of ‘gender’ which perceives ‘gender’ “as a fundamental aspect of *social being* and social order.”²¹ This conceptualisation augers well with the issue studied as it acknowledges that the *cultural* constructions of the *art of being*, constitute the basis of the marginalisation of Swazi women from the

Trajectories for the Future?” in (ed.) Signe Arnfred et al, *Gender Activism and Studies in Africa*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2005), pp.1- 2.

¹⁷P.Hudson, “Women’s History and Gender History”, *New Perspectives*, 7(2), December 2001, 1, http://www.history-ontheweb.co.uk/sources/women's_history.htm (Accessed on 22 August 2012) (emphasis added).

¹⁸S.O. Rose, *What is Gender History?*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p.2.

¹⁹G. Lerner, “Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges”, *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1/ 2, Autumn, 1975, p. 10 (emphasis original).

²⁰C.L. Ridgeway and S.J. Correll, “Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations”, *Gender and Society*, (Vol. 18, Number. 4 August 2004), pp.510-531, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448>. Accessed 28 May 2018.

²¹L.L. Downs, *Writing Gender History*, London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2010 p. 5. (emphasis added).

legislature. Although there are numerous social groups marginalised from the public to decision making, most of the forms of marginalisation are based on the female gender.

The study on Swazi Women's Parliamentary history drew insights from other disciplines such as political science, sociology, and law, where the theme has been under discussion for almost two

decades. Since 1988, the concept 'gender' has informed the 'critical mass theory' pervasive in scholars' presentation of women's statutory representation. The 'critical mass theory' hinges on the assumption that "only as their numbers increase will women be able to promote women-friendly policy change and influence their male colleagues to accept and approve legislation promoting women's concerns."²² The study took a leap forward to examine the actual participation of women in the Parliament and the effectiveness of their manifestation. This was done in order to dispel the notion that some women tend to be "tokens" once they assume seats in Parliament.

1.4 CONTRIBUTION TO THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

The study was first of its kind and 'breaking the glass ceiling' of the male dominated field of politics in Swaziland in the period 1968 to 2015. The study unearthed information that is new in the historiography of Swaziland. A substantial amount of valuable contribution to the antiquity of Swaziland and Southern Africa has opened up for supplementary vigilant studies to continue. Shedding more insights on how best Swaziland can partly redress her feminist history so that it blends well with her patriarchal system of governance have been initiated through this piece of research.

The study found that the historiography of Swazi women in Parliament from 1968 to 2015 has a lacuna that has not been sufficiently highlighted and has been in obscurity, for instance, studies on gender have not been sufficiently studied by Swazi scholars. This is

²²S. Childs and M. L. Krook, "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation", *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, p. 725.

partly because gender as a concept is a relatively new phenomenon. The investigation interrogated how women in the Parliament of Swaziland manipulated the political arena to advance issues of gender equity in a bid to close the gap of marginalisation of women in politics and in Parliament. The motive women need to be present within Parliament is that females pose different characteristics than men, and if they are not represented their point of view is downgraded. Reingold and Schwindt-Bayer 2006 concur that although this is not always the case, a number of researchers have shown women representing women than their male counterparts.²³ As this is not the end in itself, the theory of the politics of presence was also utilised in the present research as women's presence within political life is a necessary step for the transformation of Parliament in terms of its structure and the advocacy of policies with a woman's agenda. The development of an African-centred paradigm is a milestone in the history of women, especially because this trend signposts a departure from the compartmentalisation of women's experiences rather than the complexity of women's own accounts in engendering politics and leadership in order to complement gender issues. Another contribution that is empirical in nature is providing a historical investigation of women's experiences in leadership positions and politics, and how they have moulded gender equity implementation in a patriarchal system in the case of Swaziland.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The design selected allowed the researcher to amass, verify and synthesise evidence to establish historical evidences. The criteria of descriptive plus substantive representation which included the merging of qualitative research methods with other research methods was used in the study. The study extensively took a leaf from the qualitative research method. The fact that feminine features can only be meaningfully defined against male features or a gender-independent average makes it necessary to continuously compare findings regarding menfolk and women in leadership and Parliamentary positions.

²³B. Reingold. Women as office holders: linking descriptive and substantive representation. The Department of Political Science & Women's Studies Emory University Atlanta. Paper prepared for presentation at the political and American democracy conference. University of Notre Dame from May 25-27. 2006.

For this research, the criteria of descriptive representation assisted as a point of departure, through a focus on the women's entry to Parliament and leadership positions, female headcount in Parliament, women's and children's issues raised in Parliament and Bills passed as laws enacted in the legislature. Women's issues were researched by allowing the interviewees considerable autonomy and flexibility in responding to questions raised by the study. De Vos A. S 2008, argues that oral interviews were the predominant method of data collection in qualitative research.²⁴ In conducting the interviews with informants, the study made use of a alphanumeric voice recorder after which transcribing the interviews was carried out.²⁵ The use of a alphanumeric voice recorder had the advantage of saving time and of preserving the entire speech made for later analysis. Another added advantage was that oral information may be stored safely for longer periods. In case the researcher sought specific information (gathered from other speeches) which needed to be confirmed, oral information fitted well. However, while pursuing these voices of women and men who were/are in the Parliament of Swaziland, the researcher wanted the exercise to remain flexible to allow a degree of autonomy to the informants which enabled her to solicit as much information as possible.

Oral evidence was used in the study and had several advantages. One of which was to supplement or aid the interpretation of written sources. Through oral evidence, the study was able to reveal evidence which might not be obtained from any other source. Furthermore, oral questioning was used to give the researcher the autonomy to ask questions that may never have been asked in the past and also open new areas of research in the future.²⁶ The limitations of oral evidence were counteracted by supplementing and cross-checking oral evidence with other sources.

²⁴A.S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C.B. Fouche and C.S.L. Delport, *Research at Grassroots*, p. 287.

²⁵For a similar view, see for instance, A. Bryan, *Social Research Method*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 438.

²⁶W.H. McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide* (London: Longman, 2002), pp. 59-60.

Document analysis was another useful source of information for this study whereby documents and texts were analysed. As De Vos et al. argue, the use of document analysis allows for in-depth qualitative research.²⁷ The study used document analysis as a method of data collection; such information was sourced from Parliamentary documents, government annual reports, newspaper articles, magazines, journal articles and minutes of meetings. In addition, Hansard documents and diaries and personal letters were used in this research. Official documents of post-colonial governments such as *Swaziland Annual Reports* were used in investigating the manner women featured in Parliament and how their presence was meaningful to their status. Pre-colonial records shed views on how the state of affairs of women was in that era and how that treatment impacted women in the post-colonial era.

The usage of desk-top research was another method employed. Desk-top investigation refers to seeking facts, general information on a topic, be it historical background, study results that have been published or exist in public documents. This entailed newspapers and magazines, examples included; *The Times of Swaziland*, *Swazi Observer*, *Mirror*, *Dzadze* and the *Nation* – these were used because they were quick to publish the dissent voices of women in Parliament. The other component of desk-top research included libraries, the internet, government and non-governmental agencies, and governmental sources such as Hansard. On-line data was also used. The internet remains a pivotal source of information and viewed as an internationally interconnected system of computers that is loaded with information proceeding any topic you can imagine in this era. The latter was used with caution due to the fact that some engines could not be reliable.

In addition, the desk-top research method, according to Dawson, encompasses the examination of existing literature to help situate the current study within the context of existing evidence. Also, desk-top based research involved collecting secondary information which the researcher used the findings as a backup for this work.²⁸ The ideas

²⁷A.S De Vos, H.Strydom, C.B. Fouche and C.S.L. Delport, *Research at Grassroots*, p. 319.

²⁸C. Dawson, *Practical Research Methods* (Oxford: How to Books, 2002), p. 41.

and strength of the desk-top research method made the study follow example Dawson's submission. The essence of secondary information was to discern the authenticity of work done by other scholars so as to build up the accumulated information through sourcing and appreciating work covered by other studies in this field. According to Wineberg, the secondary information was used to support the scholar's opinions, develop the research ideas, solve research problems as well as disagree with other scholarly writings if need be. This information was easily accessible in libraries, government departments and on the internet.²⁹

Equally, part of the desk-top research documents were augmented with the internet and on-line databases were used tactfully. The libraries were used as resource centres. The internet use proved useful to the study because it accelerated and improved the way of searching for information, though it had to be used sparingly so as to guard against being carried away by all the information posted. Through internet use, the study was able to amass information on any subject.³⁰ Living in the computer age compels all research to be also conducted online to access more contemporary information.

Selection of interviewees was based on their vast knowledge of the parliamentary history of Swazi women and Parliament, combined with their actual experiences in Parliament. A total population of 30 to 40 women, more precisely those who were once in Parliament and those who are currently in Parliament, were used as a sample. The same figure for men (30 to 40) with Parliament experience were handpicked with the purpose of sourcing information. The targeted cadres were their own gatekeepers, therefore the researcher did not need permission to interview them.

²⁹C. Wineberg, *Learning how to Research and Evaluate* (Cape Town: Juta and Company Ltd, 1997), p. 78.

³⁰C. Wineberg, *Learning how to Research*, p. 78.

The researcher merely extended the wish to formalise a conversation with a purpose to the targeted individuals.³¹ It was also necessary to map the power differentials between women and men to understand how gender equity issues impacted politics, especially when the ruling has always been patriarchal. On the other hand, feminism was taken not only as a belief but as a reality that faces women in decision making across nations. The realities facing Swazi women in Parliament were captured by examining the activities in which the women are/were involved in, by using information from the Swazi Parliamentary website supplemented with other sources from the literature. Corroborating the information collected and interpreting it in a historical manner was done in the study in order to strengthen authenticity.

The substance of the information for this study came from published bibliographies on Swaziland, some Parliamentarians allowed the use of their curriculum vitae. Informative materials were sourced from the University of Swaziland (UNISWA) Libraries, the University of Zululand (UNIZULU), and the Swaziland National Archives (SNA). The Swazi National Libraries and the Swaziland National Museum (SNM) Library were used extensively in the study. Formal consultations with custodians of Swazi women Parliamentarians and Swazi male Parliamentarians' information was pre-arranged.

1.6 FOCUS OF CHAPTERS AND SUMMARY

Chapter 1 is pre-occupied with the introduction and background of the thesis. Unpacking the general background of the thesis titled, "The Historical Trajectory of Women Participation in the Swazi Parliament: Breaking the Barriers of Patriarchy 1968 to 2015". Applicable terms are defined for a better understanding of their use in the chapters that are to follow. The content of each chapter in this study is provided. Other components of

³¹C.Mohanty, Russo, A, and Torres, L. Third world women and the politics of feminism. USA: Indian University Press. 1991.

the chapter included a statement of the research problem, aims and objectives of the study, significance of the study, research methodology and the focus of chapters.

Chapter 2 focuses on identifying the literature reviewed and the theoretical framework on women in Swaziland's Parliament. The chapter unpacked a plethora of insights in academia, with an emphasis on women in Parliament. Factors behind women's paths to Parliament have been a theme of great interest to political scientists. Gretchen Bauer explains how the huge participation of women in Parliamentary positions in Namibia are a result of a closed-list comparative representation, voluntary quotas by political parties and pressure by a women's movement that has been influenced by the global women's movement. She has observed that an increase in the number of women Parliamentarians' has not translated into positive results for women's benefits. Of the factors identified, Bauer gives primacy to women's agency and emphasises their initiative in pushing for more women in the legislature through women's movements. She argues that it is not only numbers but who among the elected that is eligible for support; particularly those who participated in the liberation struggle. Gisela Geisler engages Bauer in bringing to light women's initiative to lobby for representation in legislation. She notes that by the 2000s the quota system had seen many women get into politics, but some had to lobby through women's movements that were supported by NGOs. Unlike Bauer, Geisler climaxes the heterogeneous nature of women's participation in decision making. While the older female generation did not question the male-dominated status quo, the younger and educated generation pushed for political representation, making it impossible for them to unite and push for policy changes in favour of women.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to discussing women's paths to Parliament from 1968 to 2015. Swazi women's history to enter Parliament is better understood after acclimatising with the historical background of Swaziland. The Swazi Parliament is discussed through examining efforts including women in Parliament over a period of +/-45 years. The first phase (1968–1978), based on the Westminster Parliamentary system, was marked by the negligible existence of women in Parliament. Between 1967–1978 there was only one woman Parliamentarian, Senator Mary Mdziniso. Mary Mdziniso was a political icon who

starkly stands out as “the only woman in Parliament”, for 10 years, and was the only woman who served in Parliament as senator for 31 years between 1967 and 1998, while she was the president of the woman’s regiment, *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*, during the same period. The second phase saw the introduction of the authoritarian *Tinkhundla* (constituencies) as centres for conducting elections through the EC and covered three Parliaments in fifteen years (1978–1993). The participation increased to seven women between 1988 and 1993. The third phase (1993–1998) which covered one Parliament, saw the introduction of campaigns by King Mswati III for prospective Members of Parliament (MP) within the Tinkhundla Electoral College. As more women were allowed into Parliament, some of them charted their way into Parliamentary elections out of their own volition. The introduction of the externally induced quota system during the fourth phase saw additional women in Parliament, but most of them were the king’s appointees. The commendable increase stretch to the highest level ever recorded in the history of Swaziland, which was 21 women, who entered Parliament in 2003.

Chapter 4 focuses on Swazi women Parliamentarians’ substantive representation of women’s issues from 1968 to 2015. It historicises the extent to which Swazi women Parliamentarians were able to endorse women’s issues once elected to political office. The supposition that women’s descriptive representation enhances women’s substantive representation has run through the popular perception of women Parliamentarians in general. The bifurcation of interests has culminated in the assumption that differential treatment of women and men in society results in different interests for each gender and that such differences call for different exemplification in the legislature. Indeed, it is important to note that specific women Parliamentarians affected women-friendly legislation though met with resistance where the policy touched on cultural spheres.

Chapter 5 concentrates on Parliament, constituencies and the contribution of women representation. Swazi women Parliamentarians did not confine themselves to women’s issues but participated in the constituency and national issues as well. At the constituency level, they were concerned with infrastructure and development. At the national level, they

paid attention to the land question, rural development, health, education, mining and tourism, among other issues. Other social issues such as security, senior citizens' care and electricity, to mention a few, also featured in their Parliamentary motions.

Chapter 6 is a narrative of Swazi women Parliamentarian's problems in the patriarchal system. Challenges encountered were unearthed by the study. Voicing out actual experiences of some women in their bid to secure seats in Parliament became the glass ceiling achievement.

Chapter 7 comprises mainly of the summation and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT OF SWAZILAND 1967–2015

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter unpacks two main themes that are fundamental to the study and aligned to the objectives. These are the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review section is based on earlier scholarly works, references from studies of women in selected parts of the world, dissertations, and academic journals. These sources briefly discuss women's experiences in Parliament internationally, and more specifically on Swaziland where the study is based.

2.2 LITERATURE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN LEGISLATORS³²

The research discusses the literature review under three main categories, that is; literature on international women legislators, African women in politics and legislature, and Swazi women in politics. Studies on women Parliamentarians are recent, following the fact that women Parliamentarians constitute recent phenomena in international Parliamentary history.³³ Western scholars have produced considerable literature but there is a dearth of historical works on women Parliamentarians in the West. Nonetheless, political science feminists have addressed women legislators from a 'critical mass theory' perspective. Taking a feminist stance, Sharah Razavi acknowledges women's absence from formal politics, but where they appear, she questions the possibility of uniting women of diverse origins (race, class, age, etc.) under the category 'women'. Razavi goes beyond the 'critical mass theory' to consider the quality of women's participation in decision-making.³⁴ In a similar vein, Marian Sawer, another political scientist is critical of the

³²P.V. Gama, "Swazi Women in Parliament, 1967-2008", MA Thesis, University of Swaziland, 2013, pp. 12-13.

³³ <https://beta.ipu.org/our-work/gender-equality/women-in-parliament>. Accessed On 28/09/2017.

³⁴ Sharah Razavi, "Women in Contemporary Democratization", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 1, October 2000, pp. 201- 224, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20000182> (Accessed 08/04/2017).

assumption that large numbers of women in the legislation translate into justice or democracy and the ultimate consideration of women's interests.³⁵

Among other political scientists cited, Pamela Paxton, Melanie M. Hughes and Jennifer L. Green focus on forces behind women's path to Parliament. They note that the inception of international women's movements has been accompanied by a substantial upsurge of women in political decision-making institutions.³⁶ It is this Western presentation of women Parliamentarians that has influenced scholarly works on women Parliamentarians in Africa. Studies on women Parliamentarians began around the 1970s, following the fact that women Parliamentarians are recent phenomena in international Parliamentary history. This means that there is a yawning gap that this study carried out. The research partly filled the missing gap in history because Parliament and women existed long before this period. Doo Aphane, a Human Rights activist in Swaziland, has documented substantial articles on the ambiguous state of women in Swaziland. She acknowledges that although the 2006 Constitution recognises the equivalence of women, in practice much legislation remains unchanged and discriminatory on the ground.³⁷

Aphane's works are of a radical feminist whilst the study adopted a feminist stance in the lens of a historian capturing the developments in women's entry and performance in Parliament over time but used the lens of gender as a cultural definition of behaviour appropriate to sexes in a given society at a given time. Implications are that gender is about how women and men relate to their context at a given time. Gender is how masculine and feminine role areas are designated, orchestrated and constructed by society. The study aimed at accommodating the voices of women in Parliament, an area

³⁵Marian Sawer, "Parliamentary Representation of Women: From Discourses of Justice to Strategies of Accountability", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4, October 2002, pp. 361- 380, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601594> (accessed 13/04/2017).

³⁶Pamela Paxton, Melanie M. Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green, "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893- 2003", *The American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71, No. 6, December 2006, pp. 898- 920, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25472436>, (accessed 12/04/2017).

³⁷D. Aphane, Open the Space, <http://ecumenicalwomen.org/t.D.Aphane> is the founder for Women Development Consultancy specializing in Law, Gender and Development, the founder and Coordinator of Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust(Swaziland).In 2012 she was the a Regional Task Force Committee member of invigorating the Women's Movement in Southern Africa (Accessed on 1 February 2016).

that has not been sufficiently studied by scholars with the aim of ungendering politics which was well covered.

The same view is supported by Mantoe Phakathi who studied and documented in her articles about the views Swazi women held about MPs generally. Phakathi incorporated the gender equity aspect and leadership in the plight of women in Swaziland. Swazi women supported women Parliamentarians by voting for them in positions of MPs, with the hope that once in Parliament they will represent them in a bid to mould their current wanting situation.³⁸ Phakathi's findings generally were that womenfolk held the view that Woman Parliamentarians once in Parliament, forgot to serve the people who voted them in the positions they held. The study took this assertion further in discerning if the notion is still worthwhile.

Carolyn Hamilton has written many works about the History of Oral Traditions in Southern Africa. She is documenting the political amalgamation occurrence with the question of why such an event took place. Hamilton is reconstructing a history of events and people associated with them which allows for the determination of the motive forces in that history and facilitate the analysis of the anthropological structures of chiefdoms and kingdoms.³⁹ The nature of Hamilton's study covers a wide space in Southern Africa. Furthermore, the study sourced some rich information on how women featured in leadership positions using oral traditions. The distinction that this study focused on was how women featured in modern politics at the emergence of gender studies.⁴⁰ Hamilton though laments the lack of coherent and reliable historiography for the early pre-colonial period which has a gap and is most evident in recent historical works – the one reason that might have prompted Hamilton to venture in the Five Thousand Years of Archives Project, including those oral traditions of Swaziland which will be digitised.

³⁸M. Phakathi, Swazi Workers pays Government Repression with their Jobs, <http://equaltimes.org/ma>. She is a Swazi journalist with experience spanning to 10 years. She writes on political human rights and social issues rights. Sourced on (01/02/2016).

³⁹C. Hamilton, History and Oral Traditions in Southern Africa.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

Leroy Vail and Landag White deal with studying and the documentation of songs and poems in Swaziland.⁴¹ Vail and White analyse Swazi royal praises and make meaning out of these.⁴² The study emulated a similar approach by incorporating women's regiments' songs and how influential these songs made women voices recognised in the patriarchal society. In a similar vein, Thuli Motsa in her work, "And still they dance and sing" brings forth the power of songs, alludes that songs from the past were an effective mode of conveying a message whether good or bad in society to a particular audience.⁴³ Similarly, Nonhlanhla Dlamini expanded in a study, "Power, Sexuality and Subvention" in Lutsango and siSwati songs. In her work songs are studied as a sphere that women use to depict gender and power relations, negate these relations and create oppositional language that counters patriarchal norms and views on female sexuality. Dlamini's work documents the songs that portray relationships between women's folk songs and subvention of patriarchal institutions. The songs serve as an agency that traces a hidden history that is embedded behind the composition of songs whose discourses destabilises patriarchal discourses.⁴⁴ The author's approach of a gendered power relationship is an approach that was useful since the study sought to present the history of the Swazi women in Parliament from the perspectives and viewpoints of the women themselves. It was discovered that such an approach warranted Swazi women more insights as they are a larger component of the Swazi society.

A couple of scholars have gone beyond the compensatory Queen Labotsibeni's history of Swaziland to consider other women in politics. Dumsile Shabangu attributes women's active involvement in policymaking to the role played by NGOs in the political transformation of the country. She covered in instances in which women undertook a

⁴¹L. Vail and L. White, *Power and Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), pp. 156-197.

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³T. Motsa-Dladla, And Still they dance and sing. The significance and meaning of Swazi women's Traditional songs. A Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of M>A. in Education at St Mary's University. June, 1994.

⁴⁴N. Dlamini, Power, Sexuality and Subvention in Lutsango and siSwati Traditional Wedding Songs. An M.A. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. 2009.p.45.

number of activities in the 55 Swazi voting/polling stations (Tinkhundla Centres) by encouraging and sensitising women to participate in the voting exercise in order to increase the zeal of women to participate in the elections.⁴⁵ From the documentation by this scholar, findings were that women are not well epitomized in politics and decision-making. The existing societal and cultural system as well as the pressure from traditions, customs and beliefs determine the way of life in Swaziland and influence the extent to which women participate in decision-making. The study adopted the sociological point of view that Shabangu's research has pointed out. The new horizon that Shabangu did not come out clearly on was the issue of gender, leadership and politics in the Parliament of Swaziland as a concept that needed more investigation, this research attempted to cover that gap.

There is dearth of historical works on women Parliamentarians in the West; political science feminists have addressed women legislators from a 'critical mass theory' perspective. Taking a feminist stance, Sharah Razavi acknowledges women's absence from formal politics, but where they appear, she questions the possibility of uniting women of diverse origins (race, class, and age) under the category 'women'. Razavi goes beyond the 'critical mass theory' to consider the quality of women's participation in decision-making.⁴⁶ In a similar vein, Marian Sawer, another political scientist is critical of the assumption that large numbers of women in legislation translate into justice or democracy and the ultimate consideration of women's interests.⁴⁷ Among other political scientists, Pamela Paxton, Melanie Hughes and Jennifer L.Green focus on forces behind women's path to Parliament. They note that the inception of international women's movements has been accompanied by a substantial increase of women in political decision-making

⁴⁵D. Shabangu, "Review of Political Situations in Swaziland Women in Politics and Decision Making in Southern Africa." Women in Law in Southern Africa (WILSA) Publication, 2007.p. 34.

⁴⁶S. Razavi, "Women in Contemporary Democratization", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 1, October 2000, pp. 201- 224, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20000182> (accessed 24/05/2015).

⁴⁷M. Sawer, "Parliamentary Representation of Women: From Discourses of Justice to Strategies of Accountability", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4, October 2002, pp. 361- 380, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601594> (accessed 24/05/2015).

institutions.⁴⁸ It is this Western presentation of women Parliamentarians that has influenced scholarly works on women Parliamentarians in Africa.

In the literature about women's contribution in Parliament in politics and in international statements of intention, it is widely stated that women's proportional involvement in political decision-making is not purely a standard of women's equality but it is also a guarantee for it. The contemporary analysis of women's proportion and the anticipated effects of their presence within the Swazi Parliament were based on the following statements of international literature: besides human rights facets process, which eventually serves the entire society, a view suggested by Mateo Diaz.⁴⁹ The submission by Diaz is supported by Phillips.⁵⁰ Women's welfares, however, cannot be properly represented without their presence and proper proportion in Parliament a submission made by Phillips. The connection between headcount and representation is best described with the term "critical mass". According to this concept, a minimum of about thirty percent of minority representation offers realistic chances for the representation of special interests and qualities. If Women's Parliamentary proportion is close to "critical mass level", reactions to women politicians will be different, resistance to women's public role-taking diminishes, women legislators' performance and efficiency change, political culture (style) and discourse (themes) likewise. All these affect women's societal situation positively as asserted by Dahlerup.

Miranda Miles, using a life history approach, traces the history of Swazi female migrants to the Witwatersrand mines between 1920 and 1970. By letting her informants speak for themselves, Miles leads us to understand the experiences and perspectives of these

⁴⁸ P. Paxton, M. M. Hughes, and J. L. Green, "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893- 2003", *The American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71, No. 6, December 2006), pp. 898- 920, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25472436>, (accessed 24/05/2015).

⁴⁹Diaz Mateo. Women MP's- Women Representation? Cited in Ida Barlangi Kelemen's PhD in Political Science Thesis. Corvinus, Budapest, 2008.

⁵⁰Phillips, 1995.

women from their mouths.⁵¹ This approach benefited the study because it also sought to present the history of the Swazi women Parliamentarians from the perspective of women. The study sought to include women's history in the development of women's representation in Parliament in Swaziland from 1967 to 2015 through tracing the actual voices of women Parliamentarians.⁵² Hamilton S. Simelane intertwined with Jonathan Crush argue that, colonial policy, by adversely impacting areas of production involving Swazi people, drove women to pursue wage employment. Swazi men, chiefs, the monarchy and colonial administrators all attempted to frustrate female participation in wage employment and eventually safeguarded the support of colonial administrators.⁵³ Simelane's article uses the experience of Swaziland to encompass the discourse on why men dominated the migration currents in Swaziland during the colonial period. Succinctly, it points out that it is no longer useful to rely on purely economic explanations of why more men were migrating than women in colonial Swaziland. The argument pushes the frontier of analysis beyond economics and argues that a more significant explanation is to be found in the supremacy relations at the homestead level, whereby men had the power to determine if and when women could migrate. The discussion shows that Swazi men, in collaboration with colonial administrators, employed different strategies to control the mobility of women. The intention of the men was to keep women in the countryside areas and they used their power in the homestead and their influence on the colonial administration to create barriers against female migration to local and cross-border industrial centres.⁵⁴

⁵¹M. Miles, "Missing Women: A Study of Swazi Female Migration to the Witwatersrand, 1920-1970", MA Thesis, University of Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 1991.

⁵²H. S. Simelane, *Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland 1940 – 1960 and Uganda*: JAN Publication Centre, 2003

⁵³H. S. Simelane, and J. Crush, *Colonial Policy, Male opposition and Intergration of Swazi women into Wage employment 1935 – 1955*. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17532523.2011.596620>. Accessed on 23 July 2015.

⁵⁴H.S. Simelane and J. Crush. *Colonial Policy*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17532523.2011.596620> Accessed on 23 July 2015.

Up until the 1970s, there was little scholarly attention on African women,⁵⁵ let alone their formal participation in Parliament. A corpus of historical literature on African women in politics has paid attention to women in political leadership in pre-colonial Africa and their nationalist activities against colonialism. LaRay Denzer traces women's political activism in Sierra Leone from their demand for employment in the civil service during World War II, to the Sierra Leone Women's Movement's demand for representation in the legislative council in 1951. In a cursory study of Yoruba urban Christian and Muslim women, Denzer identifies works that traces Yoruba women's leadership roles in pre-colonial, colonial and anti-colonial nationalist politics as chiefs, leaders and founders of women's movements that demanded representation in local government bodies, as leaders in political parties and as holders of important political offices in the House of Assembly before independence.

She notes that Mabel Dove was the first woman to be elected to the legislature by popular vote in 1954, while one female chief was elected to Parliament in 1958 and later became Sierra Leone's first female minister.⁵⁶ Similarly, Susan Geiger highlights ways in which women paved their way into the legislative arena through their participation in the nationalist struggle.⁵⁷ There is scant literature on women Parliamentarians. Within the context of imperial history, Donal Lowry identifies the first woman Parliamentarian who shaped the contours of the colonial legislature in Southern Rhodesia and was

⁵⁵"Women's History-Africa-Bibliography", (not dated), <http://science.jrank.org/pages/8161/Women-s-History-Africa.html>, (accessed 23 June, 2015).

⁵⁶L.Denzer, "Women in Freetown Politics, 1914- 61: A Preliminary Study", *The Journal of International African Institute*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 1987, pp. 439- 456. See also L.Denzer, "Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No., 1994, pp. 1- 39.

⁵⁷S.Geiger, *TANU Women: gender and culture in the making of Tanganyikan nationalism, 1955-65*. (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 1997). Other works on women in African liberation struggles include C. A. Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the "Mau Mau" Rebellion and Social Change*, (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Wesview Press, 1981), U. Stephanies. *And They Still Dance: Women, War and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique*. London. Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1989. I. Staunton, *Mothers of the Revolution: The War Experiences of Thirty Zimbabwean Women*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991), J. Odim Cheryl and M. N. Emma, *For Women and the Nation: F. Ransom-Kuti of Nigeria*, (Champaign: University of Illinois press, 1997). J.Nhongo- Simbanegavi, *For Better or for Worse: Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000). L. Tanya, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle*, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc, 2004), to mention but a few.

instrumental in the establishment of a responsible government.⁵⁸ From an imperial history perspective, Ushewedu Kufakurinani and Estella Musiiwa have identified other colonial women Parliamentarians such as Muriel Ena Rosin and Maureen Watson in Southern Rhodesia who contributed to legislative changes in Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁹ The study is historical in nature and it adopted the developments of women's entry in Parliament with gender equity as a pivotal instrument in shaping and reinventing women's status.

African gender studies on women in politics, particularly in the Southern region, evolved out of women's association with the emancipation struggle, democratisation, and neoliberal economic reforms. From the 1970s, political scientists on women in African politics were preoccupied with numbers and the protagonist of women in Parliament. The conventional observation was that, though few in number, women held important Parliamentary positions.⁶⁰ A corpus of studies specifically on African women in the legislature has emerged since the 1990s. Susan Geisler is not only critical about numerical under-representation of women and limitations of their influence in political decision making but she disaggregates women Parliamentarians and notes that for the fewer women that made it to cabinet, the experience has been one of strong male opposition and lack of support from respective political parties and fellow women.⁶¹ Similarly, from a 'critical mass theory' perspective, Anne Marie Goetz attributes large numbers of women in the legislative assembly to affirmative action rather than women's efforts to push for representation. Goetz engages Geisler in arguing that institutional

⁵⁸ D.Lowry, "White Woman's Country": E.Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2007. pp. 259- 281.

⁵⁹ U. Kufakurinani and E. Musiiwa, "The Unsung Heroine: M. E. Rosin's Political Experiences in Rhodesia, 1945-1980", *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, No. 30, 2012, pp. 36- 48.

⁶⁰ J. F. O'Barr, Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, December, 1975, pp. 19- 27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/523718> (Accessed 13/06/15).

⁶¹ G. Geisler, "Troubled Sisterhood: Women and Politics in Southern Africa: case Studies from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana", *African Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 377, 1995, pp. 545- 578. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/723607> (Accessed 14/06/2015).

changes have not translated into an exemplification of women's interests in nationwide policy formulation.⁶²

From the year 2000, studies on women have been characterised by a shift from the 'critical mass theory' approach that pays attention to numbers, to a broader appreciation of women in the legislature. Gisela Geisler problematises women's heterogeneous status in Parliamentary issues. She sheds light on women's generational, educational and party differences as a factor militating against effective unity towards policymaking by, and for women.⁶³ Anne Marie Goetz argues that, in some cases, male-oriented strategies have pushed women into Parliament in Uganda but questions the effectiveness of these women Parliamentarians in advancing women's interests⁶⁴. Goetz raises a debate on this issue, by arguing if the presence of women pushes for the advocacy of gender issues that are in favour of women and the girl child once in Parliament. Hannah E. Britton draws a link between pre-transition mobilisation by women in South Africa, Uganda and Eritrea which formed a platform from which they pushed for representation in the Constitutional Assembly. However, Britton notes that 'critical mass' is one thing and women's ability to speak to policy decisions is another story.⁶⁵

Factors behind women's paths to Parliament have been a theme of great interest to political scientists. Gretchen Bauer explains how a large number of women in Parliamentary positions in Namibia are a consequence of a closed-list proportional representation, voluntary quotas by political parties and pressure by women's movement that has been influenced by the global women's movement. She has observed that an

⁶²A. M. Goetz, "Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 25, No. 76, June 1998, pp. 241- 262. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006545>, (Accessed 17/06/2015).

⁶³G. Geisler, "Parliament is Another Terrain for Struggle": Women, Men and Politics in South Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, December 2000, pp. 605- 630, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/161511>, (Accessed 20/06/2015).

⁶⁴A. M. Goetz, "No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, December 2002, pp. 359- 379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876025>, (Accessed 12/04/2015).

⁶⁵H. E. Britton, "Coalition Building, Election Rules, and Party Politics: South African Women's Path to Parliament", *Africa Today*, Vol. 49, No. 4, Winter 2002, pp. 33- 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4187530>, (Accessed 23/05/2015).

increase in women Parliamentary numbers have not translated into positive results for women's benefits.⁶⁶ Of the factors identified, Bauer gives primacy to women's agency and emphasises their initiative in pushing for more women in the legislature through women's movements. She argues that it is not only about numbers but who among the elected is eligible for support, particularly those who participated in the liberation struggle. Gisela Geisler engages Bauer in bringing to light women's initiative to lobby for representation in legislation. She notes that by the 2000s the quota system had seen many women get into politics, but some had to lobby through women's movements that were supported by NGOs. Unlike Bauer, Geisler climaxes the heterogeneous nature of women's participation in decision making. While the older female generation did not question the male-dominated status quo, the younger and educated generation pushed for political representation, making it impossible for them to unite and push for policy changes in favour of women.⁶⁷

Denise Walsh in addition to Pamela Scully note that at the beginning of the 1990s, women in Southern Africa entered Parliament in large numbers largely through the United Nations Women's Conference and the quota system. However, they note a skew towards elite women with a few less privileged women in legislation, and the failure of women in legislative positions to promote feminist policies. They identify democratisation in quantity and not in quality.⁶⁸ Similarly, Shireen Hassim argues that while quotas quicken the rate of women representation in Parliament, they do very little to enhance substantive representation.⁶⁹ Mi Yung Yoon engages the other scholars on the 'critical mass theory' approach. She advocates gender quotas and proportional representation as the only

⁶⁶G. Bauer, "The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country": Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 4, December, 2004, pp. 479- 509, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876136>, (Accessed 24/05/2015).

⁶⁷G. Geisler, 'A Second Liberation': Lobbying for Women's Political Representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 69- 84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25065067> (Accessed on 26 May 2015).

⁶⁸D. Walsh and P. Scully, "Altering Politics", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1), March 2006, pp. 1- 12.

⁶⁹S. Hassim, "Perverse Consequences? The Impact of Quotas for Women on Democratisation in Africa", (not dated), http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedfiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Hassim_PerverseConsequences.pdf, (Accessed 30 April, 2015).

effective means of increasing women in the legislature.⁷⁰ However, with reference to Tanzania, Yoon notes that the special seat system facilitates an intensification in the numeral of women legislators but does not seem to improve their numerical representation beyond the stipulated 30%. The result has been reduced women's competitiveness even though some women have used special seats to pave their way to constituency seats.⁷¹ They tapped into the works of these scholars with the view of capturing the actual voices of women Parliamentarians in Swaziland.

Apart from journal articles, there is an emerging literature on women Parliamentarians in the form of book-length studies and anthropologies. In the principal book-length study of women Legislators in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale explores the appointment and activities of Ugandan women Parliamentarians. She notes that they are in Parliament through affirmative action and once in Parliament, they represent the interests of both women and men. Tamale points to the heterogeneous nature of women Parliamentarians but argues that even though they display some differences, women Parliamentarians have managed to effect notable legislative changes in Uganda.⁷²

In an interdisciplinary anthology edited by Annie Marie Goetz and Hassim, several scholars examine the contrasting experiences of women Parliamentarians in Uganda and South Africa. They acknowledge the large numbers of women through affirmative action, but they are wary of the effectiveness of women in influencing legislation to advance women's interests.⁷³ In yet another interdisciplinary anthology edited by Gretchen Bauer as well as Hannah Britton, scholars address the motives for the increase in women's political representation, the issues related to women's representation in the legislatures, and the influence of women MPs on the legislation. They argue that the mode of electing

⁷⁰M. Yung Yoon, "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub- Sahara Africa", *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 August, 2004, pp. 447- 468, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598562>, (Accessed 2/04/2015).

⁷¹ M. Yung Yoon, "Special Seats for Women in the National Legislature: The Case of Tanzania", *Africa Today*, Vol. 55, No. 1 Fall 2008, pp. 61- 86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2766695>, (Accessed 28/05/2017).

⁷²S. Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

⁷³A. M. Goetz and Shireen Hassim (eds.), *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, (South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2003).

women to Parliament, and the interpretation of the reserved seats, has affected women representatives' power to challenge the government in contentious matters. In fact, the reality that most of the women are in Parliament through the quota system has negative implications on their capacity to challenge the system through which they rose to power.⁷⁴

Lindiwe Makhunga, in her article conducted in South Africa's National Parliament in the middle of June and September 2013, argues that South Africa's 2013 Parliament on the Women reflects three important dynamics that currently define the state of the relationship between the promotion of gender equality in South Africa and the gendered political narrative of the ANC.⁷⁵ These are explored as: (1) the 'hijacking' of the Women's Parliament and its monopolisation by the African National Congress (ANC) Women's League, reinforcing a trend established by the organisation in using key State vehicles, i.e. Parliament and the Department of Women, Youngsters and People with Disabilities, to reproduce a conservative, anti-transformative and nationalist gendered political narrative on the ruling party's behalf; and, (2) the ruling ANC Government's indecisive, palliative care approach to the well-being of women in South Africa. The latter two dynamics can be seen to have emerged from the third attribute of Parliament: (3) asymmetry between women's considerable presence in SA's Parliament and lack of a substantive Women's Parliamentary legislations in response to the urgent needs and interests of ordinary women, in lieu of patronage politics and party allegiance.

The study is tapping from theories that exist in academia, as it is based on a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework. To a large extent borrowing from social theories, particularly the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu⁷⁶, Michel Foucault⁷⁷ and John Thompson⁷⁸ who

⁷⁴G. Bauer and H. E. Britton (eds.), *Women in African Parliaments*, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

⁷⁵L. Makhunga, *South African Parliament and blurred lines: The ANC Women's League and the African National Congress' gendered political narrative*.<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2014.93.1732>. Published on-line on 08 July, 2014. Accessed on 26 February 2016.

⁷⁶Pierre Bourdieu, *Theory of Practice*, www.citeforme.com>sociology, Publications 1988 1990, 1991 and 2001. Accessed on (10/08/2017).

⁷⁷Michel Foucault, *Social Theory*, <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>. (Accessed on 11/08/2017).

⁷⁸John B. Thompson, *Theories of Ideology*. 1990, <https://book.google.com>ideology> (Accessed on 11/08/2017).

amplified the research. These theorists provide principles that explain language and power. Bourdieu's work in sociology is relevant to this research on women in the Parliament of Swaziland, in the sense that voices of women serve as a primary source that is authentic. In another note, Thompson makes a link between linguistic practices and how they interact with the forms of power and inequality which are pervasive features of Parliament. One of Bourdieu's key concepts is that of 'habitus'. He defines habitus as a set of predispositions that incline agents to act and react in certain predisposed ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions, and attitudes which are systematic. These dispositions are inculcated in early childhood through the mundane processes of training and learning during primary socialisation through what Paul J. Gee⁷⁹ calls 'primary discourses'. These are discourses to which people are apprenticed early in life during their primary socialisation. For example, women are often socialised to believe that men are better leaders than them.

These 'primary discourses' differ from 'secondary discourses', to which people are apprenticed as part of their socialisation within local, state tangled with national groups and institutions. Such socialisation is outside the early-home peer-group socialisation and is done through institutions such as schools and churches. The research has an interest in discerning if the socialisation of Swazi women does or does not have an impact on their Parliamentary work. Borrowing the notion of 'habitus' from Bourdieu, Gee defines practices in terms of discourse thus, 'a habitus refers to ways of speaking, writing, doing, being, believing and valuing, such as the mental structures through which an individual perceives and appreciates the physical and social world'.⁸⁰ Bourdieu argues that all linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, for instance, practices of those who are dominant.⁸¹ Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are compelled to be excluded from the social domains in which this competency is required or are condemned to silence. This is why the researcher seeks to investigate the representation

⁷⁹Paul J. Gee, *The Social Mind: Language ideology and Social Practice*. Series in Language and Ideology, New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1992. p. 108.

⁸⁰*Ibid*, p.83.

⁸¹Pierre Bourdieu, *Theory of Practice*, [www.citeforme.com>sociology](http://www.citeforme.com/sociology) , p.53. (Accessed on 12/08/2017).

of women's interests and needs in the Parliament of Swaziland with the intention of unearthing the actual practice in order to distill fiction from facts.

Similarly, some critical analyses of the useful concept of Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic power' described as an 'invisible power' which presupposes a kind of 'active complicity'⁸² on the part of those subjected to it is essential in this study. This power works in such a way that dominated individuals are not like passive bodies to which symbolic power is applied, but that those subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of the power and the legitimacy of those who wield it.⁸³ The researcher uses Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power to interrogate the idea that women might at times be complicit in their subjection, going along with the oppressors and contributing to their own oppression. Bourdieu's approach is useful to this research in that he considers the historical conditions of the end product. He observes that it would be futile to analyse political discourses and political speeches, particularly without reference to the constitution of the political field and the relation between this field and the broader space of social positions and processes.⁸⁴ In dealing with political speeches, his concept of 'professionalisation' will help account for the socio-historical conditions that hinder or promote women to deliver effectively in the Parliament of Swaziland.

Bourdieu P, views the social world as a multi-dimensional space differentiated into autonomous fields, where those who occupy dominant positions in the political field will be linked in some way to those who hold positions in the economic field. He views individuals as agents capable of constructing their own agency in mundane regular interactions.⁸⁵ The researcher used these ideas to analyse dogmatic discourses in Swaziland, particularly women in Parliament. For Bourdieu, classes are sets of agents who occupy similar positions in social space and hence possess similar kinds of capital,

⁸²Pierre Bourdieu, Theory of Practice, www.citeforme.com>sociology , p.54. (Accessed on 12/08/2017).

⁸³Pierre Bourdieu, Theory of Practice, www.citeforme.com>sociology , 1991. p.23 (Accessed on 12/08/2017).

⁸⁴Pierre Bourdieu, Theory of Practice, www.citeforme.com>sociology , p.53. (Accessed on 12/08/2017).

⁸⁵*Ibid*, p.23.

life chances and dispositions. In other words, they are theoretical constructs that the analyst produces in order to explain or make sense of observable social phenomena. This process of representation and the complex symbolic struggles associated with it, which customary Marxist analysis ignores, is useful in understanding the way women perceive themselves as well as their ability to take transformative social action. Paradoxically, Bourdieu has remained critiqued as giving inadequate attention to other bases of social division, such as gender; one of the key areas in the current research, his ideas as outlined provide a significant model for incorporating the discussion of the depiction of women's interests and needs in Parliament.

Michel Foucault's theory is relevant to this research particularly on the theme of power. Power is the catalyst at work in the Parliament of Swaziland. The researcher will use the theme to interrogate supremacy relations in the interaction concerning politicians and women in the Parliament of Swaziland. For the present study, the expression 'you strike a woman, you strike a rock' a popular expression in South Africa also needs to apply in Swaziland in order to advance women lobbying and active participation in Parliament. The force of collective influence is what women need to recognise. The study lures on Foucault, who goes on to argue that "power is productive and not solely repressive; power circulates rather than being possessed; in other words, power is neither given nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, that it only exists in action".⁸⁶ Foucault's theory posits that thinking, power and social control are exercised not by brute physical force or even economic coercion, but by the activities of experts who are licensed to define, describe and classify things and people, what he calls 'institutions of knowledge'⁸⁷. In light of his submission, Foucault's concept of power differs from Marxist philosophies in that for him, discourses are seen as systems of knowledge that inform social and government technologies which constitute power in modern society.⁸⁸ For him, power and

⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, Social Theory, <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>, p.89.1980. Accessed on 11/08/2017).

⁸⁷ Michel Foucault, Social Theory, <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>, p.90.1980. Accessed on 11/08/2017).

⁸⁸ Michel Foucault, Social Theory, <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>, p.91.1980. Accessed on 11/08/2017).

knowledge are linked through dialogue. Through Foucault's linking of truth, knowledge and power, the researcher has interrogated issues such as the discourses in which women are positioned as gendered subjects in the Parliament of Swaziland. This abstract principle is useful in that it provides ways of looking at the data collected in a more critical stance.

Though Foucault's notion of power is different from that of this research which focalises on domination, particularly as seen in social systems like patriarchy, his notion of power being analysed at points where 'it becomes capillary' is useful especially in the analysis of women's needs in women's groups.⁸⁹ The line of demarcation is that this study has an interest in women in the Parliament of Swaziland, a predominantly patriarchal sphere. Notwithstanding that there are practices that were pre-set such that new ideologies have no place.

The study adopts the premise of John Thompson's work, whose theoretical ideology is useful to this research. The researcher will employ Thompson's modes of operation on ideology. Thompson argues that the study of ideology requires one to investigate the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms (systems of belief) of various kinds in everyday life.⁹⁰ For Thompson, 'the interpretation of ideology necessarily involves socio-historical analysis of structural relations of power, within which the role of symbolic forms is often considered. In his view, the interpretation of ideology may serve to stimulate a critical reflection on relations of power and domination, their basis, their grounds and the modes by which they are sustained.'⁹¹ The researcher opines that using Thompsons' modes of operation of ideology augments and serves as a lens to describe the political illustration of women in the Parliament of Swaziland.

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, Social Theory, <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>. p.96.1980. Accessed on 11/08/2017).

⁹⁰ John B. Thompson, Theories of Ideology. 1990.p. 7, <https://book.google.com>ideology> (Accessed on 11/08/2017)

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

2.3 LITERATURE ON AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS AND LEGISLATURE

Up until the 1970s, African women received little scholarly attention,⁹² let alone the formal participation of women in Parliament. A corpus of historical literature on African women in politics has paid attention to women in political leadership in pre-colonial Africa and their nationalist activities against colonialism. Laray Denzer traces women's political activism in Sierra Leone from their demand for employment in civil service during World War I, to the Sierra Leone Women's Movement's demand for representation in the legislative council in 1951. She notes that Mabel Dove was the first woman to be elected to the legislature by popular ballot in 1954, while one female chief was nominated to Parliament in 1958 and later became Sierra Leone's first female minister.⁹³ Similarly, Susan Geiger highlights ways in which women paved their way into the legislative arena through their participation in the nationalist struggle.⁹⁴ There is insignificant literature on women Parliamentarians. Within the context of colonial history, Donal Lowry identifies the first Woman Parliamentarian who shaped the contours of colonial legislature in Southern Rhodesia and was instrumental in the establishment of responsible government.⁹⁵ From an imperial history perspective, Ushewedu Kufakurinani and Estella Musiiwa have identified other colonial women Parliamentarians such as Muriel Edna Rosin and Maureen Watson in Southern Rhodesia who contributed to legislative changes in Southern Rhodesia.⁹⁶

⁹²"Women's History-Africa-Bibliography", (not dated),

<http://science.jrank.org/pages/8161/Women-s-History-Africa.html>, (Accessed 23 April, 2017).

⁹³LaRay Denzer, "Women in Freetown Politics, 1914- 61: A Preliminary Study", *The Journal of International African Institute*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 1987, pp. 439- 456. See also LaRay Denzer, "Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No., 1994, pp. 1- 39.

⁹⁴Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: gender and culture in the making of Tanganyikan nationalism, 1955-65*. (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 1997). Other works on women in African liberation struggles include Cora Anne Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the "Mau Mau" Rebellion and Social Change*, (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1981), Urdang Stephanies. *And They Still Dance: Women, War and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique*, (London. Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1989). Irene Staunton, *Mothers of the Revolution: The War Experiences of Thirty Zimbabwean Women*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991), Johnson- Odim Cheryl and Mba Nina Emma, *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome- Kuti of Nigeria*, (Champaign: University of Illinois press, 1997). Josephine Nhongo- Simbanegavi, *For Better or for Worse: Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000). Lyons Tanya, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle*, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc, 2004), to mention but a few.

⁹⁵Donal Lowry. "'White Woman's Country': Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2007, pp. 259- 281.

⁹⁶Ushewedu Kufakurinani and Estella Musiiwa, "The Unsung Heroine: Muriel Edna Rosin's Political Experiences in Rhodesia, 1945- 1980", *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, No. 30, 2012, pp. 36- 48.

This study builds upon such scholarship by studying the history of post-colonial African women Parliamentarians from a historical perspective. Studies on African women in politics, particularly in the Southern African region, progressed out of women's participation in the liberation struggle, democratisation, and neoliberal economic reforms. From the 1970s, political scientists on women in African politics were preoccupied with numbers and the starring role of women in Parliament. The conventional observation was that, though few in number, women held important Parliamentary positions.⁹⁷ In a cursory study of Yoruba urban Christian and Muslim women, Denzer identifies literature that traces Yoruba women's leadership roles in pre-colonial, colonial plus anti-colonial nationalist politics as chiefs, leaders and founders of women's movements that demanded representation in local government bodies, as leaders in political parties and as of important political offices in the House of Assembly before independence.

A corpus of literature, particularly on African women in the legislature, has emerged since the 1990s. Gisela Geisler is not only critical of women's numerical under-representation and limitations of their influence in political decision making, she disaggregates the women and notes that for the few women that made it to cabinet, the experience has been one of strong male opposition and lack of support from respective political parties and fellow women.⁹⁸ Similarly, from a 'critical mass theory' perspective, Anne Marie Goetz attributes large numbers of women in the legislative assembly to affirmative action rather than women's efforts to push for representation. Goetz engages Geisler in arguing that institutional changes have not translated into a representation of women's interests in nationwide policy formulation.⁹⁹ To complement such studies, this study identifies change

⁹⁷Jean F. O'Barr. Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, December, 1975, pp. 19- 27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/523718> (Accessed 13/06/2017).

⁹⁸Gisela Geisler. "Troubled Sisterhood: Women and Politics in Southern Africa: case Studies from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana", *African Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 377, 1995, pp. 545- 578. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/723607> (Accessed 28/05/2017).

⁹⁹Anne Marie Goetz. "Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 25, No. 76, June 1998, pp. 241- 262. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006545>, (Accessed 28/05/2017).

over time in the way Swazi women were appointed to Parliament and historical changes in their substantive and symbolic representation.

2.4 LITERATURE ON SWAZI WOMEN IN POLITICS

There remains a dearth of historical works on women Parliamentarians in Africa in general, and particularly by historians of women's history. Currently, there are no publications on Swazi women in Parliament although they were present from 1967, however, there are a few scholarly works on Swazi women in politics. Such works have focused on great women's compensatory history. Ackson Kanduzza notes that Swazi intellectuals have appeared in diverse forms and have participated in national politics for a long time.¹⁰⁰ Kanduzza's study shares valuable contributions on how some women have climbed the ladder to Swazi politics through their own initiative and intelligence. Philip Bonner acknowledges the significant role of women in Swazi politics by elaborating that "in the structure of Swazi politics the position of the Queen Mother is significant, not only because of the enormous power that she wields, but also because she is so often imported from outside."¹⁰¹ Manelisi Genge analyses Queen Labotsibeni's contribution towards the Swazi state-building as a corrective measure on aspects of the political history of Swaziland.¹⁰² This study carries the story of women in politics further by concentrating on Swazi women in Parliament.

Musa Dlamini in a seminar paper on Electoral Systems, Representation, Inclusiveness and Democratic Governance in Swaziland, has unpacked what renders Swaziland unique in comparison with other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in general and in the SADC region, particularly its ability to retain this pre-colonial and colonial legacy.¹⁰³ He

¹⁰⁰Ackson Kanduzza. "You are Tearing My Skirt" in Chris Youe and Tim Stapleton (eds.), *Agency and Change in Colonial Africa*. (Hampshire Handmill, 1978).

¹⁰¹Philip Bonner. *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: The evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth-century Swazi State*, (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 162.

¹⁰²Genge. *Power and Gender in Southern Africa*, p. 48.

¹⁰³M. P. Dlamini, *Electoral Systems, Representation, Inclusiveness and Democratic Governance in Swaziland*, UNISWA Research Journal, Vol 21, December, 2007, p.7

concludes by arguing that, while Swaziland has partly achieved significant progress in terms of embracing a constitutional government, considerable mileage is required in terms of transformation and reform of the socio-political and balloting system with the view of enabling it to conform to regional and or international standards and principles of accountability, transparency, responsiveness and democratic governance.¹⁰⁴

Levin's analysis of the supremacy of myth and tradition highlights that the uniqueness of land, particularly control over its use and allocation as a means of repression and amassing is a controversial issue. He clearly shows how King Sobhuza II in his reign from 1921 to 1983 solely ruled the post-colonial state through inventing and re-inventing myth and traditions in the interest of royal hegemony.¹⁰⁵ Levin's work was influenced by anthropologists G. Marwick and Hilda Kuper. The study built on works (academia) of other historians and anthropological studies, therefore viewing it is a viable document to add on the existing knowledge on changes in the history of Swaziland's post-colonial era is not a "utopia". Most significantly, adding more value to the scanty history of women in Parliament was cushioned. The study succeeded in chronologically formulating a document that has actual traceable voices of women and the role played by women Parliamentarians in advancing gender-sensitive issues.

Shokahle Dlamini argues that Swazi women's professionalism and missionaries indoctrination elevated women's status than what it had been prior to obtaining a formal education.¹⁰⁶ Her views and highlights were unearthed in the study in the sense that in order for women to be effective in their mandate as Parliamentarians a substantial formal education should be acquired. Thandabantu Nhlapo and Russel Margo concur that the Swazi government has the potential to influence the political process through the Electorate College, which has been replaced by the *Tinkhundla* since 1978. History has

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵J. Daniel, Review of R. Levin, *When the Sleeping Grass Awakens: Land and Power in Swaziland*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1997.p.239.

¹⁰⁶S. R. Dlamini, *Swazi women's professionalism: The Power that Lies in Money and Books, 1920 – 1950*. Asian women, 2002.

shown that despite all odds, women have not taken advantage of this forum to elect their own kind into political office.¹⁰⁷

Colani Hlatjwako, an activist determined to promote feminist ideals, has 'a passion for women's rights, gender equality, and strengthening women's capacities to advance a socially, economically and politically conducive climate in Swaziland. She believes in an inclusive and democratic environment that promotes the respect for human rights.'¹⁰⁸ In terms of issues of 'gender-based violence, particularly violence against women and girl-children, Swaziland Women in Action, an organisation she pioneered, aims to eradicate gender-based violence in the country. In particular, to encourage individuals to make the commitment, not only to turn a blind eye to violence against women and children but to also take positive action to prevent such violence.'¹⁰⁹

Several scholars have gone beyond the compensatory queen's history of Swaziland to consider other women in politics. Dumsile Shabangu attributes women's active participation in governments to the role played by NGOs in the political transformation of the country. She covered in a coherent manner instances in which women undertook a number of activities in the 55 Swazi voting/polling stations (*Tinkhundla* centres) by encouraging women to participate in the voting exercise in order to reclaim independence from the colonial master.¹¹⁰ Wandile Mavundla has attempted to address the issue of women's participation in politics and argues that women have always occupied subordinate positions in the politics of the country when compared to males. He notes that in spite of the increasing number of women in the political process, there are still challenges facing the country in trying to improve the political participation of women.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷R. Margo and T. Nhlapho, *Law and Other Sex: The Legal Position of Women in Swaziland*, 1983.p. 65.

¹⁰⁸C. Hlatjwako, *National Director for Women and Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland (WLSA)*. 2014.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰Dumsile Shabangu. "Review of Political Situations in Swaziland Women in Politics and Decision Making in Southern Africa." WILSA Publication, 2007. p. 34.

¹¹¹Wandile Mavundla. "Women and Politics in Swaziland 1968-2007." B.A. Project, University of Swaziland, Kwaluseni, 2007. p. 26.

Instead of taking a general approach, this study will narrow down to historical changes in the particular experiences of Swazi women in Parliament.

Most of the scholars on women Parliamentarians have concentrated on the quota system and why some countries have more women Parliamentarians than others, as well as reasons behind women's paths to Parliament. This study goes further and historicises efforts, over the past 40 years, to elect women to the national Parliamentary office in Swaziland. Instead of focusing on the canonical question, why women are under-represented in Parliament, this study seeks to trace the trajectory of Swazi women's representation in Parliament and focuses on the historical development of women's entry to Parliament. The study traced how women perform once they are in Parliament, from 1967 to 2015.

In conclusion, the different studies and views on gender, leadership, politics, and women in Parliament and decision making were no doubt useful to this study in many ways such that the initiation and development of women's entry to Parliament was substantially enriched. The study benefited from all the above-cited studies and more in different ways. In particular, the study partly added insights into the works documented by historians and showed how gender and politics had reshaped the history of Swaziland. This was done against the background of the plethora of obstacles and challenges women encounter as they traverse the male dominated world of politics.

Worth mentioning is that other research has acknowledged the "blurring of boundaries between women's history and gender history to such an extent that they have been seen as synonymous and have been uncritically used interchangeably."¹¹² The blurring boundaries in females', feminist and gender history emanate from the overlapping fields

¹¹²Joanne Bailey and John Arnold. "Is the rise of gender history 'hiding' women from history once again?", <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles.html>, (Accessed 04/05/2017). In (ed.) Signe Arnfred et al, *Gender Activism and Studies in Africa*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2005), pp. 1- 2).

of women's studies, feminist studies, and gender studies. Women's studies focus on describing phenomena relevant to women. Gender studies go further in highlighting the socio- culturally constructed relations whereby women and men are differentially located. Feminist studies go further in identifying oppression in difference, and advocate women empowerment in their struggle for equality with men (Charmaine Pereira, "Locating Gender and Women's Studies in Nigeria: What Trajectories for the Future?" Notwithstanding, Western scholars have attempted to define 'women's history', 'feminist history' and 'gender history'. While women's history refers to "all history which is specifically *about* women", feminist history "is *for* women whether or not it is solely about women.)"¹¹³ Gender history focuses on "the variations within society in a particular period in the past with regard to the perceived differences between women and men."¹¹⁴

This study discusses Swazi women Parliamentarians within the context of a feminist women's history. This entails adopting a feminist stance by retelling Swazi Parliamentary history from women's perspectives, with the sole aim of recovering the "actual *experience* of women in the past."¹¹⁵ Focusing on women's history does not essentially entail the dismissal of 'gender' as a concept of analysis. Among other scholars, for instance Cecilia Ridgeway and Shelley J. Correll note that 'gender' "is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference."¹¹⁶ This study does not necessarily preclude the use of the concept 'gender' as a distraction from the process of recuperating the history of women's experiences. Reasonably, it is couched in relations of a gender-based approach informed by a holistic conceptualisation of 'gender' which perceives 'gender' "as a fundamental aspect of *social being* and social order."¹¹⁷

¹¹³Pat Hudson. "Women's History and Gender History", *New Perspectives*, Vol. 7, No. 2, December 2001, p. 1, http://www.history-ontheweb.co.uk/sources/women's_history.htm, (Accessed 12/06/ 2017).

¹¹⁴Sonya O. Rose. *What is Gender History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 2.

¹¹⁵Gerder Lerner. "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges", *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1/ 2, Autumn, 1975, p. 10 (emphasis original).

¹¹⁶Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Shelley J. Correll. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations", *Gender and Society*, (Vol. 18, No. 4 August 2004), pp. 510- 531, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448>, (Accessed 28/06/2017).

¹¹⁷Laura Lee Downs. *Writing Gender History*, London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2010 p. 5. (Emphasis added).

This conceptualisation augers well with the issue under study as it acknowledges that the *cultural* constructions of the *art of being*, constitutes the basis of the marginalisation of Swazi women from the legislature. Although there are many social groups marginalised from public decision-making, most of the forms of marginalisation are based on the female gender.

The research on Swazi women's Parliamentary history draws insights from other disciplines namely political science, sociology and law, where the theme has been under discussion for almost two decades. Since 1988, the concept 'gender' has informed the 'critical mass theory' pervasive in scholars' presentation of women's law-making representation. The 'critical mass theory' hinges on the conjecture that "only as their numbers increase will women be able to promote women-friendly policy change and to influence their male colleagues to accept and approve legislation promoting women's concerns."¹¹⁸ Though 'critical mass theory' has been criticised for homogenising female legislators, and for taking for granted that a specific stipulated number of women in legislation will effect changes in favour of women, the irrefutable fact remains that the quota system has seen many women into legislative positions, hence the need to study women legislators from a 'critical mass theory' approach.¹¹⁹ Instead of focusing on when and how Swazi women numerical representation in Parliament takes place, the study will also pay attention to the representation of women as well as national issues.

In her work representation of women, Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan cited Hanna F. Pitkin, a theorist of political representation, who distinguished three types of representation in Parliament: descriptive, symbolic knotted with active.¹²⁰ 'Descriptive representatives are those who share the same characteristics as those represented, symbolic representatives are those who symbolise the identity or quality of a particular constituency, and active

¹¹⁸Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation", *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, p. 725.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 734.

¹²⁰Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan. Representation of Women in the Malaysian parliament. A PhD in Political Science submitted at the International Islamic University Malaysia in 2014. Cited Hanna Fenichel Pitkin. *The Concept of Representation* 1967. University of California, Barkely. 1967.

representatives are those who are concerned and act for the interests of those represented.¹²¹ As submitted by these types of representations, women politicians who stand for women either descriptively or symbolically may not act for them, and those who act for them may not necessarily stay women.

In intensifying the argument, Pitkin criticised descriptive representation by voicing that; ‘by focusing on who represents in the legislative assemblies, attention is diverted from what the legislators represent. A fair representation, to her, is achieved only by looking at the legislative behaviour, that is, by focusing on the activities of a person rather than his/her characteristic. However, Pitkin acknowledges that there is some kind of expectation of a relationship between who and what was represented.’¹²² She agreed that; ‘the gender of the legislators does matter. Pitkin states that: differences in perception between women and men are the result of different psycho-social development, socialisation and gender roles since women experience discrimination in society, they would have a more women-friendly political.’ The sentiments shared by Pitkin hold substance in the case of women’s entry into Swazi Parliament as evidenced by scholars such as Kanduza and Ndwandwe.

Intellectual discourses have unearthed the agenda that; ‘men would easily espouse an egalitarian perspective on social and political issues’ as postulated by Philips,¹²³ who introduced “politics of presence”, assumed that there is a link between descriptive representation and substantive representation. To her, ‘a female representative is expected and assumed to be acting for women. Philips suggested several bases for women’s political presence. Firstly, the principle of justice, where women appear to be underrepresented in politics and this is explicit evidence of injustice between the sexes that should be redressed.’¹²⁴ The study on women’s entry into Parliament shares the

¹²¹*Ibid.*

¹²²Hanna Fenichel Pitkin. *The Concept of Representation* 1967. University of California, Berkeley. 1967 in https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308800681_Women_in_the_Malaysian_parliament_Do_they_matter (accessed Aug 9, 2017).

¹²³Anne Phillips. *Politics of Presence*. <http://www.questia.com> library) 1916540/the politics-of-presence. 1998. Accessed on 18 June 2017. pp.60-91.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

same sentiments with Phillips as posited by the first, second and third Parliament of Swaziland whereby Mary Mdziniso was the sole woman present in the Parliament.¹²⁵

The underrepresentation of women, too, has weakened the legitimacy of political institutions by which a reasonable composition of women should be reflected in those institutions. Secondly, the need for supplementary assertive advocacy. Due to the emphasis on the liberal tradition of democracy, it is held that all people, notwithstanding their social and cultural background, should be treated alike and therefore, should not be differentiated on the basis of identity differences. Thus, it purports to represent the people based on 'ideas' rather than 'identity'. Philips argues that; 'this application will result in the exclusion of certain groups from being represented in the legislature because each group, including women, has different interests and forms politically relevant groups that deserve representation.'¹²⁶ Thirdly, the role model effect is another way of unpacking women representation. 'Women's presence in politics might change the fact that politics is a male domain. Women representatives might act as role models and stimulate other women to become involved in politics by working with those women representatives. This may contribute to the increase in the representation of women. Lastly, women introduce different sets of values and concerns in politics. Women politicians are consensual rather than confrontational and emphasise on deliberation and collective decision-making.'¹²⁷

However, there is no guarantee that all women will promote women-related issues in the legislature. Pitkin, cited in Ying Yang, even asserts that; 'the maximisation of descriptive representation, through the numerical increase in female representatives, may be of limited help to female interests because these representatives may not effectively represent women's interests and ideas. Women will act differently due to different

¹²⁵ See appendix 3.

¹²⁶ Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan. Representation of Women in the Malaysian parliament. A PhD in Political Science submitted at the International Islamic University Malaysia in 2014. Cited Anne Phillips. Politics of Presence. <http://www.questia.com> library) 1916540/the politics-of-presence. 1998. Accessed on 18 June 2017. pp.60-91.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

socialisation processes, educational backgrounds or other factors.’¹²⁸ The view shared by Pitkin in Ying Yang is contemporary in the case of Swaziland, the researcher sourced information from some of the interviewed Parliamentarians which support the idea that some women tend to be tokens once in Parliament, meaning that they hardly say any valuable submission to elevate the low status of women (See Appendix 3).

