"Political parties cause divisions": Exploring Support for Democracy in Swaziland

Selamile Dlamini

Under the direction of:
Professor Larry Diamond and Professor Joel Samoff

Abstract

What shapes support for democracy and political participation in Swaziland? Previous research has focused on Swazi traditions, which portray democracy as a challenge to the respected and preferable Swazi way of life. That research, however, is insufficiently attentive to the range of influences on Swazi attitudes about democracy. This thesis addresses those influences, combining a historical overview, an extended analysis of Afrobarometer survey data, and interviews with a purposive sample of the Swazi population, as well as ten key informants. Modernization theory, which points to poverty as a barrier to democracy, is only partially helpful here. Both the in-depth individual interviews that explored political activism and Afrobarometer's Round 5 survey in Swaziland confirm that education is the most significant determinant of support for democracy. Consistent with findings across Africa, this research found that women support democracy less than men. This observation may be largely a function of access to education, since as women's education level increases, their support for democracy increases more rapidly than it does among men. At the same time, the in-depth interviews also challenge modernization theory, since they show that the poorest Swazis are the most supportive of democracy, and political parties in particular. Notably, religion, propaganda, and fear are important factors that shape support for democracy in Swaziland. Overall, most striking in this research is the confirmation, in the midst of limited expressed support for democracy, that there are strong roots for democratic support among the citizens of Africa's last absolute monarchy.

Table of Contents

Glossary of terms

AGOA: African Growth and Opportunity Act
ANC: African National Congress
Bucopo: Constituency committee
CRC: Constitutional Review Committee
Enkhaba: an area in the northern part of Swaziland
eSwatini: in Swaziland
Hhohho, Manzini, Shiselweni, Lubombo: the four administrative regions in Swaziland
INM: Imbokodvo National Movement
Incwala: A traditional annual national ceremony sometimes referred to as 'the first fruits ceremony'
Inkhundla: singular for constituency
Tinkundla: (1) plural for constituencies; (2) Tinkhundla designate traditional meeting places where communities converge to discuss issues affecting their lives. It is made up of a cluster of chiefdoms, under the jurisdiction of chiefs (there are 55 chiefdoms in the country); (3) Tinkhundla is also a system of governance, anchored in Swazi culture
Indvuna yenkhundla: overseer of a constituency
Lobamba: name of an area and school within the area
MP: Member of Parliament
NDS: National Development Strategy
NNLC: Ngwane National Liberation Congress
Nkomanzi: an area in the Hhohho region
PUDEMO: Peoples United Democratic Movement
siSwati: Language of the people of Swaziland
Somnjalose: An area and name of a school
SACU: Southern African Customs Union
SWAYOCO: Swaziland Youth Congress
Tindvuna Tetinkhundla: Constituency headmen / governors
TUCOSWA: Trade Union Congress of Swaziland
Umhlanga: Reed dance
Vusela (singular) Vuselas (plural): Consultations with constituencies to determine what people want on a particular issue

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

1: Introduction

Emaphati etembusave angumnyama
Emaphati etembusave enta bantfu bacabane,
Ngwenyama silo sikhulu, asiwafuni emaphati

Political parties are dark presences.
Political parties set people against each other.
Your Majesty, we don't want political parties.[1]
     - Sung during Swaziland's Annual Swazi Reed Dance Ceremony

Lobucili benu sabubona,
sabubona sabehlulekisa ngeTinkhundla,
leTinkhundla tisibuko seMaswati

We have seen your slyness[2],
We have seen it and conquered[3] it through Tinkhundla,
The Tinkhundla are the mirror demonstration[4] of the Swazi nation
     -Sung by the Regiments of the Kingdom of eSwatini

My thesis began long before I was admitted to the Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law. While growing up in Swaziland, I would hear varied opinions about possible reasons for the lack of democracy in Swaziland. However, despite the numerous speculative answers I heard through conversations about my country's political gridlock, I never encountered any theories that attempted to address the question in a structured way.

My curiosity has only grown with age. During my first year attending the Annual Swazi Reed Dance ceremony for young women, I heard a song that that particularly struck me, which sang: "*lelive ngelakho' nkhosi, ngelakho nkhosi, sebamane bayaku bangisa.*" These lyrics translate to "...this country is yours you of the King. They are just fighting you over

---

[1] Lukhele, Lucky. "KING MSWATI BRAINWASHES MAIDENS THROUGH UMHLANGA SONG." *Swaziland Solidarity Network*. Google Groups, 27 Aug. 2012. Web. 20 Apr. 2015.
[2] Could also be translated to: cleverness, cunning, trickery and craftiness
[3] Or overcome
[4] *Sibuko* refers to anything used for seeing or looking through e.g. mirror or window

nothing."[5] This song was clearly political. Later, I learned of more explicitly political songs. Some of them, such as those headlining this chapter, denounced political parties, or methods of governance perceived to be un-Swazi. These songs were shared especially during annual traditional events, such as *umhlanga* (reed dance) and *incwala* (the national prayer). In their appearance at traditional events, the songs embodied the notion behind King Sobhuza II's outlawing of political parties in 1973: that multi-party democracy was a Western concept, alien to "the Swazi way of life." However, King Mswati renaming Swaziland's political system a "monarchial democracy" in 2013 demonstrates that conversations about democracy are taking place, even if not explicitly. In this context, it is crucial to develop an understanding of the significant factors and values that shape and explain the attitudes of Swazis regarding democracy. This investigation may provide a starting point to determining the country's potential for citizen-led democratic development.

Over time I encountered and learned more about the discussions around democracy in Swaziland, but perhaps what pushed me to ask my own questions was witnessing firsthand the institutional shortcomings in Swazi society. In 2013, I conducted a summer research project wherein I investigated the impact (if any) of the national Annual Reed Dance on the aspirations of high school-aged Swazi girls. I expected that the experience would give me a better idea of what type of project to do within Swaziland or, maybe, to offer insight into some of the needs of a non-profit I might one day start. It didn't. Instead, through my focus group discussions and individual interviews conducted during the summer project, the discussion of institutional barriers girls my age faced particularly struck me—it was not *aspirations* that were a barrier, it was *institutions*.

Time and time again, the girls I interviewed hoped to be doctors, lawyers, and presidents. Yet they expressed discontent. They felt the institutions intended to serve them

---

[5] Here, it is essential to note the historical significance of traditional songs as a way to resist colonialism or Western imperialism. Although only partially sang today, the full lyrics of the song translate to, "you child of the lion, oh my father; it is yours, you of the King. It is yours, you lion of the nation. They are just fighting over it, these whites, this country is yours you of the King. They are just fighting you over nothing. This country is yours, Your Majesty." In her thesis about the significance and meaning of Swazi traditional songs, Thulsile Motsa-Dladla discusses the political significance of this song for "supposed illiterate" Swazi women. *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 Master of Arts in Education at Saint Mary's University, Canada, June 1994

had left them behind. Perhaps their teachers were on strike, or corrupted head teachers would collect money from the government but not follow through to employ teachers, or teachers would fabricate names of students to get more government funding, or scholarships would not pay as promised and the girls were asked to leave school. In this way, my thesis began in classrooms at *Somnjalose*, *Swazi National, Lobamba National, St. Marks High School,* and *Mater Dolorosa* high schools in Swaziland where the focus group discussions were conducted and proved to be enlightening. During those discussions, the institutional barriers the high school girls I interviewed brought to light inspired me to ask critical questions of these institutions.

In what follows, I investigate the factors that influence Swazi attitudes about democracy and the efficacy of these factors based on such attitudes. I use two primary sources of information: the first is a set of in-depth, primarily qualitative interviews that I conducted in Swaziland in July-September 2014, and the second is data reported in Afrobarometer's Round 5 survey conducted in Southern Africa in 2013. The evidence demonstrates that support for democracy increases with individuals' higher educational attainment. However, despite ideological support, democratic participation *decreases* among these individuals, with the exception of attending a protest or political march. I also find that, although women support democracy less than men and also have lower levels of participation in "democratic activity," higher educational attainment increases support for democracy more substantially for women than for men. Additionally, religious membership decreases support for democracy. Lastly, although many Swazis express the opinion that political parties are divisive, Swaziland's poorest are the most supportive of democracy, and, notably, political parties. From qualitative data, I find that fear and propaganda are used to countervail support for democracy in Swaziland's context.

2. Historical Background

2.1 Swaziland

Swaziland is a small landlocked country in southeastern Africa. The country was granted its independence from the United Kingdom in 1968—slightly later than the other British protectorates in southern Africa: Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) and Basutoland (present-day Lesotho), both of which were emancipated in 1966.[6] The Swazi population is 1.2 million (as of January 2014), with approximately 70 percent of the population living in rural areas. Swaziland's official languages are Siswati and English.

With an HIV prevalence rate of 26 percent, and an estimated TB incidence of 1,198/100,000, Swaziland has the highest burden of both diseases in the world.[7] Moreover, approximately 40 per cent of the population is below the age of 15.[8] Even though Swaziland is considered a lower-middle income country with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (PPP) income of US $6,685.3 (2013),[9] 69 percent of Swazis are estimated to be living below the national poverty line.[10] This high rate of poverty has been attributed to high inequality, as Swaziland's Gini Coefficient is at .51.[11] Despite Swaziland's high annual growth rate of 28.3 births per 1000 people, it also suffers high mortality rates: 52 infants per 1000 births, 73 per 1000 children under five, and 7,000 acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS)-related deaths annually.[12] Approximately one-quarter of the Swazi population is considered "food insecure," and 39 percent of children below the age of five experience stunted growth, which is above World Health Organization (WHO)

---

[6] Botswana gained independence on 30 September 1966, and Lesotho later that year on 4 October 1966

[7] United Nations Country Team (UNCT), *Swaziland United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2011-2015.*

[8] Africa Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013*. South Africa.

[9] "World Bank: Data." *GDP per Capita, PPP (current International $)*. The World Bank, n.d. Web. This makes Swaziland a lower-middle income country.

[10] United Nations Country Team, *UNCT, Swaziland UNDAF 2011-2015.*Swaziland. The World Bank presents the poverty headcount ratio as 69 percent instead of the 63 percent presented by UNCT.

[11] World Bank. (2010). *GINI index (World Bank estimate)*. Washington, DC.

[12] Africa Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013*. South Africa.

thresholds. Swaziland's human development index is currently 0.527, declining from 0.623 in 1990.[13]

Geographically, Swaziland covers an area of 17,364km^2 and is landlocked: the country is surrounded by the Republic of South Africa to the north, west, and south, and by the People's Republic of Mozambique to the east (Appendix 1 contains a map of Swaziland). Economically, Swaziland relies heavily on trade with South Africa. 90 percent of Swaziland's imports come from South Africa, and over 70 percent of Swaziland's exports go into South Africa.[14] Swaziland's currency, the Lilangeni, is pegged 1:1 to the South African Rand. The Swazi Lilangeni and the South African Rand are used interchangeably in Swaziland. In addition to material trade, a large number of men and women emigrate from Swaziland to study and work in South Africa.

Swaziland is divided into four administrative regions: Hhohho, Shiselweni, Lubombo, and Manzini. These regions are, in turn, divided into 55 administrative sub-divisions, known as *tinkhundla* (constituencies). Swaziland has a dual legal system comprised of common law and customary law. Common law is based on the Roman-Dutch legal system whereas the Swazi courts administer customary law. In practice, Swaziland's dual government structure has a modern arm led by the country's Prime Minister as well as a traditional arm run by the chiefs. The chiefs and Prime Minister all report to the King.[15] Swazis – the people of Swaziland – are united under a monarchy by a common culture and language, *siSwati.* The Dlamini clan is currently Swaziland's ruling clan.[16] Although considered Africa's last absolute monarch, Swaziland ratified a constitution on 8 February 2006.

[13] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2008/2009* (New York: UNDP, 2009)

[14] Africa Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013*. South
    Africa.

[15] Kumalo, Simangaliso: *Religion and Politics in Swaziland*, 2013. According to RT Nhlapo: "In the case of Swaziland, legal dualism means the following: a Swazi is subject to two legal systems while his non-Swazi counterpart is not." Nhlapo R.T. (1989). Legal Duality and Multiple Judicial Organization in Swaziland: An Analysis and a Proposal in *The Individual under African Law*. Manzini, Swaziland.

[16] Mzizi, J. B. (2002). *Leadership, Civil Society and Democratisation in Swaziland*. Addis Ababa: Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF).

2.2 The current governance system: history and development

2.2.1 The impact of labor union activism in pre-independent Swaziland

As part of Africa's "wave of democratization," the British colonial government began the process of constitutional development in Swaziland in 1959. As was common in areas under British rule, the colonial government recognized Swaziland as a chiefdom governed under a paramount chief. In Swaziland at that time, this chief was Sobhuza II. He was in charge of all traditional institutions excluding those that fell within the jurisdiction of the Resident Commissioner.[17] As evinced by constitutional talks held during the period of democratization, it was clear that the British Government would not give power to the monarch.[18] The proliferation of political parties and the involvement of young, educated members of the traditional elite[19] alarmed the Swazi National Council during this constitutional development period.[20] The National Council and the King proposed a plan to have control over traditional methods of electing people into the legislative bodies.