Sundry scholars have currently called for a different approach to examine the substantive representation of women. Scholars have called to shift the attention to examine the “actors” who initiate policy or reforms to promote the cause of women. These actors are termed differently by different scholars. Childs and Krook posit that “critical actors” are individuals, women or men who act individually or collectively to bring about women-friendly policy change.¹²⁹ In a similar vein, Mackay uses the term “policy entrepreneurs” but says that these do not “fix” the ‘who’, ‘where’, ‘when’ and ‘how’ in the substantive representation of women in advance.¹³⁰ The substantive representation of women might be enacted through multiple actors, sources and sites. It could include feminist champions, males or females in Parliaments, government, bureaucracy, and civil society.¹³¹ Manion Tremblay¹³² posits that “surrogate representatives” are argued to produce a substantive representation of women. It is a representation by a representative with whom one has no electoral relationship. The representatives’ act for the interests of the voters beyond the boundaries of the representatives’ district, which could even be at the international level.¹³³ Tremblay argues that electing female surrogate representatives improves the chances of substantive representation because these representatives feel that it is their responsibility to represent women.

¹²⁸ Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan. Representation of Women in the Malaysian parliament. A PhD in Political Science submitted at the International Islamic University Malaysia in 2014. Cited in Ying Yang.1999, pp.11-12

¹²⁹ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. “Critical Mass Theory and Women’s Political Representation”, *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, p. 725.

¹³⁰ Fiona Mackay. <https://academia.oup.com/pa/> when-is contagious-not-very-contagious-dynamics. Accessed 14th July 2017.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Manon Tremblay. The Substantive Representation of Women and PR: Some Reflections on the Role of Surrogate Representation and Critical Mass”, *Politics and Gender*, (2, 2006),p.502).

¹³³ *Ibid.*

With their common experiences, it allows the representatives who are members of a subordinate group to overcome the strong barriers of communication between the dominant and subordinate groups. Far from requiring critical mass, surrogate representatives work within contexts of low numbers.¹³⁴ In addition, the surrogate representatives cannot be passive and have to commit themselves to representing women. At the very least, they must have gender-consciousness, in the sense that they represent women but must also respond to the needs of men. The argument developed above can be summarised as follows: 1) Women will represent the cause of women more effectively than men. 2) Not all women will act with the same intensity to promote the cause of women, irrespective of their number in the legislature.¹³⁵ In a nutshell, representation of women in Parliament depends on a plethora of variables such as socialisation and cultural dictates of the time.

There are bounteous scholars who feel that feminism is tailor-made to serve a particular group of people and it does not address the needs of all women. 'Feminism as a term that is conceptualised and adopted by white American women involves an agenda that was designed to meet the needs and demands of that particular group.'¹³⁶ For this reason, "it is quite plausible for white women to identify with feminism and the feminist movement. Placing all women's history under white women's history, thereby giving the latter a definite position, is problematic. It is for this reason that various definitions have been coined to best suit the needs of the various racial groups, Black women in particular. Sigmund Freud asked the question, What do women want?"¹³⁷ This study is attempting to answer the question by examining the thought-provoking arguments presented by

¹³⁴Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan. Representation of Women in the Malaysian parliament. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308800681_Women_in_the_Malaysian_parliament_Do_they_matter. Accessed on Aug 9, 2017]. Cited Manion Tremblay.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*

¹³⁶Arndt S. African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wajira Muthoni. Signs: Journals of Women in Culture and Society. Vol. 25 no.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago. 2000.

¹³⁷ Ashton F. Feminist Theory and Practical Policies. London: Henry Ling. 1980 Cited Sigmund Freud in his work.

various women scholars. The needs and aspirations of the different “women’s liberation movements” are analysed and put into the context of Swaziland.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research takes a leaf from various theories that are conventional and espoused by a plethora of scholars in the world of academia. Feminism is one of those that have amplified the study. The words “feminism” or “feminist” are political labels showing support for the aims of the novel women’s movement which emerged in the early 1960s. Throughout its long history, feminism has sought to disturb the patriarchal culture and to assert a belief in sexual equality as well as to eradicate sexist domination in transforming society. Emphasis was on women gaining greater individual freedom.¹³⁸ This is echoed by Phillips who states that:

It is the freedom to decide her own destiny, freedom from sex determined roles, freedom from society’s oppressive restrictions; freedom to express her thoughts fully and to convert them freely into action. Feminism demands the acceptance of woman’s right to individual conscience and judgment. It postulates that woman’s essential worth stems from her common humanity and does not depend on another relationship of her life.¹³⁹

In diminutive, feminism is a struggle to end sexist oppression. Its aim is not to benefit any specific assemblage of women, or any particular race or class of women. It does not privilege women over men. On the contrary, it is a movement that has the power to transform the entire of society in a meaningful way. Feminism challenges the “patriarchal” conception of masculine and feminine roles in the society. It also draws a distinction between sex and gender in order to redefine male and female roles. The movement also confronts sex oppression in domains such as reproduction, production, sexuality and

¹³⁸ Aptheker B. Strong is what we make each other”: Unlearning Racism within Women’s Studies. *Women’s Studies*, Vol.1 No3. 1981p.394.

¹³⁹ Anne Phillips. *Politics of Presence*. <http://www.questia.com> library 1916540/the politics-of-presence. 1998. Accessed on 18 June 2017. pp.60-91.

socialisation. As already mentioned in the study, the feminism camp hosts divergent partisan views. Focus can easily be shifted from a fixed stable entity called feminism, to the possibility of a multiple feminism. This possibility is summed up by Ryan who states that:

Such a suggestion arises from a number of sources; the difficulty experienced in summarising feminist critical theory; the inability to find a definition which encompasses feminism's diversities and divergences; the reluctance to limit feminism to a single category; an unwillingness to confine it to a totalising theory; and finally, a tendency to regard women as having a multiple rather than single identities. It should be noted that the feminist movement is not a monolithic activity but encompasses a number of divergent schools of thought that are only bound together by their common commitment to the cause of protest against conventional male and female role definitions in society. Feminism is "the belief that women are full human beings capable of participation and leadership in the full range of human activities – intellectual, political, social, sexual, spiritual and economic". In its broadest sense, feminism constitutes both an ideology and a global political movement that confronts sexism, a social relationship in which males as a group have authority over females as a group.¹⁴⁰

Comprehensively, a feminist agenda encompasses several major areas. First and foremost, the inferior economic status of women and issues associated with women's poverty, such as educational opportunities, industrial development, racism, employment policies, prostitution and inheritance laws concerning property, constitute a fundamental woman's issue. Political rights for women, such as enfranchisement, rights of assembly, travelling in public, office holding, the rights of political prisoners, and basic human rights violations against women such as rape and torture constitute a second area of concern. A third area of global concern encompasses of marital and family issues such as marriage and divorce laws, child custody policies, and domestic labour. Women's health and survival issues, such as productive rights, pregnancy, sexuality, and AIDS constitute another area of global feminist concern. This broad global feminist agenda finds varying expressions in different regions of the world and among diverse populations.

¹⁴⁰ Achifusi, G. Feminist inclinations of Flora Nwapa: The Feminist novel in Africa" *Women in African Literature Today*. London: James Curry. 1987. Cited Ryan 1988 p.24.

Although this is a movement that has the attentiveness of “all women at heart”, it is not accepted by most women without question. Most women shy away from being referred to as radicals. This can be attributed to various reasons, such as the perception that Black women, particularly Black American women, are increasingly distressed by the surrender of much within the Black community to a promise of “better situation” through integration, which, usually means crusade from a Black culture into a White conformity.¹⁴¹

Many women see feminism as synonymous with lesbianism; something they find abhorrent and so they reject all forms of feminism. There are, of course, women who do not wish to be associated with women's rights movements in any form, so they oppose and reject feminist movement. Some women are reluctant to advocate feminism as they claim to experience prejudice and oppression, by women who call themselves feminists rather than by men.¹⁴² Some women are reluctant to advocate feminism because they are unsure of the meaning of the term. Some declare that they are not feminists but then go on to say that they are convinced that the situation of women has to be improved drastically, that gender relations in African societies need radical transformation, that they are committed to making the changes happen.¹⁴³ The unfolding observation made by the author is evident in the case of Swaziland whereby women tended to shun from answering questions that were asked by the interviewee, citing that politics is a preserve for males.

The negative attitude of many Africans toward the term and the concept of feminism is an indication that antifeminist positions are widespread in Africa. These antifeminist reactions stem mainly from stereotypical notions in Africa of (white Western) feminism that may have some vestige of truth but this perception does not do justice to feminist heterogeneity. Feminism is often equated with radical feminists and hatred of men, penis

¹⁴¹Arndt S. African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wajira Muthoni. Signs: Journals of Women in Culture and Society. Vol. 25 no.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago. 2000.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³Arthur C. A critique of Ideology. Great Britain: Harvest Press Ltd 1990.

envy, and the rejection of African traditions, a fundamental rejection of marriage and motherhood, and an endeavour to invert the power relationship of genders.¹⁴⁴ What is really worrisome and momentous for feminism, however, is that even African women and men whose ideas correspond to the basic ideas of feminism have problems with the notions and approaches of white Western feminism.

One central criticism levelled by some Africans is that radicalism does not see beyond Western societies, and this ignores or marginalises the specific problems of African women.¹⁴⁵ Some radical and Marxist feminists are an exception to the decree, although they often go to the opposite extreme by presuming to be able to speak in the name of all women without, however, having really informed themselves about the situation and the problems of women in other parts of the world. As a consequence, they base their valuation of the situation and the emancipatory ideas of African women and women's movements on their personal view and experiences. Another reason for the antifeminist stance of Africans dedicated to gender issues is much more controversial. Many Africans claim that they cannot identify with white Western feminism, much less act under its auspices, because it distillates solely on the question of gender, while they always view gender relationships in the context of either political, economic, cultural and social forms and mechanisms of oppression such as racism, neocolonialism, (cultural) imperialism, capitalism, religious and fundamentalism, and dictatorial and corrupt systems.¹⁴⁶ However, the statement that Western feminism is gender-centred, while African feminism is not, needs to be qualified. For instance, Marxist feminism, assumes the intersection of race, class and gender, and while postmodern feminism, views gender as one of many elements of identity.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, there are definitely gender-committed African

¹⁴⁴Arndt S. African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wajira Muthoni. Signs: Journals of Women in Culture and Society. Vol. 25 no.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago. 2000.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶Achifusi, G. Feminist inclinations of Flora Nwapa: The Feminist novel in Africa" Women in African Literature Today. London: James Curry. 1987.

¹⁴⁷Bascom W. Forms of folklore: Prose narratives. Journal of American folklore. Vol. 78 No.: 307. 1965.

organisations, persons, and writers who predominantly concentrate on the question of gender.

Eventually, the distance that Africans committed to gender concerns is attributed to Western feminism, that also stems from their sense that White women, as members of Western societies, (and sometimes even due to their individual behaviour), contribute to other forms of oppression of African women (and men). The scenario discussed is evident in Swaziland, a country that was once under British rule for a long time. It cannot be disputed that colonialism impacted on Swazi society in various ways. Sylvia Tamale highlights the politics of party patronage as a distinct disadvantage in the articulation of women's interests by female Parliamentarians within political parties, stating that "with husbands, brothers, and fathers occupying some of the most powerful positions in the country, they have too much at stake to query certain practices, let alone take action to oppose the power structure." The issue of patronage politics climaxes the importance of government's political will towards gender egalitarianism and the need for political party agendas and ideologies to respond to gender equality mandates. Although overwhelmingly so in the South African context, partisan politics and indiscriminate party loyalty have not been consistently disadvantageous to the pursuit of gender-equality objectives in Parliament, and their differentiated impact on fundamental women's representation can be seen as ambiguous.¹⁴⁸

The study is based on the feminist theory, which provides a podium for women Parliamentarians to raise their concerns. This view is unpacked by the researcher as a true reflection of women/ men who served as Swazi Parliamentarians in the period 1968 to 2015. This submission is enhanced by Elizabeth Anderson a liberal feminist who argues that, "The categories and concepts we use for reflecting upon and evaluating ourselves come from a cultural context, one that has historically demeaned and controlled

¹⁴⁸Makhunga Lindiwe. D. South African Parliament and blurred Lines: The African National Congress Women's League, gendered political narrative. July 2014. Accessed at <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ragn20>, on the 13/08/2017.

women's activities. Therefore, an explanation leads to an awareness of social forces and ideas affecting them"¹⁴⁹. The researcher has adopted Anderson's view from the literature available in Swaziland, from such scholars include Ackson M. Kanduza¹⁵⁰ to a large extent concur that the status of women in Swaziland has been curtailed in the submissive position as per the culture dictates, that women have to be subordinates to males. Kanduza submits that "Patriarchy demonstrates itself in Swazi society in ordaining the perpetual minority status of women."¹⁵¹ This perpetual marginal contributes onwards increasing lesser participation of women in Parliament, despite the plethora of pleas and campaigns that have been attempted by NGOs to expedite women to enter Parliament particularly in the 2008 elections.¹⁵²

The package of the feminist theory ensured a plethora of debates pertaining to the genesis of power differentials between men and women, and which chronology to be adopted to encapsulate the role of gender in socialised identities. The crux of feminist theory entails questions revolving around power remain a prominent discourse that needs to be probed. An acknowledgement, embracing and problematising power relations remains the gist of feminist research. In light of the power imbalances intrinsic in this study, along with gender divisions, culture, nationality, and multiple power hierarchies those women in the Parliament of Swaziland experience or may have endured. Swaziland has a history of excluding women in the political arena under the disguise that politics is a "public sphere" meaning politics is a male world. In agreement with this submission is the presence of only one-woman parliamentarian in the first and second Parliament of Swaziland.¹⁵³ Women have for decades been relegated to the "private sphere" that entails being confined in the home environment as a cultural practice. The classification of

¹⁴⁹Anderson Elizabeth. Liberal Feminism, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, October 18, 2013. p.103. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism>. Accessed on 10/08/2017.

¹⁵⁰Ackson Kanduza. "You are Tearing My Skirt" in Chris Youe and Tim Stapleton (eds.), *Agency and Change in Colonial Africa*. (Hampshire Handmill, 1978).

¹⁵¹*Ibid*.

¹⁵²Sakhile Dlamini. Sekunjalo: Implementing CEDAW for National Development' Volume 1, Issue1, September,2008 Co funded by the European Union and UNPD.

¹⁵³Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the First Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland,30 March 1968. pp. 25 – 163.

politics as a male's province begins at family, community and up to national level. Paradoxically it is worth revealing that despite the presence of a wide range of variety of feminist theoretical locations, most, if not all critique patriarchal patterns of influence and they situate women's experiences on the peripheral or the experiences of those traditionally disempowered as the priority.

The main concept of feminist theory remains pivotal in the study when defining feminist theory which subscribes to encapsulating ideas such as ending oppression, lessening power differentials and promising gender equality. The study explored contemporary scholars' work such as that of Sara Angvine which focalised on women's experiences in the Parliament of the South African Republic. Angvine submits that a majority of international studies on women in politics have delved on the role's women play within Parliament. She classified the work of international scholars into three categories, namely; those that discussed the "public and private"¹⁵⁴ conflict examples are Catherine Bochel and Hugh M. Bochel. The next cadre focused on the concept of state and/or nation and gender – examples include Brown (1998), West (1997), Stetson D and A, Mazur (1995), Mangaliso (1997), and Yuval-Davis (1997). The last set of writers focused on structures, such as commissions, and offices aimed at women gender issues (Rodgers, 1993; Carroll, 1992; Nicolsen, 1996; Strivers, 1993; Marian Sawyer, 1995; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Catherine Bochel & Bochel Hugh M, 2000).¹⁵⁵

Naledi Pandor has taken a vigilant stance on discussing some challenges encountered by women legislators in their bid to move motions and make submissions in Parliament. She argues that Parliament was an institution shaped by men and that this affects

¹⁵⁴Pandor Naledi. Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy. Braamfontein Centre, Johannesburg: Commission of Gender Equality. 1999. In Angevine, Sara. Women Parliamentarians Perceptions of Political Influence in South African Parliament, A Thesis submitted in the Department of Philosophy of Women and Gender Studies, University of Western Cape, 2006. pp.48.

¹⁵⁵Angevine Sara. Women Parliamentarians Perceptions of Political Influence in South African Parliament, A Thesis submitted in the Department of Philosophy of Women and Gender Studies, University of Western Cape, 2006. pp.48.

women's practices in Parliament.¹⁵⁶ Pandor supports her submission by pinpointing glaring oversight on the Parliament set up such as the organisational arrangement around working hours, childcare, bathroom facilities, and social events that were all based on the needs of men hence they have unsympathetic repercussions on women Parliamentarians.¹⁵⁷

Naledi Pandor submits that issues pertaining to women's concerns regarding their role in Parliamentary deliberations, particularly in terms of addressing speaking lists that remain an issue to be researched. She further posits that women Parliamentarians want to see how their presence makes a difference in the lives of women assessing their legislative impact of presence. The study perceives Pando's submission to be premised within the "critical mass theory" as mentioned in Chapter one. Undergirding ideals cited by Amina Mama and Sylvia Tamale opined that in Africa the governance systems were premised on the imported Eurocentric designs.¹⁵⁸ The view posited by Mama and Tamale is evident in the case of Swaziland's Parliamentary system which to a large extent was inherited from the British authorities in 1967. The oversight of adopting an unfamiliar system has resulted in African countries paying dearly as this gave leeway to the proponents to interpret the Parliamentary operationalisation's in the manner that best suits them, much to the detriment of Africans. Maloba W.O. further concurs that patriarchy is the brainchild of the colonial administration, he posits that in their country of origin it was a norm for the owner of an estate to have a castle which would operate like a master who owned slaves. The master controlled the daily activities in his castle, these masters were males.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶Makhunga Lindiwe. D. South African Parliament and blurred Lines: The African National Congress Women's League, gendered political narrative. July 2014. Accessed at <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ragn20>, on the 13/08/2017.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸Mama Amina and Sylvia Tamale. "Women Studies and Studies of Women During the Nineties" Dakar: CODESRIA. 1996. See for instance Tamale Sylvia, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. (Boulder. Westview, 1999).

¹⁵⁹W.O. Maloba. *African Women in Revolution, History, Women's studies, War Studies/AFRICA*, African World Press, Inc. Asmara, Eritrea 2007.

In order to understand women's interests and needs, the researcher briefly look at three historical phases: the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods and women's position within them. In the pre-colonial period, women not only played an active role in food production and controlling the excess but also played a more positive role than assumed today because the division of labour was different. Jean F. O'barr argues that African women in the precolonial times exercised more authority and controlled more resources than they did in the colonial period.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, Ife Amadiume, through research in the Igbo community of Nigeria, argues that patrilineal and matrilineal practices in traditional African society positioned both men and women in relative loci in terms of the power each gender wielded.¹⁶¹ In addition, 'society did not disparage women's work', as Sylvia Tamale observes with reference to the Ugandan society.¹⁶²

With regard to the colonial period, despite contesting views on the effects of colonialism on women in Sub-Saharan Africa, researchers have come to a consensus that colonialism undermined women's power. Amadiume, O'barr, and Alice Wacker share the same sentiments. Citing evidence from history, Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol argues that African communities are either matrilineal or patrilineal.¹⁶³ Colonialism, however, disrupted the clearly defined roles that existed in pre-colonial societies in Swaziland, giving less value to women's status.¹⁶⁴ For Amadiume, economic changes in colonial times undermined women's status and reduced their political role such that these patrilineal tendencies persist today to the detriment of women, she expresses similar sentiments based on research in her Kikuyu community in Kenya observing that on the eve of the colonial era, women were embedded in gendered constructions of power,

¹⁶⁰O'Barr Jean. F. Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, December, 1975, pp. 19- 27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/523718> (Accessed 13/06/2017).

¹⁶¹Amadiume. Ife. *Reinventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*, Zed, London.1987.

¹⁶²Tamale Sylvia. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. (Boulder. Westview, 1999).

¹⁶³Adhiambo-Oduol. Jacqueline, *Politics, Women, Participation, Electoral process*, Oxford University Press (2001). Article sourced from <https://www.semanticscholar.org> Accessed on 13/08/2017.

¹⁶⁴Booth. Alan. *Homestead, State and Migrant Labour in Colonial Swaziland*, *African Economic History*, Vol. XIV (1985), p.112. See H.S. Simelane, *Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland,1940-1960*. (Manzini: JAN Publishing Centre (PTY) Ltd,2003. p.9.

authority and ownership of and access to property in a manner that publicly diminished their individual agency.

For O'barr, colonialism not only destroyed female social institutions but imposed new institutions that favoured men over women. She identifies four key areas – the introduction of scientific agriculture, the establishment of Western education, the creation of the new political and religious authority, and the control over access to the market economy. In all these areas, the colonial policy had a differing impact on women as opposed to men. She further argues that by stressing the development of cash crops and plantation agriculture rather than the improvement of subsistence farming, colonial policy set in motion the conditions which perpetuate chronic food shortages in Sub-Saharan Africa. Colonial labour policy in plantation agriculture focused on the recruitment of men leaving women as dependents. As the market and wage economy became dominant over the traditional economy, men had more resources with which to deal than did women. The provision of Western-style education was gender-biased, with men getting more education than women. A strengthening of indigenous values that stressed the greater importance of male achievement meant that fewer women advanced in Western education.¹⁶⁵

Many researchers have shown that what we think of as 'womanly' or 'manly' behaviour is not dictated by biology, but rather is 'socially constructed' hence this research takes a leaf from gender studies. Such societal constructions of gender are not neutral; they are implicated in the institutionalised power relations of societies. In known contemporary societies, power relations are often asymmetrical such that women's interests are systematically subordinated to men's dictates¹⁶⁶ as posited by Tamale. The researcher operationalises the term gender-based on Tamale who defines it as 'the interaction that occurs between menfolk and womenfolk as they carry out their different roles in society'.

¹⁶⁵Jean F. O'barr. Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, December, 1975, pp. 19- 27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/523718> (Accessed 13/06/2017).

¹⁶⁶Tamale Sylvia. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. (Boulder. Westview, 1999).

The research is preoccupied in Tamale's stance as agency manipulation for women's entry into Parliament. In a similar vein, Ackson Kanduza broke the glass ceiling by documenting work that explains how Swazi women tore the subordination injunctions through their valuable contribution in initiatives and intellectual mechanisms that secured them Parliamentary seats.

Another theory the researcher is preoccupied with is the womanist theory. Womanism is another theoretical framework this study uses and observes. "Womanism is regarded as a branch of feminism. It has adopted an Afrocentric mode in dealing with the problems facing African women. African women, as women of colour, are distinct from other women because of the common African cultures they believe in."¹⁶⁷ This implies that womanism is culturally coded as it acknowledges the cultural and spiritual experience of women. It also replicates on the traditional background of women. It is also worth mentioning that there is womanism that is American-based and one that is African-based. This thesis is situated on the African womanism theory as it is relevant to the cadre of women under discussion. Nkumane Vusi. N. has this to say about womanism:

Womanism recently emerged in the African-American community. In fact, it is the African women who gave birth to the womanist idea. Black women writers have themselves played prominent roles in womanist criticism. This term is associated with Alice Walker, who fought hard for the recuperation and recognition of a tradition of Black women writers within which she can discover a theory of female Black creativity.¹⁶⁸

In the incident of Swaziland, the issue of race has been well treated by Nhlanhla Dlamini who documented a voluminous thesis on racial discrimination at Havelock Mine in the period 1936–1963. He posits that racial discrimination had diverse repercussions much to

¹⁶⁷Womanism. A feminist Dictionary sourced at <https://afeministtheorydictionary.wordpress.co>. Accessed on 12/08/2017.

¹⁶⁸Arndt S. African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wajira Muthoni. Signs: *Journals of Women in Culture and Society*. Vol. 25 no.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago. 2000. Cited by Nkumane V.N. 1999.

the detriment of the Swazi in areas such as labour and education,¹⁶⁹ yet the research focuses on Swazi women in Parliament from 1967 to 2015.

Chikwenye Ogunyemi in her own words, the founder of womanism in Africa, gives us this definition of womanism:

Black womanism is a philosophy that celebrates Black roots, the ideals of Black life, while giving a balanced presentation of Black womandom. It concerns itself as much with the Black sexual power tussle as with the world power structure that subjugates Blacks. A womanist will recognise that along with her consciousness of sexual issues, she must incorporate racial, cultural, national economic and political considerations into her philosophy.¹⁷⁰

Alice Walker posits that the term “womanist” was coined from the use of folk term “womanish” to characterise the spirit and posture of African women who, individually and collectively, dare to resist oppression.¹⁷¹ Walker’s definition could be summed up as follows: From womanish (opposite of “girlish” i.e. frivolous, irresponsible, not serious). A Black feminist or feminist of colour. From the Black folk expression of mothers to female children, “You acting womanish”, i.e. like a woman. Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or willful behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than considered “good” for one. Interested in grown-up doings. Acting grown up. Interchangeable with another Black folk expression, “You trying to be grown.” Responsible. In charge. Serious. Also: A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or non-sexually. Appreciated and prefers women’s cultures, women’s emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counter-balance of laughter) and women’s strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or non-sexually. Committed to the whole survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically for

¹⁶⁹Dlamini. N. “Race Relations in Swaziland: The case of Havelock Asbestos Mine, 1939-1964”, MA Thesis, University of Swaziland, 2001. pp.41-43”, See for instance N. Dlamini, The Legal abolition of Racial Discrimination and its aftermath: the case of Swaziland, 1945-1973”, PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2007.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁷¹Feminism versus multiculturalism, www.ces.uc.pt/files/gender. Accessed on 12/08/2017.

health. Traditionally universalist. Loves music. Loves dance. Loves struggle. Loves the folk. Loves herself. Regardless. Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender.¹⁷² The researcher takes the stance that women, irrespective of who they are, their birthright, how they were brought up, physical appearance and socialisation, they still feel they have something to contribute to society at large in the form of being Parliamentarians in order to safeguard and embrace not only their interests but interests of all citizenry.

In a similar vein, Walker introduced four meanings of the term “womanist”. According to her first definition, a “womanist” was “a Black feminist or feminist of color”. She uses the term interchangeably.¹⁷³ Resembling Walker, many African American women see little difference between the two since both support a common agenda of Black women’s self-definition and self-determination.¹⁷⁴ As Tom Owolade points out, “Black feminism is sometimes referred to as womanism because both are concerned with struggles against sexism and racism by Black women who are themselves part of the Black community’s efforts to achieve equality and liberty.”¹⁷⁵

Alice Walker sees womanism as rooted in Black women’s concrete history in racial and gender oppression. Taking the term from the Southern Black folk expression of mothers to female children “you acting womanish”, Walker suggests that Black women’s concrete history fosters a womanist world view, accessible primarily and perhaps exclusively to Black women. “Womanish” girls acted in outrageous, courageous, and willful ways, which are the attributes that freed them from the conventions that limited white women for a long time. Womanish girls wanted to know more and in greater depth than what was considered good for them. They were responsible, in charge and serious. This research does not delve much on the colour line which was evident in the first Parliament of

¹⁷²Achifusi G.1987. Feminist inclinations of Flora Nwapa: The Feminist novel in Africa” Women in African Literature Today. London: James Curry.

¹⁷³Walker Alice. “Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender” A Feminist Theory Dictionary, July 2007. <https://afeministtheorydictionary.wordpress.co>. Accessed on 11/08/2017.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵Owolade Tom. <https://twitter.com/owolade14status/7425096472432>. 1994. Accessed 2nd August 2017.

Swaziland in 1968, whereby the first finance minister was White, probably because whiteness was perceived with a higher magnitude than blackness.

The womanish theory prevails in the Parliament of Swaziland as one former MP. Marwick Khumalo in a Parliamentary debate once voiced out his opinion about one former Minister, Nelisiwe Shongwe. He commented by saying that, 'she was good as a mother and not as a politician.'¹⁷⁶ Clearly the politician was indicating that being a Parliamentarian was meant for males, not for women. Despite her disclaimer that womanists are "Traditionally Universalists", a philosophy invoked by her metaphor of the garden where there is room for all flowers to bloom equally and differently, Walker simultaneously implies that Black women are somehow superior to white women because of this Black folk tradition. Defining womanish as the opposite of the "frivolous, irresponsible, not serious, girlish" she constructs Black women's experiences in opposition to those of White women. This meaning of womanism sees it as being different from and superior to feminism, a difference allegedly stemming from Black and White women's different histories within American racism. Walker's much-cited phrase, "womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender" clearly seems designed to set up this type of comparison – Black women are "womanist" while White women remain merely "feminist".¹⁷⁷

This usage assembles squarely in Black nationalist traditions premised on the belief that Blacks and Whites cannot function as equals while inhabiting the same territory or participating in the same social institutions. "As Black nationalist philosophy posits that White people as a group have a vested interest in continuing a system of White supremacy, it typically sees little use for Black interrogation or assimilation into a system predicted on Black subjugation. Black nationalist approaches also support a Black moral superiority over Whites because of Black suffering."¹⁷⁸ Walker's use of the term

¹⁷⁶*Times of Swaziland*, 13 October 2009. p.4.

¹⁷⁷Aptheker B. "*Strong is what we make each other*": *Unlearning Racism Within Women's Studies*. Women's Studies, Vol.1 No3. 1981.

¹⁷⁸Van Deburg William, L. *Feminism Discourse*. Chicago University Press, 1992 X, 377p.ill,R4a

womanism; 'promises Black women, who both operate within these Black nationalists' assumptions and who simultaneously see the need to address "feminist" issues within African American communities, partial reconciliation of these two seemingly incompatible philosophies. Womanism offers a distance from the "enemy", in this case, Whites generally and White women in particular, yet still raises the issue of gender. Due to its endorsement of racial separatism, this interpretation of womanism offers a vocabulary of addressing gender issues within African American communities without challenging the racially segregated terrain that characterises American social institutions.'¹⁷⁹

2.6 CRITICAL MASS THEORY

From the year 2000, the literature on women Parliamentarians has been characterised by a shift from the 'critical mass theory' approach that pays attention to numbers, to a broader appreciation of women in the legislature. Geisler problematises women's heterogeneous status in Parliamentary issues. She theorises some light on women's generational, educational and party differences as a factor militating against effective unity towards policymaking by, and for women.¹⁸⁰ Anne Marie Goetz argues that, in some cases, male-oriented strategies have pushed women into Parliament in Uganda and therefore questions those women's political effectiveness in advancing women's interests.¹⁸¹ Hannah E. Britton draws a link between pre-transition mobilisation by women in South African, Uganda and Eritrea who formed a platform from which they pushed for representation in the Constitutional Assembly. However, Britton notes that 'critical mass' is one thing and women's ability to speak to policy decisions is another story.¹⁸² Identifying both 'critical mass' and 'critical actors' as significant to women's representation in

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Gisela Geisler. "Parliament is Another Terrain for Struggle: Women, Men and Politics in South Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38. No. 4, December 2000, pp. 605- 630, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/161511>, (accessed 21/06/2017).

¹⁸¹ Anne Marie Goetz. "No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, December 2002, pp. 359- 379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876025>, (accessed 21/06/2017).

¹⁸² Hannah E. Britton. "Coalition Building, Election Rules, and Party Politics: South African Women's Path to Parliament", *Africa Today*, Vol. 49, No. 4, Winter 2002, pp. 33- 67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4187530>, (accessed 22/06/2017).

Parliament is a contribution this study intends to make to scholarship on the 'critical mass' and 'critical actors' theories.

Drude Dahlerup submits that; 'originally an idea from nuclear physics, critical mass theory refers to the quality needed to start a chain response resulting in an irreversible turning point and leading to the take-off of a new situation or process.'¹⁸³ Consequently, critical mass theory divulge on dovetailing flanked by the representation of women in Parliament which is the input and the end production or action as a result of the presence of women in Parliament, this study is not particular about women per se but includes males in Parliamentary debates. The relevance of critical mass theory to redress the continuous low representation of women in decision-making institutions is embedded in the idea that having increased representation of women as legislators will ultimately transform the Parliament. The assumption is that enhancing the increased representation of women accelerates women's zeal to reach a critical mass within Parliament. The anticipated result will be a legislative transformation in favour of women's agenda¹⁸⁴ as posited by Veronica Mkilinya.

Critical mass associates women's descriptive representation to policy change through the linchpin of a threshold particular representation, which, once surpassed, has a transformative impact on legislators and obliges as a product of change¹⁸⁵ as observed by Beckwith. A consensus by proponents of critical mass theory shares the same sentimentalities with Rodgers Kanter's work that assumes the effects of sex ranking group behaviour in organisational settings. According to Rosabeth Kanter, women need to subjugate at least one-third of the available space in order to affect the cultural behaviour of organisations.¹⁸⁶ In this study of women in Parliament of Swaziland, this view has been

¹⁸³Dahlerup D. The Story of the Theory of Critical Mass, Politics and Gender. 2 (4), pp.511–522. 2006b.

¹⁸⁴Mkilinya M. Veronica. Substantive Representation of Women in the Tanzanian Parliament. A Thesis presented to the School of Law and Government in Dublin City University, In partial fulfilment of Requirements of the Degree Masters in Government by Research.2011. pp.,34-35.

¹⁸⁵Beckwith K. Numbers and Newness; The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 4 (1), pp.27–49 in Veronica Mkilinya.

¹⁸⁶Kanter Rosabeth. M, Some Effects of Proportions of Group Life, Skewed sex ratios and responses to token

probed more to come up with an authentic document that has the voices of women in Parliament. Critical mass holds the perception that women need a 15% to 30% representation within Parliament to be able to reflect a much greater extent of women's concerns¹⁸⁷ as posited by Childs. In addressing women comparative access from Parliament and hindrances they encounter in entering Parliament, activists (feminists) used the idea of a 30% critical mass to lobby for an increase in representation of women in Parliaments.¹⁸⁸ Notwithstanding the justification used to lobby is the equal principle; activists have demanded an increase in women's presence in Parliaments as an entitlement based on equal citizenship and equal rights¹⁸⁹ as posited by Squires. The research has increased the 30% representation by focusing on what women in Parliament have been able to achieve regardless of the figures.

Critics of critical mass such as Sylvia Tamale in Uganda's case, argue that fixed representation of women has a loophole that weakens the critical mass theory as it creates a glass ceiling, resulting in complications that frustrate the good cause of women representation to rise above the stated quotas. Whereas Goetz and Shireen Hassim submit the view that descriptive representation such as advocated in critical mass theory is the first necessary step to the transformation that is required in a substantive representation scenario.

Why and how women get into Parliament is a theme of great interest to political scientists. Gretchen Bauer explains that a large integer of women in Parliament positions in Namibia are a result of a closed-list comparative representation, voluntary quotas by political parties and pressure by a women's movement that has been influenced by the global women's movement. She has observed that some upsurge women Parliamentarians

Women. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 82(5) March 1997. pp.905-990.

¹⁸⁷Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation", *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, p. 725.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹Squires J. *The New Politics of Gender equality*, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2007 cited in Mkilinya

have not translated into positive results for women's benefits.¹⁹⁰ Of the factors identified, Bauer gives primacy to women's agency and emphasises their initiative in pushing for more women in the legislature through women's movements. She argues that it is not only numbers, but who among the numbers, is eligible for support; those who participated in the liberation struggle. Gisela Geisler engages Bauer in bringing to light women's initiatives to lobby for representation in legislation. She notes that by the 2000s the quota system had seen many women get into politics, but some had to lobby through women's movements that were supported by NGOs. Unlike Bauer, Geisler highpoints the heterogeneous nature of women's participation in decision making. While the older female generation did not question the male-dominated status quo, the younger and educated generation pushed for political representation, making it impossible for them to unite and push for policy changes in favour of women.¹⁹¹ This study also pays attention to the heterogeneous composition of womenfolk Parliamentarians and the implications thereof on their effectiveness.

From a 'critical mass theory' perspective, Denise Walsh and Pamela Scully note that in the early 1990s women in Southern Africa entered Parliament in large numbers than hitherto largely through the United Nations Women's Conference and the quota system. However, they note a skew towards elite women with a few less privileged women in legislation, and the failure of women in legislative positions to promote feminist policies. They identify democratisation in quantity and not in quality.¹⁹² Similarly, Shireen Hassim argues that while quotas quicken the rate of women representation in Parliament, they do very little to enhance substantive representation.¹⁹³ Mi Yung Yoon engages other

¹⁹⁰Gretchen Bauer. "'The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country': Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 4, December, 2004, pp. 479- 509, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876136>, (Accessed 28/05/2017).

¹⁹¹Gisela Geisler. "'A Second Liberation': Lobbying for Women's Political Representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 69- 84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25065067>, (Accessed 26/01/2017).

¹⁹²Denise Walsh and Pamela Scully. "Altering Politics", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1), March 2006, pp. 1- 12.

¹⁹³Shireen Hassim. "Perverse Consequences? The Impact of Quotas for Women on Democratisation in Africa", (not dated), http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedfiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Hassim_PerverseConsequences.pdf, (Accessed 31 July, 2012).

scholars on the 'critical mass theory' approach. She notes that women have entered Parliament in large numbers, and she advocates gender quotas and proportional representation as the only effective means of increasing women in the legislature.¹⁹⁴ However, with reference to Tanzania, Yoon notes that the special seat system facilitates an increase in the number of women legislators but does not seem to improve their numerical representation beyond the stipulated 30%. The conclusion thereof is that there has been a reduction in women's competitiveness even though some women have used special seats to pave their way to constituency seats.¹⁹⁵ Differences in the competitiveness between appointed women Parliamentarians and their counterparts who win elections will be discussed in this study. This study harangues that substantive representation is what matters than just mere figures. The milestone that seeks to redress women's issues encapsulates both male and female advocacy instead of numbers.

Apart from journal articles, there is an emerging literature on women Parliamentarians in the form of book-length studies and anthologies. In the first book-length study of women Parliamentarians in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale summaries that most of the women are in Parliament through affirmative action but once in Parliament they epitomise the interests of both women and men. Tamale points to the heterogeneous nature of women Parliamentarians, and argues that even though they display some differences, women Parliamentarians have managed to effect notable legislative changes in Uganda.¹⁹⁶ In an interdisciplinary anthology edited by Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim, several scholars examine the experiences of women Parliamentarians in Uganda and South Africa. They acknowledge the large quantities of women through affirmative action, but they are wary of the effectiveness of women in influencing legislation to advance women's interests.¹⁹⁷ In yet another interdisciplinary anthology edited by Gretchen Bauer and

¹⁹⁴Mi Yung Yoon. "Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub- Sahara Africa", *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 August, 2004, pp. 447- 468, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598562>, (Accessed 12/07/2017).

¹⁹⁵Mi Yung Yoo. "Special Seats for Women in the National Legislature: The Case of Tanzania", *Africa Today*, Vol. 55, No. 1 Fall 2008, pp. 61- 86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2766695>, (Accessed 21/07/2017).

¹⁹⁶Sylvia Tamale. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

¹⁹⁷Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim (eds.). *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy*

Hannah Evelyn Britton, scholars address the reasons for the increase in women's political representation, the issues related to women's representation in legislatures, and the impact of women MPs on legislation. They argue that the genre of electing women to Parliament, and the interpretation of the reserved seats, have affected women representatives' power to encounter the government in controversial matters. In fact, the fact that most of the women are in Parliament through the quota system has negative implications on their capacity to challenge the system through which they rose to power.¹⁹⁸ In a similar vein, the study notes the implications of the quota system on the effectiveness of Swazi women in Parliament, a tactic that has not worked much for Swaziland. Evidence is based on the large percentage of women appointed by the king.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the yawning gap in literature focusing on women Parliamentarians in Swaziland. This chapter has examined some literature, key terms and concepts pertinent for this study, provided the theoretical framework with specific emphasis on key theorists in social theory and feminist theory. Lastly, the theories and the literature reviewed shed some valuable insight into academia. Therefore, social change and empirical studies on the representation of women's issues persist a concern for scholars. There is a task to bring to light the gap that motivates the role women Parliamentarians play in the demonstration of women's interests in the Swaziland Parliament.

Making, (South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ Gretchen Bauer and Hannah Evelyn Britton (eds.). *Women in African Parliaments*, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

SWAZI WOMEN'S PATHS TO PARLIAMENT 1967–2015

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the literature reviewed and theoretical framework on women in the Parliament of Swaziland from 1967 to 2015. This chapter investigates the strategies used by Swazi to enter Parliament. This chapter further discusses the strategic paths used from 1967 to 2015. Pursuing political developments that took place in Swazi politics from the late colonial and post-colonial epoch obliges as the premise of the study. An interrogation of the impact of Swaziland colonial administration in shaping the Parliament of Swaziland acts as a springboard for the research. The conceptual framework adopted by the chapter serves as the critical mass theory and pathway trailed by aspiring women Parliamentarians to enter into Parliament, which is briefly discussed. Livia Berg, a scholar, articulates that pathways are not straightforward, they do not move from A to B as motorways instead, pathways are meandering and uncertain, characterised by various elements that can disrupt or change the path.¹⁹⁹ The barriers encountered by Swazi women will be discoursed to understand what constitutes Swazi women's paths to Parliament.

¹⁹⁹Livia Berg. *Women's Pathways to Parliament: The Case of Indonesia*. Lund University, A PhD in Science in International Development Management. May, 2015. pp. 15-30.

3.2 PATHWAYS

Andrea Cornwall problematises the metaphor of motorways, which she describes as “designed to transport large numbers of vehicles from A to B, flattening the terrain to increase the speed of travel.” A motorway is a fast track to a particular terminus. She continues to argue that by examining “motorways” of the convention, women's political participation in the development of policies is missed, and she introduces the metaphor of pathways as a way to seizure more than motorways.²⁰⁰ Cornwall describes pathways as evoking “trails made by people individually and collectively treading a route through vegetation”. The metaphor of a pathway captures both the sense of a route and something of the experience of the journey itself.²⁰¹ The focus of the chapter is an investigation of these journeys, in order to enrich studies on women's experiences as travellers and to learn to pay closer attention to women's involvements of travels along diverse pathways of access and what supported or hindered them as they made these journeys.

Dahlerup submits that an original idea from nuclear physics and critical mass theory refers to the quality needed to start a chain reaction resulting in an irrevocable turning point and leading to the emergence of a new situation or process.²⁰² Consequently, critical mass theory divulges on dovetailing between the representations of women in Parliament which is the contribution and the end production or action as a result of the presence of women in Parliament, these include laws passed. This study is not particularly about women but includes males in Parliament as a cadre that compliments women. The relevance of critical mass theory to redress the continuous low representation of women in decision-making institutions is embedded in the idea that having increased representation of women as policymakers will ultimately transform Parliament. The assumption is that enhancing the increased representation of women accelerates women's vehemence to

²⁰⁰Andrea Cornwall. *Women's Empowerment: What works and Why?* WIDER Working Paper. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER, 2014/104. p.7.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*

²⁰²Dahlerup D. The Story of the Theory of Critical Mass, Politics and Gender. 2 (4), pp.511 – 522. 2006b.

reach a critical mass within Parliament. The anticipated result will be a legislative revolution in favour of women's agenda,²⁰³ as posited by Veronica Mkilinya.

The researcher adopts the idea that critical mass theory links women's descriptive representation to policy modification through the linchpin of a threshold, particularly representation, which once surpassed has a transformative impact on legislators and serves as a product change²⁰⁴ as observed by Beckwith. A consensus by proponents of critical mass theory shares the same sentiments with Kanter's work that assumes the effects of sex rating group behaviour in organisational settings. According to Rosabeth Kanter, 'women need to occupy at least one-third of the available space in order to affect the cultural behaviour of an organisation.'²⁰⁵ In this study of women in the Swaziland Parliament, this view has been probed further in order to design an authentic document. 'Critical mass has the perception that women need a 15% to 30% representation within Parliament to be able to address women's concerns,'²⁰⁶ as posited by Sarah Childs.

A brief historical background of Swaziland serves as an embryonic stage of Parliament establishment. Swaziland attained her independence from the United Kingdom (Britain) on 6 September 1968. The annulment of the 1968 Independence Constitution by King Sobhuza II ushered in a new dispensation. At independence, the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM) led Swaziland under King Sobhuza II. The first elections held in 1967 resulted in the Imbokodvo capturing all the seats to the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC). Hugh Macmillan states that out of the 24 seats in Parliament, Imbokodvo won 21, and NNLC won three.²⁰⁷ The 1967 elections saw the INM winning

²⁰³Mkilanya M. Veronica. Substantive Representation of Women in the Tanzanian Parliament. A Thesis presented to the School of Law and Government in Dublin City University, In partial fulfilment of Requirements of the Degree Masters in Government by Research. 2011. pp., 34-35.

²⁰⁴Beckwith K. Numbers and Newness: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 4 (1), pp.27 – 49 in Veronica Mkilinya.

²⁰⁵Kanter R. Some Effects of Proportions of Group Life, Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 82(5) March 1997. pp.905-990.

²⁰⁶Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. "Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation", *Political Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 2008, p. 725.

²⁰⁷Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336.

88% of the elects while NNLC won the remaining 12% but no seats in Parliament. The fairness of Imbokodvo's win remained to be highly contested as postulated by Hugh Macmillan who further suggested that other parties were prevented by chiefs from campaigning and that votes for Imbokodvo were solicited through threats of banishment and dispossession of Swazi Nation Land.²⁰⁸ The submission made by Macmillan could be coined as a mechanism employed by Sobhuza to lure the masses into supporting the INM, hence influencing Parliament.

There seems to be a consensus among constitutional writers that the most significant factor responsible for the repeal of the Constitution was the emergence of the opposition (NNLC) in Parliament after the 1972 general elections.²⁰⁹ Nkonzo Hlatshwayo captured that the loss of three seats by the INM ushered in a new era in Swaziland's political culture.²¹⁰ When the new Parliament convened in the following year the tension between the ruling INM party and the opposition NNLC was almost tangible.²¹¹ It would seem that the INM MPs were determined to make the life of the opposition problematic by exhibiting a somewhat hostile attitude.²¹² Remarkably, this marked the first constitutional crisis of the newly-independent state, and its cause could be traced to the existence of constitutional rules from two separate sources within one system (the Swazi traditional system and the modern British system of governance). The Swaziland Independence

Retrieved 09 February, 2018, from <http://www.scielo.org.za> See also H. Macmillan. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of Swazi Tradition" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 23 (4): 643-666. 1985.

²⁰⁸The Swaziland Independence Constitution Chapter V of the 1968 Constitution of Swaziland

²⁰⁹N.A. Hlatshwayo. 'The ideology of traditionalism and its implications for principles of constitutionalism: The case of Swaziland', unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University. Ontario.1992 p.130.Cited in Thulani

Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

²¹⁰The Swaziland Independence Constitution Chapter V 1968 of the Constitution of Swaziland.

²¹¹B. Khumalo. 'Legal pluralism and constitutional tensions: the evolution of the constitutional system in Swaziland since 1968' unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University, Ontario, 1993. Cited in Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*,8(2),312-336 Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

²¹²Claude Kabemba et al, *Swaziland's Struggle with Political Liberalisation*, p.7. See also, Armstrong Alice and Russell Margo, "A situation analysis of women in Swaziland", Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, A Paper presented to UNICEF, 1985. p. 8.

Constitutional Act 50 of 1968²¹³ was problematic in an ideal democratic state as the Royalists had unanimously opposed democratic change.

Despite the INMs swift victory, there were glaring challenges by the NNLC. In a bid to curb the political crisis, meetings of more than 10 people were banned unless permission was first granted in writing by the police.²¹⁴ In an attempt to augment its powers, the MPs authored a motion requesting King Sobhuza II to repeal the Independence Constitution. The result of the motion was that on 12 April 1973 King Sobhuza II banned political parties in Swaziland. He further dissolved Parliament and Swaziland was declared to be in a state of emergency.²¹⁵ In Sobhuza's 1973 speech he alluded to the fact that ultimate powers were vested in him, he stated, "...I have assumed supreme power in the Kingdom of Swaziland and... all legislative, executive, and judicial power vested in myself".²¹⁶ Between 1973 and 1978 Sobhuza ruled Swaziland with his select members of the Council of Ministers, the Swazi National Council (SNC), an instrument that depicts a fairly tyrannical trait, justifiable because the criteria for selecting the SNC remained a prerogative of the king. The route aspiring women Parliamentarians was characterised by some complications in the sense that politics was predominantly patriarchal.

The coining of a constitution for Swaziland inaugurated as far back as 6 September 1973 when Sobhuza II appointed the Vusela I, an exercise in political circles that earned the name the Royal Constitutional Commission (RCC). 'It was mandated to travel throughout Swaziland in order to get the views of the Swazi people on the type of constitution they wanted.'²¹⁷ The RCC made two fundamental recommendations: that Swaziland be

²¹³Swaziland Independence Constitution of 1968. Statutes of Swaziland cited in Thulani R. Maseko. African Human Rights Law Journal: The Drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*

²¹⁵Swaziland and Sobhuza, *Proclamation by King Sobhuza II* [on the constitution] on April, 1973, Government Printer, Mbabane, 1973.

²¹⁶*Ibid.*

²¹⁷JSM.Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Longman, London.1972. (n 2 above) p. 265. See Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

declared a no-party state, with the SNC being the only policy-making body, and that there must be a two-chamber house of Parliament composed of the Assembly and Senate. The Constitution Advisory Committee (CAC) was tasked with studying the report of the RCC and advise the king on the suitability of the report, then follow its prescriptions if it stood the test of time.²¹⁸ The author perceives the initiative as a glass ceiling invention by Sobhuza that had connotations of authoritarianism and an oxymoron of democracy.

In augmenting the political stance of Swaziland, the year 1978 was a revolving point in the development of the Swazi governance system, electoral process, and Swazi elections. The democratic privilege inherited from Britain was imperilled to different forms of dismemberment under the pretence of developing a local governance and electoral system that was theoretically informed by Swazi authenticities and traditions.²¹⁹ This allegation is convincing at a glance, but in actual fact concerns of power and control infiltrated the decision to revise the Swazi electoral progression in 1978. At the epitome of these inventions that were assuming ground-breaking status in the political history of the Swazi nation, erupted a core setback from good governance and universal principles of democracy dwindled in Swaziland. In the evolution of such adverse distortions, women were the most affected as recipients of patriarchal dictates.

Swazi Women's pathways to Parliament took another dimension in the year 1978 as this year marked a historic evolution of the commission's report which was released under the tutoring of King Sobhuza II, following the repeal in 1973 of the Constitution crafted at independence. This report proved to be crucial to the political, electoral and governance history of the country. Through its recommendation, the commission introduced a new political system in Swaziland known as the *Tinkhundla* governance system which has become cherished by the monarchy and the traditionalists but detested by political parties

²¹⁸Booth Alan, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 107. Alan Booth and Levin Richard 1983 p., 76 and 1997. P.107.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

and progressives in general.²²⁰ In theory, *Tinkhundla* was as old as the modern Swazi state, and what happened in 1978 was a resuscitation of a system that could enable King Sobhuza II to restore his control of the Parliamentary electoral system²²¹ as postulated by Alan Booth. Different commentators have attempted to define *Tinkhundla*, but divergent definitions should not delay us here.²²²

Mahlaba Mamba and Alan Booth have argued that; after the long period of dormancy that followed the imposition of colonial rule in 1902, the system was resurrected in the 1950s, only to be pushed aside again. When the system was revived again in 1978, it was made more conceptually sophisticated, largely for reasons of power and politics. While, traditionally, *Tinkhundla* meant meeting places in each chiefdom for the purposes of dealing with local affairs, in 1978 it was re-crafted to embody an electoral process, an economic development structure, and a national governance system. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland states that the term *inkhundla* or *Tinkhundla* (plural) is the Swazi name for a constituency.²²³

When the system was introduced, its details as an electoral process were provided in the Establishment of Parliament Order, 1978, sometimes referred to as Kings Order-in-Council No. 23 of 1978. Remarkably, the first important aspect of the *Tinkhundla* electoral process was its organisation. The importance of the structure had to do with the manner in which all sections were dominated by the preponderance of monarchical control and

²²⁰Levin, R. "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 10(2):pp.1-23.1991. Cited by Hamilton Sipho Simelane, *Journal of African Elections. The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin 1991. See also Levin Richard at <https://doi.org/1080/02589009/08729511>. Swaziland's Tinkhundla and Myth of Swazi Tradition.

²²¹Booth Alan, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 107. Alan Booth and Levin Richard 1983p., 76 and 1997 p.,107. See J.S.M. Matsebula. A History of Swaziland, Longman First Edition ,Johannesburg, 1972.p.168.

²²²Mamba M, "Tinkhundla: A Study of the System " M A Thesis, University of Swaziland,2006.

²²³Hamilton Sipho Simelane, *Journal of African Elections. The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited in Levin, R. "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 10(2):pp.1-23.1991.

influence.²²⁴ Sobhuza generated an elect clique which was called the Electoral Committee which had an administrative role in the electoral process. This was a committee of seven members all appointed by and accountable to the king. Its principal function was stated as: ‘...to supervise and assist in the conduct of elections by *Tinkhundla* of their delegates to the Electoral College and the election of members of the House.’²²⁵ According to the King’s Order, the committee was responsible for the proper conduct of elections at *Tinkhundla* or the Electoral College, having regard to the traditional practices at meetings and elections of the Swazi nation. It was meant to steer the electoral process along traditional lines in terms of principles and practice. This committee served as a traditional watch-dog over the Swaziland electoral process under the revived *Tinkhundla*. Women did not form part of the clique an action that was considered an insult to the feminine cadre.

Lamenting the inability of the *Tinkhundla* political system to facilitate the emergence of open-minded individuals who would be suitable for election as MPs, including the subtle requirement of allegiance to the *Tinkhundla* political system, before one can be appointed into positions of political influence, a retired former MP submitted that:

“....the system advocates for people who pay allegiance to certain sectors of society and if one fails to do this, one never gets anywhere politically...Before one can be elected into Parliament, one has to be a known member of the community. One has to wake up every weekend and go to the chief’s residence to either weed his fields or fix the kraal.”²²⁶

Additionally, part of the structure was the office of the Chief Electoral Officer. This officer was appointed by the king and had the responsibility of guiding elections under the supervision of the Electoral Committee. The Electoral Officer had no muscle to change or

²²⁴*Ibid.*

²²⁵Constitutional Law: King’s Order-in-Council. 1/1992. The Establishment of the Parliament of Swaziland Order, 1992, Statutes of Swaziland, Issue 2, 10th December, 1992. See also The Establishment of Parliament of Swaziland Order, 1978, Part II(3). King’s Order-in-Council 1978.

²²⁶Times of Swaziland (TOS), May 21, Friday, 2007. p.5. *Comment from a former parliamentarian.*

make policy and his responsibility was limited to dealing with managing the secret ballot that was being introduced for the first time. He was merely an operational officer who operated on instructions from the king. This monarchical control was indicated by the fact that the first electoral officer of the *Tinkhundla* electoral process belonged to the clan of the king's mother, Thwala.

The EC was perceived as an important part of the structure. This body was made up of people elected from all the *Tinkhundla*, and the number of members was partly dependent on the determined number of *Tinkhundla*. The criteria used depended on the number of *Tinkhundla* which was demarcated at 40 in 1978. The majority of the EC members were from this team. Members of the elections committee were also members of the college. Each *inkhundla* was allowed to have two delegates to this body. The main limitation of the EC was to designate members of the House of Assembly from the list of candidates from *Tinkhundla*.²²⁷ On some days they were introduced to their responsibility and probably told not to deviate from traditional ways of choosing representatives. Some of the values that embody the traditional values of Swazi society include respect for seniority and loyalty to the Swazi monarchy. In effect, the EC was the last stage of consolidating the control and domination of the monarchy over the general population.²²⁸

Tinkhundla committees were part of the structure that connected the electoral process directly with the people in the urban and rural areas of the country. Each *inkhundla* had to establish a committee responsible for beginning the process of election. The membership of these committees was not specified. According to the order, each *inkhundla* was to establish such a committee, though the number of members was left to each *inkhundla*. From an electoral point of view, the committee seemed to have played

²²⁷Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

²²⁸Hamilton Siphos Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin, R. "Swaziland's *Tinkhundla* and the Myth of Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 10(2):pp.1-23.1991.

a role in initiating the process of electing candidates to the Electoral College.²²⁹ At the grassroots level, the system was open to manipulation by influential people, a clear sign of an undemocratic practice. There is evidence that some regional chiefs interfered with the exercise by telling their subjects which individuals to nominate or who to vote for. At the level of the functioning of *Tinkhundla* committees some ground-breaking practices noticeably came to play, for instance the ordinary citizens had a chance to participate in the electoral process as promulgated by the protagonists of the system. It was also at this level that the Swazi leadership claimed that the *Tinkhundla* electoral process was democratic. In theory, people in each *inkhundla* nominated and voted for candidates of their choice.²³⁰

The process of elections consistently begins once the king makes the announcement that the process should be inaugurated. After receiving such instructions, the head (*indvuna*) of *inkhundla*, appointed by the king, convened meetings in each *inkhundla* for the purpose of electing people to represent each *inkhundla* at the Electoral College. During Election Day, all employers were instructed to release their employees to partake in the *inkhundla* elections. The nomination of each candidate had to be supported by not less than five people. The conduct of elections at this stage was crude as there was no voter registration and the identification of candidates was elementary. Each candidate was placed at the end of a wooden channel and the voters for each candidate were tutored to go through the channel of their preferred candidate. Somewhere along the channels there were officials physically counting the voters for each candidate. The two candidates with the highest votes were declared winners and continued to represent the *inkhundla* at the Electoral College.²³¹

²²⁹*Ibid.*

²³⁰Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), pp.312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018, from <http://www.scielo.org.za> See also H. Macmillan. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of Swazi Tradition" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 23 (4): Pp.643-666. 1985.

²³¹Levin, R. "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 10(2):pp.1-23.1991.

When the delegates from the different *Tinkhundla* convened, the EC instructed them to nominate candidates between themselves – whom they believed had the necessary virtues to be MPs. These nominations had to be accompanied by a motivation explaining why the nominated candidates were considered fit to be MPs.²³² The EC was required to elect 40 members for the House of Assembly, however, there was no mention of the candidates' gender. Before the nomination and election, the candidates' backgrounds were investigated by both the electoral officer and the Electoral Committee. It is not clear what the investigation sought to establish, but it stands to reason that loyalty to the monarchy was one of the main criteria used. According to the King's Order-in-Council No. 23 of 1978, the elections at this stage had to be a secret ballot. It was a restricted election process – apart from the members of the EC who were to vote, 'only the Chief Electoral Officer, members of the Electoral Committee in terms of Section 23, the person responsible for keeping the minutes of such election, secretarial staff, messengers, the *Indvuna ye* [of] *Tinkhundla* and the members of the EC shall be present at such election' (Establishment of the Parliament of Swaziland Order 1978,²³³ Part IV (25). In the final analysis, under this system, the people who eventually became MPs were indirect representatives of their constituencies.

As per the decrees of Sobhuza II and his traditional enthusiasts, the *Tinkhundla* system was a substitute to alien models of Parliamentary democracy. There was an oligarchy that worked diligently with Sobhuza whose appointment was based on their historic relations with royalty and continued political coalitions prevalent in their communities and nationwide. These comprised of princes, princesses, chiefs, councils and other people with status in society. Grounded on this suggestion, Sobhuza attempted to orchestrate the system to be transnationally acceptable by sending delegates to several African countries to explain the nature of the system. Delegates were also sent to European

²³²Hamilton Sipho Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Thwala as one of the interviewees in 2015. Swaziland Independence Constitution of 1968. Statutes of Swaziland cited in Thulani R. Maseko. *African Human Rights Law Journal: The Drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland*, 2005.

²³³Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

countries such as the United Kingdom while others were sent to North America.²³⁴ This was an effort to accrue buy-in from the international populace. The responses were not recorded as it has always been the case with some major activities conducted which may tend to expose the weakest point of royalty. While the issue of the system being home-grown and African is appreciated, the question of it being a mechanism of entrenching the power of the Swazi monarch cannot be ignored. As Kuper has observed, under this system 'individual rights were subordinated to the interests of an autocratic aristocracy.'²³⁵

This electoral process continued for about 15 years and had noteworthy characteristics. The stamp of traditionalism and monarchical dominance was found throughout the stages of the process ²³⁶as advanced by Simelane. The King's Order-in-Council of 1978 provided that all elections should be conducted along traditional lines which meant that all nominated and elected candidates were vetted along traditional lines. The system was an endorsement of traditionalism as embodied in the institution of monarchy and Swazi traditional values. Consequently, all the citizens who through education and other forms of acculturation had adopted modern values were rejected by the electoral process unless they subscribed to traditionalism and proclaimed loyalty to the monarchy. Arbitrarily, the system was and is not without its critics. Those who believed in the ideals of universal democratic principles did not participate in the electoral process, prompting a rise to a debate that continues even today on whether the *Tinkhundla* political system and electoral process were capable of faking the strengthening of democracy in the country. It is predominantly pertinent to consider the fact that Swaziland is the only Southern African country that has dared not to embrace democratic ideals, amidst all the waves of

²³⁴Hamilton Sipho Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin 1991. Cited Dvuba in an interview in 2015.

²³⁵Hamilton Sipho Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin 1991. Cited Kuper 1963. p. 78).

²³⁶*Ibid.* See also Claude Kabemba et al, *Swaziland's Struggle With Political Liberalisation*, p.7. See also, Armstrong Alice and Russell Margo, "A situation analysis of women in Swaziland", Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, A Paper presented to UNICEF, 1985. p. 8.

democratisation that have swept through the world and have caused democratic change in Swaziland.²³⁷

The period from 1982 to 1986 did not produce any developments in the Swazi electoral process. Instead, it was characterised by political instability following the death of King Sobhuza II. Palace intrigues and machinations took centre stage as some members of the royal family attempted a low-intensity palace coup. Even in this period of political confusion voices of protest against *Tinkhundla* were still heard.²³⁸ The origins of the *Tinkhundla* system of governance dates back to the pre-colonial era and was a useful mechanism for enlisting the participation of the people in community affairs, it was not until the decree of the Regional Councils Order of 1978 that the system became an instrument of official government policy, designed to provide a basis for local government from grassroots to the highest political levels. The official view is that *Tinkhundla* is a democratic system of government through which the monarchy shares power, responsibility and the benefits of managing the socio-economic and political affairs of the country.²³⁹

The foundation for the operations of *Tinkhundla* at grassroots level are constituencies that are made up of different administrative and dogmatic structures, such as chiefs in councils, *Tindvuna Tetinkhundla* (constituency headmen/governors) and *BucophobeTinkhundla* (constituency committees), and members elected by popular vote. Approximately 250 chiefdoms are grouped into 55 *Tinkhundla* or regional councils, the centres of which are the basis for the conduct of national elections. These centres are observed as “inlets and outlets” through which members of communities participate in the socio-political and economic development of their respective areas and the country as a

²³⁷Hamilton Sipho Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin 1991. Cited Huntington SP, ‘Democracy’s Third Wave’, *Journal of Democracy*, vol.2.no.2.1991.

²³⁸*Ibid.*

²³⁹Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*,8(2),312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

whole.²⁴⁰ *Tinkhundla* are said to play an important role in Swaziland's politics, since it is at the *Tinkhundla* centres that not only a variety of community/constituency/regional councils and/or committees are elected but also, and much more significantly, MPs. Since the passage of the Regional Councils Order of 1978, the electoral system under the *Tinkhundla* political dispensation has advanced from modest reforms in that, under the system the people initially elected individuals from the different *Tinkhundla* or constituencies who then formed an Electoral College. The latter, in turn, and through indirect representation, elected MPs, a system that was largely perceived as undemocratic.²⁴¹ Clarity on the representation of women was not an issue of discussion in this epoch as per the findings of this study.

However, in view of the unrepresentative nature of this system, increasing demands by the electorate to elect people directly to Parliament and, in so doing, promote the principles of accountability and democratic governance, the Swaziland Parliament Order of 1992 abolished the Electoral College, thus, allowing for direct representation. Since then, not only have elections been conducted on the basis of a secret ballot but those elected at the national political level represent their respective constituencies directly in Parliament,²⁴² a move that had no imperious contribution to women's entry to Parliament.

An additional electoral reform measure that was ushered in by the Parliament Order of 1992 was an increase in the number of *Tinkhundla* or constituencies from 40 to 55, including the conduct of elections at primary and secondary levels. Candidates nominated at each chiefdom contest elections at the primary and secondary levels, with successful candidates being eligible for Secondary Elections, where they compete for national parliamentary seats with victorious candidates from other chiefdoms. There is no doubt

²⁴⁰Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

²⁴¹Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*,8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

²⁴²*Ibid.*

that the electoral system is unique in many respects and offers useful insights into the fact that voter turnout at the primary level is relatively higher than that at the secondary level. This is because voters, whose candidates do not go through and/or win at the primary levels, show a lack of interest in voting for other constituents candidates at the secondary or national level.²⁴³

The second initiative was the installation of the Tinkhundla Review Commission (TRC) in 1992. In the height of pressure for constitutional reforms, more specifically by the progressives, the king appointed a number of committees and commissions in an attempt to redress the outcry. This came to be popularly known as Vusela II and its mandate was the same as the earlier one.²⁴⁴ The Vusela team was led by a male royal member. Women's representation did not feature at all which was a typical patriarchal trait. The system was severely criticised as people called for the introduction of multiparty democracy and a constitutional monarchy,²⁴⁵ the result of which was the appointment of the TRC.²⁴⁶ The terms of reference included considering and making appropriate recommendations to promote the democratic process in Swaziland.²⁴⁷ The TRC was accountable to the king²⁴⁸ and its reports were to be confidential and not disclosed to anybody until further notice.²⁴⁹ Any member of the public who wanted to make submissions would do so in person and could not represent or be represented at any instance in any capacity.²⁵⁰ As it was single-handedly appointed, the Commission was received with mixed feelings. Organised pro-democracy groups denounced it as being

²⁴³Proctor JH, Traditionalism and Parliamentary government in Swaziland. *African Affairs*.72(288):PP.273-287.1973.

²⁴⁴Radipati B , Swaziland Today: Law and Politics under King Mswati III. *Annee Africaine*. 1992-1993. Pp243-267.

²⁴⁵Solomon Hussein, *Against All Odds: Opposition Parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg KMM Review, 2013. pp 236-268. See also Baloro John, The Development of Swaziland's Constitution: Monarchical responses to modern challenges. *Journal of African law*. 1994. 38(1):pp19-31.

²⁴⁶Simelane X, The Role of traditional Leaders in post- Tinkhundla Swaziland, Pretoria, South Africa: Idasa. An African Democracy Report. 2009. See also Establishment Order Section 1 of 1992.

²⁴⁷Bischoff PH, Why Swaziland is Different: An explanation of the Kingdom's political position in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 26(3). Pp. 457-471. See also Section 3(d) Decree 1 of 1992 in the King's Order in Council.

²⁴⁸Section 4 Decree 1 of 1992, in the King's Order-in-Council.

²⁴⁹Section 5 Decree 1 of 1992 in the Kings Order-in-Council.

²⁵⁰Section 9 Decree 1 of 1992 in the King's Order-in-Council.

undemocratically appointed and that one person drew up its terms of reference.²⁵¹ It presented its report to the king and recommended, among others, that there must be a written constitution for Swaziland. Some people wanted political parties while others did not. It further recommended that it had carefully considered both views and was of the view that a multiparty system is not one of the principles of democracy whilst it is certainly one of its mechanisms. It, however, concluded that the nation's opinion on a multiparty system or the unbanning of political parties be tested in the future.²⁵²

'The Constitution stated that there should be a Legislative Council whose membership would be constituted through democratic elections. When it was announced that elections would take place in June 1964, King Sobhuza II formed the INM to contest the elections. This party was formed despite the fact that Sobhuza had expressed his dislike for calls for the democratisation of the system or its total elimination which were heard but effectively suppressed.' One classical woman who made history by being appointed the first woman Parliamentarian was Mary Tutu Mdziniso who was born a Dlamini in 1924 at Bhobokazi in the Manzini District near Bethany Mission. She lost her mother shortly after being delivered. Her father, Efrom Magongo Dlamini, had the challenge of raising the newborn baby single-handedly. He decided to adopt Mary to the South African General Mission at Bethany where the missionaries would look after her. At the age of four she was sent to Mbuluzi, one of the mission's stations by the missionaries at Bethany. Her foster mother was a missionary, Mary Peak Brown. Being brought up by missionaries impacted her life in diverse ways, for instance, she was brought up in an environment of white people such that she might have thought she was white. This is evidenced by her name which she adopted from her foster mother Mary.²⁵³

In 1929 Mary began school at Mbuluzi Girls High at the age of five until she completed Standard VI. In 1937 she went to train as a Domestic Science Teacher at Inanda College

²⁵¹TRC Report 30 June 1992.

²⁵²TRC Report 30 June 1992.

²⁵³Interview with Jabulani Mdziniso, at Nkhanini in the King's Office, Lobamba on 23 November, 2019.

in the Union of South Africa for three years. In 1940 Mary began teaching at Mbuluzi Girls High. She claimed to have pioneered the teaching of the Domestic Science subject. In echoing her stance, Mary submitted that, “I introduced Domestic Science at Mbuluzi. It was already learnt in some schools such as Matsapha Government School. But I was responsible for introducing the subject at Mbuluzi. I did exceptionally well such that the Inspector for Domestic Science, Miss Smith, was impressed. Miss Smith on her routine inspection visits remarked that Mbuluzi was the best performing school”.²⁵⁴

During one of the trips to Inanda College, Mary met with Mdziniso whom she got married to in 1947. Mdziniso was training to be a pastor at Rockdrift in the Union of South Africa. Her marriage to Mdziniso elevated her status in the church as a pastor’s wife (*Umkhokheli*). Her duties included organising women to establish women’s development organisations in the church. In 1966 she pioneered the founding of *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*, a women’s organisation she led since its launch in 1975. In the very same time (1975), she attended an International Women’s Conference in Mexico.²⁵⁵

In 1968 Mary was appointed the first woman Senator in the first Parliament of Swaziland by King Sobhuza II. In percentile, this was 2%. Mary was the sole woman out of 63 males comprising of Cabinet Ministers, Assistant Ministers, President Senators, House of Assembly, Speaker and Deputy Speaker, as well as Elected and Nominated members of the House of Assemblage.²⁵⁶ The first Parliament was enacted from 1967 to 1972. Mdziniso held the position she may have acquired through the long-standing relations Sobhuza II had with Efrom, Mary’s father. He was tasked with taking care of the sugar cane fields owned by King Sobhuza II at Big Bend. He must have shown loyalty and earned Mary’s trust. Sobhuza II depicted that he was tactful in safeguarding and protecting his areas of interest by appointing people he would easily have control over

²⁵⁴Shokahle R. Dlamini, Interview with Dr. Mary Mdziniso (La Dlamini) of Mbekelweni in the Manzini District, January 12, 2000. African Women, Asian Women Research Institute of Asian Women, Swazi women’s Professionalism: The Power that Lies in Money and Books, 1920 to 1950. Vol. 15, 2002. pp. 99-101.

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ See Appendix 3.

and push his secret agenda, a mechanism that has positively yielded to the royalty's favour. Mary retained her Senate position until 1998. In Parliament, she was actively involved in policymaking which was demonstrated by her championing the Maintenance, Protection and Tax Bills.

Aspiring women Parliamentarians could tap from Mary's achievements as she learnt a lot from attending various meetings and conferences. The stalwart Swazi woman, Mary Mdziniso, is shown in

Figure 1.



**Figure 1: Mary Mdziniso, the first Swazi woman Parliamentarian, 1967–1998
(*Times of Swaziland*, More Women Needed as Parliamentarians, Friday, 5 July
1968)**

Swaziland experienced a press crisis phase from 6 September 1968 to 11 April 1973. Swaziland formally obtained independence from Britain and suited as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations (CON) on 6 September 1968. Parliamentary elections were held on 16 to 17 May 1972. The INM won 21 out of the 24 seats in the House of Assembly and the National Liberatory Congress Party (NLCP) won 3 seats.²⁵⁷ The crisis phase was on 12 April 1973 to present when King Sobhuza II declared a state of emergency. He disbanded the House of Parliament and introduced a new constitution banning political parties on 13 October 1978. Legislative elections were held on 27 October 1978, independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies (*Tinkhundla*) were first introduced in the country on the same day announced over media. This period marked the historic introduction of the *Tinkhundla* system of government.²⁵⁸

Through a mechanism pioneered by Sobhuza II, the traditional constituencies won 40 out of the 40 contested seats in the House of Assembly. This period was marked by the absence of women in Cabinet Minister positions. Mary Mdziniso was appointed Senator by King Sobhuza II. Princess Phetfwayini, Mambonjwana S. Nkambule and Precious Shungube (LaMasango) were MPs. The representation of women in Parliament was 4.2% (See Appendix 14). The representation of women at the introduction of *Tinkhundla* was at its bottom ebb. The researcher assumes the idea that the system at its inception was predominantly patriarchal, hence promoted male domination a practice that had adverse detrimental effects on women. Politics has been for a long time perceived a male domain. The submission made could be dovetailed to the literature reviewed by the researcher from journal articles, some concur that there is an emerging literature on women Parliamentarians in the form of book-length studies and anthologies. In the first book-length study of women Parliamentarians in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale notes that most

²⁵⁷N.A. Hlatswayo. 'The ideology of traditionalism and its implications for principles of constitutionalism: The case of Swaziland', unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University, Ontario 1992 p.130. Cited in Thulani

Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

²⁵⁸Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312- 336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

of the women are in Parliament through affirmative action but once in Parliament, they represent the interests of both women and men. Tamale points to the heterogeneous nature of women Parliamentarians and argues that even though they display some differences, women Parliamentarians have managed to effect notable legislative changes in Uganda.²⁵⁹ In an interdisciplinary anthology edited by Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim, several scholars examine the experiences of women Parliamentarians in Uganda and South Africa. They acknowledge the large representation of women through affirmative action, but they are wary of the effectiveness of women in influencing legislation to advance women's wellbeing.²⁶⁰

King Sobhuza II died on 21 August 1982, hence Queen Mother Dzeliwe was appointed as Regent. This a period of political upheaval which saw Queen Dzeliwe deposed as Regent and placed under house arrest in August 1983. Queen Mother Ntfombi Tfwala, mother of the then-Crown Prince Makhosetive, was mounted as Regent on 18 August 1983. Parliamentary elections were held on 29 October 1983 and independent candidates nominated under traditional constituencies won 40 out of the 40 contested seats in the House of Assembly. In September 1984, Price Sozisa, the Deputy Head of State was allegedly suspended and formally dismissed on 1 November 1985²⁶¹.

The crowning of King Mswati III as King of the Kingdom of Swaziland in April 1986 marked a landmark in the Parliament of Swaziland. After his coronation, Mswati III dissolved Parliament in May 1987. Legislative elections were held on 16 November 1987, and independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies won all 40 seats in the House of Assembly. Dr. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini was appointed Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Mary Mdziniso as Senator and Deputy President, Princesses Fikile and

²⁵⁹Sylvia Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

²⁶⁰Anne Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim (eds.), *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making*, (South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2003).

²⁶¹Motsamai Dimpho, Swaziland's Non-Party Political System and the 2013 Tinkhundla Elections: Breaking the SADC Impasse? Institute for Security Studies. Situation Report, 15 August, 2012. Accessed at cprapretoria@issafrica.org.

Msalela were also appointed Senators together with Dr. Maggie Makhubu. In the House of Assembly, Loretta Romburgh and Martha Lomasontfo Dlodlu were appointed by King Mswati III as MPs. In percentile, the representation of women in Parliament was 7% (See Appendix 12). The appointment of women by the king were mechanisms of addressing international conferences such as the Beijing of 1975, which called for a 30% women representation in parliamentary positions. The presence of the princesses was strategic in augmenting the protection of royal interests. Protagonists of the system claim that King Mswati III dissolved Parliament and abrogated the constitution on 9 October 1992. Legislative elections were held on 26 September and 11 October 1993. Independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies won 55 out of the 55 seats in the House of Assembly. King Mswati III appointed Andreas Fakudze as interim Prime Minister on 25 October 1993. Prince Jameson Mbilini Dlamini was appointed Prime Minister on 4 November 1993.²⁶²

King Mswati III dismissed Prime Minister Jameson Mbilini on 9 May 1996 and appointed Sishayi Nxumalo as interim Prime Minister in May 1996. On 26 July 1996, King Mswati established the 29 members of the Constitutional Reform Committee (CRC). Sibusiso Barnabas Dlamini was appointed Prime Minister by King Mswati III. Governmental elections were held on 18 and 24 October 1998. Independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies won 55 out of the 55 contested seats in the House of Assembly. Stella H.K. Lukhele was appointed Minister of Housing and Urban Development whilst Dr. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini was appointed Minister of Health and Social Welfare. The two served in the seventh Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland.²⁶³

There was a mandate that the October 2003 national elections be postponed pending finalisation of the Constitution, in terms of which elections would be conducted even if they would establish an interim government. The Commonwealth Expert Team later

²⁶²Bischoff PH, Why Swaziland is Different: An explanation of the Kingdom's political position in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 26(3). Pp. 457-471.

²⁶³*Ibid.*

commented that, “[W]e do not regard the credibility of these national elections as an issue: no elections can be credible when they are for a Parliament which does not have power and when political parties are banned.” The report further recommended an early promulgation of a new constitution providing for the power to be held by Parliament, the unbanning of political parties and ensuring respect for the rule of law and the establishment under the Constitution of an independent election management body and other issues. The CDC produced its first draft Constitution and presented it to the king on 31 May 2003. The king extended its period to purportedly allow the people to read and make inputs before the Constitution could be adopted. As this was in progress, the call for an open, all-inclusive process based on the free and popular will of all the people continued. The draft Constitution was subjected to all forms of criticism; firstly, it was not written in the vernacular language to enable the vast majority of illiterate Swazis to understand it.²⁶⁴ The CON sent three observers to monitor voter registration on 14 and 19 July 2002. The legislative elections were held on 18 October 2003 and independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies won 55 out of the 55 contested seats in the House of Assembly. Themba Dlamini was appointed Prime Minister in November 2003. The Federation of Trade Unions on 25 and 26 January failed in their bid to effect democratic elections in Swaziland. On 2 July 2005, King Mswati rejected a constitutional draft submitted by the House of Assembly.²⁶⁵

The National Democratic Institute (NDI), based in Washington D.C., sent a five-member delegation on a pre-assessment mission to Swaziland. From 24 to 28 August 2008 the Parliamentary elections were held on 19 September 2008 the candidates were announced. Independent candidates nominated by traditional constituencies won 55 out of the 55 contested seats in the House of Assembly. For the second time Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini was appointed Prime Minister on 23 October 2008. Legislative elections were held on September 18, 2013. Independent candidates nominated by traditional

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*

²⁶⁵Karume S, Post mortem of the Swaziland elections, 2003, Johannesburg: EISA, 2004, 14. See also EISA Technical Assessment Team, Swaziland House of Assembly elections, 19 September 2008, report, Johannesburg: EISA, 2008, Article38.

constituencies won 55 out of the 55 contested seats in the House of Assembly. The African Union (AU) sent 19 observers from 10 countries led by Maxon Mbendua of Malawi to monitor the elections from 15 to 24 September 2013. The Commonwealth sent four observers and three staff members led by former President Bakili Muluzi of Malawi to monitor the elections from 15 to 24 September 2013.²⁶⁶

Claude Kabemba submits that the king and the *Libandla* (General Council or Council of the Nation) have the final say on who gets into Parliament, and, according to some informants, 'royal appointees have more power in Swazi politics than the elected Parliamentarians. King Sobhuza II died in August 1982, and Queen Regent Dzeliwe became the head of state. In 1984, an internal dispute led to the replacement of the Prime Minister and eventual replacement of Dzeliwe by Queen Regent Ntfombi. Her only child, Prince Makhosetive, was appointed King Mswati III on 25 April 1986. King Mswati III appointed a new cabinet in November 1987.'²⁶⁷

It is against the framework of changes in the system of government that the study focusses on the trajectories of the participation of Swazi women in House of Assembly. The history of Swazi women in Parliament dates back to 1967, when Mary Tutu Mdziniso responded to an appointment by King Sobhuza II to be the first woman Senator in the first Parliament.²⁶⁸ Conspicuously, there were no democratic elections conducted and this rendered the system undemocratic. In the subsequent years, more women gradually entered Parliament in Swaziland through the King's appointment. The commencement and expansion of women's representation in Parliament was precipitated by King Sobhuza II in response to local and international pressures. The research unearthed that the idea of including women in Parliament was questionable. Subsequently, King Mswati

²⁶⁶Shale V, and D Stuart, EISA Election Observer report : Swaziland, Johannesburg:EISA,2008. See D Stuart, Swaziland, in Kadima and S Booysen (eds) Compendium of elections in Southern Africa 1989-2009: 20 years of multiparty democracy, Johannesburg: EISA, 2009,p.497.

²⁶⁷Sakhile Dlamini, Sekunjalo:, Implementing CEDAW for National Development' Volume 1, Issue1. September, 1987. Project Co funded by the European Union and UNPD.pp.6-9.

²⁶⁸Interview with Vinah Dlamini, at Esitjeni Royal Residence, Lobamba. 22 November, 2019.

III, increased the depiction of women in Parliament largely because of pressure from international women's organisations and NGOs.²⁶⁹ In light of such representation changes, it becomes imperative to appreciate how scholars have dealt with the same subject, and the difference that this study can make.

Nevertheless, although the *Tinkhundla* system of government had its pedigrees in the pre-colonial era and was a useful mechanism for enlisting the participation of the people in community affairs, it was not the promulgation of the Regional Councils Order of 1978 that the system became an instrument of official government policy designed to provide a foundation for local government from grassroots to the highest political levels. The official view is that *Tinkhundla* is a democratic system of government through which the monarch shares power, responsibility and the benefits of handling the socio-economic and political affairs of the country.²⁷⁰

The basis for the operations of *Tinkhundla* at the grassroots level are constituencies that are made up of different administrative and political structures, such as chiefs-in-councils, *Tindvuna Tetinkhundla* (constituency headmen/governors) and *Bucopho beTinkhundla* (constituency committees) members elected by popular vote. Approximately 250 chiefdoms are grouped into 55 *Tinkhundla* or regional councils. The centres are the basis for the conduct of national elections. These centres are regarded as “inlets and outlets” through which members of communities participate in the socio-political and economic development of their respective areas and the country as a whole.²⁷¹

Tinkhundla are said to play an important role in Swaziland's politics since the *Tinkhundla* Centres are designated for a assortment of community/constituency/regional councils and/or committees are elected but also, and more importantly, MPs. Since the passage

²⁶⁹Mzwandile Fakudze, *The Elections and Boundaries Commission 2008 Elections*, November, 2008. p. 48.

²⁷⁰Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep . Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

²⁷¹Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. 1982. p.105.

of the Regional Councils Order of 1978, the electoral system under the system are the elected individuals from the different *Tinkhundla* or constituencies who then formed an Electoral College. The latter, in turn, and through indirect representation, elected MPs, a system that was largely perceived as undemocratic.²⁷²

However, in view of the unrepresented nature of this system, including increasing demands by the electorate to elect people directly to Parliament and, in so doing, promote the principles of accountability and democratic governance, the Swaziland Parliament Order of 1992 abolished the Electoral College, thus, allowing for direct representation.²⁷³ Since then, not only have elections been conducted on the basis of a secret ballot but those elected at the national political level represent their respective constituencies directly in Legislature.

The historical course of Swazi women's representation in Parliament took place in four distinct but overlapping phases. The first phase (1967–1978), based on the Westminster Parliamentary system, was marked by the negligible existence of women in Parliament. Between 1967 and 1978, there was only one woman Parliamentarian, Senator Mary Mdziniso.²⁷⁴ The second phase saw the introduction of the authoritarian *Tinkhundla* (constituencies) EC and covered three Parliaments in fifteen years (1978–1993). Between 1978 and 1983, the representation of women Parliamentarians increased to four, i.e. one female senator and three female MPs. The representation remained at four between 1983 and 1988. After 1988 there were more women representatives in Parliament than hitherto. Women's representation increased to seven between 1988 and 1993.²⁷⁵ The third phase (1993–1998) which covered one Parliament, saw the introduction of campaigns by King Mswati III for prospective MPs within the *Tinkhundla*

²⁷² https://www.gov.sz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=172&Itemid=210.

²⁷³ Claude Kabemba et al, *Swaziland's Struggle With Political Liberalisation*, p.7. See also, Armstrong Alice and Russell Margo, "A situation analysis of women in Swaziland", Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, A Paper presented to UNICEF, 1985. p. 8.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ P.V. Gama, "Swazi Women in Parliament, 1967-2008", MA Thesis, University of Swaziland, 2013, pp.43- 45.

system. Between 1993 and 1998 women representation amplified to eight. The fourth phase (1998–2008) which covered two Parliaments, saw the introduction of the quota system at the legislative level, and not within the constitution. Women representation increased to 10 women Parliamentarians between 1998 and 2003, and more than doubled during the 2003–2008 eighth Parliament.²⁷⁶ The commendable increase reached the highest level ever recorded in the history of Swaziland, which saw 21 women enter Parliament in 2003.

Noticeably, there was disproportion in terms of representation in the cadre of women that entered Parliament between 1967 and 2015.²⁷⁷ The inconsistency in the development of Swazi women's entry to Parliament was not through the normal route of nominating and voting for a candidate but through appointment by the king, a situation that complicates the smooth running of politics.

According to Trusty Gina, a former MP from Nkilonko, a constituency in the Lubombo region, On 18 October 2003, voters went to the polls to choose 55 of the 65 members in the House of Assembly, the other 10 being appointed by the king.²⁷⁸ The elections were held in the context of adopting a new Constitution, which was done on 14 November 2003. This Constitution did not provide for a transfer of power from the king to the Parliament and government, and it retained the ban on political parties. Political parties have been illegal in Swaziland since 12 April 1973 when King Sobhuza II suspended the Constitution and the Parliament had a mainly advisory role to the king who ruled by decree.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ *Times of Swaziland*, "The Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland", 13 November, 2003, p. 3.

²⁷⁷ For names of Swazi women who served in various Parliamentary positions between 1967 and 2008 see Appendix B, Table 2.

²⁷⁸ Interview with Trusty Gina. A former Member of Parliament of Nkilonko. At her home at Majembeni, on 23 November 2019.

²⁷⁹ Report of the Election of Members of Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland of September, 2003.pp3-9.

A plethora of organisations, including the Commonwealth, sent monitors to observe the election. For the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPS) observers' team, the credibility of these elections was not at issue as "no elections can be credible when they are for a Parliament which does not have power and when political parties are forbidden".²⁸⁰ Preceding the elections, there was a strong lobby by women's rights groups requesting 30% women representation in Parliament. Nevertheless, out of the 333 candidates, only 30 were women and they managed to secure parliamentary seats, though through appointment by the king.²⁸¹

'On 31 October 2003, King Mswati III appointed his constitutionally allowed quota of 10 MPs, completing the number of legislators in the House of Assembly to 65. On 14 November 2003, Mr. Absalom Themba Dlamini was appointed by the king as the new Prime Minister. Four days later, the king summoned the new MPs to the Houses of Parliament'. Raymond Kwesi reporting on the Ghanaian experience submits that; 'the 1997 constitutional amendment gave rise to the upsurge of the affirmative action for female seats to be increased to 15% of parliamentary seats, and the amendment also reiterated that reserved seats for women should now amount to 25% of the seats in local legislation and 33.3% in the local assemblies, with the Beijing Declaration in accordance with the SADC set target of 30%.'²⁸² Ruth Meena argued that; 'the processes taken to increase female representation have not had any effect on the quantity of females selected to the legislature. In the 2000 polls, 4% of the women members of the legislature were victorious in district seats. On the one hand, this can be equated to 7.5% of women

²⁸⁰ Mamba S, "Constitution challenge over", Weekend Observer, 23 May, 2003.
[www]http://www.observer.org.sz/weekend/main.php?id=43998§ion-mainweek(offline 10 march 2010).
Accessed on 16 March 2017.

²⁸¹ Booth Alan, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin,
<http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p.107. Alan Booth and Levin Richard1983p.,76
and1997 p.,107.Accessed on 16 March, 2017.

²⁸² Raymond Kwasi Ocran. Women's Political Participation: A Comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. University of Eastern Finland. International PhD Program in Border Crossings: Global and Local Societies in Transition (Sociology). Faculty of Social Sciences. 2014.pp.34-40.

Parliamentarians being voted in the district elections to the first Parliament during the period 1961 to 1965.’²⁸³

Swaziland’s experience differs extensively from these versions; mainly, the institution of the quota has been instrumental in the raising of women’s representation, and the reforms made in 1997 and 2000 indicate that additional processes have been taken to elevate the stimulus of women in leadership. Nonetheless, from Lena Borjesson’s viewpoint, a 5% upturn in the number of female seats over 15 years does not indicate an advanced standpoint in the upgrade of women’s political supremacy.²⁸⁴ The 2005 general polls saw an upsurge in the representation of women in Parliament from 21.5% in 2000 to 30.3% in the 2005 polls. Of the 323 seats, women amassed 97 seats, out of which 17 were elected from districts which saw an increase from 12% in 2000, and only 8% in 1995.²⁸⁵ Meena reports that an additional 75 women were selected in reserved seats, which also saw a surge from 48 in 2000, whilst three were allotted by the head of state, which was an increase from two in the 2000 general polls.²⁸⁶ The dominance of patriarchal philosophy evidently have an effect on men’s assertiveness towards women in politics, and the influence it has on women’s self- assurance and feelings of subordination should not be accepted at face value. Reviewing the varied views, scholars pinpoint in their studies in their countries that there is a dire need for redress on such issues, particularly in Swaziland.

Regardless of the fact that a proliferation in the representation of women does not necessarily decode into effective changes of policy in favour of women nor does it

²⁸³ Lena Borjesson, Gender Policy Implementation- Basic Ideas and effects: A study of SIDA’s Gender Policy and its Relations to Gender equality in Babati District, Tanzania. Available online at <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:16087/FULLTEXT01.pdf>. Accessed on 22/10/2017.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Ruth Meena. The Politics of Quotas in Tanzania. A Paper presented at the IDEA/EISA/SADC Parliamentary Forum Conference, Pretoria, South Africa. Available online. http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/CS_Tanzania_Meena_27_7_2004.pdf.2003. Accessed on 21/10/2017.

²⁸⁶ Raymond Kwasi Ocran. Women’s Political Participation: A Comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. University of Eastern Finland. International PhD Program in Border Crossings: Global and Local Societies in Transition (Sociology). Faculty of Social Sciences. 2014.pp.34-40.

necessarily mean that women always represent fellow women's interests, the increase of women in legislature warrants an investigation. This entails considering why women get into the legislature, who they are, how they pave their way into Parliament, and whether they deliver to the nation once in Parliament? The 'critical mass theory' which has gained prominence among scholars of gender and politics as a justification for including women in the legislature, focuses on the mere descriptive or numerical representation of women in the legislature.²⁸⁷ However, some scholars have criticised the 'critical mass theory'. Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook argue that:

'Critical mass theory', on the other hand, should be firmly discarded: by debating only whether or not women are more likely to form alliances when their numbers increase, it has served to obfuscate – rather than clarify – the complicated and contingent relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation of women.²⁸⁸

Nonetheless, it is against the active participation and representation of women in Parliament that serves as a backdrop that this chapter traces changes over time in Swazi women's paths to Parliament. Gender quotas and women's representation is an instrument that has been used by some countries to increase women representation in Parliament. Gender quotas is a theme relevant to the study, in that various discussions about principles merge because quotas represent a change in public impartiality policy, from 'equal opportunities' to 'equality of results'. Swaziland, through the initiative of King Mswati III, adopted and implemented the gender quota after the 2008 elections. Gender quotas touch upon central questions in autonomous and feminist theory, that is, theory on gender difference and political representation, as well as the concept of critical mass theory.

²⁸⁷ See theoretical framework in Chapter two for details on the 'critical mass theory'.

²⁸⁸ Childs and Krook, "The Substantive Representation of Women...", p. 16. See Bookie Monica Kethusegile-Juru, Quota Systems in Africa- An Overview", A paper presents at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)/ Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum Conference, The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences, Pretoria, SouthAfrica, 11- 12 November, 2003.

In Hanna Fenichel Pitkin's classic work on representation, representation is defined as making something present which was previously not there, or as a relationship in which citizens are involved in government activities.²⁸⁹ Pitkin defines descriptive representation as befalling where the representative 'stands for' a group sharing analogous social characteristics (for example, gender, ethnicity or race).²⁹⁰ She defines substantive representation as occurring where the representative 'acts for' or promotes on behalf of the policy concerns and interests of their constituents.²⁹¹ According to this definition, a representative can represent the interests of a constituency without having to share similar characteristics or backgrounds to their constituents. An impetus slogan that states, "there is nothing about us without us." The researcher's stance is that women must be fairly represented in Parliamentary debates in order to augment lobbying and voting for women-friendly ideals, hence pathways should be levelled.

External forces largely account for the initial Swazi women's way into Parliament. Various scholars have explained an intensification in women legislators in terms of the efforts of external women's actions and other external organisations.²⁹² Unlike other African countries where women's participation in the liberation struggle paved their way into legislature, Swazi women's entry to Parliament was initially precipitated by the partaking of women in the International Women's Conference hosted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1961 by the United Nations. Swazi women were exposed to discussions on their upward mobility as citizens with equal opportunity to participate in politics.

The research has tapped from other scholars how families became pathways for women to enter Parliament. Families have been cited by Livia Berg for giving support in different ways, in Shirin M. Rai's research, some families gave support through using political

²⁸⁹Hanna F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967.
Cited in Celis K. *Comparative European Politics*, Vol.7,1, pp.95-113, 2009. Palgrave Macmillan.1472-4790.

²⁹⁰*Ibid.*

²⁹¹Hanna F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967.

²⁹²For details on the United Nations call for representation of women in legislation see Pamela Paxton, Melanie M.Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green, "The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation... pp. 898- 920.

investment, others through helping with routine housework or children, or through providing emotional support. She also concludes that husbands play a fundamental role in supporting women, both through the process materially and emotionally, also mother-in-law's career in politics by providing practical support in looking after the household. Families also play an important role in supporting the female Parliamentarians through the progression of campaigning constituent work and being away from home during parliamentary sessions.²⁹³ Families in this study could be perceived as clearers of pathways for women in their endeavour to enter Parliament. However, support from the family does not always recompense for the demands of women's marital, some women must negotiate their roles and must join political roles without challenging gendered hierarchies. It is difficult to negotiate hassles or support of families and in-laws. Rai concludes that; 'this may be the reason some women decide not to marry, due to pressure.'²⁹⁴

There are two sections of legislation that govern the votes process in Swaziland. These are the 1992 Voter Registration Order and the 1992 Order of Elections. The Voter Registration Order of 1992 provides for the several aspects of the voter registration procedure. On the other hand, the 1992 Elections Order provides for the conduct of elections in broad-spectrum.²⁹⁵ The practical solicitation of these election laws are fully captured in the chapter of the constitution of Swaziland (See Appendix 6), dealing with the conduct of elections. The elections process starts from voter registration culminating in Secondary Elections. The Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) principally used the media under this activity to disseminate information and educate the voting public about the elections process. Due to a short time frame between the appointment of the Commission and the commencement of the 2008 National Elections, visitations to chiefdoms and communities to engage the public about the electoral process were

²⁹³Rai Shirin M. "The Politics of Access: Narratives of Women MP's in the Indian Parliament". Political Studies. 2012. pp.195-212. Cited in Livia Berg, Women's Pathways into Parliament: The Case of Indonesia. Lund University Master of Science International Development and Management. 2015.pp.63-70.

²⁹⁴Elizabeth Rhoades, "Women's Political Participation in Indonesia: Decentralisation, Money Politics and Collective Memory in Bali". *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2012.pp. 35-56.

²⁹⁵Dumsile Shabangu, "Review of Political Situations in Swaziland Women in Politics and Decision Making in Southern Africa." WILSA Publication, 2007. p. 34.

limited. The EBC opted to exploit the power of the media, especially radio, to reach communities in all regions of the country with regards to voter information.²⁹⁶

However, before engaging the media, the EBC met chiefs in all four Swaziland regions to encourage them to sensitise their subjects about the upcoming elections. The meetings were held soon after the Commission had met and consulted with Regional Administrators on the national assignment. During the meetings with chiefs, the Commission explained that due to the shortage of time, it was not possible to physically visit each chiefdom to educate the public about the elections. The chiefs were given the mandate to constantly remind their subjects about the elections during their community meetings.²⁹⁷

Momentarily, after the meetings with the chiefs, the Commission organised a one-day seminar to educate the country's media practitioners about the electoral process. The full-day seminar envisioned to equip the media on the electoral process and was made more important by the fact that this was to be the first voting held under the auspices of the National Constitution. The main purpose of the seminar was not only to educate but to encourage the media to play a leading role in sensitising the public about the approaching elections. It was also an opportunity for media practitioners to get clarification from the Commission on the electoral processes as enshrined in the Nationwide Constitution.²⁹⁸

As part of the massive media campaign adopted by the Commission, on 18 April 2008, a weekly 30-minute programme titled "*Khetsa Ngwane*", meaning make your choice was launched on the siSwati media of the Swaziland Broadcasting and Information Services (SBIS). The programme, fully run by the Commission, featured different topics on elections to educate the public about the route and the importance of polling. It became

²⁹⁶The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.14-18.

²⁹⁷Interview with Prince Gija Dlamini, The Chairman of the Elections and Boundaries Commission, Conducted at the Elections Office at Lobamba. On the 16th November, 2019.

²⁹⁸The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48.

a major vehicle of voter education as several topics in relation to electoral processes were tackled in detail.²⁹⁹

Simultaneously, a live-talk for a 45-minute show was allocated to the Commission weekly on SBIS. It compounded the educational process by engaging the public through live debates and responding to questions while detailing the electoral process. Both these programmes ran throughout elections until the end of September 2008.³⁰⁰ As a start, the Commission engaged *Siphila Nje* Drama society to produce television and radio adverts to inform the nation of the upcoming elections and registration processes. In a bid to increase the visibility of the elections campaign, the EBC interviewed several Communications companies to establish a fully-fledged 2008 elections logo that would create a fresh and positive outlook on the kingdom's elections. Two Swazi owned companies, Ovaqado, in conjunction with Emporium Holdings, designed the best logo, slogan and advertising campaign which was adopted by the Commission. The adopted slogan was "Shape your future, Vote" in English and "*Yakha Likusasa Lakho, Khetsa*" in siSwati.

The campaign logo prominently featured the words "Vote Swaziland 2008" and had three open hands in black, white and red representing people of all colour in Swaziland, as a call to all eligible residents – regardless of colour – to be counted. Being part of a historic election meant to shape the kingdom's future. The logo was inscribed in all communication tools of the EBC pertaining to the 2008 election and was maintained throughout the elections. Furthermore, a theme song carrying the slogan was composed by Claiming Grounds Records in conjunction with Ovaqado and Emporium Holdings and it featured as the signature tune for all election audio programmes and adverts in electronic media.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰⁰Interview with Benedict Xaba, former Minister of Health, at his home Mac Alpine Nhlanguano. On the 20th November, 2019.

³⁰¹Report of the Election of Members of Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland of 2008: September 2008.

A theme to support the logo and slogan was also developed and standardised for all voter educational material and advertising. The theme was “You have the power to shape your future. Register and vote” or *Unawo emandla ekwakha likusasa lakho. Bhalisa uphindze ukhetse.*” The purpose of the theme was to encourage active participation in the election, emphasising the need to register to be able to vote and “shape your future.”³⁰² The educating of voters was and remains a good idea, but the reality of the elections lingered as a setback, meaning if only the candidates were chosen with the view of free and fair elections it would have substance as a democratic trait. The issue of Parliamentarians that are appointed waters down the good course of democracy. In this regard, adverts carrying the new logo and theme were adopted and ran throughout the elections. In addition, the EBC established a website, www.voteswaziland.org.sz, covering key aspects of the elections. The website helped in demonstrating transparency in the conduct of the first elections held under the kingdom’s Constitution. It provided and continues to provide voter information which can be accessed by Swazis living within or outside the borders of the kingdom.³⁰³

The EBC also used pamphlets, banners, printed t-shirts, and caps which were distributed throughout the country as a means of marketing the 2008 National Elections. Clear Channel was also engaged by the Commission for Street pole advertising in the country’s two main cities, Manzini and Mbabane. This served as one of the major strategies of ensuring that the 2008 elections were visible and in the face of potential voters. There was a need to start the civic and voter education exercise early to engage and sensitise the public about the balloting process and the importance of voting in preparation for the 2013 National Elections. More voter education material was developed and distributed to communities and schools, the civic society was engaged and educated as a means of reaching out to all Swazis, media slots in both electronic and print media were secured, and the www.voteswaziland.org.sz website was developed and maintained in order to

³⁰²The Elections and Boundaries Commission’s Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I, pp.46-48

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

provide detailed information to the public. Furthermore, the website can easily be turned into a tool and centre of electoral information for Swazis living within or outside the country provided that they had access to the internet.³⁰⁴

The elections processes has been discussed using the stages followed in a chronological manner starting with nominations, vetting, campaigns, Secondary Elections, voting, and counting. The Elections to the Chamber of Parliament, or *Indvuna Yenkhundla*, or *Bucopho* form the basis of the Swaziland democratic system. Various processes and/or stages involved play a significant role in democracy, accountability, and transparency. The Swaziland government organism is democratic, hands-on, Tinkhundla-based, emphasising the devolution of state power from Central Government to “*Tinkhundla*” areas and individual merit as a basis for election or appointment to public office.³⁰⁵ Noticeably, the researcher found the statement wanting as the investigation had limited evidence to support the portrayed traits in the Swaziland governance system.

Nominations are an event through which an “*Umphakatsi*” or a recognisable community chooses an individual to stand for the race to the political vacancies which should be filled through elections. Nominations take place in an atmosphere similar to that of a regular chiefdoms meeting, it is only an item on the agenda of the meeting. This seeks to control the atmosphere, making it as comprehensible and as relevant to the community as possible. Nominations for *Bucopho*, *Indvuna yeNkhundla* and MPs are uncluttered and supported by at least 10 people qualified to vote in that community.³⁰⁶ Candidates are nominated by nominees with valid voter cards or voter numbers and the supporters too should have qualified to be voters and bear valid voter cards and/or numbers. The next exercise is the vetting of an exercise which begins soon after nomination, the nominated candidates are required to complete the “Nomination Paper” (Form 12) and a declaration

³⁰⁴ Interview with Prince Gija, The Chairman of the Elections and Boundaries Commission was conducted at the Elections Office at Lobamba. On the 16th November, 2019.

³⁰⁵ Unpublished report of the Elections of Members of Parliament for the Kingdom of Swaziland of 2008. See also The Constitution of Swaziland, Section 79. pp164-168.

³⁰⁶ Constitution of Swaziland, Section 87 (4) pp.63-64.

on oath of the person nominated as a candidate for election (Form 13). It is a further requirement that the nominated candidates should take fingerprints with the Royal Swaziland Police (RSP) and thereafter undergo a photoshoot with the EBC officials. Form 12 and 13 are both completed on the day of Nomination.³⁰⁷ See Appendix 4, 5, 6 and 7 for detailed information.

The evident barrier, in this case, was the lack of capacity on the Primary Elections. This was seen in that nominated candidates, especially in the rural areas, did not have the means of covering greater distances to Police stations and Regional Administration offices to make and fulfill the requirement of vetting. Police had to ensure that “suspects” insolvents under the law and also has not been rehabilitated and any other characteristics which disqualify individuals to stand for the election race are identified and disqualified accordingly. Furthermore, these individuals did not undergo the photoshoot process, if they had, their images would have been used to produce the described quality of ballot papers.³⁰⁸

23 August 2008 was proclaimed as the date for national Primary Elections. Preparations for the national event were marked with the training and briefing of the Returning and Presiding Officers by the EBC. Additional training and briefing of the Polling Officers was conducted by the Returning Officers and Presiding Officers. The main intention of the exercise was to conscientise the officers about the significance of the election, election process and how their action and inaction would dent the credibility, and fairness of this August event.³⁰⁹

The Primary Elections did not receive the desired publicity, the same applies to the Tuesday morning phone-in programme at 06h00 in the SBIS and the recorded

³⁰⁷The Elections and Boundaries Commission’s Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48

³⁰⁸Interview with Lomahlubi Nxumalo one of the elected candidates from Shiselweni I Constituency at her home Embangweni Mgwenya area. On 19 November,2019.

³⁰⁹The Elections and Boundaries Commission’s Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48

programme on Saturday repeated on Monday evening. Given such a background, one would expect a poor voter turnout, however, a great turnout was observed, much to the allegation that the high registration results were an outcome of unorthodox measures effected to coerce individuals to register. The turnout from previous elections rendered the election climate tense and demanded the Returning, Presiding and Polling Officers to exercise vigilance, impartiality and integrity to the utmost level in the discharge of their duties.³¹⁰

The office of the Regional Administration and traditional authorities were consulted for the location of the ideal polling stations. Each *inkhundla* had a Returning Officer who was responsible for the electioneering of the entire constituency. Each constituency was made up of one or more chiefdoms and had polling stations manned by a Presiding Officer and at least seven Polling Officers. Security was provided by the RSP from the eve of the elections to the day of the counting of votes. Ballot papers were published locally in full colour containing the picture and name of the candidate. The ballot papers were numbered and perforated.³¹¹

The polls were opened on 23 August 2008 from 07h00 to 17h00. There were, however, differences in the closing times of the polls as scores of voters flocked into the stations demanding to cast their votes. Some polling stations closed at 19h00 but a large number of voters were still queuing in readiness to cast their votes. This marked a clear indication that 10 hours of voting are inadequate for the densely populated areas to cast their votes. An extension of hours should be considered. A classical case is that of Gundwini, whereby voters were still queuing to cast their votes at 19h00. The furniture and personnel available allowed one voter at a time to cast their vote. There is a need to avail more furniture and personnel to speedily facilitate the voting process.

³¹⁰Interview with Prince Gija, The Chairman of the Elections and Boundaries Commission was conducted at the Elections Office at Lobamba. On the 16th November, 2019.

³¹¹Interview with Nonhlanhla Dlamini, Former Member of Parliament of the Ludzeludze Constituency. At her workplace. Manzini. On 17 November, 2019.

Campaigns were the next exercise after the Primary Elections. The “self-explanatory” court order directed that the campaigning period was to resume on 25 August 2008 until 18 September 2008, however, due to the extension of the Primary Elections the date of resumption of campaigns was postponed to 26 August 2008. Campaigns were characterised with canvassing and public meetings. Candidates and their agents were entirely responsible for running the campaign except for the “organised campaign”, an event run by the EBC on behalf of Government and expenses catered for by the EBC. This organised campaigning was run by the Returning Officers, regularly consulting the candidates for consensus.³¹² The organised campaign is in a form of a public meeting where the Returning Officer, with the assistance of the Presiding Officer, organises a public meeting within the chiefdom/*imiphakatsi* or recognisable community centre. Here, each candidate is given an opportunity to meet, and try to win the hearts of the people to vote for him/her. The Returning Officer controls the meeting in terms of time allocation and directing the entire proceedings of the meeting. During the meeting, candidates are encouraged to centre their deliberations within issues of National Policy. This not only benefits the public in terms of evaluating which candidate may best serve their interests but also eliminates subjective and personal issues, protecting the candidate as well. After each presentation by the candidate, the public is also given an opportunity to “grill” and scrutinise the candidates on what he/she has presented and other National Policy issues. Outside the forum of the “Organised Campaigns” terror reigns. It is there that corrupt practices and other offences like treating, undue influence, subornment and personating are practiced all in the name of campaigning. What compounds this problem is that these offences are not reported to law enforcing agencies until after the declaration of the Secondary Elections results and individuals fail to accept clear defeat, instead, they discredit the elections processes.

³¹²Interview with Ndvuna Dlamini, Clerk to Parliament report. Accessed in the Parliament Buildings, Nkhanini, Lobamba. On the 18 November, 2019.

Overall, one can conclude by pointing out that the campaigning period was fairly well conducted by the Returning and Presiding Officers and the co-operation received by the EBC from the Central Transport Administration (CTA) department was commendable. There is, however, a need for the EBC to educate not only the would-be candidates about the significance of the campaigns but also the general public and law enforcing agencies to best achieve the desired results from campaigns and eliminate the corrupt practices and other offences. The campaigning period lasted until the eve of the Secondary Elections. The state of preparedness for the Secondary Elections was not in any way a match to the Primary Elections of 23 August 2008 as reported by the EBC. The EBC strived to see the Secondary Elections of 19 September 2008 as more successful. The logistics operation was made easier by the lessons learnt from the Primary Elections. Theories were developed from past experiences and tested in the Primary Elections at Lomahasha and Nkilongo, whereby due to gross anomalies the Courts of Law made a ruling that Primary Elections in those polling stations be declared null and void and the EBC should re-run the Primary Elections there. The voting stations were the same locations previously used for Primary Elections, unlike in the 2003 Secondary Elections. The rationale behind this move was primarily to make the voting stations most accessible to the voters.³¹³ See Figure 2 for election details.

³¹³The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I, pp.46-48



107

of all the voters in the constituency. This made room for cheating.³¹⁴ Furthermore, the Secondary Elections' voting furniture and personnel were allocated proportionately to the total voters registered, which was previously not the case in the Primary Election. Where less than 200 voters were expected, only six Polling Officers were allocated to serve the station, and where over 3000 voters were expected, 15 Polling Officers were allocated to serve the station. Voting booths and ballot boxes were also allocated proportionately to ensure easy and effective service.³¹⁵

Ballot papers were produced in the Republic of South Africa and were printed in full colour containing the names and photographs of the candidates. They were also numbered and perforated. Some books contained two hundred pages, some one hundred and a few contained fifty pages. This was particularly in constituencies where the registered voter numbers were slightly over a 190, hence rounding down the figure would bring undesired results.³¹⁶

The next stage was the voting process. Voting hours commenced at 07h00 and ended at 18h00. The well-trained staff and effective voting system ensured that voters spent less than 30 minutes in a queue. Queues were only seen before 07h00 and by 11h00 there were no queues in sight. An even more effective record was achieved in the Kwaluseni Constituency which held its election on 27 September 2008 due to the court cases. Double voting and similar incidents were never witnessed. This was achieved primarily because of the strict adherence to the voters register. No voter was permitted to enter the polling station without being located in the voters register. Where one was not located in the voters register, the Voter Management System (VMS) was consulted promptly to find out the status of the individual. More often than not, individuals did not appear in the voters register because they had requested a transfer but because they failed to avail

³¹⁴Interview with one of the Polling Officers Zanele Xaba, conducted at her home at Mahlalini in the Shiselweni Region on November, 19, 2019.

³¹⁵The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48

³¹⁶The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48

himself to where they had been transferred to they came to try their luck.³¹⁷ After 18h00, ballot boxes were closed, waxed and taken to the nearest Police station for safe keeping. Voting centres did not encounter problems with the closing, however, Mbekelweni and Ludzeludze were the exception. Here, the candidates raised fears and pointed out that they had fears that the ballot boxes might be tampered with in the Police Station. Candidates requested to place their padlocks and lock the ballot boxes. After a scuffle on the outcome, Commissioners sanctioned that the candidates may have their ballot boxes locked with a padlock and escorted to the nearest Police station.³¹⁸ The votes were counted in the next stage.

The votes were counted on 20 September 2008. This exercise was centralised to one point per constituency. The focal point was the Inkhundla Centre where all the chiefdoms/imiphakatsi and recognisable communities usually met for their community development issues. The actual counting of votes was first done following the 1992 Elections Order. Section 44(1) of the Order was observed for each ballot box in each polling centre., this proved to be a cumbersome task. In constituencies where more than 10 polling centres had to connect, the Returning Officers resolved to skip Section 44 and hasten the declaration of results. After the results were announced over the radio, the Presiding Officers had to entertain Section 44.³¹⁹

Regardless of the fact that a proliferation in the representation of women does not essentially translate into effective changes of policy in favour of women, and it does not automatically mean that women represent fellow women's interests, the increase of women in legislature warrants an investigation which is ideal for a democracy. This entails considering why women get into the legislature, who they are, how they pave their way into Parliament, and whether they deliver once they are in Parliament? The 'critical mass

³¹⁷Interview with Ndvuna Dlamini, Clerk to Parliament report. Accessed in the Parliament Buildings, Nkhanini, Lobamba. On the 1⁸ November, 2019.

³¹⁸*Ibid.*

³¹⁹The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August 2008. Section I.pp.46-48

theory' which has gained prominence among scholars of gender and politics, as a justification for including women in the legislature, focuses on the mere descriptive or numerical representation of women in the legislature.³²⁰ Conversely, some scholars have criticised the 'critical mass theory'. Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook argue that,

'Critical mass theory', on the other hand, should be firmly discarded: by debating only whether or not women are more likely to form alliances when their numbers increase, it has served to obfuscate – rather than clarify – the complicated and contingent relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation of women.³²¹

Nevertheless, it is against the active partaking and representation of women in Parliament that serves as a backdrop that this chapter traces changes over time in Swazi women's paths to Parliament. Gender quotas is a relevant theme to this study, in that various discussions about principles merge because quotas represent a change in public equivalence policy, from 'equal opportunities' to 'equality of results'. Swaziland, through the initiative of King Mswati III, adopted and implemented the gender quota after the 2008 elections. Gender quotas touch upon central questions in democratic and feminist theory, that is, theory on gender variance and political representation, as well as the concept of critical mass theory.

In Hanna Fenichel Pitkin's classic work on representation, representation is defined as making something present which was previously not there, or as a relationship in which citizens are involved in government activities.³²² Pitkin defines descriptive representation as occurring where the representative 'stands for' a group sharing comparable social

³²⁰See theoretical framework in Chapter two for details on the 'critical mass theory'.

³²¹Childs and Krook, "The Substantive Representation of Women...", p. 16. See Bookie Monica Kethusegile-Juru, Quota Systems in Africa- An Overview", A paper presents at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)/ Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum Conference, The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences, Pretoria, South Africa, 11- 12 November, 2003.

³²²Hanna F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Cited in Celis K. Comparative European Politics, Vol.7,1, pp.95-113, 2009. Palgrave Macmillan.1472-4790.

characteristics (for example, gender, ethnicity or race).³²³ She defines substantive representation as occurring where the representative ‘acts for’ or campaigns on behalf of the policy concerns and interests of their constituents.³²⁴ According to this definition, a representative can represent the interests of a constituency without having to share similar characteristics or backgrounds to their constituents. An impetus slogan that states, “there is nothing about us without us”. The researcher’s stance is that women must be fairly represented in Parliamentary debates in order to augment lobbying and voting for women-friendly ideals, hence pathways should be levelled.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the subject of pathways, particularly women Parliamentarians, as these are formed by both barriers and enablers. As Cornwall describes, pathways are not straightforward or easy to follow, therefore, many of the identified barriers and enablers intertwine and can be difficult to separate. Furthermore, many of the MPs go through more than one of the enablers and barriers. Pathways capture both the sagacity of a route but also the experience of the journey itself which was highlighted in this chapter. To explore women’s access to Parliament in detail, using some illustrations in selected countries, these experiences and routes worked to the advantage or disadvantage of womenfolk Parliamentarians. The chapter concluded that women had a mammoth task of winning the hearts of males before they could win the votes of the masses. In that regard, politics have for a long time remained a prerogative for men hence gendered and skewed towards the other sex. Swaziland is a country that is not easy to compare with other countries. Owing to the unique system of governance, despite the claim, she boasts about labelling the *Tinkhundla* system as exclusive to the Swazis and democratic.

³²³*Ibid.*

³²⁴Hanna F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967.

CHAPTER 4

SWAZI WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN³²⁵

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter examines the effectiveness of the substantive representation of women in the Parliament of Swaziland from 1968 to 2015. Since the 19th century, women universally have been engaged in a kind of distinct institution-building referred to as “creation of alternative public space.”³²⁶ Through tracking the voices of women Parliamentarians, the researcher captured women's actual voices to discern whether there was any form of speaking for women in the Parliament of Swaziland in the period under study. Debates in Parliament were vital in augmenting how women representation featured.

At independence, in 1968, Swaziland embarked on the worldwide trend of signing her commitment to the betterment of the state of women in politics which was perceived to be detrimental in Swazi politics.³²⁷ Part of the worldwide crusade for the assimilation of women in all forms of development remained wanting in the case of Swaziland in 1968. For instance, the law was one aspect that required review. Many countries observed the United Nations resolution and overhauled national laws that discriminated against women.³²⁸

³²⁵Dan Ottemoeller, The Politics of Gender in Uganda: Symbolism in the Service of Pragmatism.” *African Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2, September, 1999, p. 99. See also Gretchen Bauer, “‘The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country’, p. 493). In a similar vein Bauer cites Veronica De Klerk of the Women’s Action for Development (int.) who linked children’s issues to women’s issues: “We believe that women make better politicians simply because women are closest to their children...” (“The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country’: Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia, p. 493).

³²⁶M. Sawyer, “The Representation of Women in Australia: Meaning and Make Believe”, in K. Ross(ed.), *Women, Politics and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. p.12.

³²⁷Lydia P. Makhubu, Tinkhundla System of Governance. Paper presented at the 35th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), African Region Conference, held at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Centre, Ezulwini, Swaziland, 7-15 August, 2004.

³²⁸Article 19 of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights which Swaziland rectified in 1995.

Swaziland also joined the rest of the world and pledged to do something about the development of women.³²⁹ At that period, to the end of the epoch which was only two years away and women in Swaziland were still no better off.³³⁰ Perhaps conducting conferences would have capacitated politicians to provide practical information for decision-makers to initiate lobbying for more representation of women in an attempt to address their legal rights. This would have marked a giant step in the unceasing struggle to emancipate Swazi women from such forms of oppression.

An important way of understanding the marginalisation of women is through the dichotomy of the public and private sphere which associates men with the public, which is politics, and women with the private (domestic) sphere. This duality explicitly identifies men with the world of reason, order, culture, and public life, whereas women are identified with the world of nature, emotions, requirements and private life. Through this dualism, essentialist notions of gender shape the cultural and individual worldviews and keep women from becoming involved in politics through a variety of heavily defined and reinforced gender roles. Throughout history, fathers and husbands have acted on behalf of women in the public sphere and have subsumed the voice and agency of women³³¹ as advanced by Barbara Arneil. Nevertheless, the public-private dualism continues to have a significant impact on women's inclusion in the political sector, particularly in countries where women's emancipation is far less from being over by predominantly exercising pro-patriarchal traits such as Liberia³³² and Swaziland for this study.

The Constitution of Swaziland of 2005, Section 21(1) established that:

All persons are equal before the law and under all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect and shall enjoy equal protection of the law. A person shall not be discriminated on the grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic group,

³²⁹*Ibid.*

³³⁰Lomcebo Dlamini. *Women and Law in Southern Africa*. Ruswanda. Manzini. 2010.

³³¹Arneil Barbara, *Politics and Feminism*, Oxford: Blackwell.1999. Accessed at https://www.goodreads.com/authors/show/181874_Barbara_Arneil.on 18/02/2019.

³³²*Ibid.*

tribe, birth, creed or religion, social or economic standing, political view, age and incapacity.³³³

The emphasis clearly did not only focus on the prohibition of formal discrimination but also on substantive discernment. On the other hand, Parliament may pursue confirmatory action by enacting laws that are necessary for implementing policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic, and political or any other imbalances in Swazi society. The undoing part of the Constitution is a lack of a provision for the application of international treaties domestically and a shortage of an explanation of whether these treaties must be incorporated upon ratification. A brief historical background on political development in Swaziland serves as a springboard for the discussion of the chapter.

4.2 ELECTIONS CONDUCTED UNDER THE 1978 TINKHUNDLA SYSTEM, THE EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATURES AND CABINET

Through the passage of the Order in Council instituting the *Tinkhundla* system by Sobhuza II, the *INgwenyama* elections to the House of Assembly were held on 27 October 1978. The *INgwenyama* pointed out that elections would be conducted through the *Tinkhundla* where candidates would be nominated before being presented to the king for final approval.³³⁴

The *INgwenyama* criticised the use of a clandestine ballot. He argued that, under the Western system in which the secret ballot played a major role, the electors found themselves voting for someone whose background they knew very little about and that the contestant might be a stranger in the constituency in which he was representing.³³⁵ The elections started on 27 October 1978 with the choice of 80 members for the EC by

³³³Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2006. See also Swaziland: Rising Concern over the Constitution as a Day of Decree Approaches. Accessed at <<http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=36850.html>> on the 16th September 2018.

³³⁴'New Moves on elections', *Times of Swaziland*, January 16, 1978.

³³⁵'New Moves on Elections', *Times of Swaziland*, January 16, 1978.

members of the Electoral Committee designated by King Sobhuza.³³⁶ The members of the Electoral Committee are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Electoral Committee Members

	Member Name	Position
1.	Gwece Dlamini	Chief Electoral Officer
2.	Shadrack J.S. Sibanyoni	Executive Officer
3.	Mndeni S. Shabalala	Member
4.	Mabalizandla Nhlabatsi	Member
5.	Major Mangomeni Ndzimandze	Member
6.	Richard Velaphi Dlamini	Member
7.	Ndleleni Gwebu	Member
8.	Chief Mfanawenkosi Maseko	Member

Source: Election details announced, *Times of Swaziland*, 17 October 1978

‘The committee ensured that members of the EC were selected. The EC would, in turn, elect 40 MPs. The members would elect 10 members of Senate and the King-in-Council another 10, amounting to a total of 20 Senators.’³³⁷ An observation deduced from Table 1 was that it only comprised males, thus, exhibiting implications of patriarchy. Gender insensitive traits were glaring in the appointing authorities as women were unfairly represented in such an esteemed committee.

³³⁶ ‘Election date chosen’, *Times of Swaziland*, October 13, 1978.

³³⁷ ‘Election date chosen’, *Times of Swaziland*, October 13, 1978.

4.3 SELECTION PROCEDURE FOR MEMBERS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The names of four candidates for each *Inkhundla* were presented to voters a few hours before voting began. After the candidate was presented before the voters, they were asked to stand in front of one of the four gates through which voters would pass.³³⁸ The name of the candidate was written in block letters above the gate. Voters were instructed to pass through the gate in which their preferred candidate was standing, and they were counted as having voted as there were no ballot papers. Three enumerators stood at each gate to count the number of votes. The enumerators also made sure that voters did not vote more than once. Each chief announced the name of the winning candidates for his *inkhundla* as soon as counting was done. The elected members of the EC then proceeded to the Royal Residence at Lobamba. The members of the EC would elect 40 members of the House of Assembly by secret ballot.³³⁹ The EC was only comprised of men which was a disadvantage to women as a cadre of the human being with distinct features from men. Noticeably, there was no mention of women representatives. Substantive representation of women had no ground in the *Tinkhundla* system of government.

Candidates who were eligible to ballot were Swazis above 18 years of age. Voters were allowed to vote at the *Inkhundla*.³⁴⁰ The elections under the *Tinkhundla* system produced the MPs as documented in Appendix 11. MPs elected 10 Senators while the king appointed the other 10. The king also appointed members of the cabinet presented by the researcher in Table 2.

³³⁸ 'Today-How to Vote', *Times of Swaziland*, October 23, 1978.

³³⁹ 'Election date Chosen', *Times of Swaziland*. October 13, 1978.

³⁴⁰ 'Today-How to Vote', *Times of Swaziland*. October 23, 1978.

Table 2: Cabinet Members Formulated from the Tinkhundla System

1.	Prime Minister	Major General Maphevu Dlamini
2.	Deputy Prime Minister	Mshamndane Sibandze
3.	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines	Prince Ncaba
4.	Minister of Agriculture	Abednego Kuseni Hlophe
5.	Minister of Education	Archdeacon Sphetse Dlamini
6.	Minister of Finance	J.F.L. Simelane
7.	Minister of Health	Dr. Samuel Hynd
8.	Minister of Home Affairs	Prince Gabheni
9.	Minister of Works, Power and Communications	Dr. V.S.G. Leibbrandt
10.	Minister of Justice	Polycarp Dlamini
11.	Minister without Portfolio	R.V. Dlamini

Source: Official report of the first meeting of the first session of the third Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 16 and 19 January 1979

The names of the deputy ministers and assistant ministers are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Ministers and Assistant Ministers

	Ministry	Name of Deputy Minister
1.	Deputy Minister of Agriculture	Prince Mahhomu
2.	Deputy Minister of Education	W.M. Magongo
3.	Minister of State for Establishments and Training	Enock B. Simelane
4.	Deputy Minister of Labour	Chief Bhekimpi Dlamini
5.	Deputy Minister of Finance	J.R. Masson
6.	Deputy Minister of Works, Power and Communications	Dabulumjiva Nhlabatsi
7.	Deputy Minister of State for Foreign Affairs	Lawrence Mncina

Source: Official report of the first meeting of the first session of the third Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 16 and 19 January 1979

The two tables indicating the Cabinet Members originating from the *Tinkhundla* system and the deputy ministers and assistant ministers revealed the negligible absence of women. The situation was regrettable and an indicator of patriarchal rule. Women were relegated by design in a bid to embrace patriarchy.

4.4 THE OXYMORON OF THE CO-EXISTENCE OF ELECTED LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT FROM 1978 AND THE CONTINUOUSNESS OF DECREES AND ORDERS AND ORDERS-IN-COUNCIL TO 2015

The study unearthed that; Possibly the single most important event of constitutional importance during the 32 years of a constitutional void was the establishment of the *Tinkhundla* system which allowed for elections into the House of Assembly and Senate, and which made it possible for King Sobhuza to form a government after his principles. Parliament, which had been forcefully dissolved in 1973, was able to resurface in 1978 and held its first meeting on 16 January 1979. The researcher would have expected that the re-establishment of the institutions of the Kingdom of Swaziland would mean the return to constitutional order under normal circumstances. However, this did not happen as King Sobhuza did not want the writing of any constitutional document which would impose restrictions on his mechanisms. Sobhuza believed that the *Tinkhundla* system of government was appropriate for Swazis because it accommodated consensus and societal cordiality as opposed to the Western model of competitive electioneering of votes under a multiparty context.³⁴¹ Thus, elections were periodically conducted in Swaziland after every five years under the *Tinkhundla* system. After the 1978 elections, other elections were held in 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2013 as per the coverage of the study.

The Swazi monarchy continued to canon by decrees and orders in council despite the fact that Parliament had been instituted. A power struggle arose after the death of King Sobhuza II in 1982. A new King, Mswati III, was installed in 1986. He continued with the political culture of ruling by decrees. Until the 2005 constitution was adopted, Swaziland was a constitution-less state.³⁴² The researcher identified the problem of hypothesising

³⁴¹Interview with Almon Mbingo, at Nkhanini EBC Offices, He works in the King's Office. Lobamba. On the 22 November, 2019.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

Swaziland as a democratic country by conformists to the system when that is practically not the case as disclosed by the finding and submission mentioned.

The study has adopted substantive representation in a bid to discern if there was any form of such enactment in the Parliament of Swaziland. According to Manon Tremblay, substantive representation “stresses and gives importance to what an elected individual thinks and does, rather than emphasising who the person is.”³⁴³ Women’s issues include children and youth issues because women are generally associated with the custodianship of family values and the moral upbringing of the children. For purposes of this study, children and youth issues will be considered part and parcel of women’s subjects.³⁴⁴ Although it has to be spelt out, in the 21st century such a notion is critiqued for being unorthodox and archaic in the sense that engendering duties is an advocated idea worldwide.

Drawing a link between women and children’s issues, Dan Ottemoeller notes that:

The global focus on numerical representation of women in Government through the use of gender quotas has raised concerns over women Parliamentarian’s ability to push for women-favourable legislation. While numerical representation was evident in the upsurge in statistics of women in Parliament, “substantive representation requires sentient and deliberate actions: a woman MP must speak and act in favour of the expectations, needs and interests of women.”³⁴⁵

In fact, women Parliamentarians tend to speak more on children’s issues than their male counterparts. With reference to women Parliamentarians and children in Namibia, Thiel cited an IPPR survey which submitted that, “Namibians tend to think that male MPs are better at dealing with certain policy areas (defense; policing;

³⁴³ Manon Tremblay, “The Substantive Representation of Women and PR: Some Reflections on the Role of Surrogate Representation and Critical Mass”, *Politics and Gender*, (2, 2006), p. 502).

³⁴⁴ P.V Gama, “Swazi Women in Parliament, 1967-2008”, MA Thesis, University of Swaziland, 2013, pp 56 58.

³⁴⁵ Dahlerup Drude, “What Constitutes Successful Substantive Representation of Women?”, Paper to the World Congress of International Political Science Association, Santiago de Chile, July 11- 16, 2009, p. 5.

foreign policy; economic development; agriculture; and land reform), while female MPs are better at dealing with policies that include children's rights and welfare; health; and human rights." Such a categorical statement on women's descriptive illustration in legislature begs the question, "Do women act for women?" Needless to say, homogenising women's experiences is impossible because they constitute a heterogeneous group. In a similar vein, Bauer cites Veronica De Klerk of the Women's Action for Development International, who linked children's issues to women's issues, by arguing that, "We believe that women make better politicians simply because women are closest to their children..."³⁴⁶ The cited scholars hold the view that women, once in Parliament, lobby for women and children-friendly laws. The researcher procures the opinion after having studied the submissions made by a women interviewee on why they voted for a woman MP in her constituencies. One of them narrated that:

I voted for her expecting that she would help create more job opportunities in my area, voice out the much-awaited law against Sexual harassment and Gender-Based Violence but she has not been able to do that. I was hoping that she would assist in the construction of bridges and houses for the destitute. This has not happened... In the next five years, I am expected to vote for another MP who will also fail to deliver to us.³⁴⁷

The concern raised by the interviewee was that women had failed them in her constituency. This indicated a glaring indicator of the non-existence of substantive representation. The ideology that was raised by the interviewee is confirmed from a critical mass theory perspective. Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook note a wide array of women's interests that range from the desire for autonomy to make personal choices to issues affecting women's everyday lives.³⁴⁸ However, some of the common experiences that run through women's gendered identity warrants more investigation

³⁴⁶The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country': Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia, p. 493).

³⁴⁷Interview with Nonzuzo Mkhabela, a female from Ngwenyameni area, in the Shiselweni Region, on 20 November, 2019.

³⁴⁸Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors", *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 44, No. 2, p. 133.

hence the study is a worthwhile exercise. “The notion that women share certain interests by virtue of their gender is central to feminist politics but is deeply contested because women’s interests, like men’s, vary according to their circumstances and identities by class, race, ethnicity, occupation, life-cycle stage, and so on. However, the fact that most women, whatever their other circumstances, tend to be constrained in their life choices to a range of reproductive functions in the private sphere, and marginal positions in public arenas of the economy and politics, suggests that gender affects the way other social cleavages (class, etc.) are experienced, and hence generate specific interests.”³⁴⁹

The philosophical underpinnings embedded in the critical mass theory emphasise that differential treatment of women and men in society results in different interests for each gender and that such differences call for different representation in the legislature. In the process, it is imperative to note the specific womankind Parliamentarians (critical actors) who effected a women-friendly legislation. As Erzeel and Wiercx have noted, “The occurrence of women’s substantive representation depends to a large extent on the activities of these crucial individuals who function as ‘the right (wo)man on the right spot at the right time’ and operate as driving forces behind women-friendly policy change regardless of the number of women in Parliament.”³⁵⁰ In light of the ‘critical actors’ perspective, this chapter traced changes over time of the extent to which Swazi women Parliamentarians were able to promote some of the women’s issues once they were elected to Parliament.

Recognising that accountability mechanisms are still problematic, Jess Phillips maintains that the inclusion of women is necessary, particularly where interests are not yet fully developed. The presence of women in the assembly enhances the articulation of these

³⁴⁹ Anne Marie Goetz, (“Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda”, *Review of African Political Economy*, (Vol. 25, No. 76, June 1998), p. 242.