Both the British and King Sobhuza II were wary of democratic rule in Swaziland, especially with the increasing tensions due to an unhappy labor force. In the early 1950s, the Swazi labor force consisted largely of workers from South Africa and Mozambique, and, to a lesser extent, workers from Nyasaland and the Rhodesias.[21] Swazi "traditionalists" saw this composition as a threat due to the competition for land, jobs, and women. However, the largest threat came from the class divisions caused by an influx of educated black South Africans elected to positions of influence within Swaziland.[22] Prince Makhosini Dlamini

---

[17] MzizI, Joshua Bheki. "The dominance of the Swazi monarchy and the moral dynamics of democratisation of the Swazi state." *Journal of African Elections* 3.1 (2004): p-94. During this period, Swaziland's Resident Commissioner was Brian Marwick.

[18] Solomon, Hussein. (2013). *Against All Odds: Opposition parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: KMM Review.

[19] This fear was heightened by the experiences of Mr. J.J. Nquku, a prominent Swazi who had travelled to England, the USA, and several European countries, and returned to Swaziland with ideas of "democracy and progress. (Solomon, Hussein. (2013). *Against All Odds: Opposition parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: KMM Review.) However, these included Dr. Ambrose Zwane, Prince Dumisa Dlamini, and MacDonald Maseko (a South African based Swazi who was a member of both the African National Congress and South African Communist Party) (MacMillion, H. (1985). "Swaziland: Decolonization and the triumph of Swazi tradition." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(4): 643-666.)

[20] Originally, the Swazi National Council consisted of the *Liqoqo* (inner group of royal advisors), and the *Libandla* (consisting of the Queen Mother and all Swazi adult males).

[21] MacMillion, H. (1985). "Swaziland: Decolonization and the triumph of Swazi tradition." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(4): 643-666.

[22] MacMillion, H. (1985). "Swaziland: Decolonization and the triumph of Swazi tradition." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(4): 643-666.

expressed the concerns of these traditionalists, publicly commenting that these people were "subverting" and "indoctrinating" the Swazi youth.[23]

Like Swazi traditionalists, the British were also afraid of the spread of radical forms of African nationalism from South Africa and expressed concern that trade unions would organize into politically influential bodies that could upend the political system and power structure of the time. They feared expropriation, using the recent history of the Congo as their case in point. To quell this fear, the British formed an alliance with King Sobhuza II, the "traditionalists," and the white settlers.[24]

Following these events, a new Swazi constitution was imposed in 1964. The European Advisory Council (EAC) petitioned the High Commissioner of South Africa, Mr. Liesching, to convert the European Advisory Council into a Legislative Council.[25] This Council would be made up of eight members to be chosen by "traditional" methods, given that direct elections were regarded as "wholly unsuitable to and unacceptable by the people of Swaziland."[26] Other resistance to the constitution occurred as King Sobhuza II and the Swazi National Council rejected the constitutional arrangements for control of Swazi minerals and land. After a failed referendum and petition of the constitution, King Sobhuza II established a royal political party, the *Imbokodvo* National Movement (INM). Through this movement, the monarch participated in constitutional talks with the British.

Although *Imbokodvo* National Movement was by all forms and means a political party, King Sobhuza disliked political parties. He emphasized that INM was not one with the slogan *siphuma esibayeni saka Lobamba,* which translates to "we are from the royal kraal." King Sobhuza II used his office to campaign for INM, delivering a speech in favor of the movement during the Incwala Ceremony in December 1971.

---

[23] Prince Makhosini Dlamini, Legislative Council, Official Report, 1st Session, 1st Sitting, 14 September 1964
[24] Later, the European Advisory Council changed its name to the United Swaziland Association and joined the Imbokodvo National Movement in 1965, threatened by the radical nationalism and political movements of the Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP) and Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC). The SPP and NNLC were eventually excluded from constitutional talks after the 1964 elections, as they did not win any seats in the Council, and the Colonial Office policy was that only parties represented in the council should be involved in the discussion (Solomon, Hussein. (2013). *Against All Odds: Opposition parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: KMM Review.)
[25] Solomon, Hussein. (2013). *Against All Odds: Opposition parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: KMM Review.
[26] Sobhuza II, Petition to the House of Commons, 19 November 1963, quoted in Kuper, *Sobhuza II*, p. 241

2.2.2 The Tinkhundla system of governance

Swaziland gained independence from the United Kingdom on 6 September 1968. During the period of independence, the *Imbokodvo* National Movement led Swaziland under King Sobhuza II. Elections held in 1967 resulted in the *Imbokodvo's* winning of all seats in Parliament.[27] However, during the 1972 elections, *Imbokodvo* lost three seats to Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC).[28] Out of 24 total seats in Parliament, *Imbokodvo* won 21 seats, and NNLC won three. After losing these seats to the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, the *Imbokodvo* National Movement declared that one of the opposition members, Thomas Bhekindlela Ngwenya, was not a Swazi citizen but a prohibited immigrant. However, the case of his national status was taken to the highest court in Swaziland, the Court of Appeal, and Ngwenya was indeed found to be a Swazi citizen.

Following the loss of seats in Parliament as well as the loss of their case against Ngwenya, the members of Parliament belonging to *Imbokodvo* National Movement authored a motion asking King Sobhuza II to repeal the Independence Constitution. The king did so on 12 April 1973, at which time political parties were banned in Swaziland.[29] Additionally, Parliament was dissolved. In the face of all this upheaval, Swaziland was declared to be in a state of emergency.

After repealing the constitution, all legislative, judicial, and executive powers were given to the *Ngwenyama,*[30] His Majesty the King of Swaziland. Additionally, both political participation and expression were banned.[31] In a speech given on 12 April 1973, King Sobhuza II declared his ultimate power, saying, "…I have assumed supreme power in the Kingdom of Swaziland and… all legislative, executive, and judicial power is vested in

---

[27] During the elections were held in 1967, the *Imbokodvo* National Movement won 80 per cent of the votes and NNLC won the remaining 20 per cent, but no seats in parliament. However, the fairness of Imbokodvo's wins are contested by Hugh Macmillan who states 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 (MacMillion, H. (1985). "Swaziland: Decolonization and the triumph of Swazi tradition*." The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(4): 643-666.)

[28] The case is on record as, *Bhekindlela Thomas Ngwenya v The Deputy Prime Minister* 1970-76 SLR (HC) 88.

[29] During this time, meetings of more than 10 people were banned unless written permission had been obtained from the police

[30] The Swazi word for the Swazi King, very roughly translates to "the lion"

[31] *National Development Strategy (nds) : Vision 2022, Key Macro and Sectoral Strategies.* [Swaziland]: Kingdom of Swaziland, 1999.

myself."[32] Between 1973 and 1978, King Sobhuza II ruled Swaziland with his chosen members of the Council of Ministers. This period ended on 12 October 1978 when the *tinkhundla* system of government was established in Swaziland. This shift revived the parliamentary system of governance and enacted a law that ensured that both the elections of Swaziland's legislators and political administrators would be conducted under *tinkhundla*.[33]

Upon the *tinkhundla* system's origination in 1978, the system of contesting for seats in Parliament was replaced with one wherein representatives to Parliament came from 40 centers spread around the country known as *tinkhundla* centers.[34] The October 1978 Order-in-Council established an electoral commission to supervise the election of candidates at the various *tinkhundla*, and then later as members of Parliament. The king appointed governors, known as *tindvuna tetinkhundla*, to supervise all activities of *tinkhundla* centers, specifically ensuring that activities were conducted in accordance with Swazi traditions.[35] *Tindvuna tetinkhundla* then convened meetings to elect an *inkhundla* committee, comprised of chiefdom representatives known as *bucopo*.[36] This electoral committee consisted of seven members appointed by the king for a term decided by the king himself.[37] This committee assisted *indvuna yenkhundla* in selecting two delegates to represent the specific *inkhundla*.

Out of the 80 delegates from the two selected in each *inkhundla*, 40 were elected as Members of Parliament. These 40 represented each *inkhundla* and were elected by their own peers. Once elected, their names, addresses, and backgrounds were presented for screening. If the King was pleased with the candidates after this vetting, the Chief Electoral Officer presented the candidates as his Members of Parliament. Disputes arising in reaction

---

[32] Maseko, Thulani. (2008). The drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *8*(2), 312-336. Retrieved January 09, 2015, from http://www.scielo.org.za

[34] The 40 *tinkhundlas* have now been expanded to 55

[35] Kingdom of Swaziland, "Establishment of Parliament Order" states: "an *inkhundla* shall perform all such functions…in accordance with Swazi tradition"

[36] Mthimkhulu, Noxolo (2010) *The influence of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions on the workers and government (1964 – 2006)* Thesis (B.A.), Univerisity of Swaziland, 2010 (in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B.A. Humanities

[37] Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.

to these elections were legislated in a way so not as to be challengeable in a modern court of law. Instead, they were dealt with according to Swazi law and customs.[38]

2.2.3 *Tinkhundla*: an effort to advance democratic ideals?

In Swaziland, the word "tinkhundla" refers to communal meeting places or centers. Communities use *tinkhundla* centers to discuss issues of socioeconomic, religious, political, and cultural interest. Formal definitions of Swaziland's *tinkhundla* system of governance can be found in Swaziland's 1999 National Development Strategy (NDS), and its 2005 Constitution. The NDS defines *tinkhundla* as "a system based on local constituencies largely built around chieftaincies designed under the King's Order-in-Council of 1978."[39] The constitution goes on to define *tinkhundla* as "units or areas inspired by a policy of decentralization of state power and engines of development and pillars underpinning the political organization and economic infrastructure of the country through which social services to the different parts of the Swazi community are facilitated and delivered."[40]

Although there is some debate as to whether *tinkhundla* was originally created by King Sobhuza II, who desired a traditional governing system, *tinkhundla* has been interpreted as a "traditional"[41] form of democracy. In fact, when banning political parties, King Sobhuza II and the Swazi National Council argued that they "brought socio-political instability…and sew a seed of division."[42] *Tinkhundla* is presented as a grassroots movement that allows everyone to elect directly people into their government – a "bottom-up" approach to democracy. Moreover, according to Zonke Khumalo, a veteran politician and aide of King Sobhuza II, *tinkhundla* was established so as to restrain power of the "few educated elites" that were represented in Parliament through the Westminster-style of parliament. According to Swazi traditions, instead of permitting everyone, regardless of

---

[38] Wanda, B.P. (1990). "The shaping of the modern constitution in Swaziland: A review of some social and historical factors." *Lesotho Law Journal 6*(1).

[39] Kingdom of Swaziland, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, (2009) *National Development Strategy*. Mbabane, Swaziland.

[40] Kingdom of Swaziland. (2005). *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland Act*, p.80

[41] This makes the assumption that "traditions" are unchanging, and can be presented in contrast with "modernity"

[42] Wanda, B.P. (1990). "The shaping of the modern constitution in Swaziland: A review of some social and historical factors." *Lesotho Law Journal 6*(1): pp. 137478

status, to participate and contribute to local and national issues,[43] the Westminster system was designed to allow those who derived influence from wealth, Western education, and high social status to dominate elections. Therefore, the King made the argument that the independence-era constitution was open to political corruption and manipulation. Moreover, in 1998, Mndeni Tshabalala, *indvuna yetinkhundla,* said the system was well understood by the population, with the exception of the "urban educated [who] looked down upon the system."[44]

King Sobhuza II articulated the viewpoint that *tinkhundla* is a type of democracy during his speech on National Flag Day, 1967 when he declared:[45]

> *It is the tradition of all African Kingdoms that their Kings are leaders as well as Kings. It is also true for Swaziland. Now rightly or wrongly some people have mistaken this dual capacity as dictatorship. I would like to assure you here and now that the King both leads and is led by his people. I am my people's mouthpiece…*

Similarly, professor Lydia Makhubu[46] argues that *Tinkhundla* is a way to maintain and preserve African political values of administration.[47] She argues that, after colonization, there was a trend among African countries not to revisit their ancient institutions, which were considered to have provided good governance and to have ensured democratic participation. Instead, the new constitutions put in place undermined traditional African systems.

However, despite claims that *tinkhundla* would function as a democratic system, some questions and concerns arose upon its implementation. In particular, there was concern when people who criticized the *tinkhundla* system were detained after the announcement of *tinkhundla* elections in 1978. Detainees included the President of the NNLC, Dr. Ambrose P. Zwane. Additionally, the *tinkhundla* electoral law made it impossible for chiefs to elect people who showed sympathy with political parties by mandating the exclusion of any person who had been or was detained under the 60-day detention. They were ineligible for election.

---

[43] *Tinkhundla* meetings are open to anyone above the age of 18 in the area where he/she lives or works

[44] *Times of Swaziland,* November 15, 1988

[45] Kumalo, R. S. (Ed.). (2013). *Religion & Politics in Swaziland: The contributions of Dr JB Mzizi.* AFRICAN SUN MeDIA.