³⁵⁰ Sylvia Erzeel and Joke Wiercx, “Moving Beyond Critical Mass: Identifying Critical Actors in the Substantive Representation of Women in Belgium”, Paper presented at the second European Conference on Politics and Gender, Budapest, January, 2011, p. 2.

interests and their protection from being discounted by men.³⁵¹ However, Phillips does not specify the number of women required for the 'presence' to be significant and to impact political decisions. Noticeably, this study goes beyond numbers to interrogate the effectiveness of the representation of women in lobbying for and moving motions that result in women-friendly policies to be passed in Parliament as laws.

In her 2005 article, 'Quota Problems: Combating the Dangers of Essentialism', Jane Mansbridge argues that the under-representation of women cannot be rectified in the absence of quota measures. Gender quotas are a means to achieve descriptive representation, which enhances substantive outcomes for women. She argues that: 1) "descriptive representation is substantively and symbolically vital not only for women's groups but for the polity's de facto legitimacy; 2) the under-representation of women in a representative assembly is a result of structural exclusion of women, and; 3) quotas are effective and relevant mechanisms to increase the extent of women's representation."³⁵² The first two arguments clearly underpin the significance of quotas in response to international norms requiring women's inclusion in decision-making in the interests of justice and equality. In other words, gender quotas play a significant role in advancing gender equality. The researcher is of the view that such an innovation may be feasible in a country that practices and respects the dictates of democracy. As for Swaziland, quotas have not been embraced owing to her stance of practicing a unique blend of democracy such as the *Tinkhundla*.

Mansbridge recognises that women are underrepresented because of institutional barriers, and that gender quotas are a relevant solution to recompense women and increase their descriptive representation. Gender quotas bring a greater number and diversity of women, she contends, which in turn produces more insight and information on the basis of which the policy concerns of women can be addressed. Many women will

³⁵¹Jess Phillips. The Theory of the politics of presence in Parliament (substantive representation), cited in L. Wangnerud, 2009. Accessed from <https://www.theguardian.com>jul>mp...> On 19/11/2017.

³⁵²Jane Mansbridge. "Quota Problems" Politics of Gender. Accessed from https://www.mlkrook.org>critical_mass_debate on the 18/11/2017. See also Mansbridge 2005: p. 622; and Mansbridge 1999: p. 653.

use their experiences to articulate interests and issues specific to women, which are rarely brought forth in male-dominated politics. Thus, quotas facilitate descriptive representation whereby women are more able to adequately represent themselves. Gender quotas improve the quality of deliberations, in the sense that the representatives “are in their own persons the reality of the problems affecting women and have the ability to communicate with other legislators.”³⁵³

Symbolically, Mansbridge contends that the presence of women representatives in the assemblies makes it hard for other legislators to ignore women’s interests and issues that are not yet fully developed – ‘uncrystallised’ interests.³⁵⁴ Quotas are also important in challenging entrenched discrimination that gives preference to male over female candidates and regards women as having inadequate experience for political office.³⁵⁵ In practice, the researcher concurs with Mansbridge who contends that quotas enable women to get the full representation that proportionality allows so as to attain deliberative collaboration which entails greater representation, greater diversity and better information and insights vis-a-vis addressing policy concerns, critical mass, and the ability to influence the dominant group.³⁵⁶ Similar to Phillips, Mansbridge argues that the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation is based on gender (shared experiences) rather than sex (visible characteristics). This gives women communicative advantages and enables women representatives to build trust with the women they represent.

³⁵³Jess Phillips. The Theory of the politics of presence in Parliament(substantive representation), cited in L.Wangnerud, 2009. Accessed from <https://www.theguardian.com>jul>mp...> On19/11/2017.

³⁵⁴Jane Mansbridge. “Quota Problems” Politics of Gender. Accessed from https://www.mlkrook.org>critical_mass_debate on the 18/11/2017. See also Mansbridge 2005: p. 636- 637.

³⁵⁵*Ibid.*

³⁵⁶Jane Mansbridge. “Quota Problems” Politics of Gender. Accessed from https://www.mlkrook.org>critical_mass_debate on the 18/11/2017. See also Mansbridge 2005: p. 622; and Mansbridge 1999: p. 626.

4.5 VOICING WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

Long before the 'critical mass theory' came to fore in political science in 1988,³⁵⁷ Mdziniso had already voiced her concerns over the descriptive representation of women in Swazi Parliament and of children and women's issues in the legislature. Women's legislative representation was the first issue Mdziniso voiced in 1968. As reported in *The Times of Swaziland*:

Women of Swaziland were urged to take a more active part in politics by the country's only women Parliamentarian, senator Mary Mdziniso in an interview this week... she went on to say that, ideally she would like to see half of the seats in the House of Assembly occupied by women MPs but, she added, at least there should be a greater representation of women in the house.³⁵⁸

Mary's concern was that most issues that pertained to women were unfairly treated because women were underrepresented in Parliament as she was the only woman Senator at the time. In fact, for advocating for more women in Parliament, Mdziniso was labelled "a feminist unorthodox."³⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Mdziniso went on to advocate for the inclusion of women in all national committees such as the Labour Advisory Board, the Scholarship Board, Liquor Licensing Board, and the Road Transportation Board.³⁶⁰ For her, 'representation mattered' because she was convinced that an increase in the representation of women in Parliament would expedite the inception of women-friendly laws in Swaziland which would automatically translate into the substantial and effective representation of women's interests. In one of her many motions that she moved in Parliament, Mdziniso submitted that:

Honourable Speaker, everyone is aware that progress towards equal opportunity for women has been very slowly indeed. Family Planning has now begun to affect the lives of more and more

³⁵⁷Sandra Grey, "Numbers and Beyond: The Relevance of Critical Mass in Gender Research", *Politics and Gender*, (2, 2006), pp. 492.

³⁵⁸*The Times of Swaziland*, "More Women Needed as Parliamentarians", Friday, July 5, 1968.

³⁵⁹*The Times of Swaziland*, "More Women Needed as Parliamentarians", Friday, July 5, 1968. See also, "Senator Mary Mdziniso", *The Times of Swaziland*, Friday May 9, 1969, p. 2.

³⁶⁰Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Second Parliament, 23 August, 1969. p.223.

women. For the first time, women are able to decide just when and how often they want children, which means that they have greater freedom to work and pursue careers outside the home: hence the need to involve them in our development programme. We previously used a traditional way of family planning which was safe and clean. It is unfortunate that today's people do not follow it. In my opinion, that was a very good custom, which should have been kept.³⁶¹ The government can no longer sit back and watch a vital development resource go to waste. Law and development are for the good of the country and both men and women must be involved. Let us recall the proclamation by the United Nations Organisations, of the Decade for Women in 1975. Laudable goals were set up under that proclamation. Peace, equality and development were targets set to be attained by 1985. Women must be involved economically, socially, culturally and politically before one can talk about equal rights.

Substantive representation traits were manifested in Mdziniso's submission in the debates on family planning, an issue that was affecting women. Capacitating women with Parliamentary economic, social, cultural and political skills was pivotal when the country was to witness development holistically.

One issue that women Parliamentarians debated about, though with little positive results, was marriage. In Swaziland, there are two methods by which one can contract a valid marriage. One can marry under Marriage Act No. 47 of 1964 after due publication of banns or through obtaining a special license which is termed civil rights. Alternatively, a person can marry under Swazi law and Custom after observance of traditional ceremonies and rituals.³⁶² The simultaneous existence and practice of the Roman-Dutch law and Swazi customary law in marriages have been frowned upon as a causal factor of unsolved anarchy in families. The prevalence of such impediments prompted women Parliamentarians to raise such concerns in the Parliament.

³⁶¹Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Second Parliament, 16 November, 1970. pp.45-62.

³⁶²Ronald Thandabantu Nhlapho. Women's Rights under Swazi Law: Common Law and Statutory Aspects. Women and Law: Report of Proceedings from two seminars held in Swaziland in June, 1983. Modern Printing Works (PTY) LTD Manzini, at Happy Valley Hotel, sponsored by USAID and CIDA. pp. 168-175.

The marital power of the husband is perhaps the most significant of the variable consequences of marriage. It is pertinent to consider that if the parties do not enter into an antenuptial contract excluding the marital power over his wife, whereby then the husband on marriage acquires this powers over his wife. The setup reduces the status of a wife to that of a minor under guardianship.³⁶³ The Swazi culture had relegated women to the subordinate position of jurally minors where they could not inherit property. One of the earliest women-friendly issues raised in Parliament concerned women's inheritance of property. In 1969 Senator Mary Mdziniso raised concern over women's inheritance problems after the death of their husbands. Under customary law, when the husband died, the property (estate) to which the wife could access was inherited by the blood relatives who claimed to have authority over the wife. More often than not, District Commissioners had addressed disputes over property inheritance.³⁶⁴ It was in the context of such inheritance disputes that Mdziniso designed a motion to the effect that women must inherit the property after the death of their husbands. Her submission was supported by the President in the Chair, a male for that matter. However, he proposed an amendment to Mdziniso's motion:

What I would like to suggest is that the mover of this motion accepts a small amendment and that is by adding after the word "property" the words, "bearing in mind the conflict between such marriages and Swazi Law and Custom". After all, the motion is wide, it is only asking government to give consideration to this matter, and government, in considering it can certainly take into account the other aspect, which involves the property rights or the two parties to the marriage.³⁶⁵

Although the President in Chair did not hide his sentiments behind the decision to amend Mdziniso's proposal, he was unequivocal in submitting that:

The rights of succession are certainly affected, and this is the chief conflict between the two customs, although from what the minister

³⁶³Thandabantu Nhlapo, *Women's Rights under Swazi Law: Common Law and Statutory Aspects*. Women and Law: Report of Proceedings from two seminars held in Swaziland in June, 1983.pp.12-46.

³⁶⁴Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Second Parliament, 23 August, 1969, p. 223.

³⁶⁵Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Second Parliament, 23 August, 1969, p. 223.

has told us, the wives by Swazi Law and Custom are far better protected than our wives married in community of property. I hope that the Honourable Minister will realise how wide and easy her request is and give it consideration. I do not see how anybody can object to asking the government to consider this. After all, consideration costs nothing. I will make this more definite by moving this amendment formally.³⁶⁶

After further deliberation on property inheritance, Mdziniso considered the amendment. She acknowledged the move by saying, "I welcome this amendment because then the Government will realise that we have our problems and embarrassments, and by moving this motion, I hoped to make our positions more straightforward."³⁶⁷ Mdziniso reluctantly accepted the amendment but, at least, she had effected some positive changes in favour of women. At that time, Mdziniso was preoccupied with women's access to property, so she declined to comment on issues of bride price and family heads that the President in Chair had asked her to consider.³⁶⁸

Mdziniso had served in Parliament for 10 years, but it was not until 1979 that the issue of marriage of people of different nationalities surfaced among women Parliamentarians. Women Parliamentarians who joined Mdziniso took the initiative to voice concerns over women's position in marriage. Shungube made a submission on how government could best handle issues of marriages of people of different nationalities. In fact, some of the Coloured people had been married by Magistrates and District Commissioners through a special license, although the law did not permit such marriages. Parliamentarians were advised that one of those cases actually came to court (and there were other marriages of that kind) and that such a marriage was declared void on the grounds that Coloured persons were not permitted to be married in that legal framework.

Shungube was convinced that the state of affairs could not be allowed to continue unrectified as there were probably many marriages that fell under that category and

³⁶⁶*Ibid.*

³⁶⁷Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Second Parliament, 23 August, 1969, p. 223.

³⁶⁸*Ibid.*

whose children were considered illegitimate according to the law.³⁶⁹ To remedy that situation, Parliament passed the Amendment Bill which provided that any marriage solemnised under the repealed Part II of the Marriage Proclamation of 1910 by the special license shall nevertheless be considered as valid and legal.³⁷⁰ The outcome of Shungube's motion was the passing of the Marriage Proclamation Act of 1979, which gave women the liberty to choose between a civil rights marriage and a Swazi customary law marriage. In practice though, women could not choose the type of marriage they wanted, men were the ones who asked women into marriage and by that virtue, they still had an upper hand on the type of marriage they wanted. Notwithstanding, Shungube had effected a commendable marital legal change that depicted a substantive representation of women.

Intertwined closely to Shungube's motion on cross-national marriages, was Elizabeth Ngwenya's 1979 motion on civil rights and customary marriages. She noted that some of the women were not well-versed with the contents of the civil rights marriage and often lost their inheritance to the late husband's relatives out of ignorance. In the case of polygamous marriages, the tendency was that when a man married a wife under customary law, he would marry another wife under civil rights marriage. The issue was that when the husband died the second wife was eligible for inheritance instead of the first wife who had married under customary law. Parliament established that a redress on the issue of civil and customary law marriages be co-opted. As a result, the President in the House of Senate stated that:

I am very happy, indeed, that the government has thought of bringing up this amendment before Parliament dissolves. We would say the government had failed to carry its work if it dissolved without having brought this amendment. As it was clear that amendment sought to amend a backdated Act of 1902, it was clear that many people were affected and it gave pleasure that all those people were relieved from that kind of burden. With these words, I support this Bill. While Swazi women Parliamentarians effected some amendments in legal marriage policies, efforts to achieve the same

³⁶⁹Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1982, p. 246.

³⁷⁰*Ibid*, p. 247.

in Kenya were in vain as proposals to amend the Marriage Act were thrown out as per the report on the Association for Women's Rights in Development, thus, legislating against Violence in Kenya.³⁷¹

Through Ngwenya's submission in 1979, the Validation of Marriages Amendment Bill (1979) was passed into a policy in 1980. The result was the registration of all marriages and issuing of certificates by the Ministry of Justice.³⁷² Substantive representation of women was at play in that scenario. In augmenting the concern of women legislators on issues that touched on children, the researcher found it pertinent to include an extract from one of the Parliamentary session debates that took place in the Houses of Parliament on juvenile delinquency, starting with a submission made by Mary Mdziniso which was quoted as follows:

Sir, I move that this House notes with deep regret that although the report of the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, Sexual Immorality and the Maintenance of Illegitimate Children in the urban areas of Swaziland was presented and published as far back as 1970, no active steps appear to have been taken towards the implementation of any of the recommendations contained in that report, despite the fact that the problems with which the Committee had to deal have grown more serious and urgent, and this House, therefore, urges upon the government forthwith to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations.³⁷³

Mr. President, in 1969, the government formed a committee to investigate the juvenile delinquency sexual immorality and the maintenance of illegitimate children in urban areas of Swaziland. If my memory serves well, sir, it was on 21 March 1969. I have looked at the time from 1969 up to 1972 at which the report should have been implemented but nothing has at onetime raised a question on when this report would be brought before Parliament. We were promised, Mr. President, that it would be brought and I hope that Hon. Senator received copies of it.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248. Association for Women's Rights in Development, "Legislating Against Violence in Kenya: An Interview With the Hon. Njoki Ndungu", p. 152).

³⁷²*Ibid.*

³⁷³Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

³⁷⁴Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

Sir, I am not speaking as a member of that Committee but I am interested to know what the Government has done about the recommendations contained therein. It was agreed that most of these misbehaviours are brought about by social problems, that's why young people stay, with whom they stay, and how they are, and the like. One other thing was that people stay in locations where no-one sees as to how they stay because some of them get mixed up with boys and girls altogether. I, personally, feel that the government should do something about this state of affairs because even in our own Swazi custom we do not like to see girls staying together with boys without having married. I would like to say what I recently saw Mr. President. I was in the women's prison about thrice. Sir, I saw young girls of different ages brought in by a lorry, some were caught loitering in the streets during the night and others were caught in beer drinking places. One wonders, Mr. President, what these people will gain by being put together in prison? These girls mix with bigger girls who teach them all sorts of misbehaviour to get money. They come out of prison and practice what they have been taught by the bigger girls and have these bad things spread all over the country. If we continue in this way, Mr. President, when will we implement the recommendations contained in the juvenile delinquency report and see if there isn't any improvement? I request the House to look into this bearing in mind that these girls produce fatherless children in this country.³⁷⁵

Mdziniso's submission focussed on the youth, women and society as she pinpointed some ills that were to engage the legislators to enact laws soonest. Her input could be safely categorised as inclusive and reached a wide audience of diverse groups. She was not speaking for women, however, the traits of womanist could be easily identified.

Whereas Senator Magangeni Magongo stated that:

Sir, I support this motion. Every point seems to have been raised by the Hon. Senator and what I can emphasise now is that "this House, therefore, urges upon the Government forthwith to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations". Sir, our speaking at length wouldn't mean anything if our Government falls asleep. I say asleep because since we came into this House there

³⁷⁵*Ibid.*

are so many things we complain of and the Government doesn't worry itself about them. We had thought it is our duty to see that if the Government hasn't properly acted we should let them be aware of it. Sir, it doesn't worry me if I were to be hated by people because of the truth I point out. Bullets fired at me do no harm if I speak the truth. If we speak of a nation we speak of our youth who will make the nation of this country. I know that it is a feeling of everybody though we may be divided somehow that we form a well-cultured nation in the future. White Swazis would like to see themselves being White Swazis and Black Swazis would like to see themselves as Black Swazis. One wonders what kind of Swazis we shall call these children who are half White and half Black. In fact, what is happening doesn't please anyone. People, of course, expect the government to give them relief. And indeed that is true because there can never be a home without a father figure as the head. In other countries where there are locations, as we have heard it was decided that there should be someone responsible for locations. You find that there are offices and entrances to a location and there are police to see how people stay and how people go in and out of those locations – this is the responsibility of the government. If other people can do it why can't we, if it gives us trouble? They also gave a thought to these things and came to this conclusion: how can you control a location if you don't have entrances for people to go in and out of the location? Not unless we do what I have just suggested, Mr. President, we cannot have any control over people in locations. Why can't we do it if we can do it in the offices? We have done it in the Secretariat and we have done it in the government hospital. As it is currently, Mr. President, anyone goes to the location for a night and as I say there are houses where everyone knows that cars park there every night and there isn't even a law by which you can arrest these people. I really wonder what all that is. No-one can ask them from where they come. It is true that the youth leave their homes with the aim of establishing who wants to proceed with their studies but cannot because of their children. I am sure it would be a good thing if they could be in a position to support their children when proceeding with their studies.³⁷⁶

Parents are suffering financially due to the frequent changes in school uniforms. These uniforms are expensive for some of the parents. I noticed that there is an amount set aside for part-time and relief teachers, do the headmasters know about this amount? I hope this amount will help all the schools. Why are there sudden changes in some schools, when is Swaziland going to get free and compulsory education?

³⁷⁶Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

Although it may be from Grade 1 to Grade 7, I am sure that this is the reason for the dropouts – parents finance their children's education from Grade 1 and by the time they reach higher grades, it is usually too expensive for them. There are bursaries but I would be happy if these bursaries could be given to the children whose parents cannot afford to pay school fees. I would also be happy if teachers would specialise in the subjects that they teach, when is this English scheme going to be completed so that it is implemented in all the schools?³⁷⁷

In the same session, Senator Mabalizandla Nhlabatsi submitted that:

Mr. Chairman, I am will not be long, the first speaker covered all the points concerning Swaziland's national policy. What is surprising, Mr. Chairman, is that these complaints have been brought forward many times without any positive results. I think the trouble is that the minister concerned holds two portfolios. If one could look at all the Hansard documents, that is, from the day our Parliament was formed, one would realise that education is our most criticised Ministry. I noticed an item regarding the maintenance of hostels, which hostels are these? Again, there are grants for hostels. Then there is also an item titled 'Grants-Mission Secretaries,' what secretaries are these?³⁷⁸

While Senator Mekiseni Dlamini submitted that:

We know that a new broom sweeps clean, Mr. Chairman. I am sure that the new Hon. Minister has found records of what this House had requested a while ago. I would like to know if the curriculum has been changed so that if a child wants to study overseas he does so without first starting at the U.B.L.S (University of Botswana Lesotho and Swaziland)? Secondly, there are a lot of young girls going up and down in Mbabane and so it means that we will have vagrants all over the country! What kind of country are we going to have? Is the government satisfied with the progress of the present casino as it brings this amendment here?

³⁷⁷*Ibid.*

³⁷⁸Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275

If so, what good reasons made the government believe that it is satisfied? Mr. President, I know I will be outvoted but I just want to suggest that the government keeps an eye on how the compounds of this proposed casino will be kept. We shouldn't have both boys and girls in the same compound as it currently is in the present casino. I wonder if the Hon. and Learned Attorney General can tell this House if other small countries, like ours, have more than one casino. Sir, we shouldn't develop the tourist industry at the expense of our moral status. I am happy that one Hon. Senator has suggested a better way of attracting tourists. In conclusion, Mr. President, when we visit South Africa we pay 50 cents. Now, my question is whether the tourists that we intend to attract will also pay the few cents? Thank you, Sir.³⁷⁹

Senator Tomlinson submitted that:

Mr. President, I would like to assure Hon. Attorney General that there is at least one Senator here who has faith in this good sense of our people. After all, the present casino has been around for a number of years. Has the rate of crime or the morals of our girls really suffered? Or is the increase in this type of thing just a facet of progress? There are many examples where temptations have been removed from people, where books and films have been banned throughout the world but it doesn't help. I prefer to have faith in our people. There is one point I would like to make but before I do, could the Attorney General please give me a definition of those horrible machines outside? Or can those horrible machines be put anywhere in a shop in Swaziland? Thank you, Sir.³⁸⁰

Senator Mavimbela averred that:

Mr. President, I would liken this Bill to a dam or a pool of water. The aim of building this dam is to draw out water for irrigation and do anything they like with this water. Sir, it isn't the casino alone that has got such evils in it. Any other industry that comes into Swaziland has this defect, if I may call it that. I will then liken an industry of any kind or type to this dam I have mentioned above. People make a living out of this water but there may be crocodiles, snakes or any other types of animals that might kill

³⁷⁹*Ibid.*

³⁸⁰Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248 -275

people. The presence of these animals in the dam do not / in any way going to get well-cultured women? I say this is because these girls produce different nations who will say that they are not Swazis when they grow up. If you go to Mbabane now you find that there are young children in the parking areas who will direct you where to park your car. They have even cultivated a habit of asking for money, Mr. President. Sir, if the government doesn't take steps to stop such things, how long are we going to have such children who haven't got parents to look after them? Some do not even have places to sleep. However, with girls, they are asleep now but round about 17h00 you will find them roaming the streets. Others look for jobs and they can't be employed by anybody because they can't do anything with their hands. They are not taught to do anything. This, Sir, is because most children become drop-outs. Isn't there anything that the government can do for these children? Mr. President, about a week or two ago, two people died but no-one could trace their parents, this is something unusual in this country. Sir, in the recommendations of the committee on juvenile delinquency it was mentioned that when a person goes out to look for employment it must be known who he is, where he comes from, who his parents are and who the chief of the parents is. Had this been followed, Sir, the people who died wouldn't have been buried by prisoners as if they are animals. Sir, in one of the papers of the Republic of South Africa, there was an article by a person who visited Swaziland with the aim of seeing how beautiful Swaziland is but instead was met with corruption. This is really disgraceful for our country. Mr. President, this person went to the extent of asking our government to see that this sort of thing is brought to an end. This really embarrassed us. A person from outside this country asking our government to see that this is brought to an end, why can't we see that ourselves?

Why do we have to allow other people to sweep our house when we are still here? Why don't we attend to our own matters? Our Government doesn't have recreation centres for juveniles except those who are still at school because we would like to see our children busy with something or at least have youth camps to keep them busy over their school holidays. The government doesn't seem to take care of drop-outs, hence they misbehave. Sir, it is very disappointing to see children live a care-free life. One wonders whether the government needs a Private Member's Bill to state what must be done on these children. With

these words, Mr. President, I would like to ask the government to implement the Bill.³⁸¹

Senator Mary Mdziniso submitted that:

Pardon me, Mr. President, I cannot remember which question it was but the Hon. Minister stated that the government contributes approximately R50 000 per annum. Does the government have a representative, in this project, to confirm whether the contributions are used correctly?³⁸²

Senator Mabalizandla Nhlabatsi submitted that:

Sir, another supplementary question regarding the government's contribution to the Vuvulane Irrigation Scheme. Mr. President, I would like to know if all the participants in this scheme are Swazis, if not, how many are non-Swazis?³⁸³

Senator Mekiseni Dlamini: Moved a motion that:

Mr. President, there are too many complaints from Vuvulane. I would like to know if the R50 000 given to this scheme is a loan from the government or whether it is a non-refundable contribution? If it is a loan, is it repaid with interest? In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to know whether the government has a way of finding out if participants are real Swazis or not, and whether people given farms at the company's discretion?³⁸⁴

The Minister of Industry, Mines and Tourism submitted that:

Mr. President, the government is not directly represented in Vuvulane but the selection of the people is done through the government. So, people who are not Swazis will no longer worry us with the new arrangement. Hon. Senator will appreciate that Vuvulane scheme started before this government was in power, and when this government came in power it was concerned by

³⁸¹Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248 -275.

³⁸²*Ibid.*

³⁸³*Ibid.*

³⁸⁴*Ibid.*

the questions raised by the Hon. Senator here. As a result, an agreement was reached that the selection of people would go through the government, not Vuvulane. Perhaps we can start shifting the blame if mistakes occurred in the last few years. This money is not a loan, it is a grant from the government. It is money given to this company to make this scheme possible. There is no question of interest, therefore, we appreciate the fact that 30 of our people are given a livelihood every year through the Vuvulane settlement scheme. That is precisely why the Commonwealth Development Corporation is being assisted to carry this task by the Government. I don't need to mention that the government spends money on numerous schemes but gets little in return.³⁸⁵

The Minister of Agriculture stated that:

Mr. President, with regards to the R50 000 that is contributed by the government for the prosperity of the scheme, I hope that Hon. Senators are aware that farming operations have been subdivided and the small portions fetch high prices. Again, there are farms across the Usuthu River which are fertile and would yield positive results. However, Mr. President, these farms are not used and their owners are not in the country.³⁸⁶

The Minister of Finance averred that:

On a point of order Mr. President, at the moment we are discussing land within the village and urban areas, not on the farms.³⁸⁷

Learned Senator Lukhele: submitted that:

Thank you, Mr. President, I am also aware of that. I was only asking the Mover of this Motion if we could add the farm owners as well. Will the Mover have any objection if we delete the words "by means of non-building penalties" and "urban and village properties" so that the motion reads as follows; "To move that

³⁸⁵ Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248 -275.

³⁸⁶ Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248 -275.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

this House requests His Majesty's Government executive to consider bringing in new legislation or apply the existing legislation for the purpose of taxing all undeveloped property." With my observations I support the Motion. ³⁸⁸

Mr. President posed the following question:

Does the Hon. Minister have anything to say before I ask the Hon. mover of the Motion if he accepts the suggestion?³⁸⁹

Senator Dr. Leibbrandt submitted that:

In response, he stated, "Mr. President, I would personally like to change the Motion in accordance with what Hon. Senator Lukhele has suggested, but I wonder if it could not possible to have a few minutes to see how one could read this."³⁹⁰

Senator Mndziniso submitted that:

Thank you, Mr. President. I am grateful that the Hon. Minister of Finance is present to listen to the debate about this Motion. I support this Motion with these few words.³⁹¹The extract of Parliamentary debate cuts across a broad spectrum of social ills that bothered the legislators of Swaziland then. These included juvenile delinquency, sexual immorality and the maintenance of illegitimate children in the urban areas of Swaziland, as well as Racial issues, and Government Irrigation Scheme to the Vuvulane area, dam construction. The debated issues were not fixed to the early years of the Parliament of Swaziland but they still haunt the country through in a different dimension.

³⁸⁸*Ibid.*

³⁸⁹Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

³⁹⁰Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

³⁹¹Hansard Parliamentary debates of the third session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1971, p. 248-275.

Women have always played a major role in the struggle for a voice in politics and there was therefore a strong need for them to influence policymakers and administrators at all levels, in order to conceive new and better ways to achieve their dues, to canvass and campaign for resources to promote women's cause, to persist in their call for review and to ensure that decisions were in fact taken seriously and implemented.

In enhancing Mdziniso's submission Precious Shungube in the third Parliament opined that:

“Honourable Speaker, we are all aware of the laws, policies and practices which undercut the status of women. We live in a man-made society and it is men who have been responsible for the social framework within which we live. Our Parliamentary representatives, ministers and industrial leaders have almost all been men. Our system of law derives its origin from the work of male judges and jurists. It is men who have traditionally held the senior posts in the civil service which is responsible for the administration of the laws. A Review Commission was set up to look into the affairs of women but this was not effective, one wonders why. The time is now ripe for us to set up legislative commissions and relevant government departments which will examine all the laws and regulations which are biased against women with a view to modifying or repealing them. These are laws pertaining to marriage, divorce, property ownership, nationality of spouse, taxation, child custody, credit and finance, and labour laws. We all know the hardships that have been brought about by these absolute laws: they must be scrutinised and modified to keep up with the development that had taken place in Swaziland”³⁹².

An analysis of the above submissions made by Parliamentarians was that both men and women Parliamentarians' submissions covered broad spectrums such as issues of education, social problems (such as the casino that was viewed as promoting unbecoming behaviour in Swaziland), and empowerment of the Swazis (through

³⁹²Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Second Parliament, 16 November, 1970. pp.45-62.

agriculture, juvenile delinquency, illegitimate, and children). Interestingly, both men and women complimented each other. Shungube's submission was mainly a substantive representation in nature. The women cadre were the most affected by the predominant systems of the laws of Swaziland notwithstanding that a certain percentage of men were also affected. It must be borne in mind that Swaziland has predominantly been a patriarchal society.

The national machinery for women that existed relegated women as subordinate to males and not strong enough to cater to the modern development in women's undertakings. There was, therefore, every need to strengthen that mechanism. Its immediate intentions should have been to advise government on policy matters concerning Swazi women and to ensure that national development strategies considered the roles women could play: to conduct investigation and undertake studies on the legitimate position of women and children, and to enhance women's awareness in the political orientation and economic advancement of the Swazi nation. The development of women should not have been regarded as a benevolent cause but rather as a commercial necessity. In enhancing substantive representation, sentimentalities were voiced by Mdziniso in addition to the two submissions already stated:

"Women in this country only contribute as child-bearers, farmers, traders, teachers and caterers of families. They are used as cheap labour. Their average earnings are much less than those of men. While I observe that women are beginning to make their way into the civil service and some form of employment and for most positions that carry a high degree of responsibility. This country has more women than men but, alas, their participation is disappointingly low. It is time we changed this patrilineal and male-dominated Swazi society. Mr. Speaker, while I call on the government to effect the necessary machinery for women, I also want to caution our women to wake up from their slumber and erase out-dated values and practices that have suppressed their motivation, initiative, and self-development. Our beloved King Sobhuza II once said that we should merge relevant aspects of

both Western and Swazi culture and leave out irrelevant ones.”³⁹³

Mdziniso's articulation sounded more like that of a rebel feminist who was vigilant to see innovation and change taking place in the plight of Swazi women instantly. She was a visionary that was pregnant with big ideas that were bound to set a new cadre of women taking initiatives of venturing to male-dominated spheres. Unfortunately, the ground was not fertile for such ideas to take off. As pinpointed, in a patriarchal society like Swaziland, modern philosophies were/are screened by other traditional structures (*Emabandla*) who serve as the king's advisors.

Although Mdziniso made substantial submissions on women's issues, she faced challenges as a woman Senator. According to Jabulani Mdziniso, in 1971 a group of women, together with Mdziniso, attended the World International Year conference in Mexico. The conference was on refining the status of women across the globe. Member countries were tasked with negotiating with their government back home to establish a department, unit or a ministry to deal with women issues, including their descriptive representation in Parliament. Upon their return, the group presented the report to the government. The response they received was that there was no money to initiate the programme.³⁹⁴ This is the kind of recognition that everybody in Swaziland should be proud of because it is often said that one can judge the progress and development of the nation by its regard for its womenfolk.

In improving her community whilst serving the Nklongo constituency, Trusty Gina in the 2003–2008 Parliament contributed in the construction of the state of art Bholi Clinic in the Lubombo region. Her achievement has been received with overwhelming joy and excitement by the residents of Nklongo. In line with the Ministry of Health's vision to

³⁹³Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Second Parliament, 16 November, 1970. pp.45-62.

³⁹⁴Interview with Jabulani Mdziniso, at the King's Offices Lozitha, on 23 November, 2019 .

secure health for all, the Nkilongo *inkhundla* was pumped with over E1 million for the construction of the clinic. The beautiful clinic was built a few kilometres before Matata Shopping Complex. The clinic was to service areas under the following chiefdoms, namely; Gamula, Lonkuntu, Phafeni, Illovo and Cruck Plantation.³⁹⁵

In confirming the work done by Gina, a resident who was an *Indvuna Yenkhundla*, Nonkululeko Nzima stated, “Our vision is to secure the health and well-being of our residents in line with the Health for All (HFA) initiative under the banner of the World Health Organization (WHO). During this term of office, we pumped about E500 000 towards the construction of the clinic”,³⁹⁶ HFA means that health services must be brought within reach of everyone. It implies the removal of all obstacles to health such as the elimination of long-distance travel before reaching a health service centre, malnutrition, ignorance, contaminated drinking water, and general hygiene. The objective of WHO is to endorse health, elevate human dignity and enhanced quality of life.

Trusty Gina, the Nkilongo MP and legislator in the 2008 to 2013 Parliament, added that the construction of the clinic was a dream come true for the area. This was one of the many achievements she made for her constituency. Having been elected by the very populace of Nkilongo, she had nothing but praise to the Steffen family of Matata Group who donated about 2 hectares of land where the clinic was eventually constructed:³⁹⁷

I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the success of the project. We are eternally grateful to the Steffen family who gave us the piece of land where the clinic was constructed. The clinic is operational, and they have also managed to construct staff houses for the nurses. Looking back, this clinic is one of the major achievements under my leadership as the area’s MP. As we speak, the clinic not only benefits local people but also helps other people

³⁹⁵*Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013.

³⁹⁶*Ibid*.P.19.

³⁹⁷*Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013.

from surrounding areas and as far as Lavumisa. People now choose to come here for medical services³⁹⁸, she said.

Gina revealed that they had plans to expand the clinic into a fully-fledged hospital. “We are looking at having a maternity ward with a total of 10 beds very soon. I am proud to be part of this project that has improved our lives as an *inkhundla*”,³⁹⁹ she added in an interview. Commenting on the scarcity of women in Parliament, MP Gina lamented the fact that women lack confidence in each other even when the need arises. She said the results of the recently concluded local government elections were clear proof that women do not support each other. She insisted that women are still underrepresented in the political arena although they glaringly and actively participate in the development process.⁴⁰⁰

A misconception regarding women’s participation in politics is that women are directly fitted for acting as the nurses and teachers of the early childhood programmes, by the fact that they are themselves childish, frivolous and short-sighted. In short, they remain “big children” all their lives. In confirming this assertion Gina averred that; “I was totally disappointed that only a few women got elected during the local government elections. Women in the country are a majority but it is clear that we still do not believe in each other’s abilities. This means that we have to intensify our campaigns because we have failed to meet a mere 30% representation yet we are now calling for 50%”,⁴⁰¹ she explained.

Gina, who was then serving her second term in representing the people of Nkilonko, had previously served in several portfolio committees, notably; in the Deputy Prime Ministers Office, Children Committee, Ministry of Tinkhundla, and Ministry of Sports and Culture.

³⁹⁸ *Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰¹ *Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013.

She was also a member of the Finance Sessional Committee headed by Lobamba Lomdzala MP, Marwick Khumalo. In the 2008 Parliament, Gina boasted that, “This kind of international exposure has helped a great deal in terms of honing my abilities as an MP.”⁴⁰² Table 4 lists Swaziland’s list of speakers of the House of Assembly from 1967 to date. It’s worth noting that this list is incomplete. The Speaker is elected by the House of Assembly, either among its own members (other than ministers) or from persons who are not members.

⁴⁰² *Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013.

Table 4: Swaziland's Names of Speakers of the House of Assembly from 1967 to date

Name	Appointment	Resignation
Msindazwe Sukati	1967	September 1968
Ian Banwell Aers, OBE	September 1968	1972 – ?
Seth Z.S. Dlamini	1983	1991 – ?
Musa Sibandze	? – 1994	1998
Mgabhi Dlamini	1998	March 2000
Mntonzima Dlamini	March 2000	2000
Nicholas S'kakadza Matsebula	July 2000	May 2003 – ?
Marwick Khumalo	February 2004	March 2004
Trusty Gina (acting)	11 March 2004	12 May 2004
Charles Magongo	12 May 2004	2006
Trusty Gina (acting)	26 October 2006	3 November 2006
HRH Prince Guduza Dlamini	7 December 2006	June 2013
Themba Msibi	June 2013	October 2018 (beyond study scope)
Petros Mavimbela	October 2018	Incumbent (beyond study scope)

Source: Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia 2013.

In the account of speakers in the Parliament of Swaziland, it took the Parliamentarians 38 years to nominate a woman to the position of Speaker in the name of Trusty Gina in 2006. This took the study to 50 years ago when Swaziland was preparing for its independence. Friedman's figure was often seen among the men sitting around a table discussing and planning for the nation. It was exciting that in the genesis of Swazi politics one of the first Ministers of Health was a woman. The roses among the thorns were Mary

Mdziniso and Fannie Friedman, the then-private secretary in the Ministry of Health. Notwithstanding that Swaziland came of age by having the first woman in cabinet in the 20th century year of independence. When Dr. Fanny Friedman received the news of her recognition by the king it came as a surprise as reported by Dzadze Magazine.⁴⁰³ “I have always believed and advocated that women be appointed into these high ranking offices like ministers and ambassadors, but I never dreamt I would be the first one” said Friedman as she was congratulated by the interviewee. She promised to do all in her power to prove that the king made the right choice.⁴⁰⁴

In the 1980s, women’s reproductive health had not been addressed in Parliament. Understandably, the international call for family planning which started during the late 1950s was widely accepted in Africa during the late 1970s. When Friedman was appointed Minister of Health, the Western-oriented family planning and women’s reproductive health issues were in their infancy. Owing to the nature of her ministry, Friedman embarked on educating the nation about the importance of spacing their children. After attending a conference on Family Planning and National Development in Harare in 1989, Friedman hosted a workshop to educate Parliamentarians on the importance of family planning. Her initiatives were met with great resistance from the House members including MPs.⁴⁰⁵

In her capacity as Minister of Health, Friedman was convinced that not unless the Swazi’s made means of combating the way the population was escalating, it was going to be difficult to develop the country economically.⁴⁰⁶ Friedman envisaged that the government would only plan for the future if the population was under control. In that regard, Friedman encouraged men to respect their wives, children and the whole nation by taking the lead in ensuring that they only had children they could afford to support.⁴⁰⁷ Another valuable

⁴⁰³ *Weekend Observer*. National News, The Petticoat Government. Saturday- Sunday February, 23-24, 2013..

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰⁵ John Ruganda, Let us not Forget them: *Asingabakhohlwa*. Dzadze Magazine.23, May 1984.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰⁷ Interview with Khangezile Mabuza, on 23 Novembber 2019. The Health Social Welfare Officer from the

significance of family planning was to allow mothers sufficient time to recover from the previous pregnancy and ample time for nursing the baby before the coming of the next offspring.⁴⁰⁸ Furthermore, family planning made it certain that each child received a fair amount of love and care from both parents. In her views, one would detect that a combination of gender balance, feminine and national ideals were addressed in the issue of a family structure. On the significance of family planning, positive results were witnessed more especially from women, probably because they were dedicated to changing their economic status for the better.⁴⁰⁹

Women in Swaziland have been ready since the time of Labotsibeni, our “Most Able Queen Regent”, although it has taken long to have one in the cabinet. The nomination of Dr. Fannie Friedman came as a drop of rain to the thirsty earth of Parliament. Friedman is not only a great woman but was also a forerunner in that she has been “first” in many history-making moments. In 1951 Friedman was the first White woman doctor in Swaziland. In 1968 she became the first woman (and the last, at that time) to be a Private Secretary. In 1972 when localisation was the order of the day, she became the first Swazi Doctor of Medical Services after the expatriates. In 1979 she joined the IDM as Swaziland’s National Director. In 1983 Friedman became a Parliamentarian and rubbed shoulders with the men in Parliament, thus, her voice was heard frequently in Parliamentary debates. There was a time, after the passing away of Princess Pholile and before the nomination of Princess Ngcishile, when Friedman was the only woman in Parliament addressing women’s issues. In the interview she uttered that:

This time one of my greatest allies was Mr. Ephraim Magagula. I have addressed questions such as why don’t we have women ambassadors representing Swaziland? And I was told that this would be too complicated without a clear explanation. Lame excuses such as the husband would find it difficult to adjust to the roles done by the wife if she was away engaged in state duties were mentioned. I

DPM’s Office in Mbabane.

⁴⁰⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹*Ibid.*

believe that this would be a personal matter for the couple to discuss.⁴¹⁰

When the then-Minister was interviewed on what her plans for the ministry were, she opined that:

The first priority was to combat the high infant mortality rate. It is a pity that the causes of these were the common diseases that could be cured effectively if precaution had been taken for diseases such as measles, tuberculosis, whooping cough, and gastroenteritis. We hope to eliminate the thinking that mothers shouldn't bother to take their children to the clinic unless the child is ill. This attitude has cost the lives of many healthy children. Together with the Ministry of Education, we are working on a scheme where children will need to produce an immunisation booster dose certificate before they are admitted to a school. Another disease that needs prompt attention is gastroenteritis. In this case, what kills a person is not so much the disease but the reluctance in taking dehydration measures. We are taking great measures to educate mothers about ORT, a formula that is easily available in clinics.⁴¹¹

The second area of priority was two-pronged which involved Family Unit and the Economic Development of the country.⁴¹² In order for the nation to have good prospects of survival, there should be good spacing of children as the couple would only have the number of children they can afford to provide for. It is important to remember that it's not only food and clothing that children need, but also love and care.

Friedman recounted to the interviewee about how Mr. Ephraim Magagula and her as the then Minister attended a conference in Harare Zimbabwe on Family Planning and National Development. This conference was specifically to unpack how Parliamentarians were uncapacitated on the promotion of family planning in order for the development of the nation to be realised. On their return from the workshop they arranged to report to the

⁴¹⁰John Ruganda, Let us not Forget them: *Asingabakhohlwa*. Dzadze Magazine. Mbabane. 23, May 1984.

⁴¹¹*Ibid.*

⁴¹²*Ibid.*

rest of the local Parliamentarians. To Friedman's surprise, the MPs that frowned upon family planning were won over when they realised that the social development and economic progress of the country was interdependent.⁴¹³ As long as the population of the country was under control, the government would be in a better position to plan for the future and ensure that there were decent roads, hospitals, and schools,⁴¹⁴ she lamented.

From the way Friedman explained her vision to the interviewee, he realised that family planning has a great deal to do with the respect a man has for his wife and children, and the whole nation. For instance, the following was the summary he made; couples should have the number of children within their means; secondly, mothers were to be allowed sufficient time to recover from the previous pregnancy and nursing before the coming of the next offspring, and; thirdly, it was to be enshrined as law that each child received a fair amount of love and care from parents.⁴¹⁵

For Friedman, priority three was to combat the spread of malaria in Swaziland. She was quoted saying, "We are concerned with the outbreak of Malaria because of the high rainfall that was received in Swaziland in the previous months. We have had to put measures in place to intensify the spraying in the bushels. We will be issuing antimalarial drugs. There is not much of it at the moment but the picture would begin to show around March – April – May."⁴¹⁶

In the House of Parliament, priority number four was drunkenness, which was a national social ill. She opined that:

The increasing drunkenness in the country is deplorable and it is draining our health budget. Money that should be going to health services is spent on the hospitalisation of drunkards that are forever getting themselves involved in car accidents. The figure is unbelievably high. Something has to be done to curb this irresponsible drinking that is going on in the country.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³*Times of Swaziland of Swaziland*, 12, October, 1983.

⁴¹⁴Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1984, p. 246.

⁴¹⁵*Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶*Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1984, p. 246.

In her submission in Parliament, she touched on HIV/AIDS remarking that:

You may ask – Why not AIDS? I have purposefully excluded AIDS because of the following reasons: it is frightening, no cure is available at the moment, its control depends entirely on the individual to take precautionary measures. I am attending the World Summit of Ministers of Health on Programs for AIDS Prevention on 26 January in London. AIDS is not like smallpox for which the ministry can go all out on a campaign to eradicate. It all rests on the individual not to contaminate him/herself and the nation.⁴¹⁸

Friedman narrating on how she became a doctor mentioned that her father was a farmer near Vryburg in the Republic of South Africa, and wished that his two sons would become doctors. They were not interested, unfortunately. When she was much younger she had wanted to be a nurse but was teased by the other children about the profession. They said she would deal with dead and dying people, and she did not fancy dealing with such, thus, when she grew up she decided to study medicine so that she could deal with the living.

As the Minister of Health, her greatest joy was the sound of the first cry of a newborn baby. She further submitted her view to the interviewee that:

I enjoy working with people and realised the fact that people have personal problems that they cannot easily leave back home and, thus, come to work loaded. These problems that bothered them needed someone that was ready to understand, listen and give a word of advice. These could involve relationships between husband and wife or between parent and child. Some of these centred on the fact that the children of today do not tolerate discipline and correction. I believe in discipline. Things that bind the family together like religion and morals have been greatly shaken and nothing has been substituted in their place. This means that people need emotional solace and understanding from their employers and colleagues.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸*Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹John Ruganda, Let us not Forget them: *Asingabakhohlwa*. Dzadze Magazine. Mbabane.23, May 1984.

Friedman urged the health sector personnel team to be cautious about their conduct at work, stating that:

What I would like to say to the medicals is that you should always remember that you are not a secretary who can erase her errors but as a health worker, your errors can lead a person to the grave. They are irreversible. I also wish to say to all those concerned that I hope we will work as a team – the doctors, nurses, administrators, and support staff – everyone will work towards improving the health of the people to achieve the goal of health for all by the year 2000.⁴²⁰

When Friedman came to Swaziland she was, in fact, the first non-white woman doctor to join government service after acquiring the Swazi citizenship. There had been missionary white doctors like Dr. Schiele, who had a clinic in Mbabane. If there were any other non-white doctors before her, they certainly were not in government service. Friedman attended Lovedale Primary School, Alice, and Kimberly High School before she proceeded to the University of Cape Town (UCT) to study medicine. After graduating, she did her internship at Mbabane Government Hospital.⁴²¹

Friedman completed her post-graduate degree in Public Health at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. As a result of her evident dedication to hard work, she was chosen to be the first woman Principal Secretary in government. During the localisation period in government, she took over from an expatriate as Director of Medical Services. Soon after, however, she decided to take advantage of the rule that allowed civil servants to retire at the age of 45. Thus, she decided to retire to join her husband in business.⁴²² It was not long thereafter that she joined the IDM as Director for Swaziland. This lasted for only two years as she was then appointed the MP by Sobhuza II and served for five years in that capacity. In November 1987, she became the first woman minister and was appointed

⁴²⁰Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1984, p. 246.

⁴²¹ John Ruganda, Let us not Forget them: *Asingabakhohlwa*. *Dzadze Magazine*. Mbabane. 23, May 1984.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

Health Minister.⁴²³ Friedman experienced the tantalising crucial transition from the colonial period to independence. People's expectations at the time were diverse and great, but the resources to match those aspirations were minimal. However, this assertive lady set herself two main goals which are unpacked in the following paragraph.

Firstly, she had a strong desire to improve health delivery. Secondly, she wished to upgrade the health personnel skills. In the latter case, she emphasises that she had a wonderful co-worker, Mrs. Pricilla Mdziniso, who was Chief Nursing Officer at the time. A number of clinics were built during Friedman's time. This was plausible because at that time, donors were also still willing to help fund the project proposal if it clearly spelt out the benefits that the rural poor would derive from the development. Concurrently, there was a training programme that aimed was to upgrade nurses who did not have the opportunity to train in registered hospitals. They were now given an opportunity to register and improve themselves.⁴²⁴ The many upgrading courses for nurses included PH, MCH, and EPI, Diagnostic skills and many more. These courses enabled nurses to manage clinics with minimum supervision. Similarly, these courses were designed to give the nurses confidence to conduct their work efficiently and to only refer patients to hospitals when it was necessary.⁴²⁵

Friedman did not have any major problems with her staff: she was accepted by both her male and female colleagues. She believed that she had taught herself to adjust to any situation from the very beginning. However, she would have liked to do more but when one is on a pedestal, it is only then that you realise that your goals are not easy to achieve because one needs both material and human resources.⁴²⁶ Moreover, some of the goals that one sets could take time to be achieved and it was always difficult to make people

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1984, p. 246.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

understand all the ramifications of administration, particularly the globalisation of the health system.

Friedman's words of encouragement for young people at that time were:

Education is the answer at all times. By education, I do not mean only reaching the highest stage of literacy, people have to realise that professions are interdependent and therefore it is important to make the jigsaw puzzle work. When the young are choosing careers, they have to research and establish whether there are possibilities of career advancement. Swaziland needs a career guidance unit which would help the young in this regard. She realises the need for parents to be as ambitious about their children's education as they would like them to be but they must not overdo it. We cannot expect our children to fulfill our ambitions for us. If a parent missed out on being a lawyer, he or she should not expect their children to be lawyers, particularly when it is obvious that they are not cut out for that career.⁴²⁷

The career guidance and counselling that is housed in the Ministry of Education and Training offices in Mbabane was established in 2003 and is still functional to date. This may be a result of some of Friedman's submissions in Parliament. On a different note, women's descriptive representation in Legislative body was not considered seriously as reflected in the negligible representation of women appointed to serve in Parliament and women Parliamentarians' silence over the issue for a long time. It was not until 2003 that Thuli Msane revived the issue. She subscribed to the view that women were to be appointed within the political machines, and emphasised an increase in the representation of women Parliamentarians. She contended that since changes in society usually came with the political process, the need for women to be among those who make policies and decisions at all levels of government was critical if their plight was to be adequately addressed. She was convinced that women Parliamentarians were co-architects of the decision-making process in the House of Assembly, hence the need for more women in Parliament.⁴²⁸ The eighth Parliament (2003–2008) saw an increase in the representation of women Parliamentarians, partly because of internal pressure from Msane and other women Parliamentarians but largely because of the SADC call for an

⁴²⁷John Ruganda, Let us not Forget them: *Asingabakhohlwa*. *Dzadze Magazine*. Mbabane, 23, May 1984.

⁴²⁸Interview with Thuli Msane, 08 November, 2019. At Hospice at Home, Bethany Matsapha.

increase in the representation of women Parliamentarians. Msane's stance of being vocal about women representation carried some connotations of substantive representation of women in the Swazi Parliament.

In the face of such externally prompted achievements, some men were inclined to criticise women Parliamentarians' views on women's descriptive representation. For instance, a clique of traditional male Parliamentarians were of the opinion that women did not have the right to address men in a gathering because men were the family heads. In that respect, under no circumstances would women be considered on par with men.⁴²⁹ Men's negative views against women's descriptive representation in Parliament were captured in the media. One correspondent expressed his negative opinion that, "We are giving too much power to women."⁴³⁰ Nonetheless, there was a significant increase in women's descriptive representation in Parliament, though not by virtue of being voted into Parliament through democratic means, through glass ceiling mechanisms of the appointment King Mswati III initiated. I perceive this intervention to be a "utopia", meaning a dreamland that does not exist practically. This I say because an appointed Parliamentarian stands to be compelled not to critique any submission fairly without any biases of whether the appointee will be pleased or not. It's no surprise then that most of the appointed Parliamentarians comprised of royalty.

Substantive representation manifested in the formation of the Women's Caucus in Parliament, which gave impetus to the issue of the descriptive representation of women in Parliament. The Women's Caucus started by both female Houses (Senate and Assembly) in 2005 was the brainchild of the motions that were moved by Thuli Msane and other women Parliamentarians such as the then-MP of Ludzeludze, Nonhlanhla

⁴²⁹Interview with Mlandvo Maseko at Mthombe Zombodze Emuva Constituency, Shiselweni District, on the 12 November, 2019.

⁴³⁰IRIN Africa, "Gender Activists Welcome New Woman Deputy Prime Minister", <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/61443/SWAZILAND-Gender-activists-welcome-new-wo...>, (Accessed 13 August 2017).

Dlamini, Senator Thandi Shongwe, Senator Lydia Makhubu, and Senator Thuli Dladla.⁴³¹ Lydia Makhubu detailed that she, together with other Senators including a couple of males, proposed that for women to freely discuss issues pertaining to their sex they had to start a Women's Caucus which would include both women from the House of Assembly and those from the House of Senate. Macaulay has minutiae on women-oriented coalition building, "Critical actors are important for women's substantive representation because they build strategic coalitions of support among legislators in order to foster policy change for women."⁴³²

In the Swazi Parliament, the idea came to fruition when a Bill was passed in 2005 that established the formation of the Women's Caucus. It has become a common practice among women Parliamentarians to form a Women's Caucus in their respective Parliaments. Some of them deal with issues beyond those of women Parliamentarians, and in some cases, membership includes male Parliamentarians. For instance, a Women's Caucus was formed in the National Assembly in Uganda with the intention of addressing women's issues as well as those of workers, the disabled and gender-sensitive males. The Women's Caucus was instrumental in providing a framework within which the women Parliamentarians succeeded in effecting the 1995 Constitutional changes beneficial to women. However, its impact has been limited because women who came in through affirmative action tend to be conservative.

The caucus included workers' representatives, the disabled and gender-sensitive males. Goetz notes that "its impact has been limited... The Women's Caucus has, however, been able to bring women together across the Assembly on the issue of domestic violence, resulting in substantial support for legislation to enforce better policing and sentencing of perpetrators of domestic violence. The caucus has only managed to effect

⁴³¹Interview with Senator Thuli Msane at Swaziland Hospice at Home, Matsapha on 18, November, 2019.

⁴³²See Macaulay, cited in Sylvia Erzeel and Joke Wiercx, "Moving Beyond Critical Mass Identifying Critical Actors in the Substantive Representation of Women in Belgium", Paper presented at the second European Conference on Politics and gender, Budapest, January, 2011, p. 4,

legislation against gender violence as a result of the international call against women's violence by feminist activists Goetz, entitled, "Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda".⁴³³ In Kenya, the Sexual Offences Bill was "the first piece of "woman-friendly" legislation that has actually been passed by Parliament" (Association for Women's Rights in Development), "Legislating against Women Violence in Kenya."⁴³⁴ The Women's Caucus facilitated workshops to empower women with knowledge of politics and technology. One notable achievement of the caucus was the appointment of women to higher positions in Parliament. In the case of Swaziland, for instance, through the women caucus, Lydia Makhubu facilitated the appointment of Chief Gelane Zwane to the post of President in the House of Senate.⁴³⁵

Born in 1952 into the Swazi chieftdom and related to royalty, *Inkhosatana* Princess Gelane Simelane of Konthsingila in the Shiselweni region was employed as a clerk in banks and the Treasury Ministry. In 1996 she was appointed by the king to serve as a member of the Constitutional Review Commission which was an honour. In 2003, after being appointed to serve as a senator, she was elected Deputy President of the Senate. Early in 2003, Princess Gelane was elected President of the Senate, making her the first woman to hold such a high-ranking post in her country's history. She had proven herself to be a diligent public official and remained impartial when acting as chair of the Parliament Assembly, though her tone was harsh to her fellow colleagues at times. Remarkably, in the House of Parliament, she once challenged the then-Prime Minister Sibusiso Banarbas Dlamini's authority by stating who had more power in Parliament – between him as Prime Minister and her as President. The issue did not go down well between the two such that bad blood developed.

⁴³³Goetz, "Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda" (Goetz, "Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda", pp. 249- 250).

⁴³⁴An Interview with the Hon. Njoki Ndungu", by Khanyile Sukati in *Reproductive Health Matters*, Vol. 15. No. 29, p. 15. On 26 April, 2001.

⁴³⁵Interview with Lydia Makhubu, at her home Stekstroom. Manzini. On the 16 November, 2019. See also Chapter Three. The majority of women went into Parliament through other means, and not through the efforts of the Caucus.

In another instance, she ridiculed former Principal Secretary Ben Zwane in Parliament by sarcastically averring that ever since he assumed the position he was “castrated.”⁴³⁶ Meaning he was performing poorly in the post, signaling that he had become ‘womanish’. Apparently, despite all the loopholes mentioned, Gelane won her support and respect from all people of all categories that are traditional and modern. As President Gelane Zwane and her fellow senators supported Taiwan’s bid to participate in the international organisations, President Jin-Pyng Wang of the ROC Legislative Yuan once invited them to visit Taiwan on Double Tenth Day to enhance the interaction between Parliaments of Taiwan and Swaziland.⁴³⁷ Going back to the nomination of Zwane, in 2008 in the Houses of Parliament at Lobamba, the outcome of elections for Senate President and Deputy brought about a sense of relief as Gelane Zwane cruised unopposed to the position together with her former Deputy Ngomuyayona Gamedze. This was the third term that the two had presided over Senate, having begun in 2006. The election of the two will again go down in the history books as a first for the country to have, consecutively, both the Senate President and Deputy.⁴³⁸ Zwane’s name was raised by Senator Princess Tsandzile, who was seconded by Senator Edgar Hillary. All three were appointed by His Majesty King Mswati III to Senate. Clerk to Parliament, Ndvuna Dlamini, who was chairing the proceedings asked if there was any other candidate but there was none, which put Zwane into the seat of Presidency unopposed.⁴³⁹ Noticeably in this instance, a woman raised the name of another woman and a male seconded, a clear scenario that Parliamentarians supported each other despite their gender.

Zwane was then sworn in as Senate President. The same procedure was used for the election of the Deputy President, whose name was raised by Senator Meninjeni Mahlalela. He was seconded by Senator Bonsile Mngomezulu. Flowery words were used by Senators to describe the character and acumen of both the President and her Deputy. Princess Tsandzile alluded that Zwane’s previous experience as President since 2006

⁴³⁶*Times of Swaziland*, 24, May 2008.

⁴³⁷Invitation of President Gelane Zwane by Taiwan. Sourced at <https://books.google.com/books?id=8lBAAAAYAAJ> Accessed on 24, May 2018.

⁴³⁸ *Times of Swaziland*, 24, May 2008.

⁴³⁹*Ibid.*

and her background as a banker made her an obvious choice for Presidency of Senate. Princess Tsandzile averred that:

If one were to look into the qualifications stated in the Constitution, she would still emerge as a qualifying candidate. She was complimented by Senator Edgar Hillary who said Zwane qualified 100% to be President, having steered the House in previous times. She does not qualify 99% but 100%. I worked under her leadership in the past and can bear testimony of her skills in leading the House.⁴⁴⁰

The conditions for being appointed/nominated in the Constitution emphasised previous rules for qualifying as a Senator and the submission of a letter of consent from the candidate. Both Zwane and Gamedze had letters of consent submitted by the Senators who nominated them. Speaking shortly after her election, Zwane alleged that:

She was grateful to His Majesty the King for appointing her and further thanked the senators for electing her as President. She then cautioned the senators that politics is a dirty game and that they must prepare themselves for a very busy and emotionally taxing term. She further said, in siSwati, "*Mineke ngiyakhuluma! Angikhulumi ngingumhlolo. Kube ngaba ngumfundisi ngabe ngaba nelisontfo lelindlula I Jesus Calls*", meaning, "I talk a lot. If I were a pastor I would have had a big church, probably bigger than Jesus Calls." Zwane urged senators to be bookish during their term, further advising them to spare separate rooms in their homes for Parliament business. You must ask your mates at home to give you separate rooms which will be dedicated strictly to Parliament business. You will be required to do a lot of research in order to come up with motions and questions. Those who will be fortunate to go to Cabinet and form the executive government should also know that they remain members of the Senate. We will always need their input on many issues that we deal with, so they must not think they are now detached from the Senate.⁴⁴¹

In a similar vein, the then-Senator Thandi Shongwe, Thuli Dladla, and Lydia Makhubu were instrumental in facilitating the appointment of a woman to a higher position and the

⁴⁴⁰*Times of Swaziland*, 24, May 2008.

⁴⁴¹Interview with Gelane Zwane, next to the Houses of Parliament. Lobamba. On 22, November, 2019.

pioneering of the women caucus – the caucus embarked on educating women Parliamentarians on political issues. Senator Thandi Shongwe stated that the caucus conducted several workshops in a bid to improve women politicians as some of them were not conversant with political issues in general.⁴⁴² Another Woman Parliamentarian expounded that:

We need a 3-month course to educate ourselves about politics before we start working as legislators. We don't have the experience and the laws governing the country are foreign to some of us. We are blank and so unfortunate we don't have good guys or well-experienced Members of Parliament like Dr. Sishayi Nxumalo, Arthur Khoza, and Albert Shabangu, these guys were all political giants. "While women in these various sites may work together to promote women's policy concerns, they may also substitute for or compete with one another to articulate their own visions of "women-friendly" public policy. "A wide range of studies, for example, find that women tend to have, or at least report, less political knowledge than men."⁴⁴³

The informant confirmed the need for training in various Parliamentary issues for both male and female Parliamentarians to be a priority for the government. Despite the efforts at promoting women's descriptive representation in Parliament, the caucus faced challenges. According to Lydia Makhubu, women were letting each other down.⁴⁴⁴ Such differences pointed to women's heterogeneous composition in Parliament. They did not speak with one voice and that militated against the formation of a formidable women's interests-oriented caucus.

⁴⁴²Interview with Senator Thandi Shongwe, at the Houses of Parliament. Lobamba. 18 November, 2019.

⁴⁴³ Interview with Bella Katamzi at the University of Swaziland, 15 November, 2019. See also Patience Vumile Gama's interview questions. See Mona Lena Krook "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach", *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2010, p. 236. For a similar observation See Mona Lena Krook, "Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach", *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2010, p. 237.

⁴⁴⁴ Interview with Lydia Makhubu, at her home Stekstream. Manzini. On the 16 November, 2019.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reconnoitered women Parliamentarians' voices and activities pertaining to children, women's political relegation, marriage, health, and farmer's issues. Women's issues have been considered to include youth and children's social and educational affairs. The Parliamentary debate indicated a lack of effectiveness on the government to implement recommendations submitted in the Houses of Parliament. However, most of the women's issues raised or implemented were a response to the international organisations' call for such policies.

Nonetheless, women Parliamentarians can be credited for pushing for the implementation of international women-friendly policies. The confinement of women to issues that only touched on women and children further relegated them to the "private sphere" of home surroundings than exposing women to the "public sphere" such as passing laws to govern the country. Although most Swazi women had remained subordinate to their male colleagues by 2015, they spoke to women's issues and had achieved a substantial ground. The research revealed that women Parliamentarians are generally positive about their ability to impact the political agenda. One member submitted that the women she worked with in Parliament influenced decision-making through their debates.

CHAPTER 5

CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT AND CONSTITUENCIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the contributions of selected women in Parliament which resulted in innovative changes in their respective *Tinkhundla* and at the national level. In the process, specific Parliamentarians who fought for such changes were pioneers in the history of women in Swazi Parliament. Huntington S.P. emphasises that participation in the political realm is an eye-catching slogan, particularly in the era where social equality has been rebranded in developing countries as the “third wave”, which extended the representation dissertation. Popularity participation or involvement encompasses hearing the voice of the people on matters pertaining to governance, which is vital for democratic dispensation. Participation becomes an enabling practice that gives individuals the opportunity to do their own assessment. That is true freedom of expression which must give credit to a more thorough theorisation of representation as a transforming approach.⁴⁴⁵

Symbolic representation has been defined in various ways, that is, what women’s presence reveals about the legitimacy of the legislature as a whole.⁴⁴⁶ This study adopts Hannah Pitkin’s definition of symbolic representation as presented in her seminal which is described as: political representation is about making sure citizens, more specifically different groups of citizens, are present in political discussions for which they are physically present. Pitkin presents four types of representations, namely; formalistic, symbolic, descriptive and substantive. Symbolic and substantive representation both

⁴⁴⁵S. P. Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1991.

⁴⁴⁶Dan Ottermoeller “The Politics of Gender in Uganda: Symbolism in the Service of Pragmatism.” *African Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2, September, 1999, p.87).

focus on who is represented in the issue of representation, describing the ways in which agents or those doing the representing 'stand for' principles of those represented either physically or literally. Descriptive representation refers to the physical presence of an actor as standing for the represented through resemblance to the represented in a manner responsive to them.

The study draws on Pitkin's work in the aspect of her definition of symbolic representation that points out the evocative function of symbols as recipients of feelings made up of beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions of people. It has become common knowledge among scholars to note that few women Parliamentarians can effect legislative changes. As a result, there have been efforts to consider the critical actors and the quality of the outcome of their Parliamentary activities. Rather than being tied to large numbers, the focal point becomes the delivery of motions that would be transformed to Bills which end up being the laws passed in governing the country. Among other scholars, Crowley notes that even when the number of female representatives are low, some token women can have an independent impact on the legislation.⁴⁴⁷ Some of the Swazi women Parliamentarians confirmed in their interviews that women feature prominently though they are few in number, however, their impact is felt nationwide. In the House of Senate, the few women are extremely powerful.⁴⁴⁸ The presence of a few women Parliamentarians who effect changes in the legislature has given rise to the 'critical actors' concept which places emphasis on individuals who effect legislative change.

⁴⁴⁷ B. Wiercx. "Moving Beyond Critical Mass..."p. 2. Cited in Erzeel.

⁴⁴⁸ Interview with Esther Dlamini, the then-Member of Parliament from the Mbabane East, at the Houses of Parliament, Lobamba on 17 November, 2019.

5.2 CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATION

It is assumed that women MPs, like their male counterparts, are expected to act on behalf of the populace (*inkhundla*) that voted them into Parliament. Swazi women Parliamentarians' attention to *inkhundla* issues started during the 1980s following the appointment of substantial women representatives to Parliament in 1978.⁴⁴⁹ During the 1980s, provision of safe water became one of the major concerns addressed by women Parliamentarians. In 1984 Precious O. Shungube used the community political set up to articulate rural development issues that benefitted the whole community. For example, in Parliament, she raised issues of clean water for the fear of spreading diseases like cholera and other related diseases which were a result of using unclean water in her constituency kaLanga, Lubombo region. She was instrumental in facilitating the implementation of the water project that was approved by the Minister of Natural Resources. The minister promised to speed up the process of installing boreholes and clean water. She advised the government to solicit funding from NGOs.⁴⁵⁰

The issue of safe water, an issue that was prevalent in many parts of Swaziland, was raised again in Parliament in 1993. Lomasontfo Dlodlu moved a motion in parliamentary debates on the availability of water in her constituency. Her motion was dismissed by a male Minister of Natural Resources based on the unavailability of funds. In response, she advised the relevant minister to follow proper channels to address the concern promptly. Thus, Roy Fanourakis, Minister of Natural Resources and Energy, was instructed to leave the House of Assembly as he had not addressed the submission she had made with regards to the Msunduza location which had water issues. In protest, Dlodlu stated, *"Mfana wami, phuma la Phalamende utawubuya nase ulungise lenzaba yase Msunduza, ngiyanuka phu! Ngalezaba leMsunduza"* (Excuse the House of Parliament

⁴⁴⁹Anne Goetz notes that "Women district representatives, in contrast are not described as representatives of women in the Constitution, but as representatives for each district." Goetz and Hassim (eds.), *No Shortcuts to Power...*). According to Tamale, women Parliamentarians find it difficult to define who they should represent (Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow...*).

⁴⁵⁰Interview with Nomcebo Dlamini at the Women in Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland Offices in Mbababe. Next to Queensgate on the way to Ngwenya Boarder post. On the 17 November, 2019.

young man, and come back after you have addressed the issue of water installation in Msunduza).⁴⁵¹ After that incident, the ministry concerned addressed Dlodlu's predicament in collaboration with the Water and Services Board in 1994.

Dlodlu proved to be outstanding in initiating and passing motions on behalf of her constituency. The government could not turn a blind eye to Dlodlu's requests. She was pivotal in the implementation of various projects such as the improvement of roads, construction of the *Tebetebe* footbridge, installation of telephone and electricity in the impoverished community of Maphalaleni, as well as the establishment of a communal garden in her constituency. She did not feel intimidated by her illiterate status and compared to her female colleagues she was the most outspoken. She even instructed the journalists to publish her submissions in the newspapers, stating, "*Bhalani yebafana, batate batsi angikhulumi ticelo tabo la e Phalamende*"⁴⁵² (Write what I submitted, you boys, my constituency members will say I do not submit their requests in Parliament). Dlodlu proved that the stereotyped that formal education was a pre-requisite for one to make a difference in Parliament was unfounded. She outwitted most of those who doubted her intelligence. She became a protagonist who championed development at Maphalaleni. In her community, Dlodlu was an elected social worker (*umgcugcuteli*), a person chosen by the community to serve with health assistance/first aid before the patient arrives at a clinic/hospital. The main task involves educating the community about proper hygiene, sanitation and eating a healthy diet.

Sizakele Hlatshwayo, a gender and development consultant, concurred with Ndzinisa who lamented her choice of voting for a woman in the Mbabane East constituency for the second term as MP. She added that women empowerment issues were still raised by men in Parliament despite the fluctuating representation of women MPs. "Save for a few women, most women MPs remained indifferent", said Hlatshwayo. She averred that most women MPs did not seem to appreciate their mandate to women because once they were

⁴⁵¹Interview with Dumisani at Maphalaleni, at his home on the 21 November, 2019.

⁴⁵²Interview with Nathi Maziya at the Castle Hotel in Mbabane, 18th November, 2019.

in Parliament they failed to identify with poor women. “Because women MPs lived comfortable lives, some of them tended to disassociate with women’s rights issues”,⁴⁵³ said Hlatshwayo.

Nonetheless, the National Co-ordinator for Women and Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland, Lomcebo Dlamini, acknowledged that the policy and legislation making processes of Swaziland remained complex as it operates from a system that is pro-patriarchal⁴⁵⁴. Dlamini stated that women MPs were trying hard to uplift the standard of women in the country, the detriment was that they were limited by the patriarchal system in the country where governance is considered a man’s issue. “We also need to find a lasting solution in order to deal with the system positively because... the fact that we are using a system where men are the ultimate decision-makers is making it difficult for women to make a difference”, advised Dlamini. She observed that the inherent marginalisation of women, even in Parliament, could partly be attributed to the result of socialisation where women themselves lack confidence in carrying out their duties as MPs.⁴⁵⁵

Dlamini submitted that some women MPs were thrown into disarray because the legislation-making process remained a complex task and needed a lot of enlightenment and understanding of the technical language employed, yet some of them were not educated or exposed to issues of women’s rights and gender equality. “Here, we’re dealing with issues of low self-esteem, lack of confidence, lack of education, and socialisation which are some of the things that lead to the marginalisation of women”,⁴⁵⁶ alleged Dlamini.

⁴⁵³Sizakele Hlatshwayo. Women MP’s Limited by patriarchal system Accessed from the Ipsnews.net.2010/07/Swaziland-women-MPs limited-by-the patriarchal-system. Accessed on the 21/02/2019.

⁴⁵⁴Interview with Nomcebo Dlamini at the Women in Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland Offices in Mbababe. Next to Queensgate on the way to Ngwenya Boarder post. On the 18 November, 2019.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with Nomcebo Dlamini at the Women in Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland Offices in Mbababe. Next to Queensgate on the way to Ngwenya Boarder post. On the 17 November,2019..

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

However, the then-Chairperson of the women Parliamentary Caucus, Thuli Dladla, disputed the view that women were marginalised in Swaziland. She believes this idea is a foreign concept that does not apply to Swaziland. Dladla supported her opinion by stating that the reason why Swazi women did not participate in elections was that they lacked confidence and that no-one had barred them from politics. “We just need to work on activities that would make women regain self-esteem”, she said. “We should not use a Western tool because people don’t understand what it entails.”⁴⁵⁷ This was an indication that Dladla was compromised. The traits she portrayed were that of defending the system. One could interpret her submission as a defense mechanism to the appointing figures. It should be noted that she entered Parliament as an appointed Parliamentarian.

By Western tool, Dladla was referring to international conventions such as the Convention of Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which Swaziland ratified in 2004. Paradoxically, Swazi politics was and remains a combination of Western and Swazi Law and custom hence the two should be complementing each other. Dladla averred that the women’s movement should use friendlier language that is in line with the values and traditions of Africa if they want more women to go into Parliament.⁴⁵⁸

The acknowledgement of the positive contribution of women MPs was visible during the debates in the Parliament regarding the Prevention of Human Trafficking Bill, which has since been passed into law, and the Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Bill.⁴⁵⁹ For clarity, these two laws were passed in a period out of the scope of the study in 2017/2018 respectively by the tenth Parliament. This was a milestone in the history of the Parliament of Swaziland. The most affected cadre by these two was the girl child and women.

⁴⁵⁷ Sizakele Hlatshwayo. Women MP’s Limited by patriarchal system .Accessed from the Ipsnews.net.2010/07/Swaziland-women-MPs limited-by-the patriarchal-system.Accessed on the 21/02/2019.

⁴⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹Sizakele Hlatshwayo. Women MP’s Limited by patriarchal system Accessed from the Ipsnews.net.2010/07/Swaziland-women-MPs limited-by-the patriarchal-system. Accessed on the 21/02/2019

While acknowledging the contribution of women MPs, Dlamini stated the fact that Parliament is not legally constituted because Parliament has not adhered to Section 86 of the constitution. The contents of the Section provide that the House of Assembly should elect four women, one from each region, if women do not constitute 30% of the House during Parliament's first meeting. In the 2013 Parliament, women occupied 25% of the seats and four additional women were supposed to be elected in line with the constitution.⁴⁶⁰ During that period, two years later after the first meeting of the Ninth Parliament this had not happened. "Government mentioned that there was no space for the four women which was an anomaly and viewed as a ridiculous reason because the interviewee had been to Parliament and knew there were ample seats for the four people",⁴⁶¹ said Dlamini. The women's election remains at the hands of the Chairperson of the EBC, Chief Gija Dlamini. He submitted that they were still working on it. He had said the same thing a year ago about the same issue. The issue of the four women had been raised in the 2008 Parliament by the then-MP for the Zombodze Emuva in Parliament. The response was the same; that the issue was being worked on.

A Bill had been tabled in the Swaziland Parliament to ensure 30% of members of the House of Assembly are women. It has taken 12 years to get this far. Swaziland is ruled by King Mswati III, sub-Saharan Africa's last absolute monarch. The king selects 10 of the 65 members of the House of Assembly and 10 members of the 30-strong Senate. Members of the House of Assembly select the other 20. The Constitution that came into effect in 2006 requires that five women are elected to the Senate by the House, and the king selects an additional eight.⁴⁶² There have been three, though the third one is out of the scope of the study, national elections since the Constitution came into effect.

On representation in the House of Assembly, the Constitution states that, "The nominated Members of the House shall be appointed by the king so that at least half of them are

⁴⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁴⁶²[Swazi Media Commentary \(Gaborone\)](#). Swaziland: Bill to Get Women in Parliament 29th April 2018.

women". It also requires that the four female members specifically be elected from the four regions of Swaziland, namely; Shiselweni, Manzini, Hhohho and Lubombo. During the 2013 elections one woman from Mbabane East, MP Esther Dlamini, was elected to the House of Assembly. The king only appointed three women and no women were elected from the four regions.⁴⁶³

Following the elections, the king allocated five of the eight designated seats in the Senate to women, while the House of Assembly appointed five women to the Senate. The appointment of women members to the House of Assembly Bill was tabled in the House of Assembly in early April 2018. It is reported that it should become law before the next national election which was to take place at an unnamed date in 2018 is set by the king.⁴⁶⁴ *The Swazi Observer*, a newspaper owned by the King, reported on Monday, 23 April 2018 that the Bill will force the House of Assembly to elect four women into the House with one woman from each region. The period discussed is beyond the scope of the study. This was only going to happen as a mechanism to convince the world, particularly the International Forums such as CEDAW, that women were fairly represented in the Parliament although the number had not been elected by the voting public. The Bill also set out a procedure for selecting the women members. It made no reference to the selection of Senate Members though⁴⁶⁵ the move to pass a Bill came after King Mswati III instructed Parliament to create a legal tool for the election of women. The crux of the matter was that women had always been underrepresented in the Swazi Parliament. Generally, in traditional Swazi culture women are treated as minors under the control of their husbands, fathers or elderly family members.

There were 24% women candidates in the 2018 House of Assembly. The figure fell to 17% during the 2013 election (see Appendix 13). In a voter education meeting held in

⁴⁶³Interview with Esther Dlamini, the then-Member of Parliament from the Mbabane East, at the Houses of Parliament, Lobamba on the 17 November, 2019.

⁴⁶⁴[Swazi Media Commentary \(Gaborone\)](#). Swaziland: Bill to Get Women in Parliament 29th April 2018.

⁴⁶⁵*Ibid.*

2017 to sensitise chiefs in the kingdom about the 2018 election, the EBC was warned against encouraging the electorate to vote for women for gender-balance reasons. *The Swazi Observer* reported at the time that Chief Mgwagwa Gamedze said the call by many organisations to vote for women may lead to interference with the people's choices.⁴⁶⁶

It was further reported that in trying to save the situation by echoing his view, Gamedze urged the EBC team to encourage the freedom to nominate or elect any member of the society without considering whether they were male or female. Gamedze said the electorate should be free to vote for candidates who they deemed fit to develop their constituencies. The scenario lacked democratic practices and promoted patriarchal dominance. At the same meeting, *The Swazi Observer* reported that Chief Mvimbi Matse recounted that some women were denied the opportunity to contest for the elections by their husbands. Matse said there have been instances where women were nominated during the first stage in the Primary Elections but later withdrew after their husbands instructed them to do so.⁴⁶⁷ That problem was reverberated by women at a voter education meeting at Ka Gucuka in July 2017. They said some women in Swaziland were too scared to stand as candidates because their husbands would be angry and even disown them.⁴⁶⁸ During the 2008 national election in Swaziland, women who campaigned for other women to be elected to the House of Assembly were branded as 'evil' by the chiefs.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶Swazi Observer, Elections Voter Education. 25 July, 2017.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ [Swazi Media Commentary \(Gaborone\)](#) Swaziland: Bill to Get Women in Parliament 29th April 2018.

5.4 WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The renowned Swazi historian, Simelane Hamilton, submitted that the problems of colonialism and economic changes in Swaziland intensified between 1940 and 1960. The outcome of these developments impacted the Swazis negatively as their livelihood was imbedded in land use. He noted that:

In the case of Swaziland, the changes that took place depended largely on the colonial policy. The colonial policy began with the neglect of agricultural production in Swazi reserves and later shifted to a vigorous intervention. These interventions were in turn dependent on the political economy of British colonialism. Noticeably, the major change was that agricultural policy emphasised the role of the colonial empire as a supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs which were to be embraced by the colonies, in this case, Swaziland became one of the sources.⁴⁷⁰

The Swazi assumed an embedded emotional attachment to the king. Historically, it was primarily through the leadership of a succession of strong Kings of the Dlamini dynasty that the Swazi nation came into existence and maintained its identity. Sobhuza was, therefore, a hereditary monarch and he owed his position to the culture and tradition of dynamic succession in Swaziland.⁴⁷¹ Like the historical European monarchs, Sobhuza's priviledges were considered divine and were periodically reinforced by a string of elaborate ritualisation in traditional ceremonies such as the *Incwala* and the reed dance, to name a few.⁴⁷² Patriarchal inclinations and practices were intensified by these myths which had a negative impact on women's inclusion in politics.

⁴⁷⁰ Hamilton S. Simelane, *Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland*. JA Nyeko Publishing Centre. Ltd, Kampala, JAN Publishing Centre (Pty) Ltd, Manzini. 2003. .Pp. 65-80.

⁴⁷¹ Hildah Kuper, *Sobhuza II, Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland: The Story of a hereditary Ruler and His Country*. (London: Africana Publication. 1978).

⁴⁷² P. Cocks. and I. Bronislaw Malinowski, "King Sobhuza II and the Vision of Culture and Change in Africa", See R. Levin, "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi Tradition" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 10.2 (1991).Pp. 1-23.

In the post-colonial era, access and control over land was primarily a patronage resource employed by the monarch to reinforce its traditional status as the nation's supreme paramount chief (*iNgwenyama*) and as a material 'focal point' to ensure allegiance from village-level to national level chiefs. Land used for crop production was individually held and allocated by chiefs on behalf of the king, chiefs also acted as arbiters in land disputes.⁴⁷³ The narrative serves those who have an interest in Swaziland's Parliament history to acquire a deeper understanding of the Swazi political situation.

The land question did not escape Mdziniso's attention either as she was concerned with the reallocation of land. In 1980 she expressed concern over Swazi people's access to land. She noted that although the Swazi were not accustomed to buying the land that belonged to them, the situation was changing, and some of them wanted to buy land. Mdziniso's concern was that prices of plots had increased and she proposed that the government advance money to Swazis who wanted to buy land but could not afford it.⁴⁷⁴ Financial constraints on the part of government militated against the implementation of such a programme. Nonetheless, she continued to express concern over land allocation to ordinary Swazi people. In 1984 she lodged a complaint about government's response to her question on the reallocation of land, she submitted that, "Now Sir, the second half of the question was, if this was happening, in what manner will this land be disposed of to the public."⁴⁷⁵ We were told, "In terms of the Crown Lands Disposal Proclamation."⁴⁷⁶ Mdziniso was against the disposal of land in terms of the Crown Lands Disposal Proclamation. As she stated, "Now, Sir, if I was in opposition and not a loyal supporter of this government I would be on my feet now moving a reduction in the Hon. Ministers' salary!"⁴⁷⁷ Even then, she argued, "it is within the bounds of my duty as a loyal supporter of the government to raise this matter."⁴⁷⁸ However, the fact that Mdziniso had been

⁴⁷³*Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴Hansard Parliamentary Debate, First Session, 21 March to 2nd April, 1980, p. 340.

⁴⁷⁵Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament 30 March 1984, pp. 25 – 163.

⁴⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷*Ibid.* (emphasis added). Tamale notes that women appointed into Parliament are likely to support government policies even if that is against their will. (Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow...*).

⁴⁷⁸*Ibid.* (emphasis added).

appointed by the king and supported the government meant that she could not challenge government policy freely. She confirmed, "Of course it will be disposed of in terms of the Crown Lands Disposal Proclamation. There is no other way in which the government can dispose of it."⁴⁷⁹ Being a government appointee, she had to comply with the dictates of the status quo.

Although she could not challenge government policy on land reallocation, Mdziniso raised a question, "If this land was going to be developed, why should it not be put out to the public for tender and the best price obtained for it?"⁴⁸⁰ She was critical of government land reallocation policies that had nothing to do with public benefit, she expressed her concern by stating that:

Now I must say from the way the question was evaded, I am under the impression that it is not going to be publicly sold. Now Sir, I do not ask this because I just happen to want to know. I ask this because people are enquiring about this. People who support us, who support this government, and I think that we should be careful not to fall into the same habits, should I say, that have existed in the past. Because I have no hesitation in saying that a perusal of the Crown grants that have been issued during the last 10 years will show that some very curious methods of allocating land have been adopted... Sir, I hope that the Hon. Minister will... tell us what is happening in regard to this land down there and why it is apparently intended to make a substantial change without consulting the public, at any rate, of Mbabane. I do not say that I am against the idea, it may be a good idea or it may not be but it should not be done this way.⁴⁸¹

Seemingly, the government did not honor Mdziniso's request for public opinion on how to dispose of the land, but she had voiced her concern over land reallocation. In the advent of such innovations, women Parliamentarians spoke to national issues beyond their constituencies. With the appointment of three women in Parliament in 1978 and the era

⁴⁷⁹Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament 30 March 1984. pp. 25 – 163.

⁴⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁴⁸¹*Ibid.*

of the introduction of the *Tinkhundla* system of governance, more attention was paid to some of the national issues which had not been addressed previously by Mdziniso. The land question was one of the major concerns. One of Precious Shungube's submissions was on code 26, an instrument that dealt with land use. The code granted permission issued for the use of the land through paying rent at a low cost to the owners who were Whites at that time. Shungube proposed that the government should end the rental system and purchase a farm for the Swazi nation so that aspiring farmers who were industrious could be given that land to practice agriculture and they were to be provided with supervisors by the ministry concerned. Agricultural development was yet another issue of great concern. Shungube acknowledged that there were financial constraints facing the scheme of Vuvulane Irrigated Farms, but she was of the opinion that more industrious people were to be allowed to make use of the land.⁴⁸² In response to her proposal, more farmers were encouraged to go to Vuvulane where they purchased land for farming and they were allowed to build homes next to the scheme in order to monitor their crops. Swazi farmers who were interested in irrigation farming came to Vuvulane from all four regions.

Apart from rural development, there were other national issues of concern among women Parliamentarians. Mdziniso participated in various debates on national economic development programmes. In 1984 she raised concerns about the malfunctioning of the Town Management Board in Mbabane. She submitted that, "I have reason to believe that the Town Management Board is not functioning properly. They are short of money."⁴⁸³ Closely linked to the issue of the inefficient management board was the issue of town planning. She asked, "Is the government planning to allocate certain areas of government land for private development, whether the area north of Mbabane towards Pine Valley was being planned for, and if the government was considering extensions to the commercial areas of Mbabane?"⁴⁸⁴ Her major grievance was that:

⁴⁸²Times of Swaziland, "Women and Development Report", 08 May, 1979, p. 2.

⁴⁸³*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴*Ibid.*

... this “consideration” has reached a point that government has written to the Town Management Board of Mbabane sending them two sketched plans of an area belonging to the government, between the town and the by-pass road. And requesting the Town Management Board to approve the zoning of this area, as I understand it is a commercial area. Moreover, this was said to be urgent and the response was wanted urgently. Now, Sir, the Town Management Board dealt with this at last night’s meeting. Sir, my complaint is that it can hardly be said that the Hon. Minister in his reply to us yesterday put us into the picture.⁴⁸⁵

As a staunch Parliamentarian, Mdziniso felt entitled to know about the developments in relation to changes that were taking place as some of the government land was being earmarked for private commercial use. Linked closely to agricultural development was the establishment of Rural Development Areas (RDAs). In 1978 Shungube proposed that as people who lived in rural areas had witnessed the remarkable work done by the Ministry for Rural Development and Cooperative, it was ideal to promote development through RDAs. In response to Shungube’s submissions on the issue of RDAs, the government embarked on establishing RDAs under the leadership of Prince Mshelevu, between 1978 to 1985. RDAs figures increased from 10 to 20 percent countrywide.⁴⁸⁶ The RDAs brought farming implements closer to farmers in rural areas, saving farmers from purchasing such items from afar at higher prices. Another concern submitted by Shungube in 1978 pertained to the insufficient number of tractors that were controlled by the government and were meant to be evenly distributed by farmers who were far from RDAs Areas. She was of the opinion that with such a facility accessible to all, the country would be relieved of the problems of food shortage.⁴⁸⁷

Among some of the women senators who shared their concern for rural development in Swaziland was Precious Shungube (La Masango), although she was critical of the small budget allocated for rural development. In her submission, she was supported by

⁴⁸⁵Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p.248.

⁴⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷*Ibid*, p.3.

Princess Simangele who commended some of the developments that were taking place in the countryside. She noted, “The developments taking place in rural areas were in some small way playing a great role in stopping the influx of people to urban centres with all the complications encapsulated with such migration.”⁴⁸⁸ She acknowledged the importance of such projects for women to be capacitated financially. As she explained by pinpointing that:

The economic boost taking place in the rural settlements has gone a long way in affording women the opportunity to get their children educated without weep because their husbands are not coming back from mines outside the country to make ends meet.⁴⁸⁹

In support of agricultural diversification, Princess Simangele proposed the establishment of a pig breeding station for the production of various breeds that could easily find a market so that people from rural areas could benefit financially. The idea was warmly welcomed by the Ministry of Agriculture.

For Stella Lukhele, the then-Minister of Housing, the allocation of land with respect to housing was yet another important issue she raised as a woman Parliamentarian. In the Housing Ministry, Lukhele addressed the public outcry on the high title deed fees.⁴⁹⁰ In response to her submission, title deed laws were revised during her term as Minister of Housing when the government passed an Amendment Bill of 2003.⁴⁹¹ In addition, more space was allocated for markets in towns to empower women economically. Instead of selling their items on the streets all the vendors had specific market places demarcated for their businesses.

⁴⁸⁸Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p.248.

⁴⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁰Interview with Stella Lukhele. At Lobamba in the *Khulisa Umntfwana* Offices, on 16 November, 2019..

⁴⁹¹ Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p. 248.

Apart from the land distribution and agricultural development in their respective constituencies, female MPs participated in national development projects. Stella Lukhele, Minister of Housing 1998 to 2003, and Minister of Natural Resources and Environment 2000, became unpopular when she stopped the opening of the mine next to a game reserve by the prospects from China. Seemingly, some government officials had shown interest in the issue. Lukhele had read widely on how a game park should be safeguarded which was an International Law to protect animals from noise when blasting, and dust inhaling consequences. The Director of Game Park in Swaziland Todd Relly (*Machobane*) tried to convince her into giving in to the mining.⁴⁹² Lukhele retaliated that she was more than prepared to see the law taking its course as per the oath she made in Parliament. Lukhele further averred that she was transferred from one ministry to another because she would not tolerate being told what to do in her ministry by the male superiors such as the Prime Minister.

Another issue she successfully tackled was the subvention that the government saw her funds drained because she had signed an agreement with the Havelock Mine (Bulembu) in 1995 where the amount of two million had to be paid annually. She inquired from the manager as to what was the money for in her capacity as Minister of Natural Resources. She was told it was for renovating the dilapidated houses that accommodated workers. She took the initiative of visiting the mine (loco-inspection), to her surprise the houses were dilapidated beyond repair. Lukhele ordered a detailed report from the manager on how the money was used. The report had too many issues that could not be resolved.⁴⁹³ The government was, thus, ordered to stop paying the subvention which she had incurred for three years by then.⁴⁹⁴ Stella saved the government from such a big loss. The motherhood of the nation's traits were shown, combined with integrity and honesty.

⁴⁹²Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p.248.

⁴⁹³*Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴*Ibid.*

The Minister of Tourism, Senator Thandi Shongwe, embarked on improving tourism through marketing the country internationally. Through Shongwe's submissions to Parliament, the tourism industry became a parastatal in 2004. Shongwe was vigilant in visiting areas that had some complaints about wild animals that were messing the locals' crops, for instance at eNdlalambi in the Hhohho region whereby warthogs and hippopotamus ate crops. The ministry compensated the farmers for the wild animal's mess.⁴⁹⁵ Shongwe's stance as Minister proved to be nationalistic in nature. Shongwe did not encounter any remarkable challenges, except for those relating to financial constraints by the government when she submitted the ministry's budget.

A notable development that took place partly as a result of the pressure from the SADC and the Swaziland Committee on Gender and Women's Affairs (SCOGWA) was the establishment of the Gender Coordination Unit under the Home Affairs Ministry in 1996. The aim of the Gender Unit was to foster gender mainstreaming in national development activities and to promote gender equality nationwide. Gender and development were merged within the 25-year NDS designed to promote equality in national sustainable development.⁴⁹⁶ It is worth mentioning that the focal point was on development and the political section was relegated.

Prior to the appointment of a woman Minister of Health, national health issues were a cause for concern among some women Parliamentarians. Senator Princess Lomakhetho expressed her concern over the amount of money allocated to the Ministry of health in 1984, "It would have been better, had the amount been higher than this figure."⁴⁹⁷ She identified problems such as inadequate clothing for patients, poor quality water, badly constructed nurses' houses, and dilapidated hospital wards, especially at Piggs Peak

⁴⁹⁵Interview with Thandi Shongwe at the Houses of Parliament, Lobamba, On 19 November, 2019.

⁴⁹⁶Ministry of Home Affairs, Gender Coordination Unit, Swaziland, Swaziland Country Report, "Sub-regional Review on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty- Third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000)", Zambia, 26th- 29th April, 2004.

⁴⁹⁷*Ibid.*

Government Hospital.⁴⁹⁸ Senator Princess Phetfwayini appealed to the Minister of Health to facilitate the construction of roads leading to clinics in the countryside.⁴⁹⁹ By the late 1980s, issues of health and related infrastructure featured in women's contributions in Parliament. In 1987 Senator Mary Mdziniso raised questions over control of bilharzia, the poor sanitation conditions at the mental hospital in Matsapha, lack of government hospitals and clinics in rural areas, particularly in the Lubombo region, as well as the provision of transport facilities for nurses.⁵⁰⁰

National health issues also became a prominent cause for concern for women Parliamentarians when Fanny Friedman was appointed Minister of Health in 1988. This was largely based on the nature of the ministry she was in charge of. Among other things, she had to contend with issues of health infrastructure. She successfully moved motions in Parliament towards supporting the improvement of health infrastructure.⁵⁰¹ She explained that:

Under the item of the renovation of hospitals, I feel I should point out that the Hon. Minister should note that Hlatikulu Hospital has not been included. I had an occasion together with the Hon. Minister of Public Works to visit the latter hospital and we both agreed that the conditions of that hospital are at stake. That includes both the buildings and the equipment, as well as the bedding facilities in the hospital. I do not see any mention of Hlatikulu hospital anywhere in the estimates of this Ministry's budget.⁵⁰²

In addition to renovating the existing infrastructure, Friedman was instrumental in the construction of several clinics in the country as well as a mental hospital. She reported in Parliament, "I would like to commend the Hon. Minister for having been successful in securing funds which we failed for more than 10 years to secure, funds to be used in the

⁴⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰*Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹John Ruganda's interview with Friedman. Recorded on the Dladze magazine, Mbabane, 2001.

⁵⁰²Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament 30 March 1984. pp. 25 – 163.

building of a mental hospital.”⁵⁰³ However, she urged the government to address the causes of mental disability, and not the results. As she submitted that:

Mr. Chairman, what I am saying to the Hon. Minister is that although he is receiving the end results, what steps is he taking in conjunction with the relevant Ministries concerned so that these problems can be resolved so that mental diseases can be brought to an end?⁵⁰⁴

She linked mental problems to an educational system that did not consider the social problems of children who ended up taking drugs which ultimately affected them mentally. Other health-related issues included the availability of equipment used in the health sector. Friedman noted that there was inadequate equipment at the Mbabane government hospital. What saddened her the most was that no steps were being taken to order new equipment, despite the personnel being highly qualified. Friedman requested the Hon. Minister concerned at Public Works “take steps to bring as a matter of urgency, a request for a supplementary provision before this House in a bid to take into consideration the conditions of the Hospital.”⁵⁰⁵ She expressed the gravity of the problem; “Mr. Chairman, Sir, Nurse’s homes and everything I said about Hlatikulu and the Mbabane Government Hospital should be taken into consideration as to what can be done to improve them.”⁵⁰⁶ During Fanny Friedman’s time, several clinics were built, including in remote rural areas of Swaziland for people to easily access medical help. Cases in point were Malindza, Mantambe and KaZondwako clinics which were constructed between 1988 and 1993.

When Dr. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini-Nkomo was appointed Minister of Health, there were a few health facilities. There was a need to construct more clinics and renovate some of the old clinics. The budget that was passed in Parliament afforded her Ministry to build a

⁵⁰³*Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵John Ruganda’s interview with Friedman. Recorded on the Dzadze magazine, Mbabane, 2001.

⁵⁰⁵Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament 30 March 1984. pp. 25 – 163.

⁵⁰⁶*Ibid.*

clinic at Mlindzini, an area that was remote and had the nearest hospital at Piggs Peak, approximately 95km's away. Dlamini improved Piggs Peak Hospital with some new structures to accommodate more patients. Mankayane Hospital was relocated to a new site during her term of office. The National Tuberculosis Hospital at Moneni in Manzini was another project she manned. The National Laboratory in Mbabane was her brainchild, so was the maternity wing at Good Shepherd in Siteki. The establishment of the Intensive Care Unit and the introduction of the Renal Dialyses at Mbabane Government Hospital were some of her achievements. The centre where children infected with HIV/AIDS were treated for free was built in 2007 under Dlamini's directive.⁵⁰⁷ In addition to the establishment of several health centres, Dlamini introduced health reforms that included subsidised health services for the poor, elderly and orphans. Moreover, she fought for a health Bill that resulted in the passing of the death sentence for rapists with infectious diseases, although the Bill was not passed to law.⁵⁰⁸

One of Dlamini's remarkable achievements was the establishment of a training programme which aimed to upgrade the skills of nurses who did not have the opportunity to train in registered hospitals. For instance, courses in midwifery and others were to be offered on a part-time basis. Thus, nurses were permitted to register and improve themselves.⁵⁰⁹ As the Minister of Health, she updated the country's policies to match the standards of the WHO which had called upon all countries to make health accessible to all citizens in the year 2000.⁵¹⁰ Health care delivery, social services and pioneering an equitable system for all, particularly children, the disabled and elderly became Dlamini's priorities. The WHO proposed that health facilities such as clinics and hospitals should be located not more than 8km's from where people live. By 2002 about 80% of the people

⁵⁰⁷Honourable Dr. K. Phetsile Dlamini, Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the Kingdom of Swaziland at the General Assembly Special Session on Children, New York, 10 May, 2002.

⁵⁰⁸Association of Adventist Women, "Phetsile Kholile Dlamini- Nkomo: Woman of the Year- Distinguished Service, 2006", http://www.aaw.cc/PDE/WOYA_06_Dlamini.pdf, (Accessed 11 September, 2018).

⁵⁰⁹Interview with Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini. At the National Curriculum Centre, Manzini Old Library, on 19 November, 2019.

⁵¹⁰Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Seventh Parliament of Swaziland, 1998, p. 221.

accessed clinics within the 8km radius.⁵¹¹ Not all of her goals were met because the government had limited funds but she made an effort to submit them to parliament. Among other achievements, Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini designed the Swaziland National Pharmaceutical Policy in 2000.⁵¹² This was groundbreaking as it previously did not exist.

One of the challenges Dlamini had to contend with was one of inadequate medical personnel. There was a need to train more local doctors as almost 90% of the doctors were expatriates working on contracts with the government, with all the complications of hiring an expatriate. There were problems with sourcing local doctors as they also preferred working in the neighbouring South African Republic and abroad as a result of paltry salaries. Further, nurses were migrating to Europe where there were attractive salaries. The fewer nurses who had to offer services to large numbers of patients needed psychological counseling in order to deliver quality services as their esteem was at its lowest ebb as incentives were wanting. In 1999 she moved a motion on the payment of nurses for overtime work however that was effected in 2003. The Ministry of Health encountered a challenge of the absence of laboratory technicians and ophthalmologists. When the government proposed to reduce health personnel salaries to the level of the rest of the civil servants, Dlamini fought on their behalf and they were reimbursed.⁵¹³ In that way, she was able to retain some of the medical personnel who could have left the profession.

In Swaziland, the HIV/AIDS situation has had a devastating impact on Swaziland. Heterosexual sex is the main mode of HIV transmission – accounting for 94% of all new HIV infections. The country has a substantial mobile population, and this mobility has also been identified as a key driver. The epidemic is generalised, which means it affects all

⁵¹¹ Honourable Dr. K. Phetsile Dlamini, Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the Kingdom of Swaziland at the General Assembly Special Session on Children, New York, 10 May, 2002.

⁵¹²Swaziland Government, “Swaziland National Pharmaceutical Policy”, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2000.

⁵¹³*Ibid.*

the populations in society, although certain groups such as sex workers, adolescent girls, young women, and men who have sex with men are more affected than others.⁵¹⁴

Over the last decade, Swaziland has made significant progress of its HIV epidemic. HIV prevalence was stabilising and the number of new infections among adults had nearly halved since 2011, an achievement largely made possible by rapidly scaling up the number of people accessing antiretroviral treatment. At 85%, it had one of the highest rates of antiretroviral treatment coverage in sub-Saharan Africa, and it had also increased its own domestic investment and funding for the HIV response. Of those people living with HIV on treatment, 74% were virally suppressed. Nevertheless, the huge amount of people living with HIV in Swaziland meant it was still the country's biggest public health concern. According to 2015 estimates, life expectancy in the country was 57 years for men and 61 years for women.⁵¹⁵ Although classified as a low-middle income country, 63% of people in Swaziland live below the poverty line. In addition, the 2015/2016 regional drought severely affected Swaziland, with parts of the country still experiencing drought conditions with poor harvests. This has long-term ramifications for the rural poor, especially people living with HIV.

One of the prominent health issues that women Parliamentarians dealt with at a national level was the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Friedman pointed out that during the late 1980s and early 1990s she had little to say on the epidemic because people were frightened to talk about it, particularly when there was no cure for HIV.⁵¹⁶ The major challenge during that time was that most of the HIV positive people had not shown the symptoms of the disease such that Swaziland was still focusing on convincing the people about the realities of HIV/AIDS. She explained that:

⁵¹⁴Swaziland Government Report, "Swaziland National Pharmaceutical Policy", Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2000.

⁵¹⁵Interview with Dr. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini. At Philani Clinic Manzini. On the 19, November, 2019.

⁵¹⁶John Ruganda's interview with Friedman. Sourced from *Dzadze* magazine. 2009.

It would appear that the infection was introduced in Swaziland later than in other parts of Africa so that while other countries are seeing a lot of AIDS cases, in Swaziland the majority of infected people are still at the asymptomatic. This is, therefore, the reason why the Swazi public still doubts the reality of the AIDS crisis. Other countries are ahead of us in that they are already dealing with the behaviour changes while we are still dealing with convincing our public about the realities of AIDS.⁵¹⁷

By the time she stepped down as Minister of Health, Friedman had talked about HIV/AIDS but had not achieved much in helping people realise the dangers of the epidemic largely because they lived in a state of denial. Dr. Phetsile Dlamini continued from where Friedman left. She stated that once she assumed the post of Minister of Health, “the HIV Human Immune Virus scourge was a great cause of concern for the Ministry.”⁵¹⁸ The pandemic was a challenge even to the politicians as some of them needed to be taught on how serious the epidemic was so as to encourage them to craft laws to curb the spread of HIV. The challenge was that strategies to curb the spread of HIV encouraged sticking to one partner yet some of the politicians were in polygamous relationships. Amidst such problems, Dlamini convinced the government to provide funding for HIV/AIDS programmes. Together with some NGOs, such as the National Emergency Response to Combat HIV and AIDS (NERCHA), the Ministry of Health funded some of the HIV/AIDS programmes. Dlamini initiated a school health programme where information on HIV/AIDS was included in the school curriculum. Between 2000 and 2006 Dlamini, was actively involved in various programmes on prevention, mitigation, and care of HIV/AIDS, and she successfully lobbied for the increase of HIV/AIDS medication.⁵¹⁹

The HIV/AIDS epidemic drew the attention of other women Parliamentarians as well. In 2004, Senator Msane made tremendous success in politics when she made submissions to the House to enact an HIV/AIDS related palliative care policy in 2004. This resulted in

⁵¹⁷“Health Minister Warns of ‘Disastrous’ AIDS Spread”, *Times Of Swaziland*, 12 June, 1990, p. 1.

⁵¹⁸Interview with Dr, Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini. At Philani Clinic Manzini. On the 19, November, 2019.

⁵¹⁹Association of Adventist Women, “Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini- Nkomo: Woman of the Year- Distinguished Service, 2006”, http://www.aaw.cc/PDE/WOYA_06_Dlamini.pdf, (Accessed 11 September, 2018). Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini was involved in the international anti- malaria projects. She initiated an anti- tobacco campaign in Swaziland.

the construction of the Hospice at Home, an institution that gives care and support to terminally ill people for free.⁵²⁰ Senator Thuli was appointed the Director of Swaziland Hospice at Home. Another breakthrough was her submission in the health care of the citizens of the country in 2004 – the Reproduction and Health Policy which was passed by the government of Swaziland through the Ministry of Health.

Women Parliamentarians had to contend with challenges against some of the measures designed to reduce or eradicate the spread of HIV. They had to consider Swazi cultural practices at large. For example, Nonhlanhla Dlamini noted that one of the causes of the spread of HIV/AIDS was the habit of having multiple partners. She argued that the Swazi culture which encouraged polygamy negatively impacted the efforts to fight against the pandemic. With reference to the HIV/AIDs scourge, N. Dlamini stated that polygamy was another way of oppressing women because it exposed them to HIV. She further expressed her point by saying, “There was no single woman who was happy about polygamy but it was just that people had become tolerant, and if everyone was serious about curbing HIV/AIDS, then everybody should stick to one partner”, which was contradictory to the Swazi culture of polygamy. N. Dlamini conveyed her views boldly without fear of intimidation by the male colleagues in the House of Parliament.⁵²¹ She proposed that polygamy should come to an end but that was not accepted by some Parliamentarians, both male and female. Some of the males perceived her submissions to be directly attacking culture. N. Dlamini had to contend with opposing views from fellow women Parliamentarians as well. One woman senator was critical of Dlamini’s view and stated that the latter was not well informed on Swazi tradition because according to her knowledge, some women, for various reasons, actually encouraged their husbands to have more wives.⁵²² As one informant explained, “One cannot run away from the fact that

⁵²⁰Hansard Parliamentary Debate of the First Session of the 2008 Ninth Parliament of The Kingdom of Swaziland, Lobamba, p. 235.

⁵²¹Interview with Nonhlanhla Dlamini, the then-Member of Parliament from the Manzini North, at the Houses of Parliament, Lobamba on the 15 November, 2019.

⁵²² *Ibid.*

culture does impinge on some issues discussed.”⁵²³ So, in some cases, it was not about numbers or women’s oppression, but women’s tolerance of some of their cultural practices that spoke to the need to move a motion against certain cultural practices or leave them as they were.

The fact that HIV/AIDS had implications on the country’s international relations, and ultimately, its economic development, was a cause for concern among some of the women Parliamentarians. As Minister of Tourism and Environment, Stella Lukhele dealt with the task of advising tourists visiting the country to take precautions and spread information that the HIV/AIDS epidemic was a scourge that knows no boundaries. She worked hand-in-hand with the Ministry of Health. To ensure sure that tourists got the advice, the health ministry pitched tents during festive seasons close to the border posts to create awareness about HIV/AIDS by offering services and information pamphlets. The relationship between the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Tourism was applauded by the tourists who commended the HIV/AIDS information they received whilst in the country.⁵²⁴

Ministerial responsibilities also influenced Nelisiwe Shongwe’s stance on the HIV/AIDS epidemic. She stated that when she was Minister of Information Communication and Technology (ICT), like all other government ministries, her ministry had not been immune from the HIV/AIDS problem.⁵²⁵ The majority of the vulnerable professional and skilled employees were young workers at the peak of their reproductive and sexually active stages.⁵²⁶ Shongwe pressured the government to introduce HIV/AIDS education programmes in workplaces. Thus, the Ministry of ICT was committed to helping alleviate

⁵²³ Interview with an anonymous female from Mkhulamini, Manzini. At the Manzini Market on the 20th November, 2019.

⁵²⁴ Hansard Parliamentary Debate of the First Session of the 2008 Ninth Parliament of The Kingdom of Swaziland, Lobamba, p. 235.

⁵²⁵ Interview with Thandi Shongwe, the then-Minister of Information Communication and Technology at her offices, Dlanubeka Building, Mbabane, 12 November, 2019.

⁵²⁶ Nathi Dlamini, “A Report from the Ministry of Information Communication and Technology.” March 2010, pp. 10 – 16.

the spread of HIV/AIDS. There were, however, a number of challenges that were a hindrance when dealing with issues of HIV/AIDS and other chronic illnesses in the workplace.⁵²⁷ These included, firstly; the fact that the new ministry was still battling with the issue of an insufficient budget for ministerial activities. Secondly, the lack of guiding principles as well as a policy to manage wellness issues proved to be a setback in the endeavours in the fight against HIV/AIDS and other chronic illnesses in the workplace.⁵²⁸

Despite all these obstacles, the Ministry through this policy made some achievements in alerting personnel of the HIV/AIDS issues, however, winning the battle was not guaranteed as a result of other complications, such as stigma against the infected and affected – both at the ministerial and national level. Shongwe explained that they had an opportunity to inform, communicate and educate other people on issues of HIV/AIDS and other chronic illnesses through the media, library material and outreaches in schools nationwide. The ministry extended invitations to people living with HIV to give a lecture on how to live with HIV/AIDS.⁵²⁹

According to Msane, there were diverse ideologies upheld by women in Swazi Parliament which impacted women negatively. For instance, she cited the issue of polygamy, which some women Parliamentarians were against as a topic that needed to be revisited because the latest developments were that some women who got married through the civil rights law and were now reverting to traditional marriage. Partly, such traditional practices were implicated as responsible for the prevalence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the sense that most women got into such marriages, not by choice but were compelled to oblige because of respecting their husband's choices. One had to take into account that the scourge was labelled with different stigmas. The issue of having more than one partner cannot be overemphasised. The reality was that some women were forced to

⁵²⁷Interview with Thandi Shongwe, the then-Minister of Information Communication and Technology at her offices, Dlanubeka Building, Mbabane, 15 November, 2019.

⁵²⁸*Ibid*, p. 25.

⁵²⁹Nathi Dlamini. A Report from the Ministry of Information Communication and Technology. 2010

become promiscuous due to not getting conjugal rights whilst embracing the norm of respect and a gender-biased practice.

The quality of education was a cause for concern among women Parliamentarians. Mdziniso considered academic courses only to be inadequate. She complained that technical schools that the government had promised had not been set up. With reference to girls, she complained, “We have asked time and again for Domestic Science to be introduced to no avail... There are so many girls roaming the streets without employment simply because they did not enroll for this subject at school.”⁵³⁰ During the first and second sessions of the fourth Parliament in 1984, education was the prominent issue addressed by both female and male Parliamentarians. Senator Princess Simangele expressed concern over various educational facilities open to children of different intellectual capacities stating that, “I would like to know what the ministers’ plan is with regard to those children who can perhaps use their hands instead of their minds.”⁵³¹ She then proposed training of children in practical subjects to avoid an influx of white-collar job trained graduates for whom there was a small market in Swaziland. She explained:

Another thing I would like to know is what steps the minister has taken in order to discourage the trend of education which makes our children look for white-collar jobs so that they could use their hands to do handicrafts as well. Well, I think as we are moving from independence, the type of education that we would like to have is one that teaches children how to use their hands if this is not provided for. Well, I hope the minister will have to work with his hands (laughs).⁵³²

The submission made by Senator Princess Simangele was important for the empowerment of Swazi children through education. The challenge was that in addressing the question of practical courses, the Minister of Education did not refer to Senator Princess Simangele but directed his response to a male senator who had raised the same

⁵³⁰Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament, 30 March 1984, pp. 25 – 163.

⁵³¹*Ibid.*

⁵³²Hansard Parliamentary Debates First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament, 30 March 1984, pp. 25 – 163.

concern. He said, “His Hon. Sen. Nhlabatsi’s suggestion was that of course we should diversify our curriculum... We have three high schools already that provide practical courses.”⁵³³ Formal education had always focused on subjects that were relegating arts and crafts, yet the Swazi citizenry were still developing in that aspect. The relevance of education in helping Swazi children advance their lives was highly questionable hence it needed some redress. The startling observation was that the senator princess had a concern for all Swazi children, not only the royal children.

Financial assistance was another burning issue that the women Parliamentarians pointed out. Senator Princess Lomakhetfo proposed that instead of giving grants to mission schools, the government must give the money to communities who would then use the money to construct additional classrooms and pay to hire more teachers. She highlighted the importance of involving the community by submitting that:

I know of at least one school where literally hundreds of children could not gain admittance. I know that if the minister could have assisted those parents that would have gone a long way towards providing extra classroom accommodation and making contributions towards the payment of a teacher.⁵³⁴

However, at times, women’s ideas were either sidelined or addressed only when a male Parliamentarian raised the same issue. In addressing the issue of community schools raised by Senator Princess Lomakhetfo, the Minister of Education paid attention to a male senator who raised the same concern. He alleged:

Now coming to the Honorable Mr. Fitzpatrick’s question, concerning the grant in aid to parents to build schools and to pay teachers. In fact, all he is saying is that we should encourage the parents to conduct community schools. In effect, these community schools turn out to be government schools because the government eventually does everything. But we are

⁵³³ Sylvia Tamale also cites cases in Uganda where women raised ideas but they were ignored, e.g. The amendment of the Land Act (1998) proposed by MP Maria Matembe was omitted (Tamale, *When Hens Begin to Crow...*).

⁵³⁴ Hansard Parliamentary Debates of 1982, Second Session of Parliament. Pp. 432-438.

doing our best to promote self-help in the country and we try to encourage parents to make their own contributions in building up schools but Hon. Members must understand that the government has limited funds and can only do so much.⁵³⁵

The senator princesses made submissions that were child-centred in the sense that their concerns were all encompassing, meaning all Swazi children were a cause of concern. Women Parliamentarians proved to be ambassadors of the Swazi nation irrespective of their status which was proof that women would always remain women at heart which was characterised by love for children such that they were concerned about the character of the people who were grooming Swazi children (teachers). As an MP, Precious Shungube asked:

“... what I would like to ask the minister is what sort of steps he takes to find out what characters these teachers have, especially those who come from outside, as far as morals are concerned, because these people have the responsibility of bringing up our children and when a child is still small he is just like clay in the hands of a molder.”⁵³⁶

Women Parliamentarians' contribution to educational changes were evident in their role in modifying the school curriculum. Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini introduced a school health programme that included information on HIV/AIDS as part of the curriculum. She introduced health clubs in schools to promote peer education on self-protection against abuse. Swazi gender rights groups welcomed the appointment of a woman to the post of Deputy Prime Minister in a country, named Constance Simelane an indicator that only granted women equal rights under the constitution this year. “I think it is about time we had capable women in that position”, said Lomcebo Dlamini, Director of the Swaziland branch NGO, Women and Law in Southern Africa. Constance Simelane, who also served

⁵³⁵*Ibid.*

⁵³⁶Hansard Parliamentary debates of the first session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p. 198.

as Education Minister succeeded Albert Heshane Shabangu who was the Deputy Prime Minister.⁵³⁷

Until the adoption of the new constitution at the beginning of the year 2006, women in the kingdom were regarded as minors under the law – unable to own property or open a bank account without the permission of a male relative or husband. The traditionally low status of women had been linked to the staggering levels of HIV infection – 40% of adult Swazis were estimated to be HIV positive, the highest rate in the world. However, the Deputy Prime Ministers role became largely ceremonial that year after responsibility for the national development authority was shifted from the portfolio and handed to a new ministry, Regional Development and Youth Affairs. The Prime Ministers post itself had so far been reserved for men who share the Dlamini surname of the royal family.

A survey conducted by *The Times of Swaziland*, the country's only independent newspaper, noted that despite the appointment, traditional views about the role of women prevail in Swaziland's deeply patriarchal society. "We are giving too much power to women. They do not cover their heads even inside Parliament. What's left for us but to get a female monarch?",⁵³⁸ complained one respondent. The statement is a mouthful of derogatory perception women encounter on several occasions. Much has also been written about Simelane's past performance as Education Minister. One glaring failure was the government's stated commitment to educate orphans and vulnerable children. Free school textbooks were provided for the first time that year in an attempt to lower school costs to caregivers and parents, but a lack of policy on school fees made the gesture meaningless. One respondent commented, "As long as this country is ruled under the present system we will continue to have such appointments." Constance has failed the education ministry.⁵³⁹ Simelane's appointment was part of a reshuffle announced on 24 October 2006. The then-Prime Minister, Barnabas Dlamini, used the occasion to attack

⁵³⁷*Times of Swaziland*, "Constance Simelane Appointed DPM" Mbabane, 30 October, 2006.

⁵³⁸*Ibid.*

⁵³⁹*Times of Swaziland*, "Constance Simelane Appointed DPM" Mbabane, 30 October, 2006.

the international media for undermining Swaziland's image. He named House Speaker S'gayoyo Magongo as the country's new Minister of Information to counter the perceived negative publicity.

Former Deputy Prime Minister Constance Simelane looked back with pride to the time when her ministry drove the process of registering vulnerable and needy children in the country. Speaking to Swazi News on Thursday 30 October, Simelane said her office was tasked with the responsibility of making sure the youth, elderly and women were taken care of. She said another key aspect that the ministry was tasked with was coming up with the decentralisation process.

My political career started in 2003 when I was appointed into the senate. I became a senator for the first five years and after the first term, I was then appointed Minister of Education in the 2003 to 2008 term. I am a teacher by profession. I worked for two years at St. Theresa's High School before going abroad where I studied a BA in Sociology and Psychology. It helped me understand people much better. Upon my return from the USA, I worked for the Deputy Prime Minister Mfundza Sukati at the time. I worked as assistant secretary. I then moved to join Swaziland Railway where I worked for five years. I returned to the USA where I did an MBA, said Simelane.

She said she worked for the United Nations (UN) agencies and that saw her moving to Ethiopia where she spent 10 years which helped her to learn how to deal with a number of people from different backgrounds. She said after 10 years she then returned home. Upon her return she started a consulting firm in 1992. Back to Swaziland, their consultancy was tasked with providing civic education to all potential voters on elections and they also taught the Swazi nation on constitutionalism. The process lasted for a period of five years. "The most hurtful thing that one had was when I saw my own countrymen cheating on their fellow Swazis. It is very disappointing to see Swazis making fun out of those needy and making them a mockery", added Simelane. Simelane served as Minister of Education for three years before she was moved to the office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Another concern over the moral behaviour of teachers, particularly expatriates, was raised by an MP Precious Shungube. Minister Simelane responded to a male Parliamentarian that, “Briefly, he (Senator Mabuza) was drawing my attention to the increasing drunkenness of the teachers in Swaziland, he asked what steps I was taking towards curbing this.”⁵⁴⁰ Constance Simelane made substantial improvement. She stated that when she assumed office there were a lot of irregularities in the Ministry of Education.⁵⁴¹ Simelane cited educational staff who had problems adhering to rules that governed their duties for efficient delivery. Another challenge was that of keeping the records of teachers that were poorly organised. That negligence cost the government so much that some ‘ghost’ teachers were paid salaries when they were non-existent.⁵⁴² Qualifications of some teachers were questionable, an issue that needed prompt attention. New schools needed to be constructed, particularly secondary schools to accommodate the influx of primary school pupils who were in bigger numbers.⁵⁴³

At Lobamba in the Houses of Parliament, Former Deputy Prime Minister Constance Simelane urged the Swazi nation to work hard in making sure traditional values were adhered to so that the country’s social fibre remains intact. Simelane complained that the country was faced with so many instances of violence that had turned the country into a trouble-torn society. Simelane averred that:

Almost every day we read about families up in arms against each other. If it is not on families it is on parents butchering their children or teachers heavily assaulting their own pupils. We need to sit down and look at the issue because the issues were making family values a mockery.⁵⁴⁴ She mentioned that when she left the government, she ventured into farming so that she could feed her family and sell some of the produce just to make a few cents.

⁵⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁵⁴¹Interview with Constance Simelane. At her home in Ngwane Park, on 21 November, 2019.

⁵⁴²Hansard Parliamentary debates of the first session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p.198.

⁵⁴³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴Interview with Constance Simelane At her home in Ngwane Park, on 21 November, 2019.

Speaking to Swazi News, she advised that chiefs should play a leading role in ensuring that the violence currently sweeping through the country was minimised. Other than being a farmer, Simelane was running a consulting firm by then. The organisation was known as Sebenta-Hydro and it helped companies come up with safety standards in the workplace. She is passionate about the environment as she has a project that helps communities that are in need of other sources of energy. Simelane was cited saying:

We have to take advantage of the offer that the government has extended to local organisations that may be interested in producing energy. We will definitely bid for the production of energy tender because we believe the country had enough resources that could be used to produce energy.⁵⁴⁵

Her company also sold solar panels and were looking at expanding the business because there was a need for environmentally friendly sources of energy. She said this would help the world overcome environmental challenges posed by climate change. On another note, Simelane prides herself with chairing first-ever national dialogue in Swaziland. Women Parliamentarians did not restrict themselves to economic development and health. They were also preoccupied with social issues. Security was one of the issues that women Parliamentarians raised in Parliament. Beginning 1969 the police force was considered important and worth government attention. Gender equity was prominent in Mdziniso's concern over law- enforcement personnel. Mdziniso urged female cops to practice judo. She emphasised that it seemed logical that women serving as law enforcement officers should be trained on how to look after themselves if ever they were threatened with violence.⁵⁴⁶ After Mdziniso's submissions, the police force incorporated a variety of skills from 1973. The police force outsourced skills from other countries that were uncommon in Swaziland. He cited diving and using sniffer dogs, which was offered by the Republic of South African's Police Force. Some police officers were sent to learn more about judo and other self-defense skills such as taekwondo in the Republic of China. Upon their return the knowledge acquired was imparted to the recruits at the Matsapha Police

⁵⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 1968, p. 241.

College.⁵⁴⁷ In 1979 Vinah Dlamini made a submission on improving the accommodation of the police force. There was an outcry among the police force that they were made to share houses because there was not enough accommodation. Those who were married shared the same concerns, including the fact that the police houses were dilapidated. After Dlamini's submission, the government allocated funds towards improving the accommodation issue, thus, each police station had to be allocated at least a new block of houses annually.⁵⁴⁸

There were various socio-economic issues that women Parliamentarians effectively solved. For instance, submissions on social security which included the care for elderly people yielded positive results. Women Parliamentarians were the first to suggest the implementation of services to cater to the elderly. Esther Dlamini submitted a motion to the effect that elderly people be awarded financial assistance. The outcome of that submission was that the government agreed to issue grants to elderly people through the Deputy Prime Ministers office in 2007. Dlamini's proposal yielded positive results when all elderly people received the grant. In the Ministry of Natural Resources, again, Lukhele questioned the purpose of a tariff that was paid for disconnecting electricity to the Swaziland Electricity Board by the clients. She asked the management to do justice by not charging fees but that instead, they should disconnect electricity without a reconnection fee.⁵⁴⁹ Her stance made her popular with most of the Swazi's who had suffered because of high reconnection fees.

Another notable woman who has made history in Swaziland is Foreign Affairs Minister Thuli Dladla, appointed in 2018 to serve in the Eleventh Parliament of Swaziland. Although this is a period beyond the scope of the study, her humble beginnings date back to 23 June 1999, when she was appointed the Director of Sebenta National Adult Literacy

⁵⁴⁷Interview with Isaac Mmemo Magagula, Commissioner of Police, at the Police Headquarters, 23 November, 2019.

⁵⁴⁸Hansard Parliamentary debates of the first session of the third Parliament of Swaziland, 16 October, 1979, p. 246.

⁵⁴⁹Hansard Parliamentary debates of the second session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, p.198.

Institution. Sebenta conducts adult literacy education activities throughout Swaziland, in order to contribute to the personal development of individuals, as well as the development of communities.⁵⁵⁰

The Swaziland National Adult Literacy programme was started as a nationwide campaign against illiteracy in 1960. From then on, literacy work in Swaziland was undertaken by Sebenta National Institute, then known as the Sebenta Society. Today, Sebenta is the only major delivery organisation in the field of Adult Basic Education (ABE) better known as Adult Literacy. When it was founded in 1961 its scope of work covered the promotion of community development and the eradication of Adult illiteracy in the kingdom. Sebenta is still committed to delivering programmes for the advancement of the marginalised groups.⁵⁵¹ As Sebenta approaches the 40th anniversary since its inception, it is increasingly becoming evident that the nature and pace of its progress and the rapidly changing environment in Swaziland made strategic planning an urgent and imperative task. To this end, a strategic planning study was launched in 1998 that has led to the production of the Institute's *Strategic Plan* to be implemented over a five year period: 1999–2003.⁵⁵²

Thuli Dladla had this to say:

For 10 years, I worked as the PM's Portfolio Committee member, later became the chairperson as well as when I was with the National Emergency Response Council on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA). Therefore, I know his principles when it comes to work. I've learnt a lot, especially about being dedicated to your work⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰Times of Swaziland. Accessed on 23, February, 2018. At <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121020-pac-recovered-over-e100m-under-thuli-dladla.html>

⁵⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵⁵²Report from Sebenta National Annual Magazine. 28 November 1970.

⁵⁵³Times of Swaziland. Accessed at <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121020-pac-recovered-over-e100m-under-thuli-dladla.html>

She mentioned that she also learnt about the importance of respecting the work that Their Majesties tasked an individual to execute. Sharing her memories of her experience working with Former Prime Minister Barnabas Dlamini,⁵⁵⁴ she recalled when the ex-PM was always on her case when she was the chairperson of the committee that worked on the Public Order Act and the Suppression of Terrorism Amendment Act. She further shared that despite the pressure she received from the ex-PM, she was happy because she knew that it was in the best interests of the country not for himself. “I won’t forget when we were working on the Police Service Act. He would say madam chair, I want it to succeed, make sure it does whether I’m alive or not”, she reminisced.

Dladla further stated that the deceased ex-PM was hands-on throughout the processes of promulgating the Acts. She said the ex-PM had an open door policy as he would even go to Parliament to motivate Bills under his portfolio. By so doing, Dladla said the ex-PM would give a chance to MPs to make submissions before it was taken to the Portfolio Committee. She said not even once had the PM quoted the Standing Order which allows Bills to go straight to the Portfolio Committee without them being motivated in the August House. “That’s one part I can distinguish about him when it came to piloting Bills under his portfolio.” When he came for quarterly report debates, the deceased had answers to every question raised about every ministry. He knew all the ministry’s operations,⁵⁵⁵ Dladla recalled. She assumed that this gave MPs a hard time to push the deceased into a tight corner as he always had answers. Dladla said the deceased PM would give detailed and satisfying responses to all posed questions. She said she learnt a lot from the deceased ex-PM. The legacy Dladla made for the Swazi nation was when the PAC recovered over E100M under her Chairpersonship. Under the leadership of Thuli Dladla between the years 2009 to 2018, the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) recovered over E100 million. The Central Bank of Eswatini, Governor Majozi Sithole, announced that the government was losing E80 million per month due to corruption. Sithole said while the

⁵⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵*Ibid.*

Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) was seen to be fighting corruption, there was a dire need to set up courts particularly for trying corruption cases.⁵⁵⁶

The PAC, which is led by now Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Thuli Dladla, used tactics that allowed her to access knowledge on how to collect money from the people involved in fraud. While previously, the PAC only recommended that the culprits be reported to the police or be taken for disciplinary hearings, Dladla was of the view that they should also pay back the misappropriated funds. Dladla disclosed that at times they would make those recommendations and entrust the controlling officers to make sure that the money was recovered but each time the committee followed-up a year or two later, it would turn out that the controlling officers had not collected it. Thus, we decided to take it upon ourselves, said Dladla when commenting on the PAC's achievements under her leadership. She said the great team she worked with, together with the clerks, supported her to make sure that the money embezzled by the civil servants and suppliers was paid back to the government.⁵⁵⁷

The Swazi Observer reported that over E49 million was recovered between 2015 and 2017. The money that was paid back in 2015 amounted to E19 120 284. In the following year, it was E14 903 266 and in 2017 it was E15 900 118. Dladla explained that taking the front seat when dealing with these matters helped a lot, particularly in other countries where they travelled to because there was high respect for Parliament. She added that the committee went to recover the government's money in countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Mozambique, and Denmark. We were successful because most of these countries held Parliament as an institution of high esteem and they made sure that due action was taken.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶Times of Swaziland. Accessed at <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121020-pac-recovered-over-e100m-under-thuli-dladla.html> Times of Swaziland. Accessed on 23, February, 2018.

⁵⁵⁷Swazi Observer, Ex-Pm Worked Diligently. 30 September, 2018.

⁵⁵⁸Times of Swaziland. Accessed at <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121020-pac-recovered-over-e100m-under-thuli-dladla.html>. Times of Swaziland. Accessed on 23, February, 2018.

One observer commented that she prays for the day when His Majesty, the King, appoints Thuli Dladla as Minister of Finance because in her current position as Chairperson of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC), she had done wonderful work over the years. The informant believed that it was about time she became the political head of finance (Minister). Perhaps corruption levels would drop drastically. This was her humble plea to the king: she emphasised that if Dladla could be appointed for five years in that portfolio, she could make a big difference.⁵⁵⁹ Dladla's prayers were answered when Mswati appointed Thuli Dladla the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2018.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to address some of the Swazi women Parliamentarian's contributions at the constituency and national levels. Women MPs tended to speak more on issues that affected their constituencies, whereas senators and ministers tended to focus on national issues. Moreover, for ministers, it was largely based on the nature of the ministries they headed. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the women spoke and pushed for government action for the benefit of the people at large regardless of opposition by their male counterparts or by fellow women Parliamentarians. Major issues of concern among the women Parliamentarians included land, health, education, and rural development.

⁵⁵⁹Anonymous Observer cited in *The Times of Swaziland*. 26th May 2018.

CHAPTER 6

PATRIARCHY AND WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the background of the Swazi traditional system referred to as patriarchy. The discourse partly covers the colonial to the post-colonial era. Unpacking the theory of relativism became essential as a basis to lay the foundation of the chapter. The overarching argument in this chapter is that an overview of the history and culture within which women operate in Swazi traditional system and an understanding of their participation in Parliament is pivotal. Culture, particularly socialisation, provides a lens through which one may understand women's roles in the Swazi traditional system. Feminists submit different views on women's roles within the traditional discourses as manipulation of mechanisms patriarchy is anchored.

The anthropologist, Hildah Kuper, alludes that Sobhuza II was inaugurated as King in 1924 and he immediately set out to persuade the British to give Swaziland its independence and autonomy. Progress towards this realisation came through the Proclamations of 1944 and 1950, which were ratified after negotiations and the king taking advice from the *liqogo* (Inner Council) and subsequently the *libandla* (General Council)⁵⁶⁰. However, the country remained a British colony with powers vested mainly in Sobhuza, as the King of his people, through the help of the National Council. The Council regulated politics and bureaucracy in the country and ensured that the "Indirect Rule" by the British was recognised and controlled. The king had limited power and the British initially prohibited the use of the title of "King", but was rather referred to as the paramount chief. The events that preceded independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s ensured that the Swazi monarchy remained a dominant traditional institution. The king effectively

⁵⁶⁰Hildah Kuper. The Swazi: A South African Kingdom, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York. P.220.

manipulated processes to secure his dominant position⁵⁶¹. The status and political position of the Queen Mother was never clearly explained despite that according to Swazi traditional system she rules concurrently with the ruling king.

By the early 1960s, an interim Legislative Council was formed from members of the SNC and the European Advisory Council charged with the responsibility of drafting a new constitution to aid independence. The king had strengthened his authority among the people, by advocating for what he called “tribal nationalism”, which he claimed was aimed at preserving Swazi traditions and customs, but it was also to ensure that royal power and dominance are preserved.⁵⁶² The idea of a constitution was vehemently opposed by Sobhuza and his political arm, the INM, which was mainly made up of the Dlamini royal clan.⁵⁶³ The largest number of members of the INM were males (patriarchs). Sobhuza made his position very clear during these negotiations, that he did not accept the Western model of elections, political parties or caucuses⁵⁶⁴. He rejected the idea that ‘west was best’, when it came to drafting the constitution, as it challenged the ‘aristocratic nepotism’ that ensured that the royal family would be the legitimate rulers of Swaziland. He also vehemently opposed the notion of ‘one-man-one-vote’, which he saw as a threat to monarchism.⁵⁶⁵ The study was diverted to discuss a general view of the patriarchal state in order to align with the discourses that will follow.

⁵⁶¹Alan Booth. <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 1071983. P.33.

⁵⁶²D. Kuseni and R. Levin. Breaking Tradition: The struggle for Freedom in Swaziland. South African Labour Bulletin, Vol. 21, Issue 2. 1997.P.83

⁵⁶³Chris Moroleng. Swaziland: The King’s Constitution. African Security Analysis Programme Situation Report, 23, June, 2003. Accessed at <https://www.africaportal.org/documents/4167> SWAZIJUN No.3. P.1.