[46] Professor at the University of Swaziland, and senator

[47] Makhubu, Lydia P. (2004) *Tinkhundla system of governance*: Paper presented at the 35th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Africa Region conference, held at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Centre, Ezulwini Valley, Swaziland, 7 – 15 August, 2004

,

2.2.4 A democracy without votes

The *tinkhundla* system of government seems to have alienated many people – interfering with voting among both the educated and the illiterate. In 1987, the *Times of Swaziland* (the national Swazi newspaper) reported that very few people voted. The Chief Electoral Officer confirmed this fact. The low turnout rate was attributed to the lack of transportation to take people to the polling stations and to impassable roads from flooded rivers. Another argument put forth by Magagula, Petros, Masilela, and Zwelibanzi suggests instead that educated voters were alienated due to voting by queuing and that rural voters did not understand the concept or practice of voting.[48] The pair claim that because political parties acted as agents for educating the masses and as catalysts of politicization, closing parties out also limited awareness about politics in Swaziland. Furthermore, since chiefs derive their power from birth instead of by election, Swazis familiar with chiefdom found it difficult to understand the concept of elections. Therefore, chiefs had to order their people to go to polling stations. In this case, the low turnout is attributed to political inactivity among rural-dwelling Swazis who were not compelled by their chiefs to vote.

Chiefs' forcefulness has often been regarded as a form of coercion. There was evidence of this coercion during the 1983 election. Responding to this, the *indvuna* of the Nkoma**nz**i area was quoted in Swaziland's national newspaper, saying:

> *…take part in the coming elections or get out of my area. If I do not see you at Enkhaba on election day, those people (who go) must come back here immediately and demolish their (the people who do not go) homes because I…will throw that family out of my area.[49]*

At the time, *indvuna yetinkhundla* was Mndeni Tshabalala Legum. He announced that the elections were successfully conducted with 80 percent of the electorate (166,535

---

[48] Magagula, Petros and Masilela, Zwelibanzi in *Against all odds : opposition political parties in Southern Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe;* Edited by Hussein Solomon: Johannesburg KMM Review, 2011, Democracy in Africa Series, vol. 2
[49] Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23

people) voting.[50] This seems untrue. Norman Chandler of the South African *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Dr. George Msibi confirmed instead only a 60 percent voting turnout.[51] In response, during later elections in 1987, the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO) urged citizens to boycott the elections. However, while PUDEMO rallied for a general boycott, police allegedly urged people from Mbabane and Manzini regions to vote, offering to provide transportation to polling places. In the elections of 1987, 134,825 people voted through *tinkhundla*. Still, Out of the combined adult population of the communities of Mbabane, Manzini and Lobamba of 60,000, fewer than 20,000 of these people voted.[52]

The Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Swaziland also provides insight into people's hesitancy to vote through *inkhundla*. An attitudinal survey of over 1,000 people in fourteen *tinkhundla* confirmed that while 45 percent of respondents wanted to elect members into Parliament directly, only 25 percent were in favor of *tinkhundla*.[53] The study found that most Swazis did not know their members of Parliament and did not think they themselves were vital in the election of their political leaders. [54] Lastly, the survey found that the people wanted to have political meetings outside of election periods to be able to provide "feedback to government."[55] Even within Parliament itself, there was evidence of doubt about the *tinkhundla* system. During parliamentary debates in October 1988, the majority of senators demanded a review of the system. In particular, Senator Chief Dambuza Lukhele stated, "…a political system must be seen to meet the demands and aspirations of the people…we want to strengthen the *tinkhundla* system and discard what is not desirable…there is a nationwide demand for such an exercise."[56]

---

[50] *Ibid*
[51] *Ibid*
[52] *Ibid*
[53] 30 percent were uncertain
[54] Simelane, N.G., *General Election Survey of 1987*, University of Swaziland, 1988
[55] *Swazi News*, November 5, 1988
[56] *Times of Swaziland*, October 21, 1988

2.2.5 *Tinkhundla* reviews and Constitutional review commission

In 1992, changes were made to the *tinkhundla* system of government due to mounting pressure for reforms.[57] In particular, commissions known as "*vuselas*" were put in place. These commissions travelled through the *tinkhundla* centers to hold meetings with communities to find out the people's views on economic, political, and social issues.[58] Responding to these procedures, the electoral process of *tinkhundla* was reformed. First, changes ensured that elections at *tinkhundla* would directly produce a member of Parliament instead of a representative of an electoral college.[59] Second, there was a shift to voting conducted through a secret ballot measure and away from the former practice of openly walking into the gate where a candidate was physically seated and collecting votes by counting as people walked through the gate. The third result of these meetings was the creation of Swaziland's constitution, which was ratified on 8 February 2006.

The search for a Swazi constitution began in September 1973 when King Sobhuza II appointed the Royal Constitutional Commission (RCC) to travel throughout the country in order to gather the views of Swazis about the type of constitution they wanted.[60] The RCC came back with the following recommendations: (i) to have Swaziland declared a no-party state with the Swaziland National Council as the sole policy-making body, and (ii) to have a two-chamber house of Parliament composed of the assembly and the senate.[61]

When parliament was re-established in 1978, it comprised a 50-member House of Representatives, and a 20-member Senate.[62] The 40 Members of Parliament (MPs) were elected through electoral colleges chosen through *tinkhundla* who elected 10 senators, and 40 MPs. Additionally, the King appointed 10 senators and 10 MPs.[63]

---

[57] Although an in-depth analysis of trade unions were beyond the scope of this research project, organizations such as the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU), the Peoples' United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), the Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO), Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT), the Swaziland Federation of Labor (SFL), and the revived Ngwane National Liberatory Congress demanded democratic changes, and raised pressure for reforms during the 1990's.

[58] Solomon, Hussein. (2013). *Against All Odds: Opposition parties in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: KMM Review.

[59] Initially, *tinkhundla* elections did not produce a member of parliament, but delegates of an electoral college, which elected members into the House of Assembly

[60] Matsebula, J. (1972). *A history of Swaziland*. Cape Town: Longman Southern Africa.

[61] Maseko, Thulani. (2008). The drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *8*(2), 312-336. Retrieved January 09, 2015, from http://www.scielo.org.za

2.2.6 Critiques of the vuselas

Several notable critiques of the *tinkhundla* reviews, the "*vuselas*," arose during the commission in 1992. First, people had concerns about known instances of restrictions on freedom of speech. In particular, the Principle Secretary of the Ministry of Interior, Mr. Enos Mavuso, announced a ban on the press coverage of the committee hearings. This ban occurred in spite of an announcement by then Prime Minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, for the review committee not to detail or victimize anyone who empathized with multi-party politics or anyone who showed opposition to the government.[64] The ban highlighted divisions within the government. After Enos Mavuso instituted the ban, Mr. Obed Dlamini reiterated his position, stating, "The news media have a very important role to play in the successful accomplishment of the aims and objectives of this important national exercise."[65]

Other critiques mounted as, later, evidence of intimidation surfaced. Member of Parliament, Dzingalive Dlamini and the leader of the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), former detainee, and treason trialist, Professor[66] Dlamini suggested that as long as the state of emergency and detention-without-trial legislation were in place, people would not be willing or able to express themselves freely. Indeed, a community member from Hlane was fined a cow for "embarrassing" his community during that particular *vusela*. Other visible opposition to the *vusela* included a cancelled review meeting at the Mbabane *inkhundla* due to a march spearheaded by members of People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO) and Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO). Following this march, Mphandlana Shongwe[67] and eighteen other demonstrators were jailed and charged with staging an illegal political demonstration.[68]

---

[64] Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.

[65] *Times of Swaziland*, September 26, 1991

[66] Professor is the first name of the leader of the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO), former detainee, and treason trialist

[67] Mphandlana Shongwe is a well-known political activist, and has been arrested and subsequently written about police brutality in Swaziland.

[68] Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.

Following the *vuselas*, the Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) was selected in 1996 to solicit views from Swazis about the type of constitution they would like. However, one major critique by various scholars[69] is that princes were selected to chair all committees and commissions. Prince Mangaliso chaired the CRC committee. Moreover, the monarch and committee appointed all CRC members. Opposition parties did not accept the CRC as they argued that: (i) Swaziland's political climate was not conducive to this exercise without the unbanning of political parties, (ii) they requested that political parties, movements, and organizations choose their own representatives in the committees, and (iii) they stated that this could only be representative if Swazi citizens had received political education prior to submitting their views. Only a body that was unbiased regarding the outcome of such a process, they argued, could do such an education.[70]

Despite these opposition sentiments, their boycotting of the CRCs,[71] and the critiques raised during the *vuselas,*[72] the CRC report found that "there is a minority that recommends that the powers of the monarchy must be limited."[73] The report recommended that: (i) the king continue to hold executive power, (ii) he should have the ability to appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister and Ministers, (iii) fundamental rights and freedoms must not be incompatible with Swazi custom and tradition, and (iv) the rights to freedom of association, assembly, and to form and join political parties continue to be restricted as political parties remained banned.[74] These findings were translated to the following deliverables for the constitution: (i) the majority of Swazis wanted the *tinkhundla* system of government; (ii) the majority did not want political parties; and (iii) they wanted the King to have real political parties and not simply be a ceremonial figure.

---

[69] Maseko, Thulani. (2008). The drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *8*(2), 312-336. Retrieved January 09, 2015, from http://www.scielo.org.za

[70] Solomon, Hussein. *Against All Odds: Opposition Political Parties in Southern Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe*. Johannesburg: KMM Review, 2011. Print.

[71] According to the writers, some parties that had been elected by the monarch withdrew from the process.

[72] These included speakers calling for an "immediate dissolution of the system" (Levine, 1995), and asking why all prime ministers since independence were from the Dlamini clan. To this, Prince Masitsela responded that it was because the Dlaminis held kingship, and if anyone else were appointed, "it would be against God." (Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.)

[73] Maseko, Thulani. (2008). The drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *8*(2), 312-336. Retrieved January 09, 2015, from http://www.scielo.org.za

[74] Maseko, Thulani. (2008). The drafting of the Constitution of Swaziland, 2005. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *8*(2), 312-336. Retrieved January 09, 2015, from http://www.scielo.org.za

Following the CRC, the King set up a Constitutional Draft Committee in 2001, chaired by Prince David. The CDC produced a draft constitution in October 2004, which was promulgated in 2005, and enacted into law on 8 February 2006. Opposition parties were against the constitution because of several perceived contradictions.[75] However, Section 79 of the Constitution formed the basis of Swaziland's present government. It states that, "the system of government of Swaziland is a democratic, participatory, *tinkhundla*-based system which emphasizes devolution of state power from central government to *tinkhundla* areas and individual merit as a basis for election or appointment to public office."[76]

Swaziland's 2006 constitution was not a unique development in sub-Saharan Africa. Following decades of "Big Man" rule, constitution drafting became the norm in sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, according to G. Arnold, "no other region in the world has seen so much constitution making – or re-making – as Africa over the last 40 years."[77] It must be said, however that "Africa's problems have substantially been caused not by the absence of constitutions but rather by the absence of constitutionalism."[78] As Manga explores, African dictators such as Mobutu Sese Seko, former president of present-day Democratic Republic of Congo, Marcias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, and Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic all had and used constitutions while committing various atrocities.[79] Therefore, despite the Constitutional Review Committee, the 2006 constitution, and the marriage of "tradition"[80] and "modernity," the Swazi King is still considered Africa's last absolute monarch.

---

[75] An example of a contradiction is the re-formalization of *tinkhundla,* which bans political parties. However, the Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom of association (Section 125(1) of the Constitution).

[76] Manga, Fombad Charles (2005) *The Swaziland constitution of: can absolutism be reconciled with modern constitutionalism* South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 23, no. 1, 2007

[77] Arnold, G. (2005). *Africa: A modern history.* London: Atlantic.

[78] Mbondenyi, Morris Kiwinda, and Tom O. Ojienda. *Constitutionalism and Democratic Governance in Africa: Contemporary Perspectives from Sub-Saharan Africa*. Pretoria University Law Press, PULP, 2013.

[79] In his paper, Manga notes that some of the world's worst dictators, such as Adolf Hitler of Germany and Benito Mussolini of Italy all operated under constitutions

[80] The use of "traditions" to justify Swaziland's dual-government structure has been discussed at length by researchers Hugh Macmillan and Richard Levin

3. Democracy

"The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment. They must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing."
　　　　　- John Stuart Mill, *On Representative Government*

"Democracy is all about freedom. People have the ability to control the government, including changing it when it does not perform."
　　　　　- Female, 22, Rural Manzini interviewee

3.1 Context

In 1988, urban riots in Algeria induced the ruling *Front de Liberation Nationale* to permit multi-party elections. In 2011, Zambians ousted president Rudolf Banda. In November 2014, citizens of Burkina Faso ousted their president, Blaise Compaore after his attempt to amend the constitution to extend his 27-year rule. Most recently, in Burundi, hundreds came to the capital in Bujumbura to protest after the ruling party nominated President Pierre Nkurunziza to run for a third term with a constitution that stipulates a two-term limit. In certain parts of Africa, more and more citizens of authoritarian style-rulers are saying: *enough is enough*. In fact, "since 1991, no less than 30 ruling parties or

leaders have been ousted by voters."[81] In spite of the recent skepticism about democracy in Botswana,[82] Mauritius and Botswana have long been hailed as the longest lasting and most stable democracies in Africa.