⁵⁶⁴Hildah Kuper. The Swazi: A South African Kingdom, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York. P.220.

⁵⁶⁵Joshua Mzizi. Constitutionalism in Southern Africa – Old Wine in New Bottles? Constitutionalism in Southern Africa. Vol. 5, September, 2001. P.2.

6.2 THE MONOLITHICALLY PATRIARCHAL STATE

The marginality of women in political leadership and their continued exclusion in political decision-making is a product of a history of the patriarchal state in Swaziland for purposes of this study. This could be perceived as true both for the colonial and independent states in Africa. The story of the colonial state is well coined by selected historians hence the study took a leaf from that cadre. This could be unpacked through the story in which the role and place of women was defined by the specific ideas of gender roles. This idea was not simply Western, it was more precisely the brainchild of the Victorian. It was understood that society was split into two: public and private realms. These realms were also gendered, the female occupied the private domain whilst the male occupied the public domain, also understood to be the domestic realm. It was a realm in the reproduction, in the biological, and the social sense.⁵⁶⁶ Above all, it was an apolitical realm. Apart from functioning as the arena where child-bearing and rearing occurred, it was also the place where men, who worked in the public domain, returned to replenish the energies and prepare for work the following day.

Women have both a right to active participation in political leadership such as passing laws in Parliament. In addition to this, human right obligation political analysis and researchers from different regions of the world, for instance, Clinton Rodham, L.W. Neuman, Wangari Maathai, Thomas Wicox, Wanjohi have observed that when women get into political leadership and managerial position, they bring a different perspective of leadership. These analyses and researchers have argued that having more women in politics helps resolve problems associated with perpetual poverty, especially as it affects women. Women's leadership not only aids nation building but also helps to balance decision-making processes,⁵⁶⁷ as posited by Robert Epstein.

⁵⁶⁶Ifi Amadiume. *Daughters of the Goddess, Daughters of Imperialism: African Women Struggle for Culture; Power and Democracy*, London. Zed Books. 2000. See also Amina Mama. *Feminism or Femocracy? State Feminism and Democratisation in Nigeria*. African Development Vol. No.20. No.1.1995.

⁵⁶⁷Kamaru Nyakobi. *Women's Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten case studies*. Cited Epstein. Henrich Boll Stiftung, East and the Horn of Africa @ Henrich Boll Stiftung. 2010.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century has seen a steady increase in women's political participation in Africa. The UN report entitled, "Africa and the Millennium Development Goals Update 2007" submitted that the share of seats held by women increased from 7% in 2005 to 17% in 2007, which is close to the global average. The report alludes that in 2007 women held 48.8% of seats in the Lower House in Rwanda, the highest percentage worldwide. In support of this view, in 2006 Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson broke the glass ceiling of becoming the first elected woman President of Liberia and the first President of Liberia.⁵⁶⁸

By the end of the 21st century, a few countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa, had set quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies, an indicator of a renewed commitment to have more women in political leadership such as the Parliament. Allowing quotas is a sign of recognition of the historical injustices that women have painstakingly experienced, which makes it more difficult for them to compete equally with men.⁵⁶⁹ Tracing how women feature in Swazi politics enhances the validity of the study at hand, hence discussing the traditional system realm became the next focus of the study.

⁵⁶⁸Wanjohi N.G. Women have to Vie for Roles in Parliament/Leadership, East Africa Standard,Nairobi, 2003.

⁵⁶⁹Kamaru Nyakobi. Women's Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten case studies. Henrich Boll Stiftung, East and the Ho Kamaru Nyakobi. Women's Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten case studies. Henrich Boll Stiftung, East and the Horn of Africa @ Henrich Boll Stiftung. 2010.rn of Africa @ Henrich Boll Stiftung. 2010.

6.3 THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN SWAZILAND

A scholar in the field of history, Norah Lindsay, postulates that discrimination that is based on the biological sex that a girl finds herself in becomes a punishment of her, who in the long run is obliged to face the consequences of being female, not out of choice but through the biological features that categorises her as female. Lindsay attests that sexism is aggravated by the existence of the patriarchal system in societies. She further elaborates that no oppression of women is encouraged by male-dominated structures in which both women and men interact.⁵⁷⁰

The study is based on the theory of cultural relativism. According to F. Teson, cultural relativism is the position according to which local cultural traditions including religious, political and legal practices, properly determine the existence and scope of civil and political rights enjoyed by individuals in a given society.⁵⁷¹ This definition, however, reflects ethnocentric tendencies and is oversimplified in that it does not take into account that socio-economic rights are emphasised in traditional African societies, as opposed to civil and political rights. Cultural relativism is premised on the notion that no transboundary legal or moral standards exist against which human rights practices may be judged acceptable or unacceptable. In essence, relativists assert that human rights vary among different cultures and necessarily reflect national particularities. Accordingly, that which may be regarded as human rights violations in one society may be considered lawful in another.⁵⁷² These are the dynamics of culture as perceived by the researcher in the context of Swaziland.

⁵⁷⁰Norah Lindsay. *Hats Off for Women who made our History. A History of New England Farm and Garden Association*. Inc.1997.

⁵⁷¹F.Teson. 'International Human Rights and Cultural Relativism' in Alston, P (ed) (1996) *Human Rights Law* 118.

⁵⁷²A. Pollis. 'A New Universalism' in Pollis, A & Schwab, P (eds) (2000) *Human Rights: New Perspectives, New Realities* 11.

According to relativists, universal human rights norms reflect Western values, which emphasise the primacy of civil and political rights, and that such should not be imposed upon Third World societies.⁵⁷³ Efforts to enforce these “Western values” are denounced as cultural imperialism. The relativists argue that fundamental values are culturally specific and that the communal group is the basic social unit.⁵⁷⁴ Consequently, the communal group subsumes the individual, and the person’s identity is ascribed by his or her status and role in that group. They point to the African societies, which are based on communalism rather than individualism, and postulate that socio-economic rights are obligations of the community toward all its members.⁵⁷⁵

In Africa, political relations have been constructed with an emphasis on communal group as opposed to the individual. This is reflected in political power, which decentralises on the patriarchal clan as opposed to the individual. Relativists perceive women as supportive, nurturing, acquiescent, subordinate, and familial, not as political persons and authority figures, hence their exclusion from the political conundrum and the public sphere.⁵⁷⁶ African relativists tend to reify traditional cultures and view them as static and unchanging, thereby ignoring the evolutionary aspects of all societies and cultures. They notoriously fuse nature and culture in their traditional conception of women’s roles.⁵⁷⁷ They use nature and reproductive roles of women to push them toward domestic activities, while men take up positions within the political sphere and decision-making. For the rigid relativists, women’s rights are a non-issue since the alleged subordinate position of women is one aspect of traditional culture. Similarly, the “extended family” in Africa undermines the legitimacy of individual rights, particularly women’s rights, which

⁵⁷³J. Silk. ‘Traditional Culture and the Prospect of Human Rights in Africa’ in An-Na’im, A & Deng, F (eds) (1990) *Human Rights in Africa: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* 316

⁵⁷⁴G. Mikell. ‘Africa: The Domestic – Public Dichotomy’ in Mikell, G (ed) (1997) *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*

⁵⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶G. Mikell. ‘Africa: The Domestic – Public Dichotomy’ in Mikell, G (ed) *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa* 7. (1997)

⁵⁷⁷*Ibid.*

are viewed as a Western import.⁵⁷⁸ Tendencies such as these became a component of patriarchal states.

D. Fox argues that women's struggles for human rights often position them in opposition to family and social networks where their roles and rights have been defined. However, because of the sanctity of the family, they choose not to seek empowerment and freedom, which sets them against their kin.⁵⁷⁹ The sexual division of labour in Swaziland, like anywhere else, is characterised by the public/private divide. The ideology of traditionalism, which is pervasive in every aspect of Swazi life, particularly affects the status of women. Through the dual nature of the legal system, where customary law reigns supreme, women are given subordinate status to men. Generally, men are seen as the anointed to exercise power within the public sphere, whereas women are relegated to the private sphere of home and family. It is in rural areas where this division of labour is more rigid. 70% of Swazis, out of a population of about over one million, live in rural areas and in practice are governed by the traditional system which upholds patriarchy.⁵⁸⁰

Women are traditionally responsible for keeping the home and raising children, as such they may not have enough time or energy to devote to politics (Parliament in the case of this study).⁵⁸¹ Women are also often the custodians of culture and are trained to be submissive and it may be very difficult for them to enter politics. Swazi customs and traditions require women to kneel when addressing men. This custom is applied to all women without exception. This could be perceived as a barrier for women to enter Parliament. For instance, it was reported that during the run-up to Swaziland's 1998 general elections, women Parliamentary candidates were and are expected to kneel

⁵⁷⁸D. Ayton-Shenker. 'The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity' *United Nations Department of Public Information* DPPI/1627/HR—March 1995.

⁵⁷⁹D. Fox.D 'Women's Human Rights in Africa: Beyond the Debate over the Universality or Relativity of Human Rights' *African Studies Quarterly: The Online Journal for African Studies*
<<http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v2/v2i3a2.htm>> (accessed on 18 September 2018).

⁵⁸⁰J. Barrett. 'Culture: Codification of Customs in Swaziland'
<http://www.oneworld.org/ips2/nov98/10_13_021.html> (accessed on 7 Oct 2018).

⁵⁸¹Hildah Kuper. *The Swazi: A South African Kingdom*, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York. P.220.

when addressing gatherings attended by chiefs and men.⁵⁸² This clearly illustrates the inferior status of women in the Swazi society. To make matters worse, the Returning Officer for the elections was quoted as saying that it is custom that the women Parliamentary candidates should kneel when addressing such gatherings.⁵⁸³ This custom is degrading to women because it does not apply to men when addressing women, let alone the status of the woman being addressed by men. It is discriminatory, which is an injury to the human dignity of women. Customs also dictate that women wear a headscarf when attending such gatherings.⁵⁸⁴ The inhumane practices such as those cited in the study tend to discourage women from entering the Parliamentary race. Parliament was adopted from the Westminster British system, it remains imperative that procedures should not be incorporated into the Swazi traditional system.

Other cultural practices in Swaziland that impact the successful participation of women in Parliament is the institution of marriage and widowhood. Within Swazi society girls and unmarried women are regarded as temporary members of their families until they are married. Once married they become inferior members of their husbands' families.⁵⁸⁵ Husbands wield absolute power over their wives and must grant their permission from everything to whether a woman can work to whether she can acquire a passport.⁵⁸⁶ By implication, a married woman seeking to vote or stand for election must obtain the permission of her husband. The husband may also instruct her to vote for a certain candidate. Single women do not fare better either since they are most likely to be excluded politically in Swaziland. In Swazi culture, it is married women who are taken more seriously in their communities.⁵⁸⁷ The practice of polygamy in Swaziland could not

⁵⁸²Inter Press Service 'Women Fight Age-Old Sexism'
<http://www.swazineews.co.sz/stories/15oct_women.htm> (accessed on 1 Oct 2018).

⁵⁸³*Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴Inter Press Service 'Women Fight Age-Old Sexism'
<http://www.swazineews.co.sz/stories/15oct_women.htm> (accessed on 1 Oct 2018).

⁵⁸⁵J. Barrett. 'Culture: Codification of Customs in Swaziland'
<http://www.oneworld.org/ips2/nov98/10_13_021.html> (accessed on 7 Oct 2018).

⁵⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷Barrett, J 'Culture: Codification of Customs in Swaziland'
<http://www.oneworld.org/ips2/nov98/10_13_021.html> (accessed on 7 Oct 2018).

have put women in a better position either. Although Kuper asserts that the ideal homestead in Swazi society is polygamous, for the most part only aristocrats and wealthy, elderly commoners attained polygamy.⁵⁸⁸ In an interview with a high-ranking Swazi official it was revealed that polygamy in the royal family is essential to ensure that there is always an heir to the throne.⁵⁸⁹ Cultural practices such as this one impede women's participation in Parliament.

With regards to widowhood, a solemn culture that is supposed to be a period of solidarity, companionship, and sympathy for the bereaved in Swaziland, widowhood is a traumatic experience for widows. Not only are they ostracised from society but they are also deprived of property and disenfranchised in some instances. Widows are required to mourn for a period of two years whereas widowers mourn for one month only.⁵⁹⁰ This differential or discriminatory practice has no justification, except that it serves to reinforce patriarchy in the Swazi society. Widows are also compelled to wear black clothing to alert the public of their bereaved status and for certain traditional authorities like the king to avoid them.⁵⁹¹ The reason for this is that widowhood is associated with bad luck and widows are considered unclean until they undergo cleansing rituals.⁵⁹²

Widows are not allowed to enter royal residences or areas where the royals visit. These areas include the Houses of Parliament and the homestead of any chief.⁵⁹³ Gelane Zwane-Simelane had to step down as President of Senate after being bereaved in the tenth Parliament in observing this culture.⁵⁹⁴ Since voting takes place in the chiefs'

⁵⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰Swazi polygamy under spotlight <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2489015.stm>>

⁵⁹¹J.Hall. 'Women Battle with Culture in Order to Fight AIDS'

<<http://www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/inequal/2003/0909swaziland.htm>> (Accessed on 29 Sept, 2018).

⁵⁹²Inter Press Service 'Women Fight Age-Old Sexism' <http://www.swazinews.co.sz/stories/15oct_women.htm> (Accessed on 1 Oct 2018).

⁵⁹³Swaziland: Widows banned from being Election Candidates.

<<http://www.aegis.com/news/irin/2003/IR030311.html>> (Accessed on 29 Jul 2018).

⁵⁹⁴ *Times of Swaziland*, "Bereaved President to the House of Senate compelled to cease from the post" 24 march, 2017.

homesteads, widows are by implication or consequence not permitted to cast their votes. It was also reported that widows who have been bereaved within the past two years have been banned from running as candidates in the 2019 Parliamentary elections scheduled for October.⁵⁹⁵ This is a deprivation of the widows of one of their fundamental human rights, more so because there is no provision for absentee ballots for them, as they are obliged to stay at home. This serves to perpetuate gender imbalance in political representation, considering that at present only four out of 65 MPs are women.⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, a candidate running to secure a seat in Parliament who suddenly becomes widowed could be disqualified until her two-year mourning period is over.⁵⁹⁷ It is contended that the only person who can order widows to remove their mourning gowns and be allowed to participate in the elections is the king. In view of the struggles women endure whilst observing a certain culture, it is advisable that the authorities of the country improve some of these customs.

Modern politics coined the duality of Swaziland's system of governance, which means that the 'traditional' system operates and co-exists simultaneously with the 'modern' structures of government, namely; the executive (through the Cabinet), the legislature (through Parliament) and the judiciary (through the courts). While the traditional institutions are distinct from those of 'modern' governance, the duality of the system means that there is constant interaction between the two. In addition to the use of traditional structures such as chiefdoms and the *Tinkhundla* as the constituency basis of Parliament, another feature of the traditional institutions and their operations is that they exist almost parallel to those of the 'modern' government in that they, too, have executive, legislative, and judicial functions.⁵⁹⁸ Chapter XIV of the Constitution enumerates the

⁵⁹⁵Swaziland: Widows banned from being Election Candidates
<<http://www.aegis.com/news/irin/2003/IR030311.html>> (Accessed on 29 Jul 2018).

⁵⁹⁶Swaziland: Widows banned from being Election Candidates
<<http://www.africaonline.com/site/Articles/1,3,52414.jsp>> (Accessed on 7 Oct 2018).

⁵⁹⁷Swaziland: Widows banned from being Election Candidates
<<http://www.africaonline.com/site/Articles/1,3,52414.jsp>> (Accessed on 7 Oct 2018).

⁵⁹⁸Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018, from <http://www.scielo.org.za> See also H. Macmillan. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of Swazi Tradition" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 23 (4): 643-666. 1985.

recognised traditional institutions and their functions as outlined in the study. It is worth mentioning that some details of the same were discussed in the study's previous chapters.

The *iNgwenyama* (the King), symbolised as the lion, is the traditional head of the Swazi state. He also holds the office of King to which he ascends after being installed as *iNgwenyama* according to Swazi law and custom. In terms of traditional power and authority, he is referred to as *umlomo longacali manga*, meaning 'the mouth that tells no lies'. Some critics of the system posit that the understanding of the idea behind this Swazi maxim has been distorted over time. Seemingly, the original meaning was linked to the idea that the *Ngwenyama* operates in consultation with his various councils and the Swazi people in general and that when he makes a pronouncement on any issue, that pronouncement's legitimacy is anchored by it being a reflection of the consensus view of the people. However, in the current context, although the various consultative structures exist, the meaning seems to be that once the *Ngwenyama* has spoken or decided on a matter, there can be no contrary view expressed, which contributes to the perception that the king wields 'absolute power'. *iNgwenyama* is also the final arbiter in any dispute that is referred to him.⁵⁹⁹ The king appoints the largest percentage of MPs who comprise the minister and senators. The appointments have been critiqued by progressives as a weakening mechanism to the governance of the country.

Another important political figure is the *iNdlovukazi* (Queen Mother). *iNdlovukazi* is traditionally the mother of the *Ngwenyama* and the symbolic grandmother of the nation. She is selected and appointed in accordance with Swazi law and custom, which also determines her powers and functions. Among these functions is that she 'exercises a

⁵⁹⁹Swaziland Independence Constitution of 1968. Statutes of Swaziland cited in Thulani R. Maseko. African Human Rights Law Journal: The Drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. B. Khumalo. 'Legal pluralism and constitutional tensions: the evolution of the constitutional system in Swaziland since 1968' unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, York University, Ontario, 1993. Cited in Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Accessed on 09 February, 2018.

moderating advisory role on *iNgwenyama*'. In the event of the *Ngwenyama* being unable to undertake his functions through absence or any other circumstance, she assumes the role of Queen Regent, in which she is advised and assisted by the *Umntfwanenkhusi Lomkhulu-in-Libandla* (Senior Prince-in-Council). In addition, the official residence of the *Ndlovukazi* is the legislative and ceremonial capital of the nation and the arena of the *Incwala* (the Kingship ceremony) and *Umhlanga* (the Reed Dance ceremony).⁶⁰⁰ The role played by the *iNdlovukazi* is lesser than that of the king as she is not in a position to pass any laws that govern the country.

The status of *Ligunqa* (princes of the realm) is another important component of the Swazi traditional system. The *Ligunqa* are the princes of the realm. They are the paternal uncles and half-brothers of *iNgwenyama* and exercise the functions of a *sikhulu* (chief) over designated areas. But the functions of *Ligunqa* further include advising *iNgwenyama* and the *Ndlovukazi* as Queen Regent, where that advice is necessary for the national interest to ensure the stability and continuity of the monarchy. The *Ngwenyama*, from time to time, may also consult all or some of the members of the *Ligunqa* on important or sensitive matters or disputes including matters of succession connected with the monarchy.⁶⁰¹ The undoing part is that princesses are not selected for the post of *Ligunqa* which is evidence that the Swazi traditional system is pro-patriarchal.

The *Liqoqo* is one powerful component of the traditional structure that assists the king. The *Liqoqo* (the King's Advisory Council) forms the gist of the structure that serves as advisors to the king. The *Liqoqo* is the *Ngwenyama*'s (as well as the King's) Advisory Council. Its members are appointed by *iNgwenyama* from the membership of

⁶⁰⁰J.S.M..Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Longman, London.1972. (n 2 above) p. 265. See Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

⁶⁰¹ J.S.M. Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Longman, London.1972. (n 2 above) p. 265. See Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

Bantfwabenkhusi (*emalangen*) (princes), *tikhulu* (chiefs) and persons who have 'distinguished themselves in the service of the nation.' The *Liqoqo* traditionally advises *iNgwenyama* on disputes in connection with the selection of *tikhulu* (chiefs), boundaries of chiefdoms and any other matter *iNgwenyama* may assign for their advice in confidence.⁶⁰² The gender of the people in this cadre is mainly males with a minority of women.

In the Swazi traditional system, the *Sibaya* (SNC) serves as a traditional Parliament. This is a place where the nation convenes at the *iNdlovukazi*'s official residence for the purpose of deliberating or deciding on important national matters. It is constitutionally the highest policy and advisory council (*Libandla*) of the nation and is also referred to as the SNC.⁶⁰³ Deliberations carried out at *Sibaya* by the nation are said to help inform the king in decision-making. According to Section 232 of the 2005 Constitution, the people through *Sibaya* constitute the highest policy and advisory council (*Libandla*) of the nation. The *Sibaya* is the SNC constituted by *Bantfwabenkhusi* (princes), the *tikhulu* (chiefs) of the realm and all adult citizens gathered at the official residence of the *Ndlovukazi* under the chairmanship of *iNgwenyama* who may delegate this function to any official. *Sibaya* functions as the annual general meeting of the nation but may be convened at any time to present the views of the nation on pressing and controversial national issues. *Sibaya* is also referred to as a 'People's Parliament' where Swazis from all walks of life and all corners of the country converge – most of those from rural communities being transported by government trucks – at the Royal Kraal to air their views on these issues. The *Sibaya* is also used for making key announcements to the nation.⁶⁰⁴ For instance, the repeal of the 1968 Constitution and announcement that the king was taking over all executive, legislative and judicial power was made at a *Sibaya*.

⁶⁰²Alan Booth, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 107. Alan Booth and Levin Richard 1983p., 76 and 1997 p.,107. See J.S.M. Matsebula. A History of Swaziland, Longman First Edition, Johannesburg, 1972.p.168.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴The Kingdom of Swaziland (2005) Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. Available at: www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=9146 (Accessed 1 May 2018).

The 2005 Constitution, though passed by the legislature, was first subject to *Sibaya* discussions and then presented to a *Sibaya* by the king as a demonstration of the bestowal of the national ‘blessing’ on the document. The appointment of the Prime Minister is also announced at the *Sibaya*. This traditional structure has been used to demonstrate that Swazis thrive on dialogue and that there are spaces, supported by tradition, in which this dialogue occurs and where all are free to express themselves. Indeed, *Sibaya* meetings have seen the majority of those making submissions using the opportunity to praise the king and government, complain, and seek assistance for basic livelihood issues and/or to request employment, rather than making substantive contributions to whatever issue has been under discussion.⁶⁰⁵ However, the tenor of the recently held *Sibaya* in 2018 showed a different picture – one of an angry and dissatisfied populace who want change. For instance, the first speaker raised the issues of the economy, fiscal mismanagement, and corruption. She stated that it was clear that the economy was in a crisis, not because there was no money in the country, but because it was not managed properly. She noted that it was difficult for the people to accept what the nation was told about the country having no money when it was also told that Emalangeni 80 million (USD 8.67 million) is lost monthly through corruption, that expensive cars had been bought, and that politicians had awarded themselves hefty benefits both for their term of office and when they were in office.⁶⁰⁶

In another instance, Swaziland Democracy and Political Participation was evidenced when one female speaker submitted the then-government to retire. She recommended that corrupt officials are removed and that action is taken against them so that the nation’s economy could be revived. Her submission received loud applause and many other speakers also echoed these concerns. However, the question that always arises after *Sibaya* discussions or consultations is ‘What next?’ Among the many challenges of the

⁶⁰⁵Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland’s Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

⁶⁰⁶Mngometulu Gugu. From New Haven, Velabantfu, under Chief Mtfongwa. In the Shiselweni Region, an SBIS speech extract.

Sibaya is that unless the King makes a particular decision or pronouncement on any of the issues discussed at the end of the forum, it is not clear whether anything will happen to address the concerns raised.⁶⁰⁷ As a result, it has not been deemed as a credible forum by civil society for genuine engagement and participation.

The *tikhulu* (chiefs) are perhaps one of the most critical traditional governance institutions in that chiefs are an extension of *iNgwenyama*. As local heads of one or more chiefdom areas, chiefs administer local community areas on the king's behalf. According to Section 233 of the Constitution, 'chiefs are the footstool of *iNgwenyama* and *iNgwenyama* rules through the chiefs.' The general rule is that every *umphakatsi* (chief's residence) is headed by a chief who is appointed by *iNgwenyama* after the chief has been selected by the *lusendvo* (family council) and who shall vacate office in a similar manner. In addition, the Constitution states that a chief, as a symbol of unity and a father of the community, does not take part in partisan politics.⁶⁰⁸ Nonetheless, almost all the chiefs in Swaziland are male, with the exception of Ntsetselelo Maziya in the Lubombo and acting Chief Gelane Zwane/ Simelane of Kontshingila in the Shiselweni region.

The powers and functions of chiefs are in accordance with Swazi law and custom or conferred by Parliament or *iNgwenyama* from time to time. In the exercise of the functions and duties of his office, a chief is only supposed to enforce a custom, tradition, practice or usage that is just and non-discriminatory. The Constitution also provides for chiefs to be appointed to any public office for which the chief may be otherwise disqualified. Therefore, in addition to their traditional functions, chiefs in the current practice may participate as ministers and as MPs (senators and members of the House of Assembly). Chiefs are also appointed to various commissions, boards, and other structures.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁸The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2005. Section 242.

⁶⁰⁹N.A. Hlatwayo. 'The ideology of traditionalism and its implications for principles of constitutionalism: The case of Swaziland', unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, 1992 p.130. Cited in Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018.

Section 251 additionally establishes that ‘a Council of chiefs which shall be composed of 12 chiefs drawn from the four regions of the kingdom appointed by *iNgwenyama* on a rotational basis’, whose role is to advise the king on customary issues and any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy, including chieftaincy disputes. The Council also participates in the legislative process by scrutinising and giving advice on any bills that may have an impact on Swazi law and custom as envisaged by Section 115 of the Constitution that deals with these matters.⁶¹⁰

The Senior Prince or *Umntfwanenkhusi Lomkhulu* plays an important role in the Swazi traditional system. The *Umntfwanenkhusi Lomkhulu* is a paternal uncle of the king selected and appointed in accordance with Swazi law and custom. One of his roles is to chair the *Liqogo* (the King’s Advisory Council). As stated above, when the Queen acts as Regent in the absence of the king, the *Umntfwanenkhusi Lomkhulu* assists and advises her. In the event that she too cannot carry out her duties for any reason, the *Umntfwanenkhusi Lomkhulu* becomes responsible for carrying out those duties.⁶¹¹ A princess by dictates of the position and culture is not entitled to hold the same post.

In the hierarchy of the Swazi traditional system, the *Tindvuna* (Royal Governors) are in charge of the regiments and the royal villages. This structure is replicated at the local community level as chief’s residences are also regarded as royal. Apart from defining these institutions, the Constitution does not give additional guidance as to how traditional institutions are to perform their duties, except that this should be done ‘in accordance with Swazi law and custom’. As the specifics of Swazi law and custom are not detailed in the Constitution or in any other law or document, the phrase ‘in accordance with Swazi law and custom’ does not give any clarity as to the functioning and role of these institutions.⁶¹²

⁶¹⁰The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. Section 115 of the Constitution of 2005.

⁶¹¹JSM.Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Longman, London.1972. (n 2 above) p. 265. See Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland’s Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

⁶¹²Booth Alan, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 107. Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of

This, therefore, creates a vacuum for the manipulation of custom and tradition, particularly by the traditional authorities themselves, as they are regarded as the custodians of culture.

As these structures, particularly chiefs, are responsible for enforcing custom, there is potential for tradition being invented simply to suit the structure at a particular time. Alternatively, an existing custom may be used to enforce action that was never envisaged by the custom. For instance, Swazis are traditionally supposed to offer tribute labour for different tasks at the community level, such as tending fields (ploughing, harvesting, etc.) as a demonstration of allegiance to a particular community and chief. In September 2012, it was reported that 'Chief Dambuzo Lukhele [had] barred residents of Ngobolweni from ploughing their fields because they allegedly defied his order to construct a house for his junior wife.'⁶¹³ This was clearly abuse of the powers conferred on him. Women may fear to enter politics due to the unlimited powers that chiefs have over their subjects.

In another incident, a chief was reported as having prohibited the wearing of trousers by women. According to *The Times of Swaziland*, Females who reside in Mgazini are not allowed to wear pants. This is an instruction that came from the newly appointed chief of the area, Chief Sicunusa Dlamini. A female that is found to have broken this law is fined a chicken or E100. The community police have been tasked with ensuring that everyone in the area complies with the order. People of the area do not want to discuss the issue openly. These examples illustrate the relationship between chiefs and community members – it is not one of genuine consultation or inclusivity. While meetings are held at the chieftdom level and the community is able to discuss community issues, these are held at the discretion of the chiefs.

the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018, from <http://www.scielo.org.za> See also H. Macmillan. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of Swazi Tradition" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 23 (4): 643-666. 1985.

⁶¹³*Times of Swaziland*, 'Chief Dambuzo bans residents from ploughing', 24 September 2012.

Correspondingly, while participation is open to all the chief's 'subjects', there are some limitations for women, in that if they are wearing mourning gowns or trousers, they are not permitted to enter the homestead of the chief (*Umphakatsi*), though being repeated as it has been cited before. The Umphakatsi is the designated meeting place for the community. In this context, the question of the chief's accountability to the community does not arise – if a person has a grievance against a chief, their recourse lies with the king. The Acting Governor of the Ludzizini Royal Residence (the traditional capital) at the time was Mphica Mtsetfwa, commenting on the above-cited case of women being barred for wearing trousers, stated that:

At the moment we are not aware of that directive [banning trousers]. Are the people complaining about that? If they are not happy, we can only act on it once they come to register their disapproval. If they feel that their chief is doing something wrong, they must come and report it here and we will then act on their complaints.⁶¹⁴

The Swazi Democracy and Political Participation depict that chiefs are important to the issues of governance and participation, and in addition to the role they play in terms of custom, they are also involved in national government. In as much as chiefs are prohibited from participating in elections, the King has always ensured that among his appointees for Parliament, chiefs (and members of the royal family) are included. As a result, though beyond the scope of the study, in 2018 Parliament included a number of chiefs both in the House as well as the Senate. The Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs was once a chief, as it was the case with the President of the Senate, who, as a woman, was/is acting chief.⁶¹⁵ The chiefs that are within the structures of the 'modern' government receive salaries and other benefits that are based on the positions they occupy. Beyond that, chiefs do not receive funds or a stipend for their role in administering local communities. The issue of resources being allocated to chiefs has caused some tension within the chieftaincy. There is an imbalance between the chiefs who receive salaries (in public posts to which they have been appointed) and others who do not. Although

⁶¹⁴ *Times of Swaziland*, 'Chief bans trousers', 22 September 2012.

⁶¹⁵ Interview with Inkhosatana Gelane Zwane/ Simelane in the Houses of Parliament at Lobamba, on 22 November, 2019.

rotational appointment is provided for, the sheer number of chiefdoms would make it difficult to accommodate all the chiefs in various remunerative positions. This resource-based seems to have been taken lightly by the authorities. Yet, with the key position chiefs occupy in Swazi society, the dissatisfaction of chiefs who view themselves as side-lined or excluded from benefiting could lead to a weakening of the institution and in turn weakened support for the institution of the monarchy.⁶¹⁶

Chiefs have also expressed a concern that their powers have been reduced by the dual system of governance and by the Constitution. Examples usually cited by chiefs include that a chief may summon a community member to answer a case that has been reported against them and to make a decision on the issues. However, if the person (or their lawyer) interdicts the chief to stop these proceedings using civil law, the chief might end up in court defending his role. Such challenges to a chief's authority are perceived as demeaning to the traditional structure as it expects its rules to be followed. The chiefs also complain that they have been made subordinate to the structures of the 'modern' government and that MPs and Bucophos regard them as inferior, yet these officials are temporarily in power while chiefs, ruling over the communities and their 'subjects', are regarded as the 'backbone' of Swazi society.⁶¹⁷

In terms of Swazi democratic participation, traditional institutions, though purportedly based on consultation and dialogue, are autocratic in nature in that they wield power without checks and balances. In their 2008 report, the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa stated that:

It would appear that traditional authorities in the context of Swaziland are the extension of the institution of the monarchy. All the traditional institutions are replete with members of the royal institution or are wholly composed of members of the royal family. It is a small wonder, therefore, that traditional institutions as envisaged in the Constitution would not

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁷ Interview with Chief Magoloza Mkhonta of Ngwenyameni in the Shiselweni, at his Umphakatsi on the 26 November, 2019.

serve to promote and cement democratic ideals as long as they remain an extension of the institution of the monarchy instead of being 'owned' by the Swazi nation. The *Tinkhundla* system of government has succeeded in transforming the King of Swaziland from being a king who was accountable to the people to one who is now absolute and whose word may not be questioned.⁶¹⁸

Traditional institutions in Swaziland may be assumed to monitor that democracy is stifled in large measure. The King in his capacity as *iNgwenyama* exercises unlimited power over the people and as a 'mouth that tells no lies' may not be opposed once he has taken a decision on any matter. He exercises a wide variety of powers over the government and over the traditional institutions. The other institutions are largely there to buttress the will of the *iNgwenyama* and to ensure the perpetuity of the monarchy. Cracks have, however, emerged within the ranks of traditional leaders. Inequitable treatment in terms of material benefits and a perceived loss of power are resulting in criticism being expressed about the current dispensation and that some practices constitute a misrepresentation of culture and tradition. Although they may not express their frustrations publicly, some of the traditional authorities are also in favour of transformation of the system, albeit in a manner that 'restores' their power.⁶¹⁹

Chiefs in particular play an important role in ensuring adherence to Swazi law and custom. Chiefs are also gatekeepers and determine which issues will be discussed at the community level. The traditional system and its structures are set up primarily to service and protect the monarchy. While traditional structures may be difficult to penetrate, it is submitted that a greater understanding of how they work would be beneficial for civil society as it strategises about ways in which to hold traditional leaders accountable. In addition, advocacy with traditional leaders in the various structures of the traditional system is important – after all, they advise the King and could be a conduit for transmitting

⁶¹⁸ Electoral Institute of Southern Africa Report of 2008.

⁶¹⁹ Alan Booth, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1983.p.76, Levin, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm>.1997.p., 107

messages about people's dissatisfaction and the need for transformation. The lengthy discussion is an eye-opener on how women feature in the Swazi traditional system.

Underprivileged and unfair governance in Swaziland thrives at the community level because people are unaware of their human rights and because the system of governance has not been made accountable to the people. Empowerment of the populace should be scaled up through civic education and mobilisation that strengthens people's understanding of their rights and responsibility to participate in decision-making. This includes their right to collective action at the community level to challenge injustices perpetrated by traditional authorities and to call for the accountability of these authorities.⁶²⁰ Such an endeavour is bound to malfunction where democratic ideals have been crafted to suit a certain cadre, not the populace.

The election process is used to nominate and vote for Parliamentarians, though a larger percentage end up being the appointed. The national elections held in 2008 were the first to take place under the 2005 Constitution and as such provide a good basis on which to examine Swaziland's compliance with relevant regional and international instruments on democracy and participation. According to Section 79 of the Constitution, 'the system of government for the government of Swaziland is a democratic participatory *Tinkhundla*-based system which emphasises devolution of state power from central government to *Tinkhundla* areas and individual merit as a basis for the election or appointment to public office'. Section 80(1) additionally provides that 'for purposes of political organisation and popular representation of the people in Parliament, Swaziland is divided into several areas called *Tinkhundla*,'⁶²¹ as discussed in the previous chapters.

⁶²⁰Thulani Rudolf Maseko. The Drafting of the Constitution, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312-336. Retrieved 09 February, 2018, from <http://www.scielo.org.za> See also H. Macmillan. "Swaziland: Decolonisation and the Triumph of Swazi Tradition" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 23 (4): 643-666. 1985.

⁶²¹Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep.

An *inkhundla* is essentially a constituency area comprising of a number of chiefdoms. For purposes of national elections, the chiefdoms are used as primary areas for the election of candidates for MPs. The candidates nominated at the chiefdom level then contest the position of MP at *Tinkhundla* level during Secondary Elections. Section 95(1) (a) of the Constitution provides that a maximum of 60 *Tinkhundla* may be established for the purposes of electing members to the House of Assembly. Currently, there are 55 *Tinkhundla*, each comprising three to fourteen chiefdoms (the number was increased in 2018, though a period out the scope of the study).

Swaziland's national elections take place on a five-yearly basis and are governed by the Constitution, the 1992 Elections Order, and the Voter Registration Order of 1992. The elections are for the following positions:

- Members of Parliament, who will be *inkhundla* constituency representatives in the House of Assembly;
- *Bucopho*, the '*Inkhundla* Committee', which comprises representatives (also called *Bucopho*) from each of the chiefdoms within an *inkhundla*; and,
- *iNdvuna yeNkhundla*, the chairperson of *Bucopho*, who convenes and presides over meetings of the *inkhundla* and supervises the activities of the *inkhundla*.⁶²²

It has been said by supporters of the system that the operation of the *Tinkhundla* system of governance has been an effort to combine both the 'modern' and 'traditional' systems of government in that the elections, using traditional structures, are for the establishment of a 'modern' bicameral Parliament consisting of the House of Assembly (Lower House) and Senate (Upper House). The composition of Parliament is 55 elected members in the House of Assembly, 10 members appointed by the king, and the Speaker, who is elected from outside of Parliament. The Senate consists of 30 members – 10 elected by the

⁶²² *Ibid.*

House, and 20 of the king's appointees. There are 97 MPs with the Attorney General being an additional ex officio member.⁶²³

6.4 ADVANCEMENT OF THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE SWAZI CONTEXT

The invented instruments by the Swazi traditional authorities were earmarked to promote a culture of the unique democracy. In addition, it provided for both the substantive and procedural imperatives of the exclusive democratic process. Political tolerance, enshrining human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the establishment of adequately resourced and autonomous institutions to support democracy and accountability are integral to the promotion of democracy. As the supreme law, the national Constitution sets out the country's governance infrastructure and the principles according to which it operates.⁶²⁴ The Preamble, which purports to articulate the journey that the country has taken towards the adoption of the Constitution and may be used as an interpretive aid to the Constitution's provisions, acknowledges the need for democracy in the promotion of national development, stating; 'Whereas it is necessary to blend the good institutions of traditional law and custom with those of an open and democratic society so as to promote transparency and the social, economic and cultural development of our nation'.⁶²⁵ Section 1(1) of the Constitution declares that 'Swaziland is a unitary, sovereign, democratic kingdom.' Among the political objectives in the Constitution's Directive Principles of State Policy is that, 'The state shall promote, among the people of Swaziland, the culture of political tolerance and all organs of state and people of Swaziland shall work towards the promotion of national unity, peace, and stability.'⁶²⁶ The prevalent absence of women participation in Parliament makes submissions such as this one a "utopia".

⁶²³Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep.

⁶²⁴Claude Kabemba et al, *Swaziland's Struggle with Political Liberalisation*, p.7. See also, Armstrong Alice and Russell Margo, "A situation analysis of women in Swaziland", Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, A Paper presented to UNICEF, 1985. p. 8.

⁶²⁵Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act of 2005, Preamble paragraph 4.

⁶²⁶*Ibid.*, Section 58(6).

As discussed in the chapter, evidence has it that the historical trajectory of Swazi women's representation in Parliament has been hampered by, among other things, traditionalism embraced in the form of culture. Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a human being as a member of society. Culture provides the source of an individual's identity within a given society. In the past, anthropologists have tried to define culture but none has come up with a conclusive definition. For example, Keith Otterbein defines culture as a way of life for a particular group of people.⁶²⁷ According to him, culture is everything that a group of people think, say, do, make, and is learned and transmitted from generation to generation. On the other hand, Talcott Parsons defines culture as consisting of those patterns of behaviour and the product of human action, which may be inherited, that is, passed from generation to generation independently of the biological genes.⁶²⁸

Subsequently if one follows Parsons' definition of culture, it becomes clear that whatever culture is prevalent in a particular society, such cannot be said to be static or unchanging. The mere fact that it exists independently of biological genes means that it can be adapted with changing times. Hilda Kuper's anthropological studies on Swaziland shed a rich background to the 20th century Swaziland. Kuiper's work was critiqued by Leroy Vail and Landeg White by advancing that Kuper's work was dominated by a "sense of respect for the Swazi monarchy and a desire to build up the monarchy."⁶²⁹ Hence the practice of ascribing women subordinate positions in society cannot be justified on predated cultures.

⁶²⁷K.F. Otterbein, "Internal war: a cross-cultural study", American ... Tatje, Terrence A. n.d. "Problems of concept definition for comparative studies, "<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.1968.70.2.02a00040>". See Schlozman K, Lehman N, Burns E, Verba S. Gender and the pathways to participation: The role of resources. *Journal of Politics*. 1994; pp.56:963–990. doi: 10.2307/2132069

⁶²⁸Talcott Parsons, *The Concepts of Culture and of Social Systems*. Quoted in, Pi-Sunyer & Salzman 1978. p. 10.

⁶²⁹H. Kuper, *Royal Ritual in the Changing Political Context* *Caliers d'études Africaines*, Vol.12, no4. 1972, H. Kuper, Sobhuza II Ingwenyama and King of Swaziland, H. Kuper In *African Aristocracy*, H. Kuper, *The Swazi: A Southern African Kingdom*, L. Vail and L. White "Power and Praise Poem." P. 178.

In the case of Swazi culture is a myth that has been adopted by those in authority much to the detriment of women. This view was supported by one informant who stated that:

It is abnormal and shameful for a woman to engage in a male domain such as politics. From family level, community level up to national level, women/girls are socialised to mentor a family by being lectured by their mothers on how a good mother should behave at home. For instance, when an issue arose that needs to be discussed by *lusendvo* or family council. Females have to wait for an invitation from the male siblings. As a girl, she is expected to show respect to her brothers by doing whatever chores delegated to her. At the community level, women could be entrusted with certain duties after permission has been sought from the husband or the elders of the family.⁶³⁰

Women are used to taking orders due to the way they are socialised, a practice that impedes their vigilance to enter politics. That said, a leaf could be taken from the universality of human rights and cultural relativism dichotomy. The universality of human rights owes its validity to the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Charter states in its preamble that human rights are for all.⁶³¹ Women have a right to being fairly represented in Parliament.

6.5 DEMOCRACY AS A VALUE

In the quest for better lives, human beings are continuously seeking greater freedom and the expansion of space within which this freedom can be expressed in all spheres of life – socially, economically and politically. As a value, therefore, democracy is a basic human need – it embraces pluralism and diversity as well as equality and non-discrimination. In turn, democracy fosters tolerance because there is an appreciation that a multiplicity of views and possibilities exist in any given society with ‘none [having a] monopoly over what

⁶³⁰Key Informant Interviewee 10, 55 years, from Mgwenya rural area at Mbangweni. Shiselweni.

⁶³¹United Nations (1995). *Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (BPfA)*. New York.

See also United Nations (2002). *Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA)*. New York. Available from <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>>. Accessed 2 October 2018.

is truth or right'.⁶³² Each must be equally acknowledged and respected by all. Democracy as a social process scholar in this field concurs that democracy is not a destination but a continuous process of 'becoming'.⁶³³

This refers to the ongoing interaction and engagement of the different members of a society as each seeks – whether as an individual or in a group – to exercise greater freedom. And as that freedom must not impinge on the freedoms of others, democracy as a social process refers to the dynamics of the continuous interactions of different perspectives, and the evolutionary process of enlarging and improving the spaces within which these freedoms are enjoyed. Democracy as a political practice, according to Shimbira, 'This is democracy's best-known feature. It refers to the specific manner of organising and exercising power in accordance with certain universal norms and principles. As a political practice, democracy can be understood at two levels: [that of] principles and [that of] institutions.'⁶³⁴ With respect to the former, the principles of legitimacy, accountability and the rights of citizens to participate in the management of public affairs are among the key tenets of democracy and good governance. According to the latter, democracy is unlikely to thrive and mature without the creation of certain institutions that promote its continued practice. Democratic institutions, therefore, are to ensure that the procedures of government are compatible with democratic principles. These include the de-centralisation of government structures, the notion of the separation of powers as well as the system of checks and balances in the operations of government. What is important to note is that institutions are unlikely to perform without an independent vibrant civil society and a free press because it is through the vigilance of civil society that the democratic dream is kept alive.⁶³⁵

⁶³²T. Shimbira. Presentation on 'Democracy and Democratisation' for the CSC–SACPN Conference on 'Bridging the Political Divide', 2002.

⁶³³*Ibid.*

⁶³⁴*Ibid.*

⁶³⁵T. Shimbira. Presentation on 'Democracy and Democratisation' for the CSC–SACPN Conference on 'Bridging the Political Divide', 2002.

The following discussion examines the issue of the management of and participation in the electoral process, to determine to what extent the constitutional and legal framework, which in theory seems to provide for democracy, actually promotes this multifaceted democratic culture and delivering democratic outcomes for Swazi society. It is worth examining whether participation in elections in view of the protection afforded by the international instruments and constitutional provisions enabled wide participation of the citizenry in the 2008 elections. According to the 2007 Population and Housing Census, Swaziland's population had 1 018 499 inhabitants, comprising 418 428 males and 537 021 females. In terms of the characteristics of the population, 39.6% were below the age of 15 years, 50% were below the age of 20 years and less than 2% are 65 years or older.⁶³⁶ The 2007 census data also revealed that the urban-rural distribution of the population is 22.1% and 78.9% respectively.⁶³⁷

The number of voters captured for the 2008 elections were different from those who voted in the Secondary Elections, based on the report of the EBC. However, this was an increase from the number of voters who registered for the 2003 elections. As noted, democracy and participation is complex and for a more accurate sense of the existence of democracy on the ground, it is important to look beyond the numerical data and examine whether the context within which the elections occur actually promotes effective participation. The following has been highlighted as critical in the promotion of participation by the standards: Representation and the right to participate (either as a voter or as a candidate for election); equality and non-discrimination in the election process; political pluralism (particularly in the form of protecting the freedoms of expression, association and assembly, the existence of political parties and the operation of a multiparty dispensation); and voter education.

⁶³⁶N.A. Hlatwayo. 'The ideology of traditionalism and its implications for principles of constitutionalism: The case of Swaziland', unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies, 1992 p.130.

⁶³⁷Elections and Boundaries Report of 2007. Accessed from The King's Office Lozitha on 23 August 2018.

The contents of the African Charter on democracy, elections, and governance in Africa are detailed below:

- Article 13 – State parties shall take measures to ensure and maintain political and social dialogue, as well as public trust and transparency between political leaders and the people, in order to consolidate democracy and peace;
- Article 17(3) – Ensure fair and equitable access by contesting parties and candidates to state-controlled media during elections;
- Article 3(11) – Strengthening political pluralism and recognising the role, rights, and responsibilities of legally constituted political parties, including opposition political parties, which should be given status under national law;
- Article 3(7) – Effective participation of citizens in democratic and development processes and in the governance of public affairs;
- Article 3(3) – Promotion of a system of government that is representative; and,
- Article 3(6) – Promotion of gender equality in public and private institutions.⁶³⁸

The well-articulated African Charter does not seem to be fully embraced in the Swazi traditional system.

The AU declaration on the principles governing democratic elections in Africa argues that:

Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his or her country, either directly or through freely elected representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law. Every citizen has the right to fully participate in the electoral processes of the country, including the right to vote or be voted for, according to the laws of the country and as guaranteed by the Constitution, without any kind of discrimination. Every citizen shall have the freedom to establish or to be a member of a political party or organisation in accordance with the law. Individuals or political parties shall have the right to freedom of movement, to campaign and

⁶³⁸United Nations (1995). *Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (BPfA)*. New York.
See also United Nations (2002). *Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA)*. New York. Available from
<<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>>. Accessed 2 October 2018.

to express political opinions with full access to the media and information within the limits of the laws of the land. Candidates or political parties shall have the right to be represented at polling and counting stations by duly designated agents or representatives. No individual or political party shall engage in any act that may lead to violence or deprive others of their constitutional rights and freedoms. Hence all stakeholders should refrain from, among others, using abusive language and/or incitement to hate or defamatory allegations and provocative language. These acts should be sanctioned by designated electoral authorities.⁶³⁹

Without derogating from the generality of the foregoing sub-section, Swazi women and other marginalised groups have a right to equitable representation in Parliament and other public structures. Section 88 of the Constitution stipulates the qualifications of a voter and provides that a person is so qualified if 'that person has attained the age of 18 years and is a citizen of or is ordinarily resident in Swaziland'. The Swazi Constitution in Chapter 86 Section 89 states that the law disqualifies certain persons from voting, including any person who has been legally certified 'insane' or of 'unsound mind', is serving life imprisonment or facing the death penalty for the commission of a criminal offence, or is disqualified under any law regarding criminal offences or offences related to elections.⁶⁴⁰ In terms of qualification for election or appointment as a senator or an MP, a person must be a Swazi citizen, at least 18 years of age, a registered voter in the *inkhundla* in which that person is a candidate (in the case of elected members), and must have paid all taxes or made satisfactory arrangements to do so.

The 2005 Constitution stipulates that a person is disqualified from membership of Parliament where he or she:

Is legally declared insolvent under any law and has not been rehabilitated; Is of unsound mind; Is under sentence of death or of imprisonment for more than six months for an act which is a criminal

⁶³⁹The African Union (AU) Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa
http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit_council/oaudec2.htm.

⁶⁴⁰Kingdom of Swaziland (2005) Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. Available at:
www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=9146 (Accessed 1 May 2018).

offence in Swaziland; Is a member of the armed forces of Swaziland or is holding or acting in any public office and has not been granted leave of absence for the duration of Parliament; Is not qualified to be a voter under any provision of this Constitution; Is otherwise disqualified by law in force in Swaziland relating to general elections; Has been found to be incompetent to hold public office under any law relating to tenure of public office whether elected or not; Is a party to, or is a partner in a firm, or a director or manager of a company, which is a party to any subsisting government contract and has not made the required disclosure; or holds or is acting in any designated office the functions which involve any responsibility for or in connection with the conduct of any election or the compilation or a revision of any electoral register.⁶⁴¹

The accessibility of the system to all of those who qualify to participate has been lauded as one of the strengths of the system as there is purportedly no discrimination against any aspiring voter or candidate. However, in reality, the experience on the ground is different from what the law suggests. Equality and non-discrimination in the election process are cited in Section 20 of the Constitution, it provides that all citizens are equal before the law ‘in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect... and equal protection of the law.’⁶⁴² The equality of women and men is further emphasised in Section 28 which deals with the rights, freedoms, and equality of women in the political, economic and social spheres of life, including the provision of resources for women’s advancement and that, ‘A woman shall not be compelled to undergo or uphold any custom to which she is in conscience opposed.’ According to Section 88(3) of the Constitution, ‘A person is “ordinarily resident” in Swaziland where that person has lived in or has been associated with that *inkhundla* for a period of not less than five years or is permanently resident in Swaziland and has relevant documents to that effect.’⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2005. Section 246.

⁶⁴²The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2005. Section 242. Interview with Mzwandile Fakudze, Deputy Chairperson, Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC). At the King’s Office. Lobamba. On 19 November, 2019.

⁶⁴³The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2005. Section 28. And Section 88(3) of the same.

In the House's election of 10 senators, Section 94(2) stipulates that at least five of those elected should be women. Sections 94(4) and 95(2), in stipulating the manner in which the king should appoint his quota of senators and MPs, state that the king should make the appointments taking into account factors such as gender, knowledge or practical experience to represent economic, social, cultural/traditional or marginalised interests that are inadequately represented in Parliament. Additionally, with respect to women's participation, the Constitution provides for a special procedure to be conducted at the first meeting of Parliament after an election where women are less than 30% of the MPs. In terms of this procedure, one woman from each of the country's four regions is elected to add four more women to Parliament.⁶⁴⁴

Objectively, the standards for qualification and disqualification for participation in elections, either as a voter or as a candidate, are general in nature and no additional qualifications exist that discriminate against any particular group by virtue, for instance, of their 'gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, creed or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion, age or disability'.⁶⁴⁵ Thus, Swaziland has a constitutional and legal framework that recognises the right to representation on an equal basis. Additionally, there is implied recognition of the challenges of participation faced by women and other marginalised groups and provision is made for a measure of 'affirmative action' to ensure the inclusion of these groups in key national processes such as elections. However, the rights so enshrined do not lead to their practical enjoyment by all intended beneficiaries. There are a number of environmental and practical concerns that circumscribe the extent of participation for these groups.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁴The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland. 2005. Section 242. Interview with Mzwandile Fakudze, Deputy Chairperson, Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC), September 2012.

⁶⁴⁵Elections and Boundaries Commission, *Conduct of Elections in Swaziland*, Report, 2008.

⁶⁴⁶Elections and Boundaries Commission, *Conduct of Elections in Swaziland*, Report, 2008; Interview with Mzwandile Fakudze, Deputy Chairperson, Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC), At the King's Office. Lobamba. On 19 November, 2019.

For instance, although women comprise 53% of the population and as a part of the electorate constitute a higher percentage of voters than men, the outcomes of the elections do not reflect this reality. Instead, there is a glaring disproportionality between the number of women who participate in the election and the number of women who are ultimately elected. This raises the question of how equal the playing field of elections is for women in light of the seemingly gender-neutral provisions of the Constitution.⁶⁴⁷

Swazi society is deeply unequal in terms of gender as women continue to be discriminated against in all spheres of life. The legal framework, together with customary norms and traditions, as well as religion, have created and sustained an environment where women have been relegated to the status of a minority and historically placed on the periphery of issues of decision-making, leadership and political participation, which are regarded as a male domain. While there have been ongoing efforts over the years in various sectors aimed at promoting women's rights and gender equality, the 2005 Swaziland Constitution recognises equality of women and men in the social, economic and political arenas. Little tangible change has occurred in balancing the gender scales in these areas and in women's lived realities. The absence of significant progress is most acute in the area of politics and governance at all levels.

In 2008, a campaign entitled, "Vote for a Woman" was conducted by a partnership of various civil society organisations including NGOs, such as Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), Council of Swaziland Churches and other members of the Coordinating Assembly of Non-Governmental Organisations (CANGO) Gender Consortium, in partnership with the Gender Unit and supported by the United Nations Development Programme. The campaign, inspired by a similar campaign that had been run during the 2003 elections, aimed, in view of the historical discrimination against women and absence in positions of decision-making, to encourage the participation of women in elections, both as voters and as candidates. The aim was also to create awareness on gender equality

⁶⁴⁷*Ibid.*

and encourage communities – both women and men – to appreciate women’s leadership capacities and to vote for women candidates.⁶⁴⁸

The Swaziland Constitution provides for equality between women and men in all spheres of life, including in the political sphere. In a deliberate attempt to increase the number of women in Parliament, it also specifically provides for gender equality and women’s representation in positions of decision-making, including in Parliament. The Constitution also specifically stipulates that in the House of Assembly’s election of 10 members of Senate, five candidates must be women and that the king in appointing members of the House of Assembly and Senate, should appoint at least five and seven women respectively. The Constitution also provides that where there are less than 30% women in Parliament, after an election, the EBC should conduct an election for an additional four women members – one from each of the four regions of the country.

However, despite these provisions, there has only been a small change in women’s representation in Parliament. As part of the ‘Vote for a Woman’ campaign, the WLSA conducted a study of women’s experiences in participating in the elections. The findings revealed that despite the legislated equality, at a practical level the ground was not level and that there were other factors that impeded women’s participation in elections. The patriarchal social and cultural norms that position women as minors impact on the extent to which women can take advantage of the legislated equality. According to the WLSA study, one informant narrated that these manifested in the following way:

Many women in all four regions who expressed interest in participating in the elections as candidates were frequently questioned on their cultural and domestic roles, the concern being who would perform their women’s duties while they were away in Parliament. Women had to ask for permission from their husbands and in-laws if they wanted to stand for election for any of the positions. Due to the change of locality, married women who move to their husband’s communities after marriage are at

⁶⁴⁸Z. Hlanze and L. Mkhabela, *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Swaziland. A profile of Women in Swaziland*. WLSA Swaziland and the Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness (WIDSAA). Programme of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, 2014.

a disadvantage because as daughters-in-law they are regarded as 'newcomers' to the community. They are expected to defer to their in-laws and also face the challenge of not fully 'belonging' to the community in the same way as their male competitors who are well known in the community since birth. Some cultural practices also had a negative impact on women's participation in the election.⁶⁴⁹

Perceptions such as the one averred by the informant were bound to have more undertones that promulgate women's exclusion in Parliamentary participation. The constitution has well-articulated clauses which are hardly put to effect due to complications of the Swazi traditional system. The study has borrowed the words of Donald Woods who asserts that authoritarian monarchical leaders depend heavily on political culture as a way to establish 'clear rules about who qualifies as a member of the ruling group', to firm up regime 'norms that regulate who is entitled to what share of the rents', and to establish some way that elites may monitor the ruler's actions 'to enforce these norms.'⁶⁵⁰ As Pejstrup states, it is clear that King Mswati III's legitimacy to rule is based on aspects other than just his political and economic abilities. Obviously, rational fear for going against the King is of big importance to Mswati's supremacy...Legitimacy based on tradition has undoubtedly been a key factor as to why the monarchy in Swaziland holds power. While the world around the Swazis changes, the monarchy and its supporters rely heavily on the tradition, nationalism, and the history and national identity of the Swazis.⁶⁵¹ Traditional power structures, ceremonies, rites, and even clothing are important factors in the nation-building process according to supporters of the system. It is in favour of the monarchy that the national identity continues to be built on traditions more than processes of modernisation or westernisation. Practices such as the ones stated are evident in selected Parliamentary sessions such as the opening of Parliament.

⁶⁴⁹Z. Hlanze and L. Mkhabela, *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Swaziland. A profile of Women in Swaziland.*

WLSA Swaziland and the Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness (WIDSAA). Programme of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, 2014.

⁶⁵⁰D.Woods. (Patrimonialism (neo) and the Kingdom of Swaziland: Employing a case study to rescale a concept. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50(3): 2012) . Pp 344–366

⁶⁵¹SCL. Pejstrup. Swaziland in transition. *The Interdisciplinary Journal of International Studies* 7(1) (2011) Pp.: 1–26.

The power of the monarch was as great as never before as he would be able to veto the nomination or election of any 'undesirable' leader. Parliament was simply reduced to a debating platform and in the real sense, only those who had been appointed by the monarch wielded power.⁶⁵² The king had the power through dismissal and appointment of the cabinet members as well, including the Prime Minister, and the judiciary. There was, therefore, an undeniable concentration of powers in one individual. For instance, in 1979 the Prime Minister was the King's brother, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, and by 1983 two of his sons were Cabinet Ministers,⁶⁵³ as averred by Alan Booth.

The method of electing a candidate in these polls was also a bone of contention for a lot of educated people in Swaziland. On Election Day the candidates would each stand at a gate and people would walk into the gate of their preferred candidate. A head count would be taken and a winner declared. It was even evident in the rural areas where chiefs had instructed their subjects to vote, that many did not, as they did not understand the concept of voting,⁶⁵⁴ a view postulated by Bischoff PH. This was a direct result of the lack of political activity as political parties would have ensured that their members understand the concept clearly.

King Sobhuza II died in 1982, leaving the *Tinkhundla* system in place with the ESPO as a constitutional framework. The country was then in a transitional period as the crown prince, Makhosetive, was only 15 years old. The Queen Regent, Dzeliwe, was to rule the country with the *Liqoqo* – which was a traditional body consisting of chiefs and members of the royal family,⁶⁵⁵ according to Petstrup. A time of uncertainty then ensued which created a form of a power vacuum.

⁶⁵²Alan Booth. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (1983).

⁶⁵³*Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁴PH Bischoff. Why Swaziland is Different: An Explanation of the Kingdom's Political Position in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 26(3): (1988) . Pp. 457–471.

⁶⁵⁵ SCL.Pejstrup. Swaziland in transition. *The Interdisciplinary Journal of International Studies* 7(1): (2011) . Pp

When King Mswati III assumed power in 1986, there was a lot of optimism that a democratic order would be ushered in, but it was not to be. There were numerous commissions that pointed out the deficiencies of the *Tinkhundla* system that asserted that the electoral process was flawed, as there was a need to ensure that all constituencies are directly represented in the House of Assembly,⁶⁵⁶ as posited by Chris Moroleng. However, the Establishment of the Parliament of Swaziland Order of 1992, simply reasserted the power of the monarch and ensured that the separation of the powers principle was not revived.

Another constitutional review process was instigated in 1996 by Mswati III, in which he picked the members of the commission who were undoubtedly his loyalists. One significant finding by this latest review was that "...political activism must remain banned in the kingdom. The existing laws regarding this must be enforced."⁶⁵⁷ Some of the criticism that was levelled against this latest Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) was that it consisted mainly of members of the royal family and chiefs that were loyal to the monarchy.⁶⁵⁸ It was, therefore, unlikely that they would recommend anything different that would curtail their power or that of the monarchy. The CRC was to consider submissions from individuals only – nothing from any organised labour, political parties or even human rights groups within the country.⁶⁵⁹ The deliberations were not to be covered by the media and this made many wonder if the monarchy was truly committed to bringing about political change in that country.⁶⁶⁰ It is clear from this discussion that the monarchy knows how to manipulate the processes of review to ensure that it gets the desired results. It is also evident from the number of constitutional reviews that the monarchy knows that it is only a matter of time before it will be forced to effect meaningful change in that country.

1–26.

⁶⁵⁶Chris Moroleng. Swaziland: The King's Constitution African Security Analysis Programme. Situation Report, 23JUN No. 3.[https://www.africaportal.org/documents/4167 SWAZIJUN No.3.2003](https://www.africaportal.org/documents/4167_SWAZIJUN_No.3.2003).

⁶⁵⁷The Constitutional Review Report, 2000:P. 95.

⁶⁵⁸<http://www.countrywatch.com/swazilandreview> 2014.

⁶⁵⁹<http://www.countrywatch.com/swazilandreview>. 2014.

⁶⁶⁰<http://www.countrywatch.com/swazilandreview> 2014.

It is however surprising to note that the monarchy is not ready to deal with this reality. The monarch remains the only real political player in the politics of that country, with Parliament and cabinet expected to simply ratify decisions already made by the king,⁶⁶¹ according to John Baloro.

The monarch took care to participate in ceremonies and rituals to reinforce his symbolic authority over the Swazi people. In the context of the British Protectorate rule, a kind of patrimonial authority survived in Swaziland. Donald Woods posited that it was a type of patrimonialism that should be understood in a twofold strategic sense.⁶⁶² On the one hand, Levin averred that the Swazi monarch struggled to maintain his traditional authority and legitimacy against the encroachment of British administrative control and against the White settler community.⁶⁶³ On the other hand, the Swazi monarchy sought to strengthen its control over the Swazi people by distancing its authority and legitimacy from the British and the White settlers. This was accomplished by reaffirming the traditional basis of monarchical authority and its organic ties to the Swazi people. Most significantly, it was achieved through the reinforcement of traditional institutions that were effectively based on personalised ties between the monarch, royal princes, and local chiefs.⁶⁶⁴ In doing so, Sobhuza was able to exercise some political power in a state that was dominated by outsiders. According to Phillip Bonner, these outsiders consisted of a small British colonial elite and a small coterie of White settlers who controlled much of the economy and a good portion of the arable land.⁶⁶⁵ Moreover, Potholm submitted that his strategy of reinforcing patrimonial authority within the framework of traditional Swazi identity and culture helped

⁶⁶¹J. Baloro. The development of Swaziland's Constitution: Monarchical responses to modern challenges. *Journal of African Law* 38(1): 1994 Pp.19–34.

⁶⁶²D. Woods. Patrimonialism (neo) and the Kingdom of Swaziland: Employing a case study to rescale a concept. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50(3): 2012 Pp.344–366

⁶⁶³Richard Levin .Is this the Swazi way? State, democracy and the land question. *Transformation* .1991.Pp.13: 46–66.

⁶⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵Phillip K Bonner. *Commoners and Concessions: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1982.

him gain the upper hand in the early 1960s as the country moved towards independence.⁶⁶⁶

6.5 CONCLUSION

The adoption of the New Constitution brought a change in the management of Swaziland's national elections with not much impact on women's representation in Parliament. As of 2005, the EBC is the responsible body for elections in Swaziland, which was established based on Section 90 of the Constitution as an 'independent authority'. The EBC replaces the Office of *Umphatsi Lukhefto* (Chief Electoral Officer), which was previously charged with the responsibility for elections and located as a department within the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. The commission comprised of five members – a chairperson, deputy chairperson and three other members – appointed by 'the king on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission'. The secretariat for the EBC consisted of members of the civil service that have always been appointed by the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs – a suggestion is that such people must be appointed by a neutral board in order to provide an unbiased outcome on any national task. Among the professional positions in the secretariat were; the head of the secretariat, legal advisor, principal elections officer, information and education officer, and four elections officers.

⁶⁶⁶C P.Potholm. Changing political configurations in Swaziland. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 4(3): 1966. Pp313–322. See also Potholm CP (1972) *Swaziland: The Dynamics of Political Modernization*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The thesis examined the historical trajectory of women participation in the Swazi Parliament from 1968 to 2015 against a background of the evolution of circumstances, actors and factors predominant in Swaziland. The study revealed that the development of women's entry and participation in the Parliament of Swaziland occurred in phases. Most importantly, under the leadership of King Sobhuza II, Swaziland adopted a Parliamentary system under the tutelage of the British and doctored it into a unique system of government designated the *Tinkhundla*. This mechanism was pioneered and introduced by Sobhuza II. The observation of the two different systems concurrently precipitated a plethora of complications and compromised the ideal democratic practices. Women's entry and participation in the Parliament of Swaziland has never been a smooth occasion, consequential of the patriarchal political practice embraced by the Swazi traditional *Tinkhundla*.

The study concludes an informed position on Swazi women's overall participation in Parliament, not only in Swaziland but globally. A well-designed policy implementation geared towards involving women in Parliament is much needed and a step forward in recognising women and their political participation in the Swazi Parliament. The thesis examined Swazi women's entry to Parliament in the post-colonial period. This was done against a background of changing political innovations proclaimed by the traditional authorities of Swaziland. The study revealed two important points about Swaziland's women entry to Parliament under Sobhuza II tutelage; secondly, it unearthed women's entry to Parliament under King Mswati III tutelage.