After the "third wave of democratization," an increasing number of elections took place throughout the world. During the "third wave," only approximately 40 countries in the world were classified as democracies. Most democracies were in industrial countries and microstates[83]. According to Huntington, at the end of 1973, there were only thirty democracies in the world – less than a quarter of all nations. However, during the mid 1980's, the pace of democratization increased, although notably slowly. Between 1973 and 1980, the number of democracies increased from 40 to 44. However, these democracies were predominantly in microstates in the Caribbean and Pacific Islands. The "third wave of democratization" began after the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974. After this period, transitions to democratic forms of government expanded slowly. Using the most "minimalist" definition of democracy, both the number of democracies and the proportion of regimes that are considered democracies have increased since the beginning of the third wave.[84] According to Samuel Huntington, the first long wave of democratization occurred in 1828, with the expansion of democratic suffrage in the United States.

It must be said that the two first waves of democratization ended in "reverse waves,"[85] – breakdowns of these democracies. In fact, a decade after the third wave, the world remained primarily authoritarian. The "first reverse wave" occurred in the 1920s in Italy as Mussolini came into power. Similarly, the "second reverse wave" began in South America, leaving extensive military rule and one-party rule and only two democratic states. Despite increases in Europe and the Americas, global increases in democracy were limited. By the 1980s, the proportion of democracies had only increased to a third of all states from a quarter at the end of 1973.[86]

---

[81] "It's Progress, Even If It's Patchy; Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Economist (US)* 1 Oct. 2011: n. pag. Web.
[82] Potetee, Amy R. "Botswana: Elections Expose Nation's 'Fading' Democracy." *AllAfrica.com*. N.p., 21 Oct. 2014.
          Web. 02 Jan. 2015.
[83] States with fewer than one million people
[84] Diamond, L. (1997). Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over?: An Empirical Assessment (Working Paper No 236).
[85] Huntington, S. (1989). "The Modest Meaning of Democracy" in Pastor, ed.; Huntington (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press; Huntington, S. (1995). "Armed Forces and Democracy: Reforming Civil-Military Relations," Journal of Democracy 6, no. 4 (October).
[86] Larry Diamond. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the world*. Macmillan. P. 43

Worth highlighting is the striking reversals in democratization that defined the third wave – in Turkey, democracy had turned into military rule; in Lebanon, it has given way to civil war, and democracies in Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana broke down.[87] However, despite these reversals, in 1986, the first citizen-led non-violent resistance occurred in the Philippines, which split the regime and brought down then dictator, President Ferdinand Marcos. After Marcos fled into exile, the "spirit of democracy" spread through East Asia, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, South Asia and Latin America.[88] This was followed by the "second burst" of the third wave of democratization after the protests at Tiananmen Square in April 1989, which some scholars refer to as the "fourth wave of democratization."

3.2 Defining democracy

I am concerned with the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, and for that I draw on the extensive literature that has emerged in the U.S. in the late 20th century. This literature is particularly focused on the requisites of democracy and on transitions to democracy. Definitions of democracy can fall into or between two main categories: minimalist "electoral" democracy and "liberal" democracy. Joseph Schumpeter is regarded as the father of minimalist forms of democracy; he defines it as a system "for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote."[89] From this definition, scholars such as Robert Dahl have elaborated, by using the term "polyarchy," which has two features. First, it requires the presence of opposition and organized contestation of power through regular, free, and fair elections. Second, it also requires citizen participation—namely, the rights to vote and to contest for office.[90] Dahl's expansive definition of democracy emphasizes the need for citizen participation.

Additionally, he includes other factors such as the right to run for public office; freedom of expression; access to information that is not monopolized by the government or

---

[87] *Ibid*

[88] Larry Diamond. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the world*. Macmillan. P. 44-47

[89] Schumpeter, J. (1947). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 2nd ed. New York: Harper.

[90] Dahl,R.(1971). *Polyarchy; Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Coppedge, M. (1994). *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

a particular group of people; freedom of association; and universal adult suffrage.[91] These characteristics have an implicit third feature: civil liberty.[92] Along the same lines, Adam Przeworski's quantitative analysis results in a definition of democracy as "a regime in which governmental offices are filled as a consequence of contested elections." This includes a provision that real contestation occurs by which is meant that an opposition with a non-trivial chance of winning office is allowed to campaign for election. Additionally, Przeworski's definition requires via both executive and legislative seats are filled via real contestation.[93] By and large, these definitions of democracy fall under the "electoral democracy" umbrella.

Historically, "liberal democracy" is a product of what Terry Karl calls "the fallacy of electoralism," or the "electoral democracy" definition of democracy, which prioritizes and requires elections above all else. It recognizes the danger of privileging elections in favor of a particular party by impeding two essential functions of elections: first, the ability of elected officials to make decisions, and, second, the exclusion of certain parts of the population from contesting for power.[94] However, more contemporary definitions of democracy have excluded definitions of democracy that do not include these two essential components of democracy. In *The Spirit of Democracy*, Diamond states, "At the minimal level, if people can choose and replace their leaders in regular free and fair elections, there is electoral democracy."[95] However, Diamond further notes that elections alone are not enough to qualify a system as an electoral democracy. Mere elections can often co-exist with human rights violations, a weak rule of law, discrimination against minorities, and other social injustices. Therefore, democracy should include ten "thick" dimensions that make it a "liberal democracy."

---

[91] Rackner, L., and A. Menocal, (2007). *Democratisation's Third Wave and the Challenges of Democratic Deepening: Assessing International Democracy Assistance and Lessons Learned*: Ireland: Advisory Board for Irish Aid.
[92] Diamond, L. (1997). Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over?: An Empirical Assessment (Working Paper No 236), states, "Freedom to vote and contest for office but freedom to speak and publish dissenting views, freedom to form and join organizations, and alternative sources of information"
[93] Cheibub, J., A. Przeworski, F. Neto, and M. Alvarez. (1996). "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7(1): 39-55.
[94] Karl, Terry. 1995. "How Much Inequality Can Democracy Stand? Or How Much Democracy Can Inequality Stand?" Workshop on "Constructing Democracy and Markets: Comparing Latin America and East Asia," Los Angeles, 26–27 January.72–86
[95] Larry Diamond. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the world*. Macmillan.: 22-23

Liberal democracy includes civil liberties. Liberal democracy consists of the following ten additional criteria: (i) substantial freedom of belief, opinion, discussion, speech, publication, assembly, demonstration, and petition; (ii) the protection and freedom of ethnic, racial, and other minority groups; (iii) the right of all adult citizens to vote and run for office; (iv) genuine openness in the electoral arena, (v) legal equality of all citizens under the rule of law; (vi) an independent judiciary; (vii) due process of law, freedom from terror, torture and unjustified detention; (vii) institutional checks on power; (viii) pluralism in information sources and (x) civilian control over the military and state security apparatus.[96]

As a result of these shortcomings of the minimalist definition of democracy, the terms "pseudo" or "quasi" democracies are used to distinguish systems that have reserve domains of power and/or if a significant section of the population is excluded from voting. That is to say, in order for a country to qualify as an electoral democracy, it must bestow real power *to those who are elected*. When elections exist but power lies with an individual who is not accountable to the people, it is a "pseudo-democracy," or an "electoral authoritarian regimes." Therefore, simply holding elections does not even make a country an electoral democracy.

Swaziland does not fall into the electoral democracy as defined above. Political parties in Swaziland have been banned since 1973. Further, freedom of expression is restricted; there are currently several political prisoners and Swazis in exile for exercising this right. Also, the King has assumed all legislative, judiciary, and executive power since 1973. As an example, in late 2014, after purportedly receiving a vision from God, King Mswati renamed Swaziland's government structure as a "monarchial democracy."[97] He stated that he had a revelation of Swaziland becoming "new form of democracy – a monarchial democracy...broad-based and dependent on voting," which is, "a home-grown African ideology and the world should embrace it."[98] Based on the definitions presented by

---

[96] Larry Diamond. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the world*. Macmillan. P. 22
[97] "Mswati Declares Swaziland a 'monarchial Democracy'" *Mail & Guardian: Africa's Best Read*. N.p., 3 Sept. 2013. Web. 3 Sept. 2013.
[98] Magagula, Mduduzi. "Monarchical Democracy from Heaven – King." *Times Of Swaziland*. N.p., 9 Sept. 2013. Web. 05 Nov. 2013.

Diamond and others above, this concept of democracy is neither electoral nor liberal in nature.

Swaziland's authoritarian structure has been presented as legitimate because it is "traditional." In fact, the repeal of the 1968 constitution is often referred to as the "triumph of tradition." The Westminster-style constitution was repealed in 1968 with King Sobhuza declaring that it was "unworkable." [99] Specifically, he stated that he had "permitted the importation of highly undesirable political practices alien to and incompatible with the way of life of Swazi society and designed to disrupt and destroy their peaceful, constructive and essentially democratic methods of political activity."[100] In this shift, the Swazi King rejected what he termed an "imported" definition of democracy, instituted instead *tinkhundla*, banned political parties, and assumed all legislative, executive, and judiciary power through the 1973 Decree.

3.3 Why does democracy matter?

There are two schools of thought about the importance of democracy distinguished according to whether it is valuable due to intrinsic or instrumental value. Instrumental views of democracy categorize it in terms of substantive outcomes, which are usually economical. On the other hand, intrinsic views study democracy through the civic and political rights afforded to its citizens. In an instrumental view, Adam Przeworski suggests that democracy is undermined if it cannot deliver economic goods, and, as such, even if market-oriented policies are popular among citizens, support for them will erode with time given unemployment and income gaps. Therefore, in order to deliver economic benefits, a government must employ orthodox economic reforms, which may not have popular (democratic) backing.[101] Similar to Przeworski's views of democracy, and responding specifically to Africa, Claude Ake argues that Africans view democracy in a primarily instrumental manner. This view understands democracy as something that exists to

---

[99] Langwenya, M. *Swaziland--Justice Sector and the Rule of Law*. Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA). (2013, June 22). Retrieved from: http://osisa.org/law/swaziland/Events/justice-sector-and-rule-law-swaziland

[100] Wanda, B.P. (1990). "The shaping of the modern constitution in Swaziland: A review of some social and historical factors." *Lesotho Law Journal 6*(1).

[101] Adam Przeworski, (1991). *Democracy and the market: political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

address material deprivation – as a means to an economic end rather than an end itself. Ake states that democratic movements in Africa "will emphasize concrete economic and social rights rather than abstract political rights; [they] will insist on the democratization of economic opportunities, the social betterment of people, and a strong welfare system."[102]

In their intrinsic interpretation of democracy, Larry Diamond and Richard Rose contend that politics matter more than economic factors, although these contribute to the legitimacy of the political regime.[103] They argue that beliefs about democracy, or "the autonomy of the political" are central factors that ensure democratic consolidation.[104] These factors, he argues, surpass socio-economic development, status, and economic performance. Likewise, Richard Rose contends that public opinion about political regimes is shaped by guarantees of basic political rights rather than by a track record of material delivery.

Although there are many empirical studies about the relationship between democracy and economic growth and development, they do not show a clear causal relationship between these two variables. In this regard, Amatrya Sen connects economic prosperity with democracy in his argument that no famine has occurred in a democracy. He argues that, due to the combination of free press, active opposition parties, and periodic elections, democratic governments cannot survive penalties if they allow famines to occur, suggesting that democracy is intrinsically related to economic growth.[105] Similarly, Payne posits that democracies are better at protecting the environment, a venture related to economic capital.[106] Moreover, in the poorest countries, democracies are significantly correlated with improvements in per capita income and infant mortality rates. There is an overall correlation between democracy and development, but uncertainty as to which way the causation goes. Although correlation does not imply causation, democracies may be more likely to support human development and protect human welfare.

---

[102] Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and Development in Africa.* Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press. p. 138; (1993). "The Unique Case of African Democracy." *International Affairs 69*(2): pp 239-44.

[103] Rose, R, W. Mishler, and C. Haerpfer. (1998). *Democracy and its alternatives: understanding post-communist societies.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 160.

[104] Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. p.162.

[105] Sen, A. (1990). "Food Economics, and Entitlements" in *The Political Economy of Hunger*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 34-52.

[106] Payne, R. (1995). "Freedom and the Environment." *Journal of Democracy 6*(3): 41–55

3.4 Citizen perceptions matter

An interesting observation came out of the literature on democracy after the third wave: very small countries—those with populations of less than one million—are significantly more likely to become democratic (and free).[107] Swaziland, with a population barely exceeding one million, seems to be an exception to this rule. In addition to declaring the authenticity of the governance used in Swaziland as related to the Swazi identity, Swazi leadership has often declared that Swazis embrace this form of leadership. King Mswati has stated that he believes Swazis love their government system, and cited high voting turnout as evidence of this.[108]

Several scholars have argued that both the maintenance and functioning of democratic systems are inextricably linked to levels of citizen support. In particular, these scholars argue that through citizen support for democracy, citizens endorse the rules that govern them, and give a regime political legitimacy.[109] Popular support is believed to be crucial for the stability of democratic institutions. Therefore, understanding the causes of differences in degrees of citizen satisfaction is important in ensuring democratic consolidation and quality. Moreover, according to Diamond and Morlino, citizen satisfaction is the principal dimension from which to infer democratic quality. Also, Richard Rose argues that if political institutions are the "hardware" of democratic systems, then people's perceptions about democracy are its "software." Therefore, in order to design a strong, robust system, "hardware" is as important as "software."[110]

Democratization refers to the process of transitioning to a democratic form of government. In particular, three phases make up this process: (i) the liberalization phase, (ii) the transition phase, and (iii) the consolidation phase. The liberalization phase occurs when an authoritarian regime opens up or collapses. Thereafter, a transition phase occurs

[107] Diamond, L. (1997). Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over?: An Empirical Assessment (Working Paper No 236). Retrieved from The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies website: https://www3.nd.edu/~kellogg/publications/workingpapers/WPS/236.pdf states that, "freedom to vote and contest for office but freedom to speak and publish dissenting views, freedom to form and join organizations, and alternative sources of information"

[108] Magagula, M. (2015, March 09). Monarchical Democracy from Heaven – King. *Times Of Swaziland*. Retrieved from: http://www.times.co.sz/news/90975-monarchical-democracy-from-heaven-–-king.html; (2013, September 3).Mswati Declares Swaziland a 'monarchial Democracy'. *Mail & Guardian: Africa's Best Read*. Retrieved from: http://mg.co.za/article/2013-09-03-mswati-declares-swaziland-a-monarchial-democracy.

[109] Bratton, M. and R. Mattes. (2000). Support for Democracy in Africa Intrinsic or Instrumental? (Working Paper No. 1).

[110] Mattes, R., Y. Davids, and C. Africa. (2000). Views Of Democracy In South Africa and the Region: Trends and Comparisons. (Working Paper No. 8).

when the first competitive elections take place. The last phase is democratic consolidation, where democratic procedures become firmly established and accepted. [111] The establishment and acceptance of democratic regimes depends primarily on the citizens, and is essential for ensuring the durability of democracy. Beyond the mere fact that citizen support is important to democracy, citizen support is part of the *definition* of democracy. For this reason, this study will focus on citizen perceptions regarding democracy in Swaziland. Specifically, it will focus on the factors that shape political attitudes in Swaziland, and how these impact political participation.

3.5 Attitudes about democracy in sub-Saharan and Southern Africa

The Afrobarometer is a useful tool through which to measure the "temperature" of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. In particular, in an Afrobarometer survey conducted in 34 countries shows increasing demand for democracy throughout sub-Saharan Africa between 2002 and 2012. In fact, a regional average of 71 percent of respondents show support for democracy. Even in this survey, Swaziland sticks out as one of the countries with the lowest rates of support for democracy at 46 percent, below the regional average.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the word "democracy" seems to have taken greater meaning over the decades. In 1997, Ghanaian surveyors asked respondents, "What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of living in a democracy?" That year, 61.5 percent were able to provide a meaningful response, and just two years later, the percentage rose to 75 percent. Moreover, some responses contended that Ghana was a democracy in 1997, even if they could not define what "democracy" meant.

Afrobarometer survey findings illustrate four characteristics of democracy in Africa. First, Africans, especially those living in urban areas, are more likely to associate democracy with individual liberties than communal solidarity. Second, even though procedural conceptions of democracy are the most popular, Africans are likely to have both procedural and substantive dimensions of democracy. Third, citizens rank procedural and

---

[111]O'Donnell, G. (1994). "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5(1): 55-69; Linz, J. and A. Stepan. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

substantive in different orders.[112] Fourth, rankings differed within categories. That is to say, while Ghanaians elevate the value of freedom of speech highly, Zambians grant dominance to elections.[113] These differing interpretations of democracy can be linked to the different historical experiences of countries. For example, Zambians may regard competitive multiparty elections highly because of their experiences with elections under Kenneth Kaunda's one-party state. Similarly, South Africans consider socio-economic conditions most highly because of the economic deprivation experienced under the apartheid regime. Lastly, Ghanaians may view freedom of speech highly because of the communication controls imposed by their previous military regime.

3.6 Attitudes about democracy in Southern Africa

Southern Africa's political culture has often been referred to as "non-democratic." A survey conducted on Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, and Swaziland highlights that the parties that rule the five democratic countries in the group do so with large majorities. In fact, these parties are so large that the question of a one-party state has consistently been raised. Even in Botswana, where there is the real possibility of contestation, one party has dominated during its 30 years of independence.

According to the most recent Afrobarometer survey from 2013, Swaziland has one of the lowest figures for agreement with the statement that leaders should be chosen through regular, open, and honest elections. Together with Namibia, only 42 percent of Swazis strongly agree that Swaziland should choose its leaders through "regular, open and honest elections." This is compared to a regional average of approximately 50 percent. However, on the opposite end, Swaziland does not have the highest levels of agreement in the region with the contrary statement – that, since elections can produce bad results, they should be done away with completely. In the absence of substantive qualitative and quantitative studies on the attitudes of Swazis towards democratization in Swaziland, it is almost impossible to disentangle the complex results presented by the Afrobarometer. As a result of this difficulty, it is challenging to determine the potential for citizen-driven

---

[112] For example, in a survey conducted in 1995 in South Africa, and 1993 and 1994 in Zambia, Zambians placed political rules at the top of a list of democratic attributes while South Africans placed improvements in material living standards above it
[113] Bratton, M. and R. Mattes. Support for Democracy in Africa Intrinsic or Instrumental? (Working Paper No. 1).

democratic development in Swaziland. Therefore, I herein seek to understand the opinions, attitudes, and actions of Swazi citizens around the topic of democracy. To do this, I primarily rely on the Afrobarometer data set, as well as my own in-depth interviews. Because of reasons that will be discussed later, it is difficult to find sources of political opinions in Swaziland. However, these two sources of information permit me to use mixed methods research in order to provide a substantive understanding of democratic attitudes and actions in Swaziland. By doing so, this may allow me to begin to disentangle the mystery that lies beneath the persistence of autocracy in Africa's last absolute monarchy.

4. Theory

The main theory that I will be testing is modernization theory. I will consider both Lipset's original theory about the social requisites for democracy, and the additions by authors such as Inglehart, Acemolgu, and others to this theory. This chapter will define modernization theory, present Lipset's conceptual framework, and outline the various parts of modernization theory that my mixed methods analysis will investigate.

4.1 Modernization Theory

Most of the democratization literature during the 1960s and 70s[114] emphasized a "modernization" approach to democracy. That is to say, this literature explored the possibility that democracy is more likely in countries with higher levels of socio-economic development.[115] Lipset highlighted a correlation between high levels of socio-economic development and democracy, stating, "The more well-to-do a nation, the greater the

---

[114] Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review 53*(1): pp. 69-105; Almond, G. and S. Verba. (1989). *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.* Newbury Park: Sage.; Moore, B. (1966). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* New York: Beacon Press.
[115] Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review. 53*(1): pp. 69-105.

chances it will sustain democracy."[116] Even though this case has several methodological flaws, Lipset confirmed a correlation between democracy and socio-economic development. However, he could not prove causation, that higher levels of socio-economic development *cause* democracy. Even though this hypothesis seems to be true for democratic transitions in Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, and Chile, the democratic transitions that occurred later during the "third wave" seem to disprove this hypothesis. Specifically, many countries that transitioned to democracy during the third wave fell into the bottom third of the Human Development Index. Despite the lack of consistent empirical evidence within the field of political science, Adam Przewroski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi have shown that sustaining democratic government in a poorer society is more difficult than in a wealthy one.[117]

Still, income is just one of several metrics included in Lipset's modernization theory argument. Other aspects of economic development such as industrialization, urbanization, wealth, and education are also related to the modernization theory as shown in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Lipset's thesis on the conditions of democracy

Source: Wucherpfennig, Julian, and Franziska Deutsch. "Modernization and democracy: Theories and evidence revisited." *Living Reviews in Democracy* 1 (2009).

---

[116] Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review. 53*(1): p.75.
[117] Przeworski, Adam, et al. "What makes democracies endure?." *Journal of democracy* 7 (1996): 39-55.

4.1.1 Education and information access

In 1958, Lerner identified urbanization, education, and communication as basic factors in individual modernization, and, thereafter, political participation. Later, Lipset made the link between "micro-level democratization and macro-level democracy."[118] However, whether education is a social prerequisite for democracy has not been fully established. Even though education and democracy are often positively correlated, this relationship may not be independent of the effects of economic development. Three key arguments have been presented about education as a determinant for support for democracy. The first argument states that education has an independent and important impact on democracy.[119] The second asserts that, although important, education is not as important as other economic factors such as increases in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and equality.[120] The third suggests that neither education nor economic factors are causally linked to support for democracy.[121] Education was a key variable in Lipset's 1959 modernization theory hypothesis. Similarly, Almond and Verba have since regarded education as a major shaper of civic attitudes and source of democratic support.[122] However, Lipset and others have been criticized for aggregating several variables that impact democratic attitudes without attempting to disaggregate them. In fact, to warrant this criticism, Lipset states, "industrialization, urbanization, wealth and education are so closely interrelated to form one causal factor."[123]

In sub-Saharan Africa, Mattes and Mughogho have used Afrobarometer data to demonstrate that, while education is important for support for democracy, primary schooling is sufficient to elicit this support. According to their data, levels of education

[118] Wucherpfennig, J. (2009). "Modernization and Democracy: Theories and Evidence Revisited." *Living Reviews in Democracy 1.*

[119] Glaerser et al. 2005

[120] Boix, C. and S. Stokes. (2003). "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics 55*: 517-549; Barro, R. (1999). "Determinants of Democracy". *Journal of Political Economy. 107*: 158-183; Przeworski, A. J. Cheibub, M. Alvarez, F. Limongi. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

[121] Acemoglu, D. and J. Robinson. (2005). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[122] Almond, G. and S. Verba. (1989). *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.* Newbury Park: Sage.
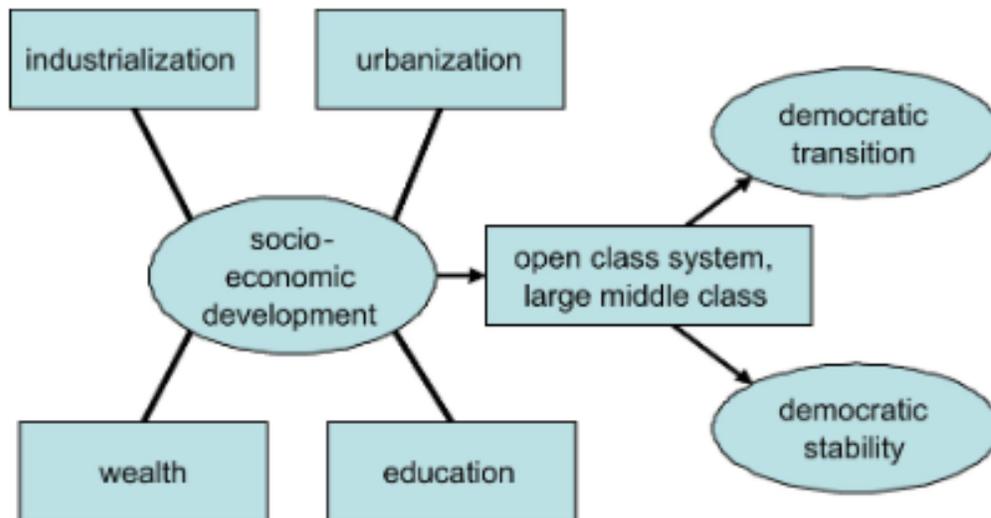
[123] Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review. 53*: p.80

beyond primary school have only a limited impact on the rejection of non-democratic regimes, and a bolstering of democracy.[124] Even stronger are Evans and Rose's assertions in support of the importance of education to increase support for democracy. They state, "Education far outweighs all other 'modernization' influences on democratic attitudes."[125] Given these conflicting opinions about the significance of education alongside increased access to information on democratic attitudes, I test the impact of education on democratic support.

4.1.2 Wealth

Lipset hypothesized that wealth is a social pre-requisite for democracy. In particular, he asserted that a larger middle class is more likely to demand the political transformation that could result in democratic consolidation. Along these lines, Przeworski, et al. argue that although economic development makes democracies more likely to endure, it does not make them more likely to emerge.[126] On the other hand, more contemporary literature concerning the relationship between wealth and democracy has focused on economic inequality. In particular, Boix argues that democracy is most likely to occur when it does not threaten the elites.[127] Contrastingly, Acemolgu and Robinson assert that there is a curvilinear relationship between democracy and inequality. That is to say, support for democracy is most likely when income inequality is neither too high nor too low. If inequality is too high, they claim, elites have too much to lose and will favor oppression. On the other hand, if it is too low, citizens have too little to gain from demanding democracy. The shortcoming is that this claim has yet to be empirically tested. However, it illustrates how the complexity of the relationship between income and democracy has evolved with time.

I will provide context-specific research by a Swazi scholar, which somewhat mirrors Acemolgu and Robinson's work. In contrast to Modernization Theory, described briefly

---

[124] Mattes, R. and D. Mughogho (2009). The Limited Impacts of Formal Education on Democratic Citizenship in Africa? (Working Paper No. 109).
[125] Evans, G. and P. Rose. (2007). "Support for Democracy in Malawi: Does Schooling Matter?" *World Development 35*: pp. 904–919.
[126] Przeworski, A. and F. Limongi. (1997). "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics 49*: 155-183; Przeworski, A. J. Cheibub, M. Alvarez, F. Limongi. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.
[127] Boix, C. (2003). *Democracy and Redistribution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press..; Boix, C. and S. Stokes. (2003). "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics 55*: pp. 517-549.

above, Swazi scholars have postulated that middle-class opposition in Swaziland can be characterized as the "politics of the belly," by which is meant that Swaziland's middle class is not fully committed to democratic development. Instead, the middle-class joins in the hopes of self-enrichment, and not a commitment to democratic tenets. The result is a weak middle-class opposition to autocracy. Moreover, according to Hamilton, opposition-party leaders are only partly committed to democracy and join the autocratic government to benefit from patronage.