Swazi women's entry to Parliament was to a large extent shaped by its distinctive physiognomies reflected in the monarchical structure and its hegemonies system of governance coined *Tinkhundla*. This ground-breaking system of governance is hardly

found in any African country and hence labelled as distinctive by its adherents. The Parliament of Swaziland formed under this system remains distinctive. Unlike Parliamentary developments in some African countries which were monopolised by the Western-educated elite, the traditional conservative monarchy was and remains at the forefront of Swaziland's Parliamentary making exercise and was engaged in the protracted battle of conflicting ideologies with Western-educated elite and traditional Swazi ideologies. In the existence of such conglomeration of diverse ideologies, women were the hardest hit especially in the political arena which has always been dominated by patriarchs.

The Dlamini dynasty continues to dominate and rule the largely homogenous Swazi society and the *INgwenyama* elevated himself as the transmissible heir of the post-colonial state and orchestrated Parliament after his own design. Sobhuza II's legitimacy was not to be challenged since it was ancestrally inherited and augmented by myth, culture, and tradition.⁶⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the origins of the *Tinkhundla* system of governance dates back to the pre-colonial era and was the useful mechanism for enlisting the participation of people in community affairs, it was not the promulgation of the Regional Councils Order of 1978 that the system became an instrument of official government policy, designed to provide a basis for local government from grassroots to political levels. Enthusiasts of the system advocate that *Tinkhundla* is a democratic system of government through which the monarch shares power, responsibility and the benefits of managing the socio-economic and political affairs of the country.⁶⁶⁸ The stance of the study differs from this submission in the sense that there is no-existence of engaging the populace which has more women contribution to the final passing of a policy.

⁶⁶⁷Hilder Kuper, *An African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi*. New York. Africana. Downloaded from Jas.safepub.com by guest on August 28, 2015. 16 *Journal of African Studies*, 1980.

⁶⁶⁸Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane. 104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

The basis for operations of the *Tinkhundla* at grassroots level are the constituencies which are made up of different administrative and political structures, such as chiefs in councils, *Tindvuna Tetinkhundla* (constituency headmen/governors), and *BucophobeTinkhundla* (constituency committees) members which are elected by popular vote. Approximately 250 chiefdoms are grouped into 55 *Tinkhundla* or regional constituencies, the centres of which are the basis for the conduct of national elections. These centres are regarded as “inlets and outlets” through which members of communities participate in the socio-political and economic development of their respective areas and the country as a whole.⁶⁶⁹ To the astonishment of the researcher, the composition of the structures that form the traditional governing bodies (*Emabandla*) are predominantly males, a glaring sign of patriarchy.

The *Tinkhundla* system of government were said to play an important role in Swazi politics since it is at the *Tinkhundla* centres that not only a variety of community/constituency/regional councils and/or committees are elected but also, and much more significantly, MPs. The unbecoming part has always been the gender insensitive part shown by the populace through downgrading of women from holding top political posts to lesser important ones such as being nominated to be *bagcugcuteli* (community health motivators). This is a relegation of women to home chores, a slogan that was sung for too long by anti-feminists, “The woman’s place is in the kitchen.” Since the passage of the Regional Councils Order of 1978, the electoral system under the political dispensation has not benefitted much from the modest reforms in that, initially under the system the people elected individuals from the different *Tinkhundla* who then formed the Electoral College.⁶⁷⁰ The latter, in turn, and through the indirect representation, elected MPs, an act that had connotations of being undemocratic (a

⁶⁶⁹Swaziland Government, 1982. UNISWA Research Journal, Vol.21 December, 2007, pp.5-21.

⁶⁷⁰Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland’s Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

stigma that the system is prominent for). This entire exercise was conducted by males (patriarchs).

In view of the unrepresentative nature of the system, including the increasing demands by the electorate to directly elect candidates as MPs to Parliament, in so doing to promote the principles of accountability and democratic governance, the Swaziland Parliament Order of 1992 abolished the Electoral College, thus, allowing for direct representation as alluded by the protagonists of the system. This could be labelled as blasphemy to the ideal democratic practices as in essence this was a cover-up for mechanisms engineered by the authors of the system. Since then, not only have elections been conducted on the basis of a secret ballot but those elected at the national political level represent their respective constituencies directly to Parliament. Nonetheless, the glaring outcome of the effectiveness of their presence in Parliament, as the study revealed, a large percentage of Parliamentarians are appointed by the king.

Another electoral reform measure that was ushered in by the Parliament Order of 1992 was the upsurge in the number of the *Tinkhundla* from 40 to 55 and currently at 59, including the conduct of elections at primary level, with successful candidates being eligible for Secondary Elections where they compete for national Parliamentary seats with victorious candidates from other chiefdoms. Evidently, the system poses its uniqueness and offers useful insights into the authenticity of the results of the elections noting that voter turnout tends to be relatively higher during the Primary Elections than at the Secondary Elections.⁶⁷¹ This could be attributed to voters whose candidates did not win at the primary levels and hence show a lack of interest in voting for other constituency candidates at the secondary level. Such examples of practices, plus other factors, may lead to fewer women securing seats in Parliament.

⁶⁷¹Motsamai Dimpho, Swaziland's Non-Party Political System and the 2013 Tinkhundla Elections: Breaking the SADC Impasse? Institute for Security Studies. Situation Report, 15 August, 2012. Accessed at cpραπεtoria@issafrica.org . On 27 March, 2018.

Focussing on the main research question, “what are the factors that hinder women’s steady progress and Parliament participation in Swaziland?” Deducing from the unfolding of the collected accounts of women in Parliament, it could, therefore, be assumed that the factors of achieving this are not about a single reason. The study unearthed a plethora of views and players that contributed to the decline of women’s participation in the Parliament of Swaziland. With that said, the other reason contributing to the slight increase could be attributed to the effort and mechanisms of the Swazi Kings (Sobhuza II and Mswati III) through appointments, and these are only but a few. Noticeably, an argument could be what was the magnitude of the contribution appointed women Parliamentarians made once they assumed political positions. Empirical evidence disinterred by the study was that a clique of women Parliamentarians made remarkable contributions in elevating the political vibrancies of women in the history of Swazi women's entry and participation in the Swazi Parliament. These women included: Mary Tutu Mdziniso, Lomasontfo Dlodlu, Constance Simelane, Thuli Dlaldla, Phetsile Dlamini. The assertion made is supported by the information collected and compiled in some chapters of the thesis.

At this particular point in time, the researcher slouched some of the challenges facing Swaziland’s elections under the aegis of the *Tinkhundla* political system, such as voter apathy that characterises the populace particularly in urban and semi-urban areas where the majority of the elite Swazis reside. Despite the much-publicised reforms in the elections processes, such as the introduction of the secret ballot, direct representation to Parliament, lobbying of more women to enter Parliament by NGOs, particularly in the 2008 elections, appointments by Mswati III, to date women remain underrepresented in the Swazi Parliament.

The study made a glass-ceiling evidence in women's entry and participation in the Parliament of Swaziland. The introduction and background of the thesis served as the springboard for discussion and the relevant terms were defined for a better understanding of their use in the chapters that followed. Other components of the chapter included the

statement of the research problem, aims and the objectives of the study, significance of the study, research methodology, and a summary of each chapter's focus. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted the literature reviewed and a theoretical framework on women in Parliament of Swaziland. A plethora of insights in academia, with an emphasis on women in Parliament, yielded a broad spectrum of a history of Swaziland that had not been well articulated. Factors behind women's paths to Parliament have been a theme of great interest to political scientists. Gretchen Bauer explains how the huge participation of women in Parliamentary positions in Namibia is a result of a closed-list of proportional representation, voluntary quotas by political parties, and pressure by a women's movement that has been influenced by the global other women's movements. Of the factors identified, Bauer gives primacy to women's agency and emphasises their initiative in pushing for more women in the legislature through women's movements. She argues that it is not only numbers but who among the elected is eligible for support, particularly those who participated in the liberation struggle. Gisela Geisler engages Bauer in bringing to light women's initiatives to lobby for representation in the legislation. She notes that by the 2000s the quota system had seen many women get into politics, but some had to lobby through women's movements that were supported by NGOs. Unlike Bauer, Geisler highlights the heterogeneous nature of women's participation in decision making. While the older female generation did not question the male-dominated status quo, the younger and educated generation pushed for political representation, making it impossible for them to unite and push for policy changes in favour of women.

Sizakele Hlatshwayo, a gender and development consultant, concurred with Ndzinisa who lamented her choice of voting for a woman in the Mbabane East constituency for the second term as MP. Adding that women empowerment issues were still raised by men in Parliament despite the fluctuating representation of women MPs. "Save for a few women, most women MPs remained indifferent", said Hlatshwayo. She averred that most women MPs did not seem to appreciate their mandate to women because once they were in Parliament, they failed to identify with poor women. "Because women MPs lived

comfortable lives, some of them tended to disassociate with women's rights issues",⁶⁷² said Hlatshwayo.

Nonetheless, the National Co-ordinator for Women and Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland, Nomcebo Dlamini, acknowledged that the policy and legislation making processes of Swaziland remained complex as it operates from a system that is pro-patriarchal⁶⁷³. Dlamini stated that women MPs were trying hard to uplift the standard of women in the country, the detriment was that they were limited by the patriarchal system in the country where governance is considered a man's issue. "We also need to find a lasting solution in order to deal with the system positively because... the fact that we are using a system where men are the ultimate decision-makers is making it difficult for women to make a difference", advised Dlamini. She observed that the inherent marginalisation of women, even in Parliament, could partly be attributed to the result of socialisation where women themselves lack confidence in carrying out their duties as MPs.⁶⁷⁴

Dlamini submitted that some women MPs were thrown into disarray because the legislation-making process remained a complex task and needed a lot of enlightenment and understanding of the technical language employed, yet some of them were not educated or exposed to issues of women's rights and gender equality. "Here, we're dealing with issues of low self-esteem, lack of confidence, lack of education, and socialisation which are some of the things that lead to the marginalisation of women",⁶⁷⁵ alleged Dlamini.

⁶⁷²Sizakele Hlatshwayo. Women MP's Limited by patriarchal system Accessed from the Ipsnews.net.2010/07/Swaziland-women-MPs limited-by-the patriarchal-system. On the 21/02/2019.

⁶⁷³Interview with Nomcebo Dlamini at the Women in Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland Offices in Mbababe. Next to Queensgate on the way to Ngwenya Boarder post. On the 17 November,2019.

⁶⁷⁴ Interview with Nomcebo Dlamini at the Women in Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland Offices in Mbababe. Next to Queensgate on the way to Ngwenya Boarder post. On the 17 November,2019.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

The study evidently illustrated that the EC was perceived as an important part of the Swazi government structure. This body was made up of people elected from all the *Tinkhundla*, and the number of members were partly dependent on the determined number of *Tinkhundla*. The criteria used depended on the number of *Tinkhundla* which was demarcated at 40 in 1978. The majority of the members of the EC came from this team. Members of the Elections Committee were also members of the college. Each *inkhundla* was allowed to have two delegates to this body. The main limitation of the EC was to designate members of the House of Assembly from the list of candidates from the *Tinkhundla*.⁶⁷⁶ For some days they were introduced to their responsibility and perhaps told not to deviate from the traditional ways of choosing representatives, which was embodied as the traditional values of Swazi society. Some of these values included respect for seniors and loyalty to the Swazi monarchy. In fact, the EC was the last stage of consolidating the control and domination of the monarchy over the general population.⁶⁷⁷

Elections have become an important subject. From the time the majority of African states gained political independence, their elections have been questioned. There has been a failure or outright refusal to embrace the universal principles of democracy, using various excuses. Subsequently, there has been continued uncertainty in some states as to the extent to which the elections strengthened democracy or undermined it. Certain scholars have argued that these challenges are due to the 'fickleness' of leaders',⁶⁷⁸ T Curothers is an example. Such an argument is difficult because some African leaders have engineered electoral processes to suit their ideological positions, while others have reduced elections to periodic rituals that do very little to enhance democracy⁶⁷⁹ as

⁶⁷⁶Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

⁶⁷⁷Hamilton Sipho Simelane, Journal of African Elections. *The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process Ideological Contradictions*, 1978 - 2015 Vol. 16 Number 1 June 2017, EISA. Cited Levin, R. "Swaziland's *Tinkhundla* and the Myth of Tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 10(2):pp.1-23.1991.

⁶⁷⁸Hamilton Sipho Simelane, *Evolution of the Swaziland Electoral Process: Ideological Contradiction*, 1979-2015. See also DOI: 10.20940/JAE/20171V16i1a1.

⁶⁷⁹*Ibid.* Cited Curothers T. "The end of the Transition Paradigm". *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.13.No.1.2003

envisaged by S. Simelane. The researcher supports the submission made by Simelane in that the study has empirical evidence on how King Sobhuza II manipulated the political arena to propel his mechanisms in order to sanction the INM to usurp 80% of the Parliamentary seats.

Although the country was part of states that set their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2008, lead by the SADC protocol on gender and development that aimed at 50% women representation in Parliament by 2015, the country has recorded one female MP elected in the 2013 elections.⁶⁸⁰ The constitution does give power to individuals (including women) to stand for elections, the setback unearthed by the study was that there was a conflict of ideologies as to the pre-requisite in order to qualify for elections. The glaring example was evident in the 2013 elections when an aspiring woman candidate had an obligation to be approved by the chief to enter the elections race. Chiefs are mandated by the king to comprise the first layer of the traditional pyramid (patriarchal) which holds strong views against women being treated as equals to men. In amplifying this view in the thesis, in the run-up to the elections, a widow who aspired to be an MP was condemned to participate by community authorities, citing that she had a 'bad omen' because she wore black mourning gowns. Swazi culture dictates that a person in mourning was to be secluded and not participate in selected fields such as politics for a certain period. The most negative result of such practices is that they hit harder on women than men.

The civil society criticised the chief's utterances that they undermine human rights. The traditional leader (chief) responded by saying Swaziland does not worship a paper (constitution), but the traditional norms and values at heart. The study deduced that for a high ranking authoritarian to utter such was rendering the constitution of the country to be of no significance. In essence, once a constitution was passed as law governing the

⁶⁸⁰Zakithi Sibandze, The Political Situation of Women in Swaziland, at cnwm_2018_Swaziland_Sibandze_Situation of Women_in Swaziland_ in the Swaziland country report of the Sub-Regional Review on the outcome of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the General Assembly. 2000.

country; it ought to be respected by all citizens. Swaziland provides an excellent example and a country in which the democratic electoral process is generally ostracised by leadership. It is a country whose political development has changed over time and such change has been largely influenced by the ideological orientation of the country's leadership.⁶⁸¹ For instance, back in 1968, the country supported by a similar electoral process was engineered by the British, then by King Sobhuza II, to suit his ideal Swazi government. Since 1978, the electoral process has been revised more than once to ensemble the ideology of the anarchy and of traditionalists in general, while at the same time placating the concerns of the international community in camouflage. An analysis of the Swazi electoral process reveals that it is ideologically conflicted as traditionalism and the dual monarch contradict basic universal democratic principles of fair and free elections.

At the heart of many challenges, backstabbing women representation in Parliament is culture which in some instances has been manipulated as a political tool to let down women's efforts to enter Parliament. The minimal representation and or absence of women from structures of governance inevitably means that decisions are taken and implemented without meaningful contribution from women, whose life experiences, beginning from home, the community to national levels, give them different awareness of political needs, concerns, and interests as compared to those of men.

The study found that women's paths to Parliament from 1968 to 2015 evolved within challenging circumstances coated with some innovations which were enacted by the Kings (Sobhuza II and Mswati III). Swazi women's history in entering Parliament is better understood after accustoming the reader with the historical background of Swaziland. The Swazi Parliament was discussed through examining efforts for including women in

⁶⁸¹Hamilton Sipho Simelane, *Evolution of the Swaziland Electoral Process: Ideological Contradiction, 1979-2015*. See also DOI: 10.20940/JAE/20171V16i1a1. Vilane John. "Ideology and Ideological Struggle in Daniel D. and Stephen M. (eds), *Historical Perspectives on Political Economy in Swaziland: Selected Articles*. Social Sciences Research Unit. University of Swaziland. Kwaluseni. 1986.

Parliament over a period of +/-45 years. The first phase (1968–1978), based on the Westminster Parliamentary system, was marked by the negligible presence of women in Parliament. During this first phase, there was only one woman Parliamentarian, Senator Mary Mdziniso. Mary Mdziniso was a political icon who starkly stands out as “the only woman in Parliament” for 10 years, and was the only woman who served in Parliament as Senator for 31 years between 1968 and 1998 while she was the president of the woman’s regiment, *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*, during the same period. The second phase saw the introduction of the authoritarian *Tinkhundla* (constituencies) as centres for conducting elections through the EC and covered three Parliaments in 15 years (from 1978–1993).

Paradoxically, Mdziniso entered Parliament as King Sobhuza II’s appointment. The participation increased to seven women between 1988 and 1993. The third phase (1993–1998) which covered one Parliament, saw the introduction of campaigns by King Mswati III for prospective MPs within the *Tinkhundla*. As more women were allowed into Parliament, some of them charted their way into Parliamentary elections out of their own volition. The introduction of the externally induced quota system during the fourth phase saw additional women enter Parliament, but most of them were the King’s appointees – an act that nullified democratic ideals. The commendable increase reached the highest level ever recorded in the history of Swaziland, which was 21 women who secured seats in the Swazi Parliament in 2003.

Swazi women Parliamentarians’ substantive representation was examined through unpacking and tracing the actual voices of women in Swazi Parliament. This was done by selecting Hansard Parliamentary debates on women’s issues from 1968 to 2015. The exercise captured the extent to which Swazi women were able to promote women’s issues once elected to political office. The study unearthed the false assumption that women’s descriptive representation enhances women’s substantive representation. This notion ran through the popular perception of women Parliamentarians which, in general, did not hold any tangible truth. The bifurcation of interests has culminated in the

assumption that differential treatment of women and men in society results in different interests for each gender and that such differences call for different representation in the legislature. It is important to note that specific women Parliamentarians, in collaboration with male Parliamentarians, effected a women-friendly legislation, although this attempt was met with resistance where the policy touched on cultural spheres.

Pertaining to the concept of Parliament, constituencies and the contribution of women representation, the study discovered that Swazi women Parliamentarians did not only confine themselves to women's issues once in Parliament but participated effectively in the constituency and national issues. For instance, at the constituency level, they were concerned with infrastructure and development projects, while at the national level they paid attention to the land question, rural development, health, education, mining, and tourism, among other issues. Other social issues such as security, orphaned and vulnerable children, senior citizens' care and electricity installation in rural areas, to mention a few, also featured in their Parliamentary motions. The most fascinating scenario was that the two cadres of Parliamentarians complemented each other and exhibited effective teamwork in selected instances.

In the narrative of Swazi women Parliamentarian's problems encountered in the patriarchal system, the study found some challenges, but mainly patriarchal practices that relegated women to an inferior status. For some interviewed women, the system of governance in practice was designed such that women were perpetually relegated to the subordinate state to men. Voicing out actual experiences of some women in their zeal to secure seats in Parliament became the glass ceiling achievement and made the study authentic. Women are also often the custodians of culture and are trained to be submissive to males, irrespective of age. This makes it difficult for them to enter politics without considering approval from men. The Swazi customs and traditions expect women to kneel when addressing men. This custom is applied to all women without exception. This could be perceived as a barricade for women to enter Parliament. For instance, it was reported that during the run-up to Swaziland's 1998 general elections, women

Parliamentary candidates were expected to kneel when addressing gatherings attended by chiefs and men.⁶⁸² This clearly illustrates the inferior status of women in the Swazi society. To make matters worse, the Returning Officer for the elections was quoted as saying that it is customary that the women Parliamentary candidates should kneel when addressing such gatherings.⁶⁸³ This custom is degrading to women because it does not apply to men when addressing women, let alone the status of the woman being addressed by men. It is discriminatory, which is an injury to the human dignity of women. Customs also dictate that women wear a headscarf when attending such gatherings.⁶⁸⁴ The inhumane practices such as those cited in the study tend to discourage women from entering the Parliamentary race. Parliament was adopted from the Westminster British system, it remains imperative that procedures should not be incorporated into the Swazi traditional system.

The researcher considers that *Tinkhundla* are supposed to play an important role in Swaziland's politics since it is at the *Tinkhundla* centres that not only a variety of community/constituency/regional councils and/or committees are elected but also, and much more significantly, MPs. The unbecoming part has always been the gender insensitive part shown by the populace through downgrading of women from holding top political posts to lesser important ones such as being nominated to be *bagcugcuteli* (community health motivators). This is a relegation of women to home chores, a slogan that was sung for too long by anti-feminists, "The woman's place is in the kitchen." Herein lies some of the challenges facing Swaziland's elections under the aegis of the *Tinkhundla* political system, such as voter apathy that characterises the populace, particularly in urban and semi-urban areas where the majority of the elite Swazis reside. Despite the much-publicised reforms in the elections processes, such as the introduction of the secret ballot, direct representation to Parliament, lobbying of more women to enter

⁶⁸²Inter Press Service 'Women Fight Age-Old Sexism'

<http://www.swazineews.co.sz/stories/15oct_women.htm> (Accessed on 1 Oct 2018).

⁶⁸³*Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁴Inter Press Service 'Women Fight Age-Old Sexism'

<http://www.swazineews.co.sz/stories/15oct_women.htm> (Accessed on 1 Oct 2018).

Parliament by NGOs, particularly in the 2008 elections, appointments by King Mswati III, to date women remain underrepresented in the Swazi Parliament.

Since the passage of the Regional Councils Order of 1978, the electoral system under the political dispensation has not benefitted much from the modest reforms in that, under the system, the people initially elected individuals from the different *Tinkhundla* who then formed the Electoral College.⁶⁸⁵ The latter, in turn, and through the indirect representation, elected MPs, an act that had connotations of being undemocratic (a stigma that the system is prominent for). This entire exercise was conducted by males (patriarchs).

The main research problem asks, “what are the factors that hinder women’s steady progress and participation in the Parliament of Swaziland?” It could, therefore, be seen that the factors of achieving this is not about a single reason but a plethora of views and players that have contributed to the decline of women’s participation in the Parliament of Swaziland. The other contributing factor may be the minor increase to the effort and mechanisms of the Swazi Kings (Sobhuza II and Mswati III) through their appointments, and these are only but a few.

One notable reason for women’s invisibility in the Parliament of Swaziland has been the move from the party-state to the monarch takeover of the political system. This may be interpreted to mean that the birth of women’s movement or organisations were compromised in favour of the patriarchal rule. Women’s movements were prominent in ushering women to Parliament in some African countries such as South Africa. This submission is supported by Raymond Ocrem who wrote that, “...together with the rise of self-government of women’s movements that seized the opportunity to open up politically

⁶⁸⁵Swaziland Government. *A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland’s Tinkhundla Representative System of Government*. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.104/Rep. Accessed from the House of Parliament library on 15th November 2016.

aware spaces in 1990 in Africa”⁶⁸⁶. These institutions had leaders who started to call for an extensive programme which comprised of female political representatives. Worth noting is that this idea was assimilated by Mary Mdziniso, the first woman Parliamentarian in her church structure, for the cadre of women as discussed in the study. After her appointment by Sobhuza II as Lutsango President, she introduced the idea of organising and lobbying for more Swazi women to enter Parliament.⁶⁸⁷

Again, the study unearthed that access to formal education and equal opportunities presented to girls and women had a positive influence on women’s visibility and participation in the Parliament realm globally and regionally.⁶⁸⁸ For instance, in the case of Swaziland, the first woman Parliamentarian became the sole woman Parliamentarian for four consecutive terms. Mary Mdziniso’s educational background served as a springboard for her to enter politics. Nonetheless, having “blue-blood” relations with the royalty cannot be overemphasised. It is worth mentioning that such practices may have downgraded the effectiveness of people appointed to Parliament. An appointed Parliamentarian is more often tied to pleasing the appointee at the expense of the masses their appointed to serve. There are challenges facing Swazi women’s entry to Parliamentary positions, and in terms of achieving gender parity in education at the highest level, they’ve achieved little success thereby creating a supposedly larger pool of women who are capable of contesting for Parliamentary positions but sabotaged by patriarchal practices that reign supreme in Swaziland.

Furthermore, women’s past experiences with their ability to organise and form a network, whether formal or informal, has helped them gain recognition from the higher authorities of Swaziland. It often becomes easier for women to seize the opportunity of novel politically aware platforms, given their exposure to traditional structures. For example,

⁶⁸⁶Raymond Kwasi Ocrem. Women’s Political Participation: A Comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. University of Eastern Finland. International PhD Program in Border Crossings: Global and Local Societies in Transition (Sociology). Faculty of Social Sciences. 2014.pp.34-40.

⁶⁸⁷*Times of Swaziland*. “More Women to enter Parliament”. 12, February, 1969.

⁶⁸⁸Inter Parliamentary Report, 2009.

Swazi women who intend to enter Parliament should be active participants in traditional circumstances such as joining the regiment (Lutsango). A retired member of the Swaziland National Teacher's Association (SNAT) submitted that, "...the system advocates for people to pay allegiance to certain sectors of society and if one fails to do this, one never gets anywhere in politically oriented fields. Before one can be elected into Parliament, one has to be a known active member of the community. One has to wake up every weekend and go to the chief's residence (*Umphakatsi*) to either weed his fields or build the kraal."⁶⁸⁹ Likewise, in Ghana, an organisation called "Sisters Keepers" arranged a demonstration that sought to bring an end to serial killings that emerged between 1997 and 2001. This women's association demonstrations affected the December 2000 elections as the incumbent National Democratic Congress proved to be a failure ⁶⁹⁰ as asserted by Follow in 2008. These female's vast knowledge in working as a unit in varying platforms has time and again made it easier for them to take hold of different organisational openings in a liberalising setting.

In addition, the introduction of the affirmative action plan has been vital to women gaining representation in Parliament. The advanced political depiction of women in a political will, rather than any economic actor, remains ideal. The main role players were then investigated with a view of noting the extent to which they influence the events in the Parliament of Swaziland. These included the constitutional monarch, the two Houses of Parliament, and the executives in the form of the cabinet and Prime Minister. The role of regular elections and the fact that liberal freedoms are protected were noted as significant, a rare practice in Swaziland.

In summation, in the case of Swaziland, the political developments that unfolded in the early years and leading up to 1968 saw the origins of the Swazi nation under the Dlamini

⁶⁸⁹*Times of Swaziland*, SNAT comments on parliamentary requirements. May 21, 2007.p.5.

⁶⁹⁰Raymond Kwasi Ocrem. Women's Political Participation: A Comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. University of Eastern Finland. International PhD Program in Border Crossings: Global and Local Societies in Transition (Sociology). Faculty of Social Sciences. 2014.pp.34-40.

clan led by patriarchs. These years were characterised with the country having to maneuver and ensure protection from the British colonisers who were ruling the Union of South Africa against any nation that tried to attack it. The period culminated in the country being granted its independence by Britain in 1968, after lengthy negotiations and a democratic constitution being adopted.⁶⁹¹ This was followed by a multi-party electoral process that was won by King Sobhuza II, as the leader of the Imbokodvo National Party. The years 1968–1978 was the period when King Sobhuza II suspended the post-colonial democratic constitution in 1973. He declared a state of emergency, banned political parties and ruled the country by decree. According to the King Sobhuza II, democracy was ‘un-Swazi’ and had bred disunity among the citizens. A lot of labour strikes happened during this period and a lot of repressive laws were introduced. King Sobhuza II initiated a constitutional review which was to consult and it finally introduced the *Tinkhundla* system of government in 1978.⁶⁹²

A capacious study of this nature can never be absolutely exhaustive. In view of sparking a zeal to carry on the baton on this research, the author proposes a possibility that may ignite scholarly interest for further research on the following suggested topics which may add more value to the history of Swaziland:

- The *Tinkhundla* system of governance has room for innovations in adherence to democracy.
- Changes and possibilities of democratising Swaziland’s monarchical system of governance.
- Affirmative action towards embracing a gender-sensitive spectrum of governance since 1968.

⁶⁹¹ Claude Kabemba et al, *Swaziland’s Struggle with Political Liberalisation*, p.7. See also, Armstrong Alice and Russell Margo, “A situation analysis of women in Swaziland”, Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, A Paper presented to UNICEF, 1985. p.8.

⁶⁹² Dlamini Selamile, “Political Parties cause Divisions”: Exploring Support for Democracy in Swaziland. CDDRL, Stanford, USA. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for a PhD, in the Center of Democracy, Development & the Rule of Law, on May, 2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Archives – Swaziland National Archives (hereinafter referred to as SNA)

SNA: File RCS, 3421/5 The Status of Women 1950 UN Commission in 1986–1987.

SNA: File 3497/1 Swaziland Constitution Presented to the Parliament by the Secretary of State for Colonies by the Command of Her Majesty, May 1963.

SNA: The Constitution of Swaziland Statutory Instruments 1968, No.1377, Africa, The Swaziland Independence Order, 25 August, 1968, submitted before Parliament on 30 August 1968.

SNA: Speeches of King Sobhuza II also found in The King Sobhuza II Memorial Park housed next to the Houses of Parliament (Lobamba).

SNA: Swaziland Government Gazette Extraordinary, Vol. III, Mbabane, 2 January 1964.

SNA: Swaziland Government Gazette Extraordinary, Vol. VI, No. 211, Mbabane, 1 March 1967.

SNA: Swaziland Extraordinary Gazette, Vol.VI, No. 855 of 1992.

SNA: Legislative Council Official Report, Hansard 1965–1966.

SNA: File A231 UN Report from the United Nations Women's Conference hosted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1961.

SNA: File 3497/1 Swazi Constitution Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Colonies by the command of Her Majesty, May 1963.

Primary Sources

Oral Interviews

Anonymous Female of Mkhulamini.

Interviewed on 20 November 2019. At the Manzini market . She is aged 46. She resides next to Lomadvokola Primary School. She has an interest in the political system of Swaziland since turned 30 years.

Dlamini, Aylene (President of *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*)

Interviewed on 20 November 2019 at Mbekelweni her homestead. She is aged 74. She was once the President for the Women Organization in Swaziland *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*. She is the custodian of how the organization was pioneered and the achievements made.

Dlamini Dumisani Lomasontfo Martha Dlodlu's son, former Maphalaleni MP. He is a Farmer at Maphalaleni.

At the time of the interview she was 94 years, has since passed on. She was a former member of Parliament of Maphalaleni Constituency in 1993 – 1998. She was an assertive politician who could not allow her illiteracy to stop her from being outspoken in the House of Assembly. Interview with author was on 21 November 2019 at Maphalaleni her home.

Dlamini Esther former MP Mbabane East.

Interviewed on 17 November 2019 at the Houses of Parliament Lobamba. She is aged 68. She has served as MP for three consecutive terms. She has been a Deputy Speaker in the Eighth Parliament.

Dlamini Gija S.G.Chief. Chairperson of the Elections and Boundaries Commission.

Interviewed on 16 November 2019 at EBC Offices at Nkhanini Lobamba next to the Houses of Parliament. He is aged 69.

Dlamini Ndvuna. Clerk to Parliament. Deputy Chairperson of the Elections and Boundaries Commission.. Interviewed on 18 November 2019. At the Kings' Office. Lobamba.

Dlamini Nomcebo. Director of Women and the Law in Southern Africa.(Swaziland).

Interviewed on the 17 November 2019. At WLSA Offices at Queensgate. Situated on the way to Oeshoek Border post.

Dlamini, Nonhlanhla (Former Ludzeludze MP)

Interviewed on 17 November 2019 at the Houses of Parliament premises. She is aged 56. Dlamini is a former Member of Parliament of Ludzeludze, who served in the 9th Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland. She is a nurse by profession majored in forensic. She has worked with FLAS and SWAGGA.

Dlamini, Phetsile K. Dr (Former Minister of Health and Senator)

She is aged 67. Interviews held at the National Curriculum Centre Old Library on 19 November 2019. She served as Minister of Health and as Senator. Dlamini is a pediatrician who operates clinics in Manzini, Matsapha and Nhlangano.

Dlamini, Vinah LaMtsetfwa (Inkhosikati Former Member of Parliament of Lobamba)

Interviewed on 22 November 2019 at Esitjeni Lobamaba Royal Residence. She is aged 69. She is one of the first women MPs who was elected not using the voting system at the constituencies. She gave an elaborate discourse on how hard working earned her the political position in 1978.

Fakudze Mzwandile. Chairperson of the Boundaries and Elections Commission of Swaziland.

Interviewed on 19 November 2019. He is aged 62. He was interviewed at the King's Offices Lobamba next to the Houses of Parliament. He oversees the elections processes.

Gama, Joyce (Secretary of *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*)

Interviewed on 24 November 2019 at her home in Ngwenya Village. She is aged 58. Gama has been involved in many projects such as that of mushrooms growing cosmetics as an initiative to advance women in the Lutsango LwakaNgwane through the Queen Mother's support

Gina Trusty Former Member of Parliament of the Nkilonko Constituency.

Interviewed on 23 November 2019. At the Houses of Parliament. She served as speaker in Parliament. She was nominated for two terms in the same office of MP. She is aged 64.

Hlophe, Cracker Former Esandleni Ka-Godloza (MP)

Aged 68. Former Member of Parliament of Esandleni Constituency Shiselweni. He has served two terms in the post he is currently holding. Interview with author at Nhlangano Macpine his home on 23 November 2019.

Khatamzi Isabella Bongi (Former Senator)

Interviewed on 18 November 2019 in the new Science Department Car Park at the University of Swaziland Kwaluseni on. Aged 78. She is a former member of Senate 2003 – 2008. A resourceful person in Swazi politics. She is a self confessed gender activist. A business woman based in Malkerns. She is a Board Member of Finances at UNISWA.

Khumalo, Ephraim (Dean /Superintendent)

Interviewed on 21 November 2019 at Mzimnene River Headquarters in Manzini. He is aged 62. He is currently the overseer of the Lutheran Church in Swaziland. He is well conversant about the History of the Lutheran Church in Swaziland and in South Africa. He gave an elaborate history of the role Mary Mdziniso played in the church transformation and at National Level as the leader of Lutsango LwakaNgwane.

Lukhele, Stella (Former Minister for natural Resources , Minister for Agriculture also.)

Aged 72. She served as Buchopho (councilor) of Kwaluseni in 1993 then as Member of Parliament in 1998 – 2003. She was then nominated as Minister of Natural Resources and Energy. Stella currently is serving as Director of Khulisa Umftwana at the Kings Offices in Nkhanini Lobamba. Interview with research at her office in Lobamba on 22 November 2019.

Mabuza Khangeziwe. Secretary in the Deputy Prime Minister's Office.

Interviewed on 23 November 2019. At the Deputy Prime Minister's Offices Mbabane. She is aged 45. Works closely with children welfare issues.

Magagula, Isaac Mmemo. Former National Commissioner.

The first police officer to be conferred by King Mswati III with the title. Aged 64. Former Commissioner of Police, interviewed at the Police Headquarters on 23 November 2019.

Makhubu Makhubu, Lydia Professor (Former Senator)

Interviewed on 16 November 2019 at Sterkstroom Manzini at her home. She once served as the Senator in the 8th Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland as one of the King's appointees. Makhubu has vast experience in Leadership as she served as the Vice Chancellor for the University of Swaziland for a long time.

Maziya Nathi (UNICEF Officer)

Interviewed on 17 November 2019 at the Castle Hotel Mbabane. He is aged 56. He is a subject of Maphalaleni Constituency who had an experience of being served by Gogo Lomasontfo Dlamini.

Mbingo Almon. Member of Border Resoration Committee. Interviewed on 22 November 2019. At the Nkhanini King's Office. Lobamba. He is aged 73. He has served in other Boards of Swaziland.

Mdziniso, Jabulani (Son to Mary Mdziniso)

Interviewed on 23 November 2019 at Lobamba King's Office. He is aged 49. He is the Human Resource Manager in the King's Offices at Nkhanini Lobamba. Jabulani is son to Mary Mdziniso the First Woman Senator in Swaziland

Mkhabela Nonzuzo. Resident of Ngwenyameni in the Shiselweni Region.

Interviewed on 18 November 2019.. She is aged 42. Worked closely with the youth in her Constituency.

Msane, Thuli (Former Senator)

Aged 58. Msane served two terms in the 8th and 9th Parliament of Swaziland as Senator. She is the Director of Hospice at Home. She is a nurse by profession. She has served in NEPAD as chairperson in the SADAC Region. Interview with researcher at Hospice at Home Offices Matsapha on 18 November 2019.

Ndlangamandla, Johannes Former Zombodze Emuva (MP)

Aged 68. A former Member of Parliament of Zombodze Emuva. He was a headteacher of Ekuthuleni High before he was voted as winner to be Member of Parliament in 2008. Interview with author was on 18 November 2019 at Nhlanguano Esivivaneni, his home.

Nhlengethwa, Thuli (Director of AMADI)

Interviewed on 22 November 2019 at Mbabane AMADI Campus office. She is aged 68. She is the former Director of the National Curriculum Centre. Thuli drafted the National Strategic Development Plan in 2006. She is one of the authors of *The Dzadze Magazine* which contains the History of women Parliamentarians in Swaziland. She is conversant with the early development of *Lutsango LwakaNgwane*.

Shongwe Thandi Former Member of Parliament.

Interviewed on 19 November 2019. In her farm in Malkerns on 19 November 2019. At the Houses of Parliament. Lobamba. She once served as a Minister of tourism in the Eighth Parliament. She is aged 62.

Sibeko, Lomacala A community member of Maphalaleni.

Aged 79. An elderly woman of the Maphalaleni Constituency, who had witnessed how Gogo Lomasontfo was elected as Member of Parliament. Interview with author on 19 November 2019 at Maphalaleni.

Simelane, Constance Former Minister of Education and the First Woman Deputy Prime Minister.

Aged 83. Simelane served as Commissioner of Oaths, Minister of Education and as the Deputy Prime Minister. She is well versed with Swazi Politics and conversant with what transpired in her terms of office. Interview with author at Manzini on 21 November 2019.

Xaba Benedict. Former MP of Shiselweni II Constituency.

Interviewed on the 20 November 2019. At the Water and Services Offices at Ezulwini. Once served as Minister of Health. He is aged 54. Currently working as an officer at Water and Services.

Xaba Zanele. Polling Officer in the 2008 Elections.

Interviewed on 19 November 2019. At Mahlalini in the Shiselweni region. She is aged 38. She is a housewife.

Zulu, Nomsa (Sister)

Interviewed on 20 November 2019 in Magele Hlathikhulu in the Shiselweni Region. She is aged 66. She is a retired nurse who once worked under the Ministry of Health while it was headed by Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini in 1998 – 2003.

Swaziland Law Reports

Hlatshwayo, N.A. 1992. The Ideology of Traditionalism and its Implications for Principles of Constitutionalism: The Case of Swaziland. Unpublished LLM dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies. University of York. Ontario. 1992.

Khumalo, B. 1993. Legal Pluralism and Constitutional Tensions: The Evolution of the Constitutional System in Swaziland Since 1968. Unpublished LLM dissertation, York University, Ontario. Maseko, T.R. 2005. The Drafting of the Constitution. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 8(2), 312–336.

Radipati, B. 2017. Swaziland Today: Law and Politics under King Mswati III. *Annee Africaine*, 1992–1993, 243–267.

Ronald, T.N. 1983. Women's Rights under Swazi Law: Common Law and Statutory Aspects. *Women and Law: Report of Proceedings from two seminars held in Swaziland in June..* Modern Printing Works (Pty) Ltd Manzini.

Swaziland Parliamentary Debates (hereinafter referred to as Hansard) Accessed at the Swaziland National Archives (SNA)

Hansard Parliamentary Debates First Session of the First Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 30 March 1968, pp. 25–163.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First and Second the First Parliament, 17 March 1969. Pp. 195-215.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Third Parliament, 23 August 1969. P.223.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Third Parliament, 23 August 1969.Pp.305-340.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Second Parliament, 16 November 1970. Pp. 45–62.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1971.Pp.418-503

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Third Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1971. Pp. 248–275.

Hansard Parliamentary Debate of the First Session of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 1978. Pp.98-165.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1982. Pp.231-245.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First and Second Session of the Fourth Parliament, 30 March 1984.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003. Pp 234-285.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the First Parliament of Swaziland, 1984. P. 246.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the first Parliament of Swaziland, 1982. Pp246-249.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session, 21 March to 2 April 1980. P. 340.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First and Second Meeting of the Fourth Parliament, 30 March 1984. Pp. 25–163.

Hansard Parliamentary debates of the Second Session of the eighth Parliament of Swaziland. 2003. Pp. 248.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Lobamba. Pp. 2008, 235

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the Second Session of the Fifth Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Lobamba, 1982. Pp. 236-254.

Hansard Parliamentary Debates of the First Session of the Eighth Parliament of Swaziland, 2003, 198.

Newspapers: *Times of Swaziland* (hereinafter referred to as TOS)

TOS, Mothers of the Nation, Friday, 3 March 3 1967.

TOS, Sir John, Speaker of the Senate, 19 May 1967.

TOS, King's message to Swaziland's Women, Friday, 29 December 1967.

TOS, Oath-Taking Ceremony, Tuesday, 21 April 1968.

TOS, More Women Needed as Parliamentarians, Friday 5 July 1968.

TOS, More Women Needed as Parliamentarians, Friday, 5 July 1968.

TOS, More Women Needed as Parliamentarians, Friday, 12 July 1968.

TOS, How our New Nation is Ruled, Monday, 6 September 1968.

TOS, Women Playing Increasingly Important Role in Swaziland, Wednesday, 6 June 1968.

TOS, Senator Mary Mdziniso, Saturday, 9 May 1969.

TOS, Mary Mdziniso's Report on the Youth, Sunday, 25 August 1969.

TOS, The Commissioner of Police Report on Crime, from 1967- 1969, Thursday,24 October 1969.

TOS, Smthyma's Report, Wednesday, 16 July 1972.

TOS, Election date chosen, Monday, October 13, 1978.

TOS, New Moves on Elections, Tuesday, 16 January 1978.

TOS, Today-How to Vote, Friday, 23 October 1978.

TOS, Women and Development Report, Thursday, 08 May 1979.

TOS, Health Minister Warns of 'Disastrous' AIDS Spread, Tuesday, 12 June 1990.

TOS, The Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Monday13 November 2003.

TOS, More Women Needed as Parliamentarians, Friday, 5 July 5 1968.

TOS, Senator Mary Mdziniso, Friday, 9 May1969.

TOS, Health Minister Warns of 'Disastrous' AIDS Spread, Wednesday, 12 June 1990.

TOS, Constance Simelane Appointed DPM, Mbabane, Tuesday, 30 October 2006.

TOS, Anonymous Observer cited in The Times of Swaziland, Thursday,26 May 2018.

Other Newspaper/s

Swazi Observer, Ex-Pm Worked Diligently, 30 September 2018, p.16.

Conferences and Reports

Dlamini, P.K. 2002. Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the Kingdom of Swaziland. Speech delivered at the General Assembly Special Session on Children, New York, 10 May.

Honourable Mr. Justice M.M. Ramodibedi, Acting Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of Judicature, Swaziland. Message dated 13th December 2008, delivered at the 10th International Conference of Chief Justice of the World. Available from: <http://www.cmseducation.org/article51/supporters4.html> (Accessed on 10 September, 2018).

United Nations. 1995. Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing Declaration. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declaration.htm> (Accessed on 14 November 2018).

United Nations. 2010. The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics. Available from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/worldswomen/www_full%20report_color.pdf (Accessed on 19 September 2018).

Makhubu, L.P. 2004. Tinkhundla System of Governmence. Paper presented at the 35th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), African Region Conference, held at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Centre, Ezulwini, Swaziland, 7–15 August.

Maseko, T. 2007. Constitution Making in Swaziland: The Cattle Byre Constitution Act 001 of 2005. Draft paper presented at African Network of Constitutional Law conference on Fostering Constitutionalism in Africa Nairobi.

Report of the Election of Members of Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland of September, 2003.

Margo, Russell. 1985. A Situation Analysis of Women in Swaziland. Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit. A Paper presented to UNICEF.

Zwane, H.S. 1998. Constitutional Discontinuity and Legitimacy: A Comparative Study with Special Reference to the 1973 Constitutional Crisis in Swaziland. A Paper presented as a chapter in a dissertation for a Master's degree in Law, York University.

Swazi Government Publications

Article 19 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights which Swaziland rectified in 1995.

The Swaziland Independence Constitution Chapter V 1968 of the Constitution of Swaziland.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act, 2005.

Constitutional Law: King's Order-in-Council. 1/1992. The Establishment of the Parliament of Swaziland Order, 1992, Statutes of Swaziland, Issue 2, 10th December, 1992.

The Establishment of Parliament of Swaziland Order, 1978, Part II (3). King's Order-in-Council 1978.

Establishment of the Order, King's Order-in-Council. No. 23 of 1978.

Report of the *Tinkhundla* Review Commission n.d.

Official Report of the Meeting of the First Session of the 3rd Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland, 16th and 19th January, 1979.

SNA, Swaziland Government. Extraordinary Gazette, Vol.III, Mbabane, Thursday, 2, January, 1964.

SNA, Swaziland Government. Extraordinary Gazette, Vol, VI, Mbabane, Tuesday, 17, 1973.

SNA, Swaziland Government. Extraordinary Gazette, No.855 of 1992.

SNA, Legislative Council Official Report, Hansard 1965-1966.

Kingdom of Swaziland Elections and Boundaries Commission National Elections Report (2008).

Swaziland Government. 1977. A unique approach to democracy, The Kingdom of Swaziland's Tinkhundla Representative System of Government. Issued by the office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mbabane.

Swaziland: Bill to Get Women in Parliament 29th April 2018. Available from: Swazi Media Commentary (Gaborone).

Miscellaneous Reports

Commonwealth Secretariat 2003. Swaziland National Elections, 18 October 2003. Report of the Commonwealth Expert Team.

EISA Technical Assessment Team. 2008. Swaziland House of Assembly Elections, 19 September 2008. Johannesburg: EISA.

Joubert, P., Masilela, Z., & Langwenya, M. 2004. Consolidating Democratic Governance in the SADC Region: Swaziland. EISA Research Report, 38, 46.

Karume, S. 2004. Post Mortem of the Swaziland Elections, 2003. Johannesburg: EISA, 14.

Kalley, J. 2004. Interrogating the Gender Question in the Swaziland Electoral Process. The Electoral Institute of Southern Africa: Election Update, 2003. Swaziland, 2, April 2004.

Ministry of Home Affairs, Gender Coordination Unit, Swaziland, Swaziland Country Report. 2004. Sub regional Review on Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the twenty- Third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000), Zambia, 26th- 29th April.

Mabuza Khangeziwe. 1970 Sebenta Report from the National Annual Magazine, 28 November. Mbabane.

Shale, V., & Stuart, D. 2008. EISA Election Observer Report: Swaziland. Johannesburg: EISA.

Report by Honourable Dr. K. Phetsile Dlamini, 2002. Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the Kingdom of Swaziland at the General Assembly Special Session on Children, New York, 10 May. Mbabane.

Stuart, D. 2009. Swaziland. In Kadima and S Booysen (eds) Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa 1989–2009. The Years of Multiparty Democracy. Johannesburg: EISA.

Swaziland Government Report. 2000. Swaziland National Pharmaceutical Policy. Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. Mbabane.

Dlamini Gija. 2008 The Elections and Boundaries Commission's Report. Conduct of Elections. August Kings Office. Lobamba.

Truth and Reconciliation Report (TRC). 30 June 1992.

Dlamini, N. 2010. A Report from the Ministry of Information Communication and Technology. Mbabane.

Secondary Sources

Projects and Theses

Dlamini, M. 2009. Women and Governance in Swaziland, 1968 to 2007. BA Project, University of Swaziland, Kwaluseni.

Dlamini, M.P. 2007. Electoral Systems, Representation, Inclusiveness and Democratic Governance in Swaziland. UNISWA Research Journal, 21.

Dlamini, T. 2005. Towards Locating Women's Voices in Swazi Traditional Culture: Sites and Forms of Women's Voices. Master's Thesis, University of Swaziland.

Genge, M. 1999. Power and Gender in Southern African History: Power Relations in the Era of Queen Labotsibeni Gwamile Mdluli of Swaziland, 1875–1921. PhD Thesis, Department of History, Michigan State University.

Makhubu, L.P. 2007. Tinkhundla System of Governance. A paper presented during the Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, EZulwini, Swaziland.

Mavundla, W. 2008. Women Power and Politics in Swaziland 1968–2007. BA Project, History Department, University of Swaziland.

Miles, M. 1991. Missing Women: A Study of Swazi Female Migration to the Witwatersrand, 1920–1970. Master's Thesis, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario.

Mohanty, C., Russo, A., & Torres, L. 1991. Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism. USA: Indiana University Press.

Articles and Books

Achifusi, G. 1987. Feminist inclinations of Flora Nwapa: The Feminist novel in Africa" Women in African Literature Today. London: James Curry.

Alberti, J. 2002. Gender and the Historian. London: Pearson Education Limited.

Amadiume, I. 1987. *Reinventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*. London: Zed Books Limited.

Aptheker, B. 1981. Strong is what we make each other: Unlearning Racism within Women's Studies. *Women's Studies*, 1(3).Pp. 234-268.

Armstrong, A., & Margo, R. 1985. *A Situation Analysis of Women in Swaziland*. Kwaluseni, University of Swaziland, Social Science Research Unit.

Angevine, S. 2006. *Women Parliamentarians Perceptions of Political Influence in South African Parliament*. Master's thesis, University of Western Cape.

Arndt, S. 2000. African Gender Trouble and African Womanism: An Interview with Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wajira Muthoni. *Signs: Journals of Women in Culture and Society*, 25(25).Pp.66-74.

Arthur, C. 1990. *A Critique of Ideology*. Great Britain: Harvest Press Ltd.

Ashton, F. 1980. *Feminist Theory and Practical Policies*. London: Henry Ling.

Bauer, G. 2004. The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country: Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(4), 479–509.

Bauer, G., & Britton, H.E. 2006. *Women in African Parliaments*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Babbie, E., Mouton, J., & Payze, B. 2005. *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Bascom, W. 1965. Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives. *Journal of American folklore*, 78(307).

Bauer, G. 2004. The Hand that Stirs the Pot Can Also Run the Country: Electing Women to Parliament in Namibia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(4), 479–509.

Bischoff, P. 1988. Why Swaziland is Different: An Explanation of the Kingdom's Political Position in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 26(3), 457–471.

Bohler-Muller, N., & Lukhele-Olunjuri P. 2011. Swaziland, The Last gasps of an absolute monarch. Briefing no. 54 August, 2011. Africa. Institute of South Africa, 1 –10.

Bonner, P. Kings. *Commoners and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth – Century Swazi State*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Booth. A. 1985. Homestead, State and Migrant Labour in Colonial Swaziland. *African Economic History*, XIV.

Booth, A.R. 1983. *Swaziland: Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*. Boulder, Colorado: West View Press.

Bryman A. 2008. *Social Research Methods* (3rd ed.). London, Oxford University Press.

Britton, H.E. 2002. Coalition Building, Election Rules, and Party Politics: South African Women's Path to Parliament. *Africa Today*, 49(4), 33–67.

Cocks, P. & Malinowski, B.I. 1991. King Sobhuza II and the Vision of Culture and Change in Africa. In R. Levin, *Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi Tradition*” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 10(2), 1–23.

Cole, C.M., Takyiwaa, M., & Stephanie F.M. 2007. Introduction: When was Gender? In (Eds.) Catherine M. Cole, Takyiwaa Manuh, Stephen F. Mieschaer, *Africa After Gender?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Childs, S., & Krook, M.L. 2006. Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors. *Government and Opposition*, 44(2), 125–145.

..... 2006. Gender and Politics: The State of the Art. *Politics*, 26(1), pp.18–28.

.....2006. The Substantive Representation of Women: Rethinking the ‘Critical Mass’ Debate. *PSA*.

Cornwall, A. 2005. Introduction: Perspectives on Gender in Africa, (Ed.) Andrea Cornwall, *Readings in Gender in Africa*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis, London, Indiana University Press. James Curry, 2005), pp.1–19.

- Creswell, J.W. 2009. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc. California, London, New Delhi.
- Dally, J.L. 2001. Gender Equality Rights versus Traditional Practices: Struggles for Control and Change in Swaziland. *Development Southern Africa*, 18(1).
- Dahlerup, D. 2006. The Story of the Critical Mass. *Politics and Gender*, 2(4), pp.511–522.
- 2009. What Constitutes Successful Substantive Representation of Women? Paper to the World Congress of International Political Science Association, Santiago de Chile, July 11- 16, 2009.
- Daniels, J. 1967. Historical Papers, Politics and Society in Swaziland. *Traditionalism and Parliamentary Government in Swaziland*, 2.
- Denzer, L. 1987. Women in Freetown Politics, 1914–61: A Preliminary Study. *The Journal of International African Institute*, 57(4).
- 1994. Yoruba Women: A Historiographical Study. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 27, 1–39.
- De Vault, M. 1996. Taking Back Sociology: Distinctive Contributions of Feminist Methodology. *Annual Review Sociology*, 22, 29–50.
- Dlamini, L.G. 2005. *Socio-Economic and Political Constraints on Constitutional Reform in Swaziland*, University of Western Cape.
- Dlamini, M.P. 2007. *Ethics, Accountability and Good Governance: The Case Study of Swaziland*. *University of Swaziland Research Journal*, 36.
- Dlamini, N. 2001. *Race Relations in Swaziland: The Case of Havelock Asbestos Mine, 1939 – 1964*. Master's thesis, University of Swaziland.
- Dlamini, N. 2007. *The Legal Abolition of Racial Discrimination and its Aftermath: The Case of Swaziland, 1945 – 1973*. PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

Dlamini, N. 2009. Power, Sexuality and Subvention in Lutsango and siSwati Traditional Wedding Songs. Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand.

Dlamini, S.R. 2002. Swazi Women's Professionalism: The Power that Lies in Money and Books, 1920 – 1950. Asian Women.

Dlamini, S. 2008. Sekunjalo: Implementing CEDAW for National Development, 1(1).Pp. 34-69.

.....2007. Electoral System Representation, Inclusiveness and Democratic Governance. The Swazi Experience. University of Swaziland Research Journal, 21.Pp 25-36.

Donal, L. 2007.White Woman's Country: Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia, Journal of Southern African Studies, 23(2), pp.259–281.

Downs, L.L. 2010. *Writing Gender History (2nd ed.)*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Erzeel, S., & Joke, W. 2011. Moving Beyond Critical Mass: Identifying Critical Actors in the Substantive Representation of Women in Belgium, Paper presented at the second European Conference on Politics and gender, Budapest, January, 2011.

Gama P.V. 2013. Swazi Women in Parliament, 1967 – 2008. Master's thesis, University of Swaziland.

Gee, P.J. 1992. The Social Mind: Language Ideology and Social Practice. Series in Language and Ideology, New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Geiger, S. 1997. TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955-65. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann.

Geisler, G. 1995. Troubled Sisterhood: Women and Politics in Southern Africa: Case Studies from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. African Affairs, 94(377), 545–578.

.....2000. Parliament is Another Terrain for Struggle: Women, Men and Politics in South Africa. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 38(4), 605–630.

.....2006. A Second Liberation: Lobbying for Women's Political Representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 69–84.

Gerda, L. 1975. Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges. *Feminist Studies*, 3(1/2), 5–14.

Goetz, A. 1998. Women in Politics and Gender Equity in Policy: South Africa and Uganda. *Review of African Political Economy*, 25(76), 241–262.

.....2002. No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(4), 549–575.

Goetz A.M. & Shireen, H. 2003. No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making, South Africa: David Philip Publishers (Pty Ltd).

Grey, S. 2001. Does Size Matter? Critical Mass and Women MPs in the New Zealand House of Representatives. Paper for the 51st Political Studies Association Conference 10-12 April, 2001, Manchester, United Kingdom, 3–4.

.....2006. Numbers and Beyond: The Relevance of Critical mass in Gender Research. *Politics and Gender*, 2, 492–502.

Hlatjwako, C. 2004. National Director for Women and Law in Southern Africa-Swaziland (WLSA).

Hudson, P. 2001. Women's History and Gender History. *New Perspective*, 7(2).

Hughes, M.M. 2009. Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations. *Social Problems*, 56(1), pp.174–204.

Hunt, N.R. 1989. Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender. *Social History*, 14(3), pp.359–379.

Huntington, S.P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kabemba, C. 2004. *Swaziland's Struggle with Political Liberalisation*. Johannesburg, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.

Kethusegile-Juru, B.M. 2003. *Quota Systems in Africa: An Overview*. Paper presented at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)/ Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum Conference, The Implementation of Quotas: African Experiences, Pretoria, South Africa, 11–12 November.

Johnson-Odim, C., & Mba, N.E. 1997. *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti of Nigeria*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Kanduza, A.M. 2001. *You are Tearing My Skirt*. In C. Youe & T. Stapleton (Eds.), *Agency and Change in Colonial Africa*. Hampshire: Handmill.

Kanduza, E. 2004. *Swazi Women and Governance: Factors Influencing Women's Political Participation in Swaziland*. A Report Submitted for the 15th COSSREA Gender Issues.

Krook, M.L. 2010. *Studying Political Representation: A Comparative-Gendered Approach*. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(1), pp. 233–240.

Kufakurinani, U., & Musiiwa, E. 2012. *The Unsung Heroine: Muriel Ena Rosin's Political Experiences in Rhodesia, 1945 – 1980*. *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 30, pp.36–48.

Kuper, H. 1963. *The Swazi: A South African Kingdom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

.....1878. *Sobhuza II, Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland: The Story of a Hereditary Ruler and His Country*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co.Ltd.

.....1978. *Sobhuza Ngwenyama King of Swaziland*. Gerald Duckworth & Company. Ltd. London.

.....1978. *Sobhuza II, Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland: The Story of a Hereditary Ruler and His Country*. London: Africana Publication.

Kvale, S. 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks California, Sage Publications.

Langwenya, M. 2010. *Historic Steps Towards Equality for Swazi Women: An analysis of Mary-Joyce Doo Aphane versus The Registrar of Deeds*. Occasional Papers, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa.

.....1985. *Hegemony in Crisis: Swazi Powering Tradition*. PhD thesis, University of Liverpool.

Levin, R.M. 1997. *When the Sleeping Grass Awakens: Swaziland's Political Development*. Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

Lowry, D. 2007. *White Woman's Country: Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia*. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2), pp.259–281.

Mabuza, Z. 2008. *Political Change in Swaziland: A Critical Analysis of the Role of the Monarchy*. Free State University.

Magagula P., & Masilela Z. 2011. *Swaziland: Opposition Politics within a Feudal System*. In S. Hussein (Ed.), *Against All Odds Opposition: Political Parties in Southern Africa*. KMM Review Publishing Company, Sandton.

Maguire, P. 1987. *Doing Participatory Research: A feminist Approach*. Amherst: MA. Center for International Education.

Makhunga, L. 2014. *South African Parliament and Blurred Lines: The ANC Women's League and the African National Congress, Gendered Political Narrative*. *Agenda*, 28(2), p.40.

Maloba, W.O. 2007. *African Women in Revolution, History, Women's Studies, War Studies/AFRICA*. African World Press, Inc. Asmara, Eritrea.

Manon, T. 2006. *The Substantive Representation of Women and PR: Some Reflections on the Role of Surrogate Representation and Critical Mass*. *Politics and Gender*, 2.

Mama, A., & Tamale, S. 1996. Women Studies and Studies of Women During the Nineties. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Marshall, C., & Gretchen, B.R. 2011. Designing Qualitative Research (5th ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.London.

Motsa-Dladla, T. 1994. And Still They Dance and Sing: The Significance and Meaning of Swazi Women's Traditional Songs. Master's thesis, St Mary's University.

O'Barr, J.F. 1975. Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy. *African Studies Review*, 18(3), 19–27.

Ocran, R.K. 2014. Women's Political Participation: A Comparative Study on Ghana and Tanzania. PhD thesis, University of Eastern Finland.

Ottemoeller, Dan. "The Politics of Gender in Uganda: Symbolism in the Service of Pragmatism." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2. September, 1999.

Pandor, N. 1999. Redefining Politics: South African Women and Democracy. In A. Sara (ed.), Women Parliamentarians Perceptions of Political Influence in South African Parliament. Master's Thesis, University of Western Cape.

Paxton, P., Hughes, M.M., & Green, J.L. 2006. The International Women's Movement and Women's Political Representation, 1893 – 2003. *The American Sociological Review*, 71(6), pp.898–920.

Pearson, E., & Powley, E. 2008. Demonstrating Legislative Leadership: The Introduction of Rwanda's Gender-based Violence Bill. The Initiative for Inclusive Security, Hunt Alternatives Fund.

Pejstrup, S.C.L. 2011. Swaziland in Transition. *The Interdisciplinary Journal of International Studies*, 7(1), 1–26.

Peters, P. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini: 2003. Dialogue with the Swaziland Minister of Health and Social Welfare. *An International Journal of Faith Thought and Action* Vol.1.(3),pp 58-65.

- Pitkin, H.F. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Polholm, C.P. 1974. Changing Political Configuration in Swaziland: The Economic Basis of a Southern African Monarch. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 4(3).
- Protcor, J.H. 1972. Traditionalism and Parliamentary Government in Swaziland. *African Affairs*, 288, 273–287.
- Purvis, J. 1995. *Women's History: Britain, 1850 – 1945: An Introduction*. New York: UCL.
- Rai, S.M. 2012. The Politics of Access: Narratives of Women MP's in the Indian Parliament. In L. Berg (ed.), *Women's Pathways into Parliament: The Case of Indonesia*.
- Razavi, S. 2000. Women in Contemporary Democratization. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 15(1), 201–224.
- Reynolds, A. 1999. Women in Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling. *World Politics*, 51(4).
- Ridgeway, C.L., & Correll, S.J. 2004. Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations. *Gender and Society*, 18(4), 510–531.
- Robertson, C. 1987. Developing Economic Awareness: Changing Perspectives in Studies of African Women, 1976 – 1985. *Feminist Studies*, 13(1).
- Sawer, M. 2002. The Representation of Women in Australia: Meaning and Make Believe. In K. Ross (ed.), *Women, Politics and Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
-2002. Parliamentary Representation of Women: From Discourses of Justice to Strategies of Accountability. *International Political Science Review*, 21(4), 361–380.
- Simelane, H.S. 2017. The Evolution of the Swazi Electoral Process: Ideological Contradictions, 1978 – 2015. *Journal of African Elections*, 16(1).

Simelane, H.S., & Crush, J. 2003. Colonial Policy, Male Opposition and Intergration of Swazi Women into Wage Employment, 1935 – 1955. *African Historical Review*, 43(1), 48–72.

Sonya, R. 2010. *What is Gender History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Simelane, H.S. 2003. Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland 1940 – 1960 and Uganda: JAN Publication Centre. *The Journal of African History* 45(1).

.....2003. Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland. JA Nyeko Publishing Centre. Ltd, Kampala, JAN Publishing Centre (Pty) Ltd, Manzini.

.....2003. Colonialism and Economic Change in Swaziland, 1940 – 1960. Manzini: JAN Publishing Centre (Pty) Ltd.

Tamale, S. 1999. *When the Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Thompson, L. 1992. Feminist Methodology for Family Studies. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54(1), 3–18.

Temblay, M. 2006. The Substantive Representation of Women and PR: Some Reflections on the Role of Surrogate Representation and Critical Mass. *Politics and Gender*, 2.

Ummu, A., & Ahmad, Z. 1967. Representation of Women in the Malaysian Parliament. PhD thesis, International Islamic University. In H.F. Pitkin, (ed.), *The Concept of Representation*, University of California, Barkely.

Walsh, D., & Scully, P. 2006. Altering Politics. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 1–12.

Waylen, G. 1994. Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics. *World Politics*, 46, 327–354.

Wineberg, C. 1997. *Learning How to Research and Evaluate*. Cape Town: Juta & Company Limited.

Wright, M. 1993. *Strategies of Slaves and Women Life Stories From East/Central Africa*. London: James Curry.

.....2008. Special Seats for Women in the National Legislature: The Case of Tanzania. *Africa Today*, 55(1), 61–86.

Yoon, M.Y. 2004. Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29(3), 447–468.

.....2008. Special Seats for Women in the National Legislature: The Case of Tanzania. *Africa Today*, 55(1), 61–86.

Zezeza, P.T., & Cassandra, V. 2001. *Women in African Studies* Scholarly Publishing. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Online Sources

Adhiambo-Oduol, J. 2001. Factors affecting Women's Political Participation in the Electoral Process in Africa. Available from: <https://www.semanticscholar.org> (Accessed on 13 August 2017).

Anderson, E. 2013. Liberal Feminism. Available from: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism> (Accessed on 10 August 2017).

Association of Adventist Women. 2006. Phetsile Kholekile Dlamini-Nkomo: Woman of the Year- Distinguished Service. Available from: http://www.aaw.cc/PDE/WOYA_06_Dlamini.pdf (Accessed 11 June 2015).

Clarke, A. 2005. Women's History and Gender History. Available from: <http://emn.sharonhoward.org/2005/03/womens-gender-history-why/> (Accessed 14 June 2015).

Bailey, J., & Arnold, J. 2001. Is the Rise of Gender History 'Hiding' Women from History Once Again? Available from: <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles.html> (Accessed 13 June 2015).

Baumgardner, J., & Richards A, 2000. Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future. Available from: www.manifesta.net (Accessed on 25 July 2015).

Bourdieu, P. 2001. Theory of Practice. Available from: www.citeforme.com/sociology (Accessed on 12 August 2017).

Borjesson, L. 2005. Gender Policy Implementation – Basic Ideas and Effects: A study of SIDA's Gender Policy and its Relations to Gender Equality in Babati District, Tanzania. Available from: <http://www.divaportal.org/smash/get/diva2:16087/FULLTEXT01.pdf> (Accessed on 22 October 2017).

Brayton, J. 1997. What makes Feminist Research Feminist? The structure of Feminist research within the Social Sciences. Available from: <http://www.unb.ca/PAR-L/win/feminmethod.htm> (Accessed on 29 July 2015).

Booth, A. 1983. Available from: <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Swaziland1.htm> (Accessed on 23 October 2018).