> *In this country – Swaziland, the stomach rules (or determines our responses to situations). It rules not just with journalists but with everybody. Just look around and see who is making noise today. It is the hungry ones! Their noise is not genuine. It is merely to attract attention. They all want a ride on the gravy train. It is now a case of "if you can't beat them, you join them." I say again, the stomach rules in this country.*
> - Times of Swaziland, 7 February 1999[128]

Several leaders of political parties in Swaziland have joined Swazi government (see footnote).[129] Simelane argues that the reason opposition-party leaders joined the very system they were trying to fight is because the middle class are unable "to construct a genuinely democratic political culture because their politics [is] aimed at making personal economic gains out of the state."[130] He concludes that the politics of the opposition is no more than "politics of the stomach."[131] This has been the case, he argues, since 1964. After the 1964 Legislative Council election, the *Imbokodvo* National Movement won all seats. The middle class opposition leaders then understood that their best chance at victory was through aligning themselves with traditionalists. As a result, "they either resigned from their parties to join the King's party or had their parties merged with that of the King."[132] To this end, the middle class opposition politics was not guided by clear principles. Instead,

---

[128] Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this was originally written as an opinion editorial or simply an editorial. Therefore, although I quote the largest national newspaper as the source, it may very well be a representation of an individual represented through the newspaper.

[129] Here, I must note that this is not true of all political party leaders in Swaziland. Mario Masuku, leader of PUDEMO is one example of an activist who has not joined the Swazi government, yet has been arrested multiple times.

[130] Simelane, H. (2007). "Conformers and Pretenders: The Case of Middle Class Political Opposition in Swaziland, 1962-2000." *Lwati: A Journal of Contemporary Research 3*(1): p.247.

[131] Ibid

[132] According to Simelane, examples of "defectors" of political parties, who later joined *Imbokodvo* include Simon Sishayi Nxumalo of the Swaziland Democratic Party, Dumisa Dlamini and Arthur Khoza of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, and the entire leadership of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

similar to Acemolgu and Robinson's thesis, it was an avenue for accumulation through the state. The complicated impact of income on support for democracy will be tested herein using Afrobarometer's Lived Poverty Index, and supplemented with evidence from qualitative interviews.

4.1.3 Religion and democracy

Although the link between politics and religion has predominantly been studied within Muslim contexts, Afrobarometer surveys show that there may also be a link between politics and religion in majority Christian populations. The "third wave" disproved the argument that democracy is incompatible with religious values and certain faiths. According to Norris and Inglehart, the increase in religiosity in Africa has shaped political attitudes because poverty results in an "existential insecurity" that makes people seek solace in the afterlife.[133] In particular, Inglehart and Welzel differentiate between industrialization as included in Lipset's hypothesis, and post-industrialization. They argue that while increasing levels of bureaucracy, centralization, and secularization shape industrialization, citizens in post-industrial societies show an increasing focus on autonomy, choice, and self-expression. However, even during industrialization, authority shifts from religion to more secular ideals.[134] They argue that full freedom from authority takes place only in a post-industrial phase where the focus is placed on individual freedom and choice. As industrialization is a key component of modernization theory, the impact of religious beliefs and activity will be tested using two dependent variables.

4.2 Other significant factors

---

[133]McCauley, J. and E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2009). "RELIGIOUS FAITH AND DEMOCRACY: EVIDENCE FROM THE AFROBAROMETER SURVEYS." (Working Paper No. 113).

[134] Inglehart, R. and W. Baker. (2000). "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values." *American Sociological Review 65*: pp.19-51; Inglehart, R. and C. Welzel. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4.2.1 Gender

Although gender does not necessarily relate to Modernization Theory, it must be stated that, in developing countries, women exhibit less support for democracy than men.[135] Additionally, there is some evidence that men and women vote differently and that they do not implement the same policies.[136]

The fundamental question then becomes why attitudes toward democracy vary across gender. Several explanations have been suggested. First, women may have different intrinsic preferences toward democracy.[137] Second, variables such as interactions with corruption and the interview environment may make women less likely to express sentiments that counter the current mode of governance. Third, answers to questions about preference for democracy may be a reflection of the political priorities of different genders. While men express greater interest in political rights and higher support for violence, women tend to express concern with social policies and service delivery. Therefore, women are likely to rank these higher than democracy on a priority scale. As a result, women often view the political regime as a lower priority – a means to an end – hence showing lower levels of support for democracy.[138]

While the chapter that follows illustrates that women are more resistant to democracy at least in part due to the manner in which conflict disproportionately affects them, this chapter will particularly investigate what "kind" of women express different preferences of support for democracy. In particular, I apply Inglehart and Norris's modernization hypothesis, which argues that changes in the political and economic environment result in

---

[135] Mattes, R. and D. Mughogho (2009). The Limited Impacts of Formal Education on Democratic Citizenship in Africa? (Working Paper No. 109); Evans, G. and P. Rose (2007). Support for Democracy in Malawi: Does Schooling Matter? World Development 35, 904–919.

[136] Lott, J. R. and L. W. Kenny. (1999). "Did Women's Suffrage Change the Size and Scope of Government." *Journal of Political Economy 107*: pp.1163–1198.
Edlund, L. and R. Pande. (2002). "Why Have Women Become Left-Wing? The Political Gender Gap and the Decline in Marriage." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics 117*: pp. 917–961; and Chattopadhyay, R. and E. Duflo. (2004). "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India." *Econometrica 72*: pp.1409–1443.

[137] Brachinger, A., M. Brown, M. Gysler, and R. Schubert. (1999). "Financial decision-making: are women really more risk-averse?" *American Economic Review 89*: pp. 381–385.

[138] Penalosa, C. and M. Konte. (2014). "Why are women less democratic than men? Evidence from Sub-Saharan African countries." *World Development 59*: pp.104-119.

decreased differences in gender roles.[139] Therefore, attitudes of men and women may be influenced heavily by factors such as educational attainment. My data shows that women have attained lower educational levels than men due to lack of funds, pregnancy, or parent priorities that would rather educate a male child than a female one.

4.2.2. Authoritarian Regimes and the use of information manipulation

To maintain power, governments have traditionally implemented favorable policies or disseminated ideology that legitimizes their role. Authoritarian regimes can maintain power by using propaganda[140] in order to manipulate the beliefs of their citizens. By doing this, authoritarian leaders hope to lower the incentives of joining a protest. [141] Regimes interested in maintaining power have to control the media and political dialogue, not only a military. In countries such as China where the government owns the media and can exert a huge amount of control, the officially sanctioned messages paint the government in such a positive light that some argue it becomes counterproductive.[142] The "indoctrination theory" of propaganda argues that the goal of propaganda is to "guide public opinion" in order to help the regime stay in power. Huang's "signaling theory" posits that an important goal of propaganda is to demonstrate the overwhelming strength of the government so that citizens are unlikely to feel empowered enough to seek change. Indeed, surveyed Chinese college students who were more exposed to government propaganda were more likely to view the government as strong and difficult to overcome, despite the fact that they did not believe the media.[143] Regardless of the particular method or mechanism, authoritarian regimes may manipulate the media in order to maintain power.

---

[139] Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 societies.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2003). *The Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[140] Propaganda refers to a regime's purposeful communication intended to shape or change citizen beliefs about a societal fundamental.

[141] Dimitrov, M. (2014). *Dictatorship and Information: Autocratic Resilience in Communist Europe and China.* Book Manuscript, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA; Stockmann, D. and M. Gallagher. (2011). "Remote control: How the media sustain authoritarian rule in China." *Comparative Political Studies 44*(4):436– 467; Shirk, S. (2010). *Changing Media, Changing China.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

[142] Link, P. (1992). *Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China's Predicament.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.;

[143] Huang, Haifeng. "Propaganda as Signaling." *Forthcoming in Comparative Politics* (2014).

4.2.3 Authoritarian repression

According to a theory involving the law of coercive responsiveness, governments typically respond with repression when challenged,[144] with the primary goal of averting rebellion.[145] To disarm dissatisfied parties they must use either coercion or co-optation.[146] For governments with sufficient resources, co-optation is a good option to bribe a small class of ruling elites or to keep the masses satisfied with "bread and circuses." The problem with responding to dissatisfaction with co-optation is that it encourages people to demand even greater concessions. For regimes with more military than economic power, coercion is used. This could include intimidation, arrest, torture, or murder. The problem with coercion in the long-term is the possibility of widespread retaliation. For monarchies it is particularly problematic because broad terror strategies can permanently damage the family name. Nonetheless, many governments including monarchies stay in power for long periods of time using systematic repression.[147]

---

[144] Davenport, C. (2007). "State repression and political order." *Annual Review of Political Science 10*: pp. 1-23.
[145] Levi, M. (1998)."A state of trust." *Trust and governance 1*: 77-101.
[146] Fjelde, H. (2010). "Generals, Dictators, and Kings Authoritarian Regimes and Civil Conflict, 1973—2004." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27(3): 195-218.
[147] Gandhi, J. and A. Przeworski. (2007). "Authoritarian institutions and the survival of autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies 40*(11): pp. 1279-1301.

5. Methodology

To assess democratic attitudes and action in Swaziland, I primarily rely on a mixed methods approach. As part of this approach, I use my personal in-depth qualitative interviews together with the Afrobarometer's quantitative dataset. In this chapter, I outline the methodology used to compile these two data sets and present both my descriptive and empirical strategies.

5.1 Qualitative Interview Methodology

5.1.1 Study Site, Sampling and Respondents

The qualitative portion of my study was conducted to understand the determinants of individual preferences for democratization in Swaziland. Data emerged from sixty qualitative individual interviews conducted in two of the four administrative regions in Swaziland: the Manzini and Shiselweni regions[1]. According to census data, approximately 52 percent of Swaziland's population lives within these two regions.[148]

Manzini is Swaziland's largest region and industrial center with a populace over 31 percent of the country's total population. Within the Manzini region, three communities were selected for interviewing: Manzini city (urban), Malangeni (rural), and Moneni (semi-urban). Malangeni is about 120 km from Manzini city; Moneni is closer, only about 2 km away. The variability in distances from the city center in the Shiselweni region was chosen to maintain consistency and to enhance research validity. Within Shiselweni, interviews were conducted in Nhlangano (urban), Mathendele (peri-urban, about 2 km from Nhlangano), and Siyendle (rural area about 100 km from Nhlangano). In each of the six communities a total of 10 interviews were conducted totaling 60 individual interviews. Interviewees were all Swazi citizens, each of whom was living in the country at the time of interview.

A purposive sampling method[149] was used to ensure a sample demonstrating equal representation of rural, peri-urban, and urban areas. Although approximately 70 percent of Swaziland is rural,[150] a mix of the areas was selected in order to obtain crosscutting views of interviewees from different environments. In particular, the research explored the factors that shape attitudes toward democratization. To establish a fair sample, male and female respondents were selected in each area with equal representation. As a result, the selection of interviewees asked to participate in the study alternated between male and

[148] Population and Housing Census, 2007
[149] Miles, M., B, Huberman, and J. Saldaña. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis : a Methods Sourcebook.* Third edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
[150] African Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013.* p.1. South Africa.

female adults in every third household interviewed in the aforementioned areas. All interview respondents were eighteen years of age or older.

5.1.2. Data Collection Procedures

Structured in-depth individual interviews were best suited for this study in order to offer and secure the anonymity of interviewees. The protection of participant identity allowed an environment of anonymity that was conducive to full disclosure among interviewees. Due to concerns about the political sensitivity of the topic, interviews were not recorded. However, during each interview, the interviewer transcribed all responses. Interviewers were trained to pay special attention to pauses, hesitation and the body language of respondents in order to preserve and convey the experience of the interview. During final transcription, researchers removed any potentially identifying information from the final data set used in the analysis.

To ensure access to the interview respondents, community members known as gatekeepers[151] were used to liaise and promote the opportunity to partake in the study. In the context of this research, gatekeepers are defined as people who reside within the areas where the study took place and who are widely known due to their involvement in community-facing projects. Gatekeepers notified the community and potential participants about the purpose of the research, its anonymous nature, and the planned uses of the research in advance of researcher household visits. Gatekeepers were employed in this task in order to assuage possible concerns among respondents who generally required the assurance of someone they knew and trusted from the community before proceeding to answer questions. Due to the endorsement from the gatekeeper, members of the community were more comfortable speaking openly about their opinions on politics, which can be a sensitive topic in Swaziland.

---

[151] Saunders, M. (2006). "GATEKEEPER." *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods*, Retrieved from: http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/the-sage-dictionary-of-social-research-methods/n85.xml; Miles, Matthew B, A. M Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: a Methods Sourcebook.* Third edition. Thousand Oaks, Califorinia: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2014.

When each interview commenced, the gatekeeper left and remained absent for the duration of the interview. He or she would return following the conclusion of the interview to introduce the researcher to the next household. The use of gatekeepers meant that participant consent was obtained twice for the research: once by the gatekeeper and again by the interviewer.

A total of 60 in-depth interviews were conducted and took place in the interviewees' homes. To supplement these interviews, ten additional interviews of "key informants" were conducted. Key informants were pre-selected because of their political positions in Swaziland and their knowledge about Swaziland's political landscape as demonstrated by their academic research and involvement in multi-lateral agencies and civic organizations. Interviewees were offered the choice to conduct the interview in either Siswati or English based on personal preference and fluency (Appendix 2 & 3).

An interview guide (see Appendix 4) was used to structure the discussion. The aim of the interview was to understand the demographics of interviewees, their understanding of democracy, the role of loyalty and fear in shaping their preferences about democratization, and their perceptions about the role of South Africa in Swaziland. Each interview began with neutral questions relating to interviewees' frequency of accessing news sources, their ability to access the Internet, and their degree of civic engagement. This section was followed with more open-ended questions under categories that tested the initial hypotheses such as "opinions about democracy," "fear," and "loyalty." Open-ended questions included questions to assess political awareness such as: "Who is the Member of Parliament in your region?" "Did you vote in the last election?" "What are the main parts of the Swazi government?" "What is democracy?" Moreover, these open-ended questions included an assessment of individual preferences for democratization, such as: "What do you think is the role of democracy in Swaziland?" "What do you think the King's political role should be?" "Does South Africa have any influence on Swaziland's political state?"[152]

---

[152] To enhance the validity of the results, a research team of two people conducted the interviews – interviewer bias is demonstrably limited due to this approach. In addition to completing the Institutional Review Board training program, both interviewers held at least a first degree in social science, had previously conducted similar national surveying interviews for agencies including the United Nations Development Program and Afrobarometer. Interviews only proceeded after respondents provided informed consent. To ensure consistency in the way in which the interviews were conducted between respondents, the first interviewer conducted all 60 of the in-depth individual interviews. For the same reason, the second interviewer conducted all 10 key informant interviews. I then collected all interviewer notes and met with the interviewers to discuss their findings.

5.1.3 Data Organization and Analysis

The data was analyzed by reading through each of the interview transcripts several times and co-coding with other researchers in order to obtain a clearer view of the material. Each interview was coded by hand initially, with two passes of coders to identify grounded codes to add to a coding chart (See Appendix 5), in an effort to stay as close to respondents' use of language as possible. Codes were then reduced across interviews to form themes and subthemes, specifically identifying patterns of determinants of individual preferences for democratization.

The emerging analysis was presented to and discussed between the two interviewers during a series of meetings to assess the degree to which the preliminary analysis resonated with their first impressions of the data from within the interview settings. To enhance the validity and reliability of the identified themes, an external researcher analyzed a subset of interview transcripts using the same procedure that I performed as part of the initial analysis. The resulting themes demonstrated a high level of consistency between researchers, enhancing both the validity of the results and the rigor of the analysis. Inter-researcher reliability was evident due to the independence of establishing the same principal and secondary themes.[153]

Throughout coding and grounded discourse analysis of the data, the research team found that interviewees often relied on metaphorical language to explain Swaziland's

---

Additionally, I conducted supplementary, "back-checking" interviews at a later date to ensure that the results were representative of individual preferences about democratization in each area.

[153] To analyze the data, a deductive thematic analysis approach was used. NVivo software (QSR International, 2011) was used as technical support for the analysis of the interview transcripts. Stories, personal examples, and metaphors regarding individual preferences about democratization appeared throughout the interviews. Grounded codes were applied via the identification of specific phrases, words, and metaphors to match with other codes in order to understand their meaning and relationships. Codes with similar conceptual meaning were arranged under a concept name and labeled as subthemes. Thereafter, subthemes were combined as part of the analytic process to identify emerging hypotheses about individual preferences to democracy. Ideas presented under each of the main themes are supported with quotes from the interview transcripts.

Additionally, multistep, iterative coding was used along with elements of the constant comparative method, comparing new data to existing data in order to identify patterns therein. This research moved between the collected data, initial hypotheses, and literature about Swazi history, traditions, ideologies, and democracy in sub-Saharan and southern Africa. As a result, data analysis also moved between the emerging grounded themes from the coding charts and the research goals of understanding the determinants of individual preferences about democratization. After each coding round (of three interview transcripts), I wrote a memorandum (APPENDIX 7) to capture, understand, and articulate the main takeaways of those interviews. Each memo concluded with a proposition to synthesize and to summarize the key takeaways from the interview transcripts in order to construct grounded theories. Theoretical saturation was achieved after 51 interviews. Theoretical saturation occurs when researchers code such that all themes are well-developed and no new information is gained from reading and coding interviews.

political landscape. Metaphors allow comparisons between two things and also allow visual illustrations about how respondents interpret their personal experiences.[154] In the final portion of analysis, researchers reviewed interview transcripts to search specifically for metaphors used by respondents in their efforts to explain their understanding of Swaziland's political landscape. Through grounded identification of metaphors,[155] the research is intended to reconstruct the ways that respondents shape their own preferences about democratization in Swaziland.

5.1.4 Limitations & Validity Issues

To protect the identity of respondents, names of respondents were not collected; interviewees are identified using pseudonyms. Moreover, other identifiable information such as village names was replaced with codes very early on in the analysis. Interviewees received no monetary or material rewards for participating in this study as this may have influenced their responses. One of the major challenges of this study is to protect the anonymity of interviewees. As a result, quotes are presented with less contextualization and participant-specific information than is ideal to protect participant anonymity.

The researcher constructed the interview guide with the assistance of four Stanford faculty members who have had previous research experience. The guide was first piloted on a small sample size before it was refined and presented to interviewees. This rigorous process achieved clear research questions. A validity issue around researcher identity may arise. For this research, all interviewers and the I are Swazi. Therefore, to prevent any influence or bias caused by researcher identity, peer reviews and crosschecks by other researchers have been put in place. This is intended to ensure that researcher identity and his or her individual political perceptions do not influence the validity of the results.

To enhance the validity of the qualitative data. I also analyzed quantitative data gathered from the Swaziland national Afrobarometer survey. The Afroabarometer surveys assess political opinions, awareness, and preferences throughout sub-Saharan Africa. I

---

[154] Lakeoff, G., and M. Johnson. (1980). "The Metaphorical Structure of the Human Conceptual System." *Cognitive Science 4*: pp. 195-208.
[155] Miles, Matthew B, A. M Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: a Methods Sourcebook.* Third edition. Thousand Oaks, Califorinia: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2014.

compare the qualitative analysis with the quantitative results from the Afrobarometer survey to ensure a rigorous analysis and to eliminate any research bias related to researcher identity. Finally, I will conduct focus groups presenting preliminary findings to respondents in the six areas where interviews were conducted in order to assess the extent to which findings resonate with participant perceptions.

5.2 Afrobarometer

5.2.1 Data and Descriptive statistics

Afrobarometer surveys are designed to capture a nationally representative sample of all citizens of voting age in a given country. All citizens 18 and older have an equal chance of being selected for an interview (i) using random selection methods, and (ii) sampling with probability proportionate to population size so as to ensure that larger and more populated geographic units have a proportionally greater probability of being selected into the sample. The survey methodology excludes Swazi adult citizens living in institutionalized settings such as hospitals, student dormitories, prisons, or nursing homes.

Swaziland's Round 5 Survey was conducted with a sample size of 1,200 people. The data carried a margin of sampling error of around +/- 3 percent, using a confidence level of 95 percent.[156] Table 1 below gives an overview of the sample size characteristics in Swaziland relative to the country at large.

Table 1: Afrobarometer data set compared to national Swazi statistics

Description of variable	Afrobarometer sampling value (2013)	Swaziland national value
Number of survey respondents	1,200	1,250,000 (2013 World Bank est.)
Gender:		
Male	599 (49.92 %)	48.7 % (UNDP, 2012)
Female	601 (50.08 %)	51.3 % (UNDP, 2012)
Location		

---

[156] A 95% confidence interval is a range of values that you can be 95% certain contains the true population mean. More precisely, if the poll were conducted 100 times, 95 times the percent of responses would be within the calculated confidence intervals

Urban	264 (22 %)	21.1 % (2007 census)
Rural	936 (78 %)	78.9 % (2007 census)
Region		
Hhohho	328 (27.33 percent)	27.8 percent (2007 census)
Manzini	376 (31.33 percent)	31.4 percent (2007 census)
Shiselweni	248 (20.67 %)	20.5 % (2007 census)
Lubombo	248 (20.67 %)	20.4 (2007 census)
Age:		
0-14	0 percent	38 percent (2013 World Bank est.)
15-64	1,092	59 percent (2013 World Bank est.)
Mean	38.39	

Interviewers for the Afrobarometer survey are selected from within the country. Typically, they hold a first degree in social science and are prepared in a five-day training workshop immediately prior to fieldwork. During the interview period, the field supervisor leads a team of four interviewers into the field. Interviewees give informed consent before hour-long interviews are conducted, each under strict confidentiality. Afrobarometer interviews are conducted in the language of the interviewee's choice. In Swaziland, this may be either be Siswati or English.

Afrobarometer's surveying methods have been criticized because of the limitations associated with using quantitative methods to adequately understand democratic development in Africa. According to this survey, 46 percent of Swazis support democracy. However, some questions in the survey, when used alone, can over-represent sentiments about democracy if interviewees do not have a clear understanding of (i) what respondents mean when they answer the question, or (ii) that every respondent means the same thing.

Moreover, perhaps more importantly, Bratton and Mattes have found that African respondents are often suspicious of the survey methods and censor their responses because they believe the questions are part of a government scheme.[157] In fact, in Swaziland, approximately 77 percent of respondents to the Afrobarometer survey believed that the government or other government-affiliated body such as the prime minister's

---

[157] Bratton, M., R. Mattes, and E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2005). *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: p. 50.

office, the local government, or a ministry sent the interviewers. The extent to which Swazis have encountered or experienced restricted freedom of speech may have shaped the way they crafted their responses. The Afrobarometer attempts to mitigate this problem by asking interviewers to emphasize that they represent an independent organization, not the government, and that participation is entirely voluntary.

Another critique of the survey advanced by Fisher and Smith is that geographically isolated and less-educated respondents (relative to their peers) may answer mechanically or without depth and critical thought because they have little interest in the survey. The Afrobarometer aims to allay this problem by engaging respondents in the content of their questions – i.e., instead of asking broadly about market reforms with the question "Do you support market reforms?," they will ask, "Do you prefer to have low prices in the market even if there are shortages of goods, or to have plentiful goods in the market, even if prices are high?"[158] However, more critical studies by Fisher and Smith have asserted that public opinion research such as that carried out by the Afrobarometer and other entities such as Freedom House is a "globalized brand" – unrepresentative of the realities of many Africans.[159]

Although these critiques are valuable, my opinion is that the Afrobarometer can provide powerful and illuminating information. Historically, Africans have been marginalized from narratives about their own countries and politics. Although imperfect, the use of Afrobarometer data provides a snapshot into how Swazis and other Africans think about their political context. And, in a world that values quantitative research techniques, these surveys allow African opinions to begin shaping conversations about African politics. While I use this statistical model fully aware of its shortcomings, I am compelled by its attempt to aggregate opinions of Africans in the conversations about democracy through large, independent sampling employing user-friendly interview questions.

---

[158] *Ibid*

[159] Heath, A., S. Fisher and S. Smith. (2005). "The Globalization of Public Opinion Research", *Annual Review of Political Science 8*: p. 326.

Some limitations are more specific to the statistical implications of this research. First, although support for democracy is calculated in a robust way against a very specific definition, this model does not allow us to gain a complete and full understanding of what democracy means for the Swazis surveyed. Additionally, when calculating frequency of access to information, Internet usage, or radio and television engagement could have been weighted differently to account for the relative importance or abundance of these information sources.