Celebration of 30 Years of CEDAW. Available from: <http://www.undp.org.sz/index.php/focus-area/gender/169-celebration-of-30-years-of-ced> (Accessed on 4 July 2015).

Dladla. T. 2015. PAC chairperson recovered 80 Million Emalangeni from corrupt officers. Available from: <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121020-pac-recovered-over-e100m-under-thuli-dladla.html> (Accessed on 24, May 2017).

Dlamini P.K.N. Nkomo: Association of Adventist Women, Woman of the Year-Distinguished Service. 2006. Available from: http://www.aaw.cc/PDE/WOYA_06_Dlamini.pdf (Accessed on 23, May 2017).

Foucault, M. 2017. Social Theory. Available from: <https://www.amazon.com>michel-foucault>. (Accessed on 11 August 2017).

Lapidos, M. L. 2009. Feminist Knowledge| Review Essay: African Feminist Studies: 1980 – 2002. Available: <http://www.aidtransparency.org/at/images/thematiques/genre/Feminist%20Theory%20and%20Women's%20Movements%20in%20Africa.pdf> (Accessed on 2 July 2015).

GWS. 2009. Feminist Knowledge Review Essay: African Feminist Studies: 1980 – 2002. Available from: <http://webuct.ac.za/org/qwsafrica/knowledge/africa%20review/intro.html> (Accessed on 3 July 2015).

Hamilton, C. 2013. Women in the Civil War. History Net: Where History Comes Alive. Available from: <http://www.historynet.com/women-in-the-civil-war> (Accessed on 20 February 2016).

Hassim, S. n.d. Perverse Consequences? The Impact of Quotas for Women on Democratisation in Africa. Available from: http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedfiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Hassim_PerverseConsequences.pdf (Accessed on 3 July 2015).

Heywood, A. 2002. Political Ideologies. Available from: <https://www.macmillan.companies/-Heywood-politics-4e/student-onechapter-notes>. (Accessed 3 July 2015).

IRIN Africa. 2013. Gender Activists Welcome New Woman Deputy Prime Minister. Available from: <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/61443/SWAZILAND-Gender-activists-welcome-new-wo...>, (Accessed on 13 August 2017).

Kenworthy, P. 2014. Reform Swaziland's Absolute Monarch from within, says UK think tank. Available from: www.newstimeafrica.com/archive/33052. Accessed on 3 march,2018.

Levin, R. 1991.Swaziland's Tinkhundla and Myth of Swazi Tradition. Available from: <https://doi.org/1080/02589009/08729511> (Accessed on 16 August, 2018).

Lushaba, A. 2008. Position of Women in Leadership. Available from: <http://www.swazielections.blogpost.com/2008/08/position-of-women-inleadership.html> (Accessed on 7 July 2015).

Mackay, F. 2001.When is Contagious-not-very-contagious dynamics Available from: <https://academia.oup.com/pa/./> (Accessed on 14 July 2017).

Meena, R. 2003. The Politics of Quotas in Tanzania. A Paper presented at the IDEA/EISA/SADC Parliamentary Forum Conference, Pretoria, South Africa. Available from: http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/CS_Tanzania (Accessed on 18 March, 2017).

Owolade, T. 1994. The Politics of Presence.Available from: <https://twitter.com/owolade14status/7425096472432> (Accessed on 2 August 2017).

Phakathi, M. 2010. Women Challenge King Mswati. Available from: <http://www.ipsnews.net/africa/nota.asp?idnews-43695> (Accessed on 18,May,2017.).

Phillips, A. 1998. Politics of Presence. Available from: <http://www.questia.com> (Accessed on 18 June 2017).

Phillips, J. The Theory of the politics of presence in Parliament (substantive representation), cited in L. Wangnerud, 2009. Accessed from <https://www.theguardian.com>jul>mp...> On 19/11/2017

Rooney, R. Zwane Gelane invited by Taiwan President. Available from: <https://books.google.com/books?id= 8IBAAAAYAAJ> (Accessed on 24 May, 2017).

Simelane, X. 2009. Of Women and Votes – The Struggle for Gender Equity in Swaziland. Available from: http://www.idasa.org/our_products/resources/output/of_women_and_votes_the_struggle/... (Accessed on 4 July 2015).

Thompson, J.B. 1990. Theories of Ideology. <https://book.google.com>ideology> (Accessed on 11 November 2017).

Walker, A. 2007. Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender. Available from: <https://afeministtheorydictionary.wordpress.co> (Accessed on 11 November 2017).

Geiger, Susan. 2006. Women's History Africa Bibliography. (n.d.). Available from: <http://science.irank.org/pages/8161/Women-s-History-Africa.html> (Accessed on 23 April 2017).

Webster, M. 2015. Womanism. A feminist Dictionary. Available from: <https://afeministtheorydictionary.wordpress.co> (Accessed on 12 August 2017).

Wamukoya, L. 2016. Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership, Kingdom of Swaziland. Available from: <http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/Swaziland.htm> (Accessed 6 July 2016).

APPENDIX 1

LETTER OF CONSENT FROM THE PARLIAMENT OF SWAZILAND

Telephone: 416
2407/8/9/10/11
416 1286/7/8/9
Fax: 416 1603



KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

Ref. No.....PAR/.....

SWAZILAND HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

P.O. Box 37

Lobamba

Swaziland

11th April 2016

Prof. Hamilton S. Simelane

History Department

Head of Department

Faculty of Arts

Private Bag X1001

Kwadlangezwa, 3886

**RE: ENDORSEMENT FOR PATIENCE VUMILE GAMA TO CONDUCT
INTERVIEWS WITH HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND
SENATORS BY THE PARLIAMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND**

The Parliament of Swaziland have the privilege to confirm and endorse that
Patience Vumile Gama- Mavuso , has been granted permission to execute
her PHD research activities within the Parliament of the Kingdom of
Swaziland, and with the Hon. Members and Hon. Senators respectively.

Your kind co-operation will always be enlisted

Yours Faithfully



For: Clerk to Parliament

Ms. Jabulile S. Malaza

Director Research & SADC PF Desk Officer.



APPENDIX 2

QUESTION GUIDE FOR OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEWS

Introduction to the question guide for Parliamentarians of Swaziland, completed by
Patience Vumile Gama, student No. 20151074 of the University of Zululand.

I, Patience Vumile Gama, am conducting a study towards a PhD degree at the History Department, Faculty of Arts at the University of Zululand, Republic of South Africa. I humbly request your participation in my research where you will be required to provide the researcher with information pertaining to your current or previous experience as a Parliamentarian in Swaziland. The aim of this questioner is to collect data that will help the researcher to document the history of Swaziland.

Your participation is highly appreciated.

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE AND MALE PARLIAMENTARIANS OF SWAZILAND

Transcription/Translating/Typing..... 3 hours

1. Honourable Member of Parliament, please begin by telling the researcher about yourself, your parents, age (if you do not mind), education attained, place of birth, marital status, and number of children.
2. Where exactly were you born, region/actual place, is it an urban or rural area?
3. How long have you been living there?
4. How would you explain the constituency you come from?
5. Having grown up in this area, what can you say about this constituency?
6. Regarding your constituency, what prompted you to get to Swazi Parliament?
7. Honourable Member of Parliament, what prompted you to venture into Parliament (inspirations)?
8. Why did you choose a political career?

9. Which person(s) encouraged you to pursue this career?
10. In which year did you begin your route to the political arena Parliament?
11. Were you a mature person in the field or an amateur in politics? Please elaborate.
12. Did you receive a formal education in politics before venturing into Parliament?
13. Tell me about a female politician from Swaziland, or any other country, who inspired you? Please elaborate.
14. Do you have a coherent history about your choice of a political career?
15. In your view, how are women featured in Swazi politics, i.e. representation, motivation to participate and their own experiences?
16. Please tell me about the campaigning exercise, from how you were nominated and announced as the winner?
17. Were you competing with both males and females in the last part of elections?
18. How did you win the election campaigning strategies employed?
19. Did you use media i.e., TV, radio or internet, etc. for campaigning?
20. Were you stressed or exhausted when the campaigning exercise was on going or you sailed through with ease? Please elaborate.
21. You mentioned that you were nominated as Member of Parliament, how many votes did you have compared to your competitors?
22. You are currently a Minister, how did you secure this post?
23. In your view, are women fairly treated in Parliament?
24. If not, how can this treatment be improved?
25. Upon joining Parliament, which motions did you successfully move?
26. Which ones have been unsuccessful, and why?
27. Does Swaziland meet the quota advocated by the SADC?
28. As women have a caucus in Parliament, which issues do they raise?
29. Briefly discuss the successes of such an organ in uplifting the status of women in Swaziland.

30. Briefly discuss the duties of a Minister, Member of Parliament, and any other relevant post.
31. Do you find working with both males and females a challenge in the House of Assembly? Please elaborate.
32. What are the future plans for your Ministry/designated post?
33. Briefly discuss the women caucus in Parliament i.e., issues discussed about women and children?
34. In your own words, as a Member of Parliament/Minister (politician), how do you manage to make an uncontroversial speech about the community that voted you into Parliament? Please elaborate.
35. Please explain how the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland remains firmly committed to making a success in the post you once held or currently holding in Swazi Parliament? Explain the key steps and the magnitude of the achievement.
36. In the prevalence of the opposition shown by the banned political factions, how has the Government managed to co-ordinate a motion on the policies it pursued, such that an amicable consensus was reached by both parties?
37. Please provide a detailed account with evidence on how Government policies passed shaped the life of the Swazi society?

APPENDIX 3

EDITORIAL CERTIFICATE

Bryanston, Gauteng
Email: info@nimeditorial.co.za
Website: www.nimeditorial.co.za
Tel: +27 67 799 5330

Reg. No. 2018/AB0056/07



21 October 2019

Editorial Certificate

To Whom It May Concern,

This letter certifies that the thesis titled: "The Historical Trajectory of Women Participation in the Swazi Parliament: Breaking the Barriers of Patriarchy 1968–2015" by Patience Vumile Gama, was edited for language, grammar, punctuation, spelling, and overall style by NIM Editorial.

Should you wish to discuss any aspects relating to the above, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'NI Mabidi'.

NI Mabidi (Master of Arts, Corporate Communication)

Chief Editorial Director

Cell: +27 67 799 5330

Email: info@nimeditorial.co.za

NIM Editorial

APPENDIX 4

FIRST PARLIAMENT

1967–2003

CABINET

Prime Minister	The Rt. Hon. Prince Makhosini, M.P.
Deputy Prime Minister	Hon. J.M.B Sukati
Hon. L. Lovell	Minister of Finance
Hon. Prince Mfanasibili	Minister of Local Administration
Hon. Polycarp L. Dlamini	Minister of Works and Communication
Hon. Rev. Aaron B. Gamedze	Minister of Health
Hon. Dr. Allen M. Nxumalo	Minister of Education
Hon. A. Kuseni Hlophe	Minister of Agriculture
Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines

ASSISTANT MINISTERS AND MINISTERS OF STATE

Hon. A. Zonke Khumalo	Assistant Minister in the Prime Ministers Office
Hon. Prince Masitsela	Assistant Minister, Deputy Prime Minister Office
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi	Assistant Minister of Local Administration
Hon. E.S. Dhladhla	Ministers of State in charge of the Dept. of Establishment and Training in the Office of the Prime Minister

RESHUFFLE

Hon. A.Z. Khumalo	Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs
Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines

SENATE

President	Sir John W. Houlton
------------------	---------------------

Senators

Sen. Polycarp Mafeletiveni Dlamini
Sen. Rev. Aaron B. Gamedze
Sen. H.D.G. Fitzpatrick
Sen. G.M.E. Mabuza
Sen. Jetro Mkhulumqandi Mamba
Sen. William Magangeni Magongo
Sen. Mrs. Mary Mdziniso
Sen. Bhizeni Dlamini

Sen. Mabalizandla P. Nhlabatsi
Sen. C.F. Todd
Sen. Peter J. Braun
Sen. Douglas Lukhele

Attorney General

The Learned William Arthur Ramsden

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Speaker Hon. Msindazwe Sukati / Hon. Ian Aers
Deputy Hon. Rev. Robert Forrester

ELECTED

Hon. Hon. Prince Mfanasibili	Mpumalanga
Hon. Aaron Duba	Mpumalanga
Hon. Henry Khanyakwezwe Dlamini	Lihlandze
Hon. Samson Msunduzeni Dlamini	Lihlandze
Hon. Mathew Nyumbane Gamedze	Lihlandze
Hon. Prince Masitsela	Mbabane
Hon. Mhlangano Matsebula	Mbabane
Hon. Sishayi Simon Nxumalo	Mbabane
Hon. Elias Sipho Dhladhla	Mlumati
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi Alpheus	Mlumati
Hon. Dr. Allen Mkaulo Nxumalo	Mlumati
Hon. Prince Gabheni	Usuthu
Hon. Abednigo Dunsu Hlatswako	Usuthu
Hon. Zonke Amos Khumalo	Usuthu
Hon. Abednego Kuseni Hlophe	Mbuluzi
Hon. Joseph Selby Mavimbela	Mbuluzi
Hon. Richard Velaphi Dlamini	Umkhondvo
Hon. Nkoseluhlaza Meshack Hlatswako	Ingwavuma
Hon. Madevu Simon Ndaba	Ingwavuma
Hon. Chief Mantungwini Ndlangamandla	Ingwavuma
Hon. Saul Mndeni Shabalala	Usuthu
Hon. Ndawonye Sikhondze	Ngwavuma
Hon. Prince Makhosini	Mbuluzi

NOMINATED

Hon. John M.B. Sukati
Hon. Leopold Lovell
Hon. Robert Porrits Stephens
Hon. Rev. Robert Forrester
Hon. James Springh Murphy
Hon. Duma Dlamini

Hon. David Hynd Stewart
Hon. John W. Houlton

SECOND PARLIAMENT 1972–1978

CABINET

The Rt. Hon. Prince Makhosini	Prime Minister
Hon. A.Z. Khumalo	Deputy Prime Minister
Sen. Polycarp L. Dlamini	Minister of Justice
Sen. R.P. Stephens	Minister of Finance
Hon. A.M. Nxumalo	Minister of Works and Communication
Hon. Prince Masitsela	Minister of Local Administration
Hon. A.K. Hlophe	Minister of Agriculture
Hon. S.S. Nxumalo	Minister of Industry, Mines and Tourism
Hon. Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini	Minister of Commerce and Cooperatives
Hon. Dr. Pym S.P. Dlamini	Minister of Education and Health

MINISTERS OF STATE AND ASSISTANT MINISTERS

Hon. Elias S. Dhladhla	Minister of State, Health and Education
Hon. Mhlangano S. Matsebula	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
Hon. H. Khanyakwezwe Dlamini	Minister of State, Establishment and Training
Hon. Bekimpi A. Dlamini	Assistant Minister in the DPM's Office
Hon. Saul Mndeni Shabalala	Assistant Minister of Local Administration

SENATORS

President

Sir John Houlton

Sen. Plieary L. Dlamini
Sen. Prince Mfanasibili
Sen. Chief Jetro Mkhulumqandi Mamba
Sen. Jacob S. Mavimbela
Sen. Dr. George L. Msibi
Sen. Dr. V.S. Leibbrandt
Sen. Mabalizandla P. Nhlabatsi
Sen. Mrs. Mary Mndziniso
Sen. Douglas Lukhele
Sen. C.F. Todd
Sen. M. Tomlison

Sen. Prince Mekiseni

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Speaker	Hon. Ian B. Aers Esq.
Deputy	Hon. Rev. Richard Velaphi Dlamini
The Hon. Mr. J.S. Murphy	Appointed
The Hon. Mr. J.S. Murphy	Appointed
The Hon. Rev. Robert B. Forrester	Appointed
The Hon. Mr. W. Magangeni Magongo	Shiselweni I
The Hon. Mphitsi L. Dlamini	Appointed
The Hon. Chief Mantungwini Ndlangamandla	Appointed
The Hon. Esau J. Matse	Ngwavuma
The Hon. Magija Masilela	Mpumalanga
The Hon. Dr. Ambrose P. Zwane	Mpumalanga
The Hon. Mbizeni Dlamini	Mbuluzi
The Hon. Mfana L. Mncina	Mhlumati
The Hon. Prince Gabheni	Usuthu
The Hon. Chief Mnikwa Dlamini	Mhlumati
The Hon. Samson Msunduzeni Dlamini	Lihlandze
The Hon. Princess Msalela	Appointed
Attorney General	David Cohen

THIRD PARLIAMENT 1978–1983

CABINET

The Rt. Hon. Major General Maphevu	Prime Minister, 1978–1979
Hon. Ben M. Nsibandze	Deputy Prime Minister, 1981–1983
Hon. Polycarp Lazarus Dlamini	Minister of Justice
Hon. James L.F. Simelane	Minister of Finance
Hon. Dr. V.S. Leibbrandt	Minister of Works, Power and Communication
Hon. Prince Gabheni	Minister of Home Affairs
Hon. Dr. Samuel W. Hynd	Minister of Health
Hon. Cannon D.S.P. Dlamini	Minister of Education
Hon. Abednigo. K. Hlophe	Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives
Hon. Prince Nqaba	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines
Hon. Richard V. Dlamini	Minister of Foreign Affairs

CHANGE IN THE PREMIERSHIP

The Rt. Hon. Prince Mabandla	Prime Minister, 1980–1983
The Rt. Hon. Prince Bhekimpi	Prime Minister, 1983

DEPUTY AND ASSISTANT MINISTERS

Hon. Enoch B. Simelane	Ministers of State for Establishment and Training
Hon. Lawrence M. Mncina	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi A. Dlamini	Assistant Minister in Deputy Prime Ministers Office
Hon. William M. Magongo	Minister of Education
Hon. Prince Mahhomu	Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives
Hon. Dabulumjiva H.S. Nhlabatsi	Deputy Minister of Works, Power and Communication
Hon. John R. Masson	Deputy Minister of Finance

SENATORS

President	Hon. Elias M. Hlophe
Deputy	Hon. John Charles Sikhonkwane McSevery

Sen. Ben Mshamndane Nsibandze
Sen. Mabalizandla P. Nhlabatsi
Sen. Prince Gabheni
Sen. Prince Mahhomu
Sen. Cannon D.P. Siphetswe Dlamini
Sen. Enock B. Simelane
Sen. Rev. L.T. Dlamini
Sen. Zephania S. Kunene
Sen. King Mtetwa
Sen. Elias M. Hlophe
Sen. Peter J. Braun
Sen. John Charles McSeveney
Sen. F.C. Kockott
Sen. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini
Sen. M.H. Nthsangase
Sen. Jacob S.M. Mavimbela
Sen. David Motsa
Sen. Logwazela T. Dlamini
Sen. Ndawonye Sikhondze
Sen. Mrs. Mary Mndziniso
Sen. Prince Mboni Arthur

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Speaker Hon. Msindazwe Sukati / Hon. Ian Aers
Deputy Hon. Rev. Robert Forrester

The Rt. Hon. Hon. Major General Maphevu
Hon. Princess Phetfwayini
Hon. Mphitsi Luka Dlamini
Hon. Mambonjwana S. Nkambule (Mrs)
Hon. Peter Shovela Munro
Hon. Robert Makhanyambeni Dlamini
Hon. Walter William Mordaunt
Hon. Malaveni Mgwagwanana Ginidza
Hon. Samson Msunduzeni Dlamini
Hon. Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo
Hon. Joseph Nduna Mamba
Hon. Ben Gregory Bennett
Hon. Bhizeni Wilson Dlamini
Hon. Paulos Mfanawendlela Ginidza
Hon. Chief Madzanga Ndabenkulu Ndwandwa
Hon. Chief Malamlela Magagula
Hon. Ephraem Nyembezi Dlamini
Hon. Mshefane Daniel Shongwe
Hon. Mhlanganyelwa Mbonani M. Shongwe
Hon. Ernest Phenyane Mamba
Hon. Chief Sibengwane Magomba Ndzimandze
Hon. Magwece Jeremiah Mkhatshwa
Hon. Austin Sangoma Vanda Dlamini
Hon. Gawulela Jeremiah Zwane
Hon. Naphtal Mpungeni Mahlalela
Hon. Makhhalane Paul Dlamini
Hon. Prince Mekiseni
Hon. Mengameli Amon Matsebula
Hon. Sylvester Sostin S. Mokgokong
Hon. Mandinda Bhembe
Hon. Ndawombili Fred Dlamini
Hon. Mrs Precious Shungube (laMasango)
Hon. Chief Mnikwa William Dlamini
Hon. James L.F. Simelane
Hon. Dr. Vincent Leibrandt
Hon. Dr. Samuel W. Hynd
Hon. Abednego Hlophe
Hon. Prince Ngaba
Hon. Richard V. Dlamini
Hon. Lawrence M. Mncina
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi

Hon. William Magongo
Hon. Dabulumjiva Nhlabatsi
Hon. John Mason
Hon. Prince Mahhomu

Attorney General

The Learned Douglas L. Lukhele

FOURTH PARLIAMENT 1983–1988

CABINET

Prime Minister

The Rt. Hon. Prince Bhekimpi

Deputy Prime Minister

Hon. Sothsa Dlamini

Hon. Mhambi Mnisi

Minister without Portfolio

Hon. J.J.S. Sibanyoni

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Hon. R.V. Dlamini

Minister of Natural Resources and Land

Utilisation

Hon. Mhlangano Matsebula

Minister of Labour and Public Service

Hon. David Matse

Minister of Justice

Hon. Sipho H. Dlamini

Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives

Hon. Derek von Wissel

Minister of Commerce, Industry, Mines and
Planning

Hon. Dabulumjiva H.S. Nhlabatsi

Minister of Education

Hon. Prince Phiwokwakhe

Minister of Health

Hon. King Mtsetfwa

Minister of Interior and Immigration

Hon. Chief Sipho Shongwe

Minister of Works and Communication

Hon. Brigadier Fonono Dvuba

Minister of Defence and Youth

Hon. Prince Khuzulwandle

Minister of Natural Resources, Land

Utilisation and

Energy

Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo

Minister of Finance (1983–1984)

Hon. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini

Minister of Finance (1985–1988)

Hon. Phenyane Mamba

Minister of Interior and Immigration

SENATORS

President

Senator Jacob Phenduka Mavimbela

Deputy

Senator F.C. Kockett (1984–1986) / Mabalizandla (1986–

1988)

Sen. Nkomnophondo Khumalo

Sen. Logwazela Thwala
Sen. George Potgieter
Sen. Lokhakhi Dlamini
Sen. Majalimane Ntshangase
Sen. Princess Phetfwayini
Sen. Mboni Arthur Dlamini
Sen. Sylvester Sostin S. Mokgokong
Sen. Prince Dabede
Sen. Princess Lomakhetfo
Sen. Princess Simangele
Sen. Dr. Polycarp Lazarus Dlamini
Sen. Chief Mchoza A. Dlodlu
Sen. Mngayi Fakudze
Sen. Ben Forbes
Sen. Shadrack J. Sibanyoni
Sen. Mabalizandla Nhlabatsi

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Speaker	Hon. Seth Z.S. Dhlamini
Deputy	Hon. E. Phenyane Mamba

Hon. Hon. Prince Bhekimpi
Hon. Sotja Dlamini
Hon. Chief Sibengwane M. Ndzimandze
Hon. Joseph N. Mamba
Hon. Samson M. Dlamini
Hon. Chief Mandzanga M. Ndwandwe
Hon. Aaron V. Mkhwanazi
Hon. Khisimusi C. Mahlalela
Hon. Esau Moyeni Matse
Hon. Gilbert Sibhengu Lukhele
Hon. Chief Cetshwayo Mndzebele
Hon. Thomas Sameya Ndlovu
Hon. Rev. Andreas Sikhova Msibi
Hon. Dr. Fanny Friedman
Hon. Mvembili Job Maseko
Hon. Chief Nhloko Zwane
Hon. Manyakaza Dlamini
Hon. Abraham Mgadlela Nkonyane
Hon. Frank Madevu Litchfield
Hon. Prince Hhobohhobo
Hon. Martin Buya Mdziniso
Hon. Rev. Barnabas L. Mdzebele
Hon. Epharaem Fanukwente Magagula
Hon. Mlungeli Naphtali Mahlalela

Hon. Malaveni M. Ginindza
 Hon. Chief Malamlela Magagula
 Hon. John Charles McSeveney
 Hon. Peter Ronald Shovela Munro
 Hon. Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo
 Hon. Majalimane Lowashi Nkambule
 Hon. James Z. Dube
 Hon. Zeblon Zibunu Fakudze
 Hon. Sikhova Simelane
 Hon. Mhamba Mnisi
 Hon. Richard V. Dlamini
 Hon. Mhlangano Matsebula
 Hon. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini
 Hon. David Matse
 Hon. Sipho H. Mamba
 Hon. Derek von Wissel
 Hon. Dabulinjiva Nhlabatsi
 Hon. Prince Phiwokwakhe
 Hon. King Mtetwa
 Hon. Chief Sipho Shongwe
 Hon. Brigadier Fonono G. Dube
 Hon. Prince Khuzulwandle
 Hon. Phenyane Mamba

Attorney General

The Learned Patrick D. Makanza

FIFTH PARLIAMENT 1988–1993

CABINET

Hon. Sotsha Dlamini	Prime Minister
Hon. L. Lovell	Minister of Finance
Hon. Prince Mfanasibili	Minister of Local Administration
Hon. Polycarp L. Dlamini	Minister of Works and Communication
Hon. Rev. Aaron B. Gamedze	Minister of Health
Hon. Dr. Allen M. Nxumalo	Minister of Education
Hon. A. Kuseni Hlophe	Minister of Agriculture
Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines
Hon. A. Zonke Khumalo	Assistant Minister in the Prime Ministers Office
Hon. Prince Masitsela	Assistant Minister, Deputy Prime
Ministers Office	
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi	Assistant Minister Local Administration

Hon. E.S. Dhladhla

Ministers of State in charge of the Dept. of
Establishment and Training in the Office of the
Prime Minister

CABINET RESHUFFLE

Hon. A.Z. Khumalo

Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs

Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo

Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines

MEMBERS OF SENATE

President: Sen. Jacob Mavimbela

Deputy: Sen. Arthur R. V. Khoza

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hon. Prince Nqaba

Speaker: Hon. Seth Z.S. Dhlamini

Deputy: Hon. Obed Z. Dhlamini

Hon. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini

Hon. Prince Ngaba

Hon. Sipho. H. Mamba (1988–1991)

Hon. Albert N.H. Shabangu (1991–1993)

Hon. David Motsa (1991–1993)

Hon. Ben M. Nsibandze (1988–1991)

Hon. Mrs. Vinah Dlamini

Hon. Nelson Stanilous Zeeman

Hon. Phillip Dzingalive Dlamini

Hon. Brian Fitzpatrick

Hon. Elphas M. Tsabedze

Hon. Mlamuli N. Dlamini

Hon. Chreamas M.D. Dlamini

Hon. Job Buhlungu Dlamini

Hon. Jabulane Emmanuel Dlamini

Hon. David Mlandule Dlamini

Hon. Thomas Stephens

Hon. Lofana Phillip Patrick Dlamini

Hon. Aaron Msebenzi Duba

Hon. Paul Mhloli Kunene

Hon. Ray Ezrom Maphalala

Hon. Madoda Philemon Nsibandze

Hon. Benjamin Mphandlane Mdluli

Hon. Benjamin Bhekuyise Gumedze

Hon. Thomas S. Khathwane

Hon. Almon Phefu Mamba

Hon. Vayi Ambrose Gumedze
 Hon. Benjamin Dlamini
 Hon. Thimoty Lomahhala Kunene
 Hon. Sigcina Daniel Lushaba
 Hon. Funakwente Philemon Dlamini
 Hon. Sandanezwe Philemon Ntshakala
 Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Ngwenya
 Hon. Johan Mngometulu
 Hon. Ntofana Philemon Matsenjwa
 Hon. Ncedze Timothy Mtsetfwa
 Hon. Constantine S.M. Sifundza
 Hon. Eric Magedze Shongwe
 Hon. Amos S. Matse
 Hon. Shwebhe Johannes Maseko
 Hon. Jolam Nkambule
 Hon. Lomahasha Absalom Dlamini
 Hon. Samuel Sothupha Shongwe
 Hon. Fofoti P. Magongo
 Hon. Mcoshwa S. Fakudze
 Hon. Elliot Nkasha Dlamini
 Hon. Nkomnophondo Khumalo
 Hon. Princess Ngcishile
 Hon. Mhlihlizeni Dlamini
 Hon. Richard Themba Dlamini
 Hon. George J. Potgieter

Attorney General

The Learned Patrick D. Makanza

SIXTH PARLIAMENT 1993-1998

CABINET

The Rt. Hon. Prince Makhosini	Prime Minister (1993–1996)
Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	Deputy Prime Minister (1993–1998)
Hon. Solomon M. Dlamini	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade (1993–1996)
Hon. Chief Maweni Simelane	Minister of Justice (1993–1998)
Hon. Isaac Shabangu	Minister of Finance (1993–1995)
Hon. Themba Masuku	Minister of Economic Planning and
Development	(1993–1995)
Hon. Dr. Derek von Wissell	Minister of Health and Social Welfare (1993–
1994)	
Hon. Arthur R. V. Khoza	Minister of Natural Resources and Energy (1993–
1995)	
Hon. Muntu P. N. Mswane	Minister of Commerce and Industry (1993–1995)

Hon. Sen. Prince Khuzulwandle	Minister of Education (1993–1994)
Hon. Prince Mahlalengangeni (1993–1996)	Minister of Works and Construction (1993–1996)
Hon. Ephraem S. Magagula (1993–1996)	Minister of Transport and Communication (1993–1996)
Hon. Prince Sobandla	Minister of Home Affairs (1993–1996)
Hon. John Carmichael	Minister of Housing and Township Development (1993–1998)
Hon. Chief Dumbuza Lukhele	Minister of Agriculture & Co-operatives (1993–1998)
Hon. Prince Phinda	Minister of Broadcasting, Information and Tourism (1993–1995)
Hon. Majahenkhaba Dlamini	Minister of Commerce and Industry (1995–1996)
1996	Minister of Natural Resources & Energy 1995–1996
Hon. Dumisane Masango	Minister of Enterprise and Employment 1998
Hon. Musa Nkambule (1998)	Minister of Public Works and Transport (1996–1998)
Hon. Dr. Phetsile Dlamini	Minister of Tourism and Communication (1996–1998)
Hon. Prince Guduza	Minister of Health and Social Welfare (1996–1998)
Hon. Rev. Absalom M. Dlamini (1996)	Minister of Home Affairs (1996–1998)
	Minister of Natural Resources and Energy (1995–1996)
Hon. Albert H. Shabangu	Minister of Enterprise and Employment (1996–1998)
	Minister of Economic Planning and Development 1998
	Minister of Labour and Public Service (1993–1996)
	Minister of Economic Planning and Development 1993–1996
The Rt. Hon. Dr. B.S. Dlamini	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade 1998
Hon. Solomon Dlamini	Prime Minister (1996–1998)
Hon. A. R. V. Khoza	Minister of Education (1995–1998)
	Deputy Prime Minister (1998)
	Minister of Education 1995
Hon. Themba Masuku	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade (1995–1998)
Hon. Dr. Derick von Wissell	Minister of Finance (1996–1998)
Hon. Muntu Mswane (1996)	Minister of Finance (1995–1996)
	Minister of Health and Social Welfare (1995–1996)
	Minister of Public Service and Information (1996–1998)
Hon. Senator Khuzulwandle	Minister of Broadcasting, Information and Tourism (1995–1996)
Hon. Prince Sobandla	Minister of Natural Resources and Energy 1998

ASSISTANT MINISTERS AND MINISTERS OF STATE

Hon. A. Zonke Khumalo	Assistant Minister in the Prime Ministers Office
Hon. Prince Masitsela	Assistant Minister, Deputy Prime Minister Office
Hon. Prince Bhekimpi	Assistant Minister Local Administration
Hon. E.S. Dhladhla	Ministers of State in charge of the Dept. of Establishment and Training in the Office of the Prime Minister
Hon. A.Z. Khumalo	Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs
Hon. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines

LIST OF HON. SENATES

President:	Sen. Lawrence M. Mncina
Deputy:	Sen. Dr. Mary Mdziniso

Sen. Walter P. Bennett
Sen. John Carmichael
Sen. J.B.J.S. Dlamini
Sen. Prince Bhekimpi
Sen. Princess Fikile
Sen. Prince Guduza
Sen. Prince Khuzulwandle
Sen. Prince Madvumangadli
Sen. Polycarp Mafeletiveni Dlamini
Sen. Chief Majahane
Sen. Princess Msalela
Sen. Obed M. Dlamini
Sen. Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini
Sen. Chief Sizwangendaba Dlamini
Sen. Prince Tsekwane
Hon. Sen. Arthur R. V. Khoza
Sen. Nkominophondo D. Khumalo
Sen. Chief Dambuza Lukhele II
Sen. Chief Malamlela Magagula
Sen. Dr. Maggie Makhubu
Sen. Lozingwe Maseko
Sen. Phanginjobo Metiso
Sen. Chief Madzanga Ndwandwe
Sen. Loretta Romburgh
Sen. Mike Temple
Sen. D. von Wissel
Sen. Mark Ward

LIST OF HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Speaker:

Hon. Musa Justice Nsibande

Deputy:

Hon. Petros Mthantazo Mbhamali

Hon. Rt. Hon. Prince Mfanasibili	Appointed (1993–1996)
Hon. Rt. Hon. Dr. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini	Appointed (1996–1998)
Hon. Siteki Goodwill Gama	Hhukwini
Hon. Robert Anthony Mabuza	Motjane
Hon. Edward Dlamini	Mbabane East
Hon. Mzizi Ezrom Malinga	Mbabane West
Hon. Mrs. Martha Lomasontfo Dlodlu	Maphalaleni
Hon. Samson Mfanawempi Shongwe	Lobamba
Hon. Longubo Elias Ndwandwe	Timphisini
Hon. Mkhiza Samson Thwala	Ntfonjeni
Hon. Phillemon S. Bhiya	Mayiwane
Hon. Kerriot Govane Mvubu	Mhlangatane
Hon. Dum'sane Eric Masango	Pigg's Peak
Hon. Micheal Ntuthuko Dlamini	Lamgabhi
Hon. William Mazezulu Msibi	Kwaluseni
Hon. Luke M. Fakudze	Lobamba Lomdzala
Hon. Michael Mathokoza Maziya	Ekukhanyeni
Hon. Musa Nkambule	Mafutseni
Hon. Roy Douglas Fanourakis	Mtfongwaneni
Hon. Christopher Mdumiseni Masuku	Manzini South
Hon. Michael Mntonzima Dlamini	Manzini North
Hon. Mathokoza Luke Zwane	Nhlambeni
Hon. Bernard Zibandela Ntshangase	Mhlambanyatsi
Hon. Benson Khetsani Bhembe	Mangcongco
Hon. Mgabhi Dlamini	Ngwempisi
Hon. Rev. Absalom Muntu Dlamini	Ntondozi
Hon. Joseph Jabulane Dlamini	Dvokodweni
Hon. Patrick Gede Tsabedze	Siteki
Hon. Shile Phillip Dlamini	Nkilongo
Hon. Samuel Mndvoti	Mpolonjeni
Hon. Samson Shongani Mamba	Lomahasha
Hon. Madzaka Constantine Sifundza	Siphofaneni
Hon. Johannes Magulula Tsabedze	Sithobela
Hon. Mantaba J. Mkhaphi	Lubuli
Hon. Moses Dambuza Hlanze	Hlane
Hon. Mandlenkosi S. Dlamini	Khubuta
Hon. Abel Dum'sane Dlamini	Nkwene
Hon. Henry Khanyakwezwe Dlamini	Shiselweni I
Hon. Samson Msunduzeni Dlamini	Shiselweni II
Hon. Anthonie Johannes Robberts	Maseyisini

Hon. Jackson Msweli Mdluli	Gege
Hon. Mrs. Eleanor Nyawo	Hosea
Hon. Babili Enock Nsibande	Ngudzeni
Hon. Mhlushwa Robert Mbhamali	Lavumisa
Hon. Seth Maguduveni Gumbi	Matsanjeni South
Hon. Julius James Tsikati	Sigwe
Hon. Chief Sibengwane Ndzimandze	Appointee
Hon. Bhokil Shiba	Appointee
Hon. Prince Mahlaba	Appointee
Hon. Ndabazezwe Nxumalo	Appointee
Hon. Majahenkhamba James Dlamini	Nkhaba
Hon. Musa Justice Nsibande - Speaker	Zombodze South
Hon. Petros Mthantazo Mbhamali	Matsanjeni North
Hon. Bhokil Shiba	Appointee 1993-1994
Hon. Vusi T. Thwala	Appointee 1994-1998
Hon. Ephraem S. F. Magagula	Mkhiweni
Hon. Solomon Dlamini	Ndzingeni
Hon. Muntu P. N. Mswane	Ludzeludze
Hon. Hudson Simelane	Mhlume
Attorney General	The Learned Sipho Zwane

SEVENTH PARLIAMENT 1998-2003

CABINET

The Rt. Hon. Dr. Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini	Prime Minister
Hon. Arthur R.V. Khoza	Deputy Prime Minister
Hon. Prince Sobandla	Minister of Home Affairs
Hon. Peter Dlamini	Minister of Public Works and Transport
Hon. Albert H.N. Shabangu	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Hon. Majozi Sithole	Minister of Economic Planning and Development
Hon. Dr. George Vilakati	Minister of Tourism, Environment and Communication
Hon. Dr. Phetsile K. Dlamini	Minister of Health and Social Welfare
Hon. John Philip Charmichael	Minister of Finance
Hon. Mrs. Stella H.K. Lukhele	Minister of Housing and Development
Hon. Prince Guduza	Minister of Natural Resources and Energy
Hon. Lutfo E. Dlamini	Minister of Enterprise and Employment
Hon. Magwagwa E. B. Mdluli	Minister of Public Service and Information

Hon. Chief Maweni Simelane	Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs
Hon. Ro D.N. Fanourakis	Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives
Hon. Rev. Abednego Ntjangase	Minister of Education
President	Hon. Sen. Muntu P.N. Mswane

Address: House of Parliament, Box 37, Lobamba, H107
Telephone: 416-240; 416-1978; Fax 416-1603
Marital Status: Married
Date of Birth: 25 June 1955
Education: 1985–1987: Masters in Business Administration (MBA) Degree
Western Carolina University (Management, Marketing, Finance)
1980: Post-Grad Diploma (Bookkeeping & Accounts II)
(TWTC) United Kingdom
1975–1979: B.A. (Econ.) Degree UBS (Economics & Statistics)

Experience & Career: 1993–1995: Minister of Commerce and Industry, MP
1995–1996: Minister of Health and Social Welfare, MP
1996–1998: Minister of Public Service and Information, MP
1999 to date: President of Senate, Senator
1990–1993: General Manager (CEO), Swaziland Trade Fairs Ltd.
1989–1990: Assistant Manager, Swaziland Trade Fairs Ltd.
1981–1989: Projects Officer and later Senior Projects Officer; The Small Enterprises Development Company Ltd (SEDCO)
1982–1985: UNISWA, Statistics Tutor – Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies
1979–1981: Planning Officer, Dept. of Economic Planning & Statistics

Membership: Professional Member of the Institute of Marketing Management (RSA)
Member-Economics Association of Swaziland

Source: Houses of Parliament Library Document, Lobamba, 2001.

APPENDIX 4

ELECTION NOMINEES BY GENDER

ELECTIONS AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION 2008 NATIONAL ELECTIONS REPORT

NOMINATIONS PROCESS - continued

Table 4: 2008 Elections Nominees by Gender

REGION	BUCOPHO (F)	BUCOPHO (M)	INDVUNA YENKHU (F)	INDVUNA YENKHU (M)	MP (F)	MP (M)
MANZINI	163	371	129	386	131	435
LUBOMBO	100	281	71	219	55	244
SHISELWENI	155	354	112	353	116	351
HHOHHO	120	299	105	304	119	334
TOTAL	538	1305	417	1262	421	1364

Table 5: Nominees per Category by Region

REGION	BUCOPHO	INDVUNA YENKHUNDLA	MP	TOTAL
MANZINI	534	515	566	1615
LUBOMBO	381	290	299	970
SHISELWENI	509	465	467	1441
HHOHHO	419	409	453	1281
TOTAL	1843	1679	1785	5307

Source: Kingdom of Swaziland Elections and Boundaries Commission National Elections Report (2008)

VOTER REGISTRATION FORM

[illegible]

Source: Kingdom of Swaziland Elections and Boundaries Commission National Elections Report (2008)

APPENDIX 6

WRIT OF ELECTIONS

ELECTIONS AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION 2008 NATIONAL ELECTIONS REPORT



ANNEXURE 2 - Writ of Elections

LEGAL NOTICE NO.....OF 2008
THE ELECTIONS ORDER, 1992 (Order No. 2 of 1992)
**GENERAL ELECTIONS OF ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, TINDVUNA
TETINKHUNDLA AND BUCOPHO, (WRIT OF ELECTION) NOTICE, 2008 (Under Section 4)**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 4 of the Elections Order, 1992, I MSWATI III, KING OF SWAZILAND issue the following Notice-

Citation and Commencement

1.1 This Notice may be cited as the General Elections of Elected Members of the House of Assembly, Tindvuna Tetinkhundla and Bucopho (Writ of Election) Notice, 2008 and is directed to all Returning Officers.
1.2 This Notice shall come into force on the date of publication.

General Elections

2. I hereby proclaim that the General Elections of the Elected Members of the House of Assembly, Tindvuna Tetinkhundla and Bucopho shall take place in Swaziland on the following days and places -

2.1 **Nominations:** Saturday 2nd and Sunday 3rd August, 2008, at each Chiefdom/Umphakatsi or recognised Community Hall or School starting at 9.00 a.m.

2.2 **Primary Elections:** Saturday 23rd August, 2008 at each Chiefdom/Umphakatsi or recognised Community Hall or School starting at 7.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m.

2.3 **Counting and announcement of results:** Sunday 24 August, 2008 starting at 8.00 a.m.

2.4 **Introduction and campaigning of candidates standing for Secondary Election:** Monday 25th August to Thursday 18th September, 2008.

2.5 **Secondary Elections:** Friday 19th September at each Polling Centre starting at 7.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.

2.6 **Counting and announcement of results at each Counting Centre:** Saturday 20th September, 2008 starting at 8.00 a.m.
Sunday 24 August, 2008 starting at 8.00 a.m.
Monday 25 August to Thursday 18th September, 2008.
Friday 19th September at each Polling Centre starting at 7.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.
Saturday 20th September, 2008 starting at 8.00 a.m.

THUS DONE UNDER MY HAND AT LOZITH'EHLEZI ON
THIS.....DAY OF.....2008.
.....MSWATI III.....
INGWENYAMA AND KING OF SWAZILAND

Source: Kingdom of Swaziland Elections and Boundaries Commission National Elections Report (2008)

APPENDIX 7

POLLING PROCEDURE



ELECTIONS AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION 2008 NATIONAL ELECTIONS REPORT

ANNEXURE 4 - Polling Procedure / Indlela Yekukhetsa

Form 22

Elections order 1992

Section 37(4) (f)

Inkhundla / constituency.....

Umpakatsi.....

Polling division.....

Date of poll...../...../20.....

To be completed by chief electoral officer or his/her representative	To be completed by Presiding Officer					
Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5	Column 6	Column 7
i. Ballot papers	Ballot papers	Rejected	Ballot	Unused	Spoilt ballot	Totals
ii. Tendered ballot papers	used for voting	ballot papers	papers objected but accepted	ballot papers	papers	
(i)						
(ii)						
Totals						

I certify that this is the correct statement of ballot papers issued to me for the election that I conducted at the above mentioned polling station.

Signed (signature of Returning / Presiding officer)

Full Name..... Date/...../20

Source: Kingdom of Swaziland Elections and Boundaries Commission National Elections Report (2008)

APPENDIX 8

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING'S-ORDER-IN COUNCIL CONTINUED

STATUTES OF SWAZILAND

15. Election of Senators.
16. Composition of the House of Assembly.
17. Elected members of the H
18. Nominated members of the House of Assembly.
19. Qualifications for membership of Parliament.
20. Disqualification for membership of Parliament.
21. Tenure of seats of members of Parliament.
22. Vacation of seats on sentence, etc.
23. President and Deputy President of Senate.
24. Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly.
25. Acting President and Speaker.
26. Clerk of Parliament.
27. Clerks to Senate and House of Assembly and their staffs.
28. Decision of questions as to membership of Parliament.
29. Interpretation.

PART V

SUMMONING, PROROGATING AND DISSOLUTION

30. Sessions of Parliament, etc.
31. Prorogation and dissolution of Parliament.
32. Recalling Parliament in cases of emergency.

PART VI

LEGISLATION AND PROCEDURE IN PARLIAMENT

33. Power to make laws.
34. Oaths to be taken by members of Parliament.
35. Presiding in Senate.
36. Presiding in House of Assembly.
37. Quorum in Senate and House of Assembly.
38. Voting in Parliament.
39. Right of Minister etc, to address either Chamber of Parliament.
40. Unqualified persons sitting or voting.
41. Mode of exercise of power to make laws.

Source: Constitutional Law: King's Order-in-Council 1/1992

APPENDIX 9

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING'S ORDER-IN-COUNCIL CONTINUED

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING'S ORDER-IN-COUNCIL 1/1992
ss.11-15

(7) The Commission may regulate its own procedure and with the consent of the Prime Minister, may confer powers or impose duties on any public officer or on any authority of the Government for the purpose of its functions.

(8) The Commission may act notwithstanding any vacancy in its membership.

(9) The Commission shall be appointed on such other terms and conditions as the King after consultation with the Minister, may determine.

Election of members of the House of Assembly.

12. (1) The elections for the elected members of the House of Assembly shall be conducted at primary and secondary levels.

(2) The primary elections shall take place at Imiphakatsi and such other polling divisions as may be determined by the Delimitation Commission.

(3) The secondary elections shall take place at Tinkhundla centres, at which the candidates shall be those persons who have been elected at the primary level.

(4) Immediately after primary elections and before secondary elections, each candidate shall be afforded an opportunity, on an equal basis, to address the Inkhundla meeting on development and other issues, in line with national policy.

PART IV

ESTABLISHMENT AND COMPOSITION OF PARLIAMENT

Establishment of Parliament.

13. There is hereby established the Parliament of Swaziland which consists of a Senate and House of Assembly.

Composition of Senate.

14. (1) The Senate shall consist of thirty members (hereinafter called "Senators").

(2) Ten Senators shall be elected by the House of Assembly.

(3) Twenty Senators shall be appointed by the King to include Chiefs, Bantfwabenhosi and Special interests.

(4) The appointment of Chiefs to Parliament shall take account of regional interests and shall be made on rotational basis.

(5) The King shall appoint the Senators after consultation with such bodies as the King may consider appropriate in an endeavour to appoint such persons who are by reason of their special knowledge or practical experience able to represent cultural, economic and social interests and able to contribute substantially to the good government of Swaziland.

Election of Senators.

15. The election of members to the Senate by the House of Assembly shall be by a majority vote of those present and voting, and in the case of a tie there shall be a further election of the persons who have tied until all the persons shall have been elected.

(ISSUE 2)

Source: Constitutional Law: King's Order-in-Council 1/1992

APPENDIX 10

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: KING'S ORDER-IN-COUNCIL CONTINUED

STATUTES OF SWAZILAND

ss.16-20

Composition of the House of Assembly.

16. The House of Assembly shall consist of as many members as there are Tinkhundla elected directly one from each Inkhundla, ten members appointed by the King, and the Attorney-General who shall be an *ex officio* member.

Elected members of the House of Assembly.

17. Swaziland shall in accordance with the determination of the Delimitation Commission, be divided into Tinkhundla and each Inkhundla shall elect one member to the House in such manner as may be prescribed by law.

Nominated members of the House of Assembly.

18. The nominated members of the House of Assembly shall be appointed by the King, after consultation with such bodies as he may consider appropriate and after taking into account any special interest not already adequately represented in the House.

Source: Constitutional Law: King's Order-in-Council 1/1992

APPENDIX 11

THE 1963 SWAZILAND CONSTITUTION

1. The 1963 Constitution of Swaziland is contained in the Swaziland Order in Council. 1903, the Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland (Office of High Commissioner) Orders in Council 1959 and 1960, and the High Commissioner Territories Royal Instructions, 1959.
2. Swaziland is administered by the Resident Commissioner under the direction of the High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland. Laws are made by proclamation by the High Commissioner.
3. The Residents Commissioner is advised by two bodies which are recognised by law.
4. On matters affecting the Swazi inhabitants, the Resident Commissioner is advised by the *Ingwenyama* (or paramount chief), who by tradition acts in concert with the SNC. The *Ingwenyama*-in-Council enjoys traditional and recognised authority in respect of Swazi customs and institutions. In addition, he possesses certain powers conferred on him by proclamation by the High Commissioner.
5. The European Advisory Council advises the Resident Commissioner on matters directly affecting the European residents of Swaziland and on any other matters which he may specifically refer to it.
6. The European Advisory Council, on 18th January 1960, expressed the view that the time had been reached in the political development of the territory for the establishment of a Legislative Council in which both European and Swazi interests would be represented.
7. On 23rd April 1960, the *Ngwenyama* in an address (which the Swazi National Council in July 1960 adopted as expressing the views of the Swazi nation) also suggested that European and Swazis should meet in a Legislative Council.

8. On 16th June 1960, the Secretary of State instructed the Resident Commissioner, through the High Commissioner, to set in hand an examination of this question.
9. Following separate discussions by the Resident Commissioner with representatives of the Swazis and of the European, it was agreed to set up a committee under the chairman of the Resident Commissioner, to be composed of officials of the Swaziland Government and representatives of the SNC, the European Advisory Council and the Swaziland Combined Executives Association.
10. The first meeting of the committee took place on 4th November 1960. Three Swazi members of the committee withdrew from it in mid-1961. The committee's report was presented to the Secretary of State in December 1961.
11. There was unanimous consensus among the signatories of the report over a large field, but the Chairman and the other Government officials entered reservations on certain aspects of responses more particularly in regard to the composition and powers of the Legislative Council.
12. The Committee's report was published in Swaziland in March 1962, together with the text of a despatch to the High Commissioner from the Secretary of State. In this despatch the latter explained that he had set out his provisional views.
13. After taking into account reactions in Swaziland to the Committee's report and his despatch, the Secretary of State, on 8th December 1962, invited representative citizens of Swaziland to come to London to discuss with him the problem of Constitutional advance.
14. These discussions took place from 28th January 1962 until 12th January 1964. While they revealed a broad measure of agreement, there was a marked difference of opinion in certain areas, particularly regarding the composition and power of the Legislative Council.
15. After the conclusion of those talks, the Secretary of the State considered very carefully the views of which had been expressed. He formulated certain broad proposals. For instance, he requested the Resident Commissioner to discuss

these with *Ingwenyama* and with the impress represented and the London talks. Unfortunately, those consultations failed to reconcile different opinions.

16. It was based on this, the Secretary of State has been obliged to decide on the format of the Constitution.
17. The High Commissioner will remain in power to give directions to the Resident Commissioner (except in matters relating to the exercise of the Secretary of State for the government of the territory). To mark these changes, he will be described as His Majesty's Commissioner for Swaziland and will be appointed, like Colonel Governors, by the Sovereign.
18. The exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy will be entrusted to Her Majesty's Commissioner in his discretion. In capital, Her Majesty's Commissioner will be advised by the Executive Council but will act on his own judgement in deciding whether or not the Prerogative should be exercised.

The Legislative

19. There will be a Legislative for Swaziland, which will consist of Her Majesty's Commissioner and a Legislative Council.
20. The Legislative Council will be composed of a speaker, 24 elected members, 4 official members and nominated members.
21. The speaker will be pointed by Her Majesty's Commissioner, in the discretion, from outside the Legislative Council.
22. The 24 elected members will be made up as follows:

Eight Swazis certified by the *Ngwenyama*-in-Council as elected by traditional methods; Eight Europeans, four of whom will be elected by voters on a European roll and four of whom will be elected by a national roll; Eight persons of any race elected by voters on a national roll.
23. The official members will be the four officials who are members of the Executive Council (paragraph 22).

24. The nominated members will be persons aged 21 or above, who are British subjects or British protected persons, appointed by Her Majesty's Commissioner in his discretion. It is intended that the power of nomination should be used only.

Source: SNA, 1963, File 3497/1 Constitution-Electoral Law, Swazi Constitution Presented to Parliament by the Secretary for Colonies by the Command of Her Majesty.

APPENDIX 12

THE 1967 FIRST MINISTERS AND ASSISTANT MINISTERS

Name	Ministry and Affiliation	Assistant Ministers
Prince Makhosini Dlamini	Prime Ministers Office (INM)	Zonke Khumalo
Mfundza Sukati	Deputy Prime Minister (INM)	Prince Masitsela Dlamini
L. Lovell	Minister of Finance Commerce and Industry	Sishayi S. Nxumalo
Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini	Minister of Local Administration (INM)	B. Dlamini
A.K. Hlophe	Minister of Agriculture (INM)	
Rev. A.B. Gamedze	Minister of Education (INM)	
Pim Dlamini	Minister of Works, Power and Communication (INM)	

Source: The Times of Swaziland, 19 May 1967. King Names Seven Ministers.

APPENDIX 13

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AFTER THE 1967 ELECTIONS

Number	Member	Affiliation	Comment
1.	L. Lovell	King Sobhuza II's Appointee	Former Legislative Council member
2.	R.P. Stephens	King Sobhuza II's Appointee	Former Legislative Council member
3.	Rev. R. Foster	Same as above	Same as above
4.	J.S. Murphy	King Sobhuza II's Appointee	Old Swazilander and chairman of Swaziland Tobacco Co-operative
5.	D. Stewart Hynd	Same as above	Euro-African. Served as observer during the first Lancaster House Conference in London
6.	Duma Dlamini	King Sobhuza II's Appointee	Successful businessman
7.	S.M. Dlamini	Elected Member	Member of Imbokodvo National Movement (INM)
8.	Dr. M. Sukati	Elected Member	INM Member
9.	Prince Mfanasibili	Elected Member	INM Member
10.	M. Ndlangamandla	Elected Member	INM Member
11.	M.N. Hlatshwako	Elected Member	INM Member
12.	A.K. Hlophe	Elected Member	INM Member

13.	R.V. Dlamini	Elected Member	INM Member
14.	A. Dube	Elected Member	INM Member
15.	J.H.B. Sukati	Elected Member	INM Member
16.	M.N. Gamedze	Elected Member	INM Member
17.	H.K. Dlamini	Elected Member	INM Member
18.	S.M. Shabalala	Elected Member	INM Member
19.	M.S. Ndaba	Elected Member	INM Member
20.	Prince Makhosini Dlamini	Elected member	INM Leader
21.	J.S. Mavimbela	Elected Member	INM Member
22.	Prince Gabheni Dlamini	Elected Member	INM Member
23.	Z.A. Khumalo	Elected Member	INM Member
24.	A.D. Hlatshwayo	Elected Member	INM Member
25.	E.S. Dhladhla	Elected Member	INM Member
26.	Dr. C.A.M. Nxumalo	Elected Member	INM Member
27.	Prince Masitsela Dlamini	Elected Member	INM Member
28.	M.S. Matsebula	Elected Member	INM Member
29.	S.S. Nxumalo	Elected Member	INM member

Source: Times of Swaziland, 15 April ,1967 Elections Imbokodvo National Movement Gets All Seats.

Continuation of Appendix 13

Number	Senator	Affiliation	Remarks
1.	P. Dlamini	INM	Elected by the House
2.	J.M. Mamba	INM	Elected by the House
3.	B. Nhlabatsi	INM	Elected by the House
4.	B. Dlamini	INM	Elected by the House
5.	P.J. Brown		Elected by the House
6.	M.W Magongo	INM	Elected by the House
7.	Mary Mdziniso (only female) Activist	Involved in Welfare Organisations and Gender	Appointed by King Sobhuza II
8.	G. Mabuza	Rural Development Officer and former Legislative Council Member	Appointed by King Sobhuza II
9.	D.Lukhele	Lawyer who helped in drafting the 1963 petition against imposed constitution	Appointed by King Sobhuza
10.	Rev. B. Gamedze	Church Minister and Educator	Appointed by King Sobhuza II
11.	C. Todd	Former Leader of AEC, close confidante of King Sobhuza II	Appointed by King Sobhuza II
12.	D. Fitzpatrick		Appointed by King Sobhuza II

Source: Times of Swaziland 5 May 1967, The King Names Six MPs, Five Senators Elected.

APPENDIX 14

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TINKHUNDLA SYSTEM IN 1978

1. Ben Gregory Bennett	
2. Bhizeni Wilson Dlamini	
3. Paulos Mfanawendlela Ginindza	
4. Chief Mlimi Nicholas Maziya	
5. Ephraim Nyambezi Dlamini	
6. Chief Malamlela Magagula	
7. Mshefane Daniel Shongwe	
8. Mhlanganyelwa Mbonani Michael Shongwe	
9. Ernest Phenyane Mamba	
10. Sibengwane Magomba Ndzimandze	
11. Magwece Jeremiah Mkhathshwa	
12. Chief Mnikwa William Dlamini	
13. Austin Sangoma Vanda Dlamini	
14. Gawulela Jeremiah Zwane	
15. Naphtali Mlungeli Mahlalela	
16. Mkhahane Paul Dlamini	
17. Prince Maquba	
18. Prince Mekiseni Enoch	

19. Mengameli Amon Matsebula	
20. Mafa Phelemon Sibandze	
21. Sylvester Saustin Sankwentyn M Mokgokong	
22. Mandinda Bhembe	
23. Ndawombili Fred Dlamini	
24. Precious Shungube	
25. Princess Phetfwayini	
26. Mphithi Luka Dlamini	
27. Mambonjwana S. Nkambule	
28. Peter Shovela Munro	
29. Robbert Mkhanyambeni Dlamini	
30. Walter William Mourdaunt	
31. Malaveni Mgwagwanana Ginindza	
32. Samson Msunduzeni Dlamini	
33. Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo	
34. Joseph Nduna Mamba	
35. Chief Madzanga Ndabenkulu Ndwandwe	

**Source: Official Report of the First Meeting of the First Session of the Parliament
of Swaziland, 16 and 19 January, 1979**

APPENDIX 15

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH DURING OPENING OF FIRST SESSION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT OF SWAZILAND, 7 MAY, 1968.

Mr. Speaker of the Senate and Honourable Senators, Mr. Speaker of the House of Assembly and Honourable Members.

I am sure that the people of Swaziland on this memorable occasion share my own personal sense of national pride and satisfaction, in my privileged duty of delivering an address on the opening of this first session of this first Parliament of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

This event will be seen in history as a turning point in the implementation of the democratic life of the Swazi Nation and of our non-racial society, of which we are so rightly and justly proud.

I now propose to describe the major policies which my government intends to pursue during this session in the field of constitutional, economic and social affairs. The protected state of the Kingdom of Swaziland has come about and reached its present happy constitutional state of parliamentary government through the good offices of the previous government of Swaziland and Her Majesty's government.

The people of Swaziland are grateful to those governments for their painstaking deliberations, which successfully resulted in the present unique constitutional arrangements. My government is already looking forward to further constitutional advancement and is confident that the present officious commissions in this country will continue into the future. My government is, therefore, proposing to Her Majesty's government that Swaziland be granted independence in the month of September 06, 1968.

My government is making this proposal after full consideration of the time required to complete all the constitutional and administrative arrangements necessary, to initiate independence successfully. My government is fully aware that constitutional

advancement alone will not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and accordingly, it is planning for solid progress in the economic and social spheres.

An efficient, loyal and contented public service is essential for the proper administration of government policy and it has an important supporting function in the progress of the private sector of the economy. My government will take all possible steps to maintain such a public service.

The ultimate objective of the complete localisation of all branches of the public service will be actively pursued through scholarships and training skills which demand full support of the more experienced staff. Until complete localisation is achieved, my government fully recognises the need for the services of experienced expatriate staff, who may rest assured that my government welcomes their presence in this country.

With national independence now clearly in prospect, my government is fully conscious of the need to develop the country's human and material resources as fully and rapidly as possible. To that end, it will prepare a development plan to succeed that covering the period ending March 1968.

It intends to increase the national income by investment in projects likely to develop the economy and by encouraging private investment in a productive industry with the following in view:

Firstly, to raise the general standard of living, particularly among the lower income groups and to share the economic benefits of existing and new enterprises more evenly among the population. Secondly, to make the country sovereign as soon as possible, while maintaining administrative standards and improving social services where necessary.

The achievement of those objectives would be variously assisted by expanding and improving education, in particular technical and commercial training, augmenting the country's infrastructure, and maintaining an attractive economic and political climate for new private capital investment, searching for new mineral deposits and accelerating production from existing mining projects, increasing credit facilities to active small

farmers, traders and cooperatives and creating machinery for channelling capital funds and expertise for new industries.

My government will plan with care those aspects of development which involve the current expenditure, bearing in mind the need to balance the expenditure and revenue for a stable and healthy economy. Revenue trends are encouraging, showing an increase from 5.8 million in 1965/66 to 6.4 million in 1966/67.

The existing tax structure would be closely reviewed for new sources of state income to pay for expanding services on a basis fair to all groups of tax payers. Methods of tax collection will be improved to complement successful inauguration of the PAYE System.

My government recognises that a higher economic standard of living for the present majority of the people depends on the successful development of agriculture and national industries. It looks forward, next year, to improving upon the expected record maize and cotton harvest of this year.

Further attention is to be given to proper land use planning, and there will be a national campaign for the production of maize, cotton and groundnuts. Planned agricultural development programmes include the establishment of a farmer training scheme in each district, more capital, intensive settlement schemes and a promotion of dairy farming.

The Swaziland Agricultural College and University Centre will continue to play an increasingly important role in the education of local leaders and farmers, and of men from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland at University Diploma level. Continued attention will be given to the need for exported fruit processing facilities in this country.

My government will be introducing legislation required for the dairy, meat, cotton-seed and citrus industries. My government recognises that the proper utilisation of this country's water resources is essential for the development of agriculture, industry, power and urban areas. Legislation to that end will be introduced at this meeting of Parliament.

A detailed survey will be made of the water resources of the country, particularly on the very important Usuthu River basin and further discussions will take place with other governments of the apportionment of the water in rivers of common interest.

Attention will be given to future road development and transport planning and control in the interest of the economy and social amenities. The possibility of expanding scheduled air services with other countries will be pursued. A second electricity generating station at Maguduza will be constructed to meet the anticipated rising demand for electricity, over the next four years.

The department of Posts and Telecommunications, with continually rising revenue, will continue to expand its postal, telephone, telegraph and telex services to meet the requirements of the general public in rural and urban areas.

My government attaches the greatest importance to the essential function of education in raising the economic and social standard of the people and in fitting them to attain higher positions of responsibility in the public service and private sector of the economy. It is necessary to establish priorities for action in the educational system because the overall demands for expansion and improvement exceed the available finance to meet them simultaneously.

My government will, in the next year, give the highest priority to the expansion of facilities for teacher training so as to improve the standard of teaching in the primary schools. Teacher training will continue being free with bursaries. The standard of secondary education will also be improved by upgrading the remaining form-one top schools to junior secondary school level with the provision of extra classrooms and laboratories.

Bursary awards at the present level for secondary education will continue to be made to the best students of primary schools to ensure poverty does not stand in their way. A building programme will be carried out to alleviate overcrowding in classrooms and in schools.

My government fully appreciates the contribution which a properly developed health service can make, to the welfare and standard of living of the people insuring and preventing disease. In the creative context, certain urgent improvements will be made at Mbabane Hospital and the building is to be enlarged to accommodate an additional 140 patients. Medical services to rural communities will be extended. Legislation will be prepared governing preventative medicine, public health and housing.

My government believes that in the last report, a rise in the standard of living of the people must depend upon the people themselves taking an active part in their own development, to supplement whatever help and guidance the departments of government can provide. For this purpose, an intensive programme of community development will be introduced in which the people will be encouraged to participate.

The problems of urban local government will receive close attention, particularly as regard to the need for legislation for the more effective administration of municipalities and smaller towns. My government will deal, as actively as it can, within the limits of available finance, with the serious problems of providing housing in the urban areas which have suffered from massive influx of rural people now living in overcrowded conditions.

My government realises that the successful implementation of these policies, in all fields, depends on a democratic society upon their being clearly understood and acceptable to the people. To that end, all possible steps will be taken to keep the people fully informed of developments in policy and public affairs by expanding the very useful role already played by the government Information Services and the Swaziland Broadcasting Service. A siSwati newspaper will be published monthly at the Government Information Services and the Swaziland Broadcasting Service time will be increased to 8 hours a day. My government attaches the greatest importance to the need for harmonious industrial labour relations and progressive industrial training in the public and private sectors of the economy, in the interest of employers and employees and of the Nation's economy and political stability. The establishment of the National Council for Industrial Vocational Training and Trade Testing will effectively further the purpose of training the young men of Swaziland in the various skills required for them to take part in this country's development.

This address, in concentrating on the major policy intentions of my government of the next year, is necessary brief. It has accordingly not directly touched upon the day-to-day activities of my government which will continue to render valuable service to the public and to the country.

My government is mindful of the importance of the administration of justice, the maintenance of law and order, the proper regulation of its finances and the administration of the districts which will continue to be carried out in exemplary fashion in accordance with the high standard already set.

I conclude by saying that I share the confidence of my government that this session of Parliament will be fruitful for the people of Swaziland. I wish its labourers godspeed for there is a great deal of hard work and deliberation ahead over the next year if the foundation for successful independence are to be well and truly laid, as I am sure they will be.

Mr. Speaker of the Senate and Honourable Senators, Mr. Speaker of the House of Assembly and Honourable Members, I now declare this session of Parliament open.

Source: King Sobhuza II Memorial Park Library (Next to the Houses of Parliament, Lobamba)