Figure 2: Support for democracy in 34 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 2011-2013
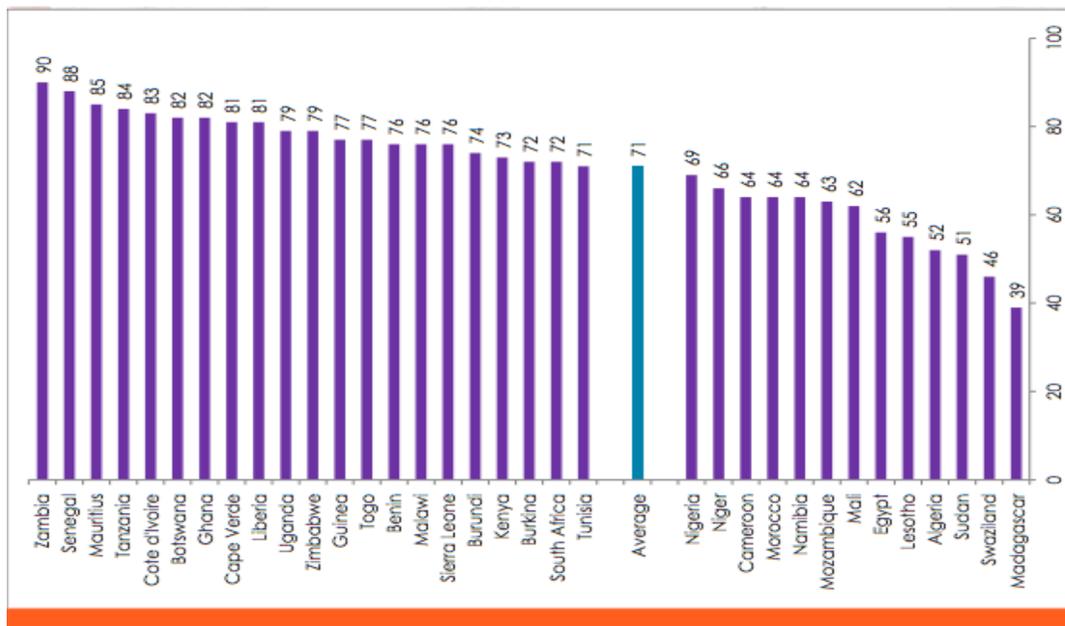
Source: Bratton, Michael, and Richard Houessou. "Demand for Democracy Is Rising in Africa, But Most Political Leaders Fail to Deliver." *Policy* (2014)

According to an Afrobarometer policy paper published in April 2014,[160] demand for democracy is rising in Africa, but most political leaders fail to deliver on a tangible level. The policy paper, authored by Michael Bratton and Richard Houessou, asserts that the average support for democracy in the 34 countries surveyed in sub-Saharan Africa is about 71 percent. Figure 2 below shows the respective percentages of "democracy support" in

---

[160] Bratton, M. and R. Houssou. (2014). Demand for Democracy Is Rising in Africa, But Most Political Leaders Fail to Deliver. (Policy Paper No.1). Afrobarometer.

each of the 34 countries considered. From this figure, it is clear that Swaziland has one of the lowest percentages of citizens who support democracy (46 percent), ahead of only Madagascar (39 percent).

For all countries, the percentage of support for democracy was computed by aggregating the results of the question below, which asks respondents to choose between three statements. As shown in Figure 2, when given a choice, 46 percent of Swazi respondents chose the statement, "Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government." Figure 3 below shows the percentages of Swazis choosing the other two statements offered in this question.

Figure 3: Respondent views about whether democracy is preferable in Swaziland
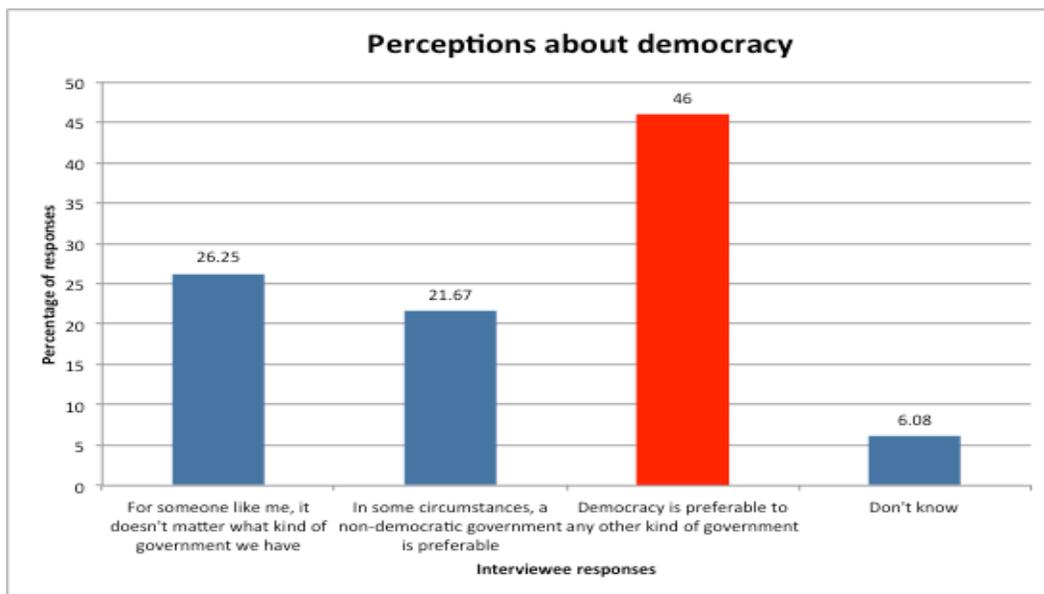
Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.

For my own analysis, I create new variables to measure support for democracy, for two main purposes. First, my qualitative interviews demonstrate that there are many definitions of democracy within Swaziland. Within this multiplicity of definitions, my interest is to measure support for democracy according to the "minimalist" definition of

democracy detailed in Chapter 1. According to this definition, a democracy refers to "a civilian, constitutional system in which the legislative and chief executive offices are filled through regular, competitive, multiparty elections.[161] For this reason, I will particularly be interested in assessing not only a preference for democracy but also support for multiparty competition as well as free and fair elections within Swaziland's political context. The second reason why I create new variables to explore the concept of democracy in Swaziland's context is due to the implications of my literature review of Swazi history. Specifically, Swaziland's leadership has repeatedly stated that it is a democracy. In 1967, King Sobhuza stated this as fact, saying:

> *It is the tradition of all African Kingdoms that their Kings are leaders as well as Kings. It is also true for Swaziland. Now rightly or wrongly some people have mistaken this dual capacity as dictatorship. I would like to assure you here and now that the King both leads and is led by his people. I am my people's mouthpiece..."*
> - King Sobhuza, speech given on National Flag Day in 1967

More recently, King Mswati restated that Swaziland is a democracy when he renamed Swaziland's political system to a monarchial democracy in 2014. The quote below was taken as an expert from the *Times of Swaziland*, Swaziland's largest newspaper in September 2013:

> *...there were many ideologies of democracy in the world but with the Monarchical Democracy, Swaziland presented to the world a system that was home-grown and could be adopted and used by any country; this is a home-grown African ideology and the world should embrace it.*
> - King Mswati renames Swaziland's government system to monarchial democracy, Times of Swaziland, September 1st 2013

Moreover, my interviews suggest that the belief that Swaziland is a democracy is not exclusive to Swaziland's leadership. Perhaps this perception among Swaziland's political leaders has disseminated to Swazi citizens who also perceive that Swaziland is a democracy. This is illustrated by the quote below:

---

[161] Diamond, L. (1997). Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over?: An Empirical Assessment (Working Paper No 236).

Tinkhundla are democratic because we hold elections and people vote for the MPs they
want. We vote for people not parties. I like the voting system.

  - 54 year-old female, rural Shiselweni

5.3 Empirical strategy

Based on the information discussed throughout my methodology, I attempt to create a more robust measure than the Afrobarometer can elicit in order to assess the extent of support for democracy within Swaziland. To do this, I identified three questions within the Afrobarometer survey that are used to explore Schumpter's definition of democracy. Per Shumpter's conception of electoral democracy, the following elements are required to qualify as democracy: (i) a government desired and created by the people, (ii) multiparty elections, and (iii) regular, free, and fair elections. To measure this, I consider three questions from the Afrobarometer survey. The first is the statement produced by the survey about whether democracy is preferable to any form of government. The second measure is used to investigate perceptions about political parties. The question, with the tabulated percentages of responses from each category is shown below:

Figure 4: Respondent attitudes about political parties in Swaziland
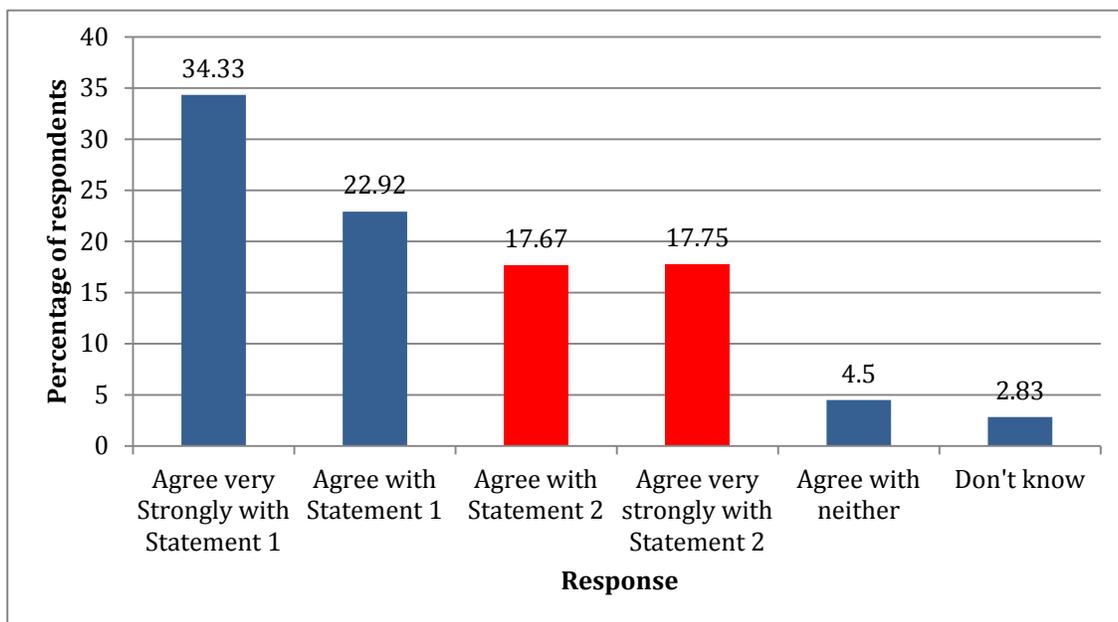
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Swaziland.

Statement 2: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Swazis have real choices in who governs them.

Even though 46 percent of respondents agree with the statement that democracy is the most preferable form of government as shown in Figure 3, approximately 35 percent of those respondents are simultaneously against the multi-party definition of democracy in Swaziland. This nuance will be discussed along with the results elsewhere in this research.

The third question used to measure support for democracy in my model concerns perceptions about elections. The question as taken from the Afrobarometer survey and the tabulated percentages of responses are shown below:

Figure 5: Respondent attitudes about elections
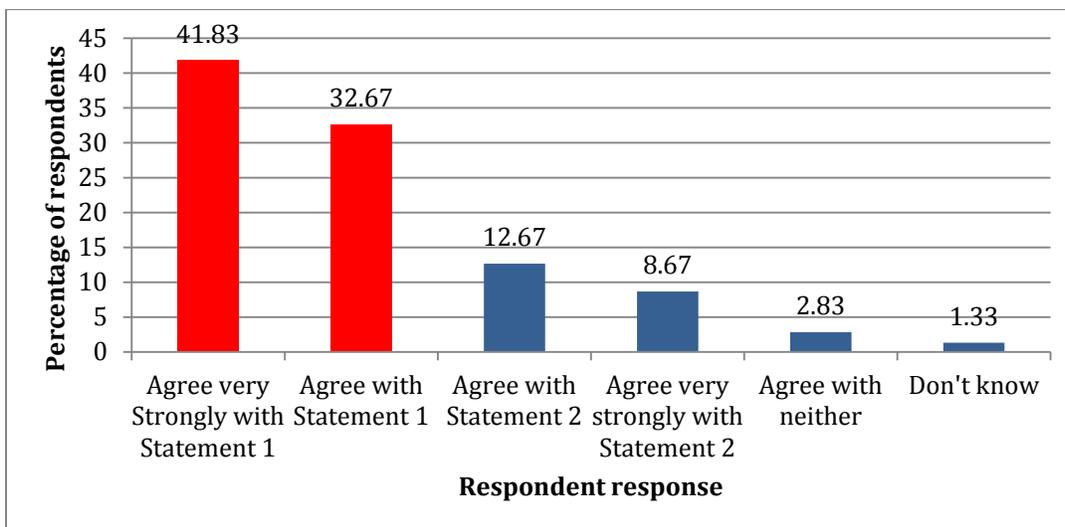
Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or Statement 2.

Statement 1: We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.

Statement 2: Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

From this sample, a clear majority – 74.5 percent of Swaziland's population – is in favor of regular, open and honest elections in Swaziland. This represents three-quarters of the sample and only a 20 percent of respondents are not in favor of elections "since [they] sometimes produce bad results."

5.4.1 Dependent Variable

I estimate the support for democracy, S_D, based on the three questions outlined above. While the most committed supporters of democracy would like to have multiple political parties and regular elections, it is insightful to explore variations among the different components of democracy themselves. As a result, the statistical model employed uses four different variables for support of democracy to investigate the aspects of democracy to which interviewees are most likely to respond positively. A binary variable is created in each case to best present this data.

As a result, in the first model, the measure for the support of democracy is a binary variable that is equal to 1 if different combinations of variables are true. The first variable is "support democracy," (Statement 1 in Figure 3 above); "election," assessing the support for elections (both agree and agree very strongly shaded in red in Figure 4 above) and "political parties," examining support for political parties (both agree and agree very strongly shaded in red in Figure 5 above). The following were the resulting binary variables created to assess demographic factors that impact the support for democracy:

S_D = *support for democracy + support for elections + support for political parties*[162]

S_{D2} = *support for democracy + support for elections*

S_{D3} = *support for democracy + support for political parties*

---

[162] Note that unless otherwise stated, when I refer to "support for democracy" in this thesis, I am referring to this variable. S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4} are primarily used as indicators of the significance of each respective variables in the regression table in Appendix 9.

S_{D4} = *support for elections + support for political parties*

To be clear, S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4} above, are binary variables created that were considered equal to 1 if *all* their component variables were true, and the dummy variable "0" if they were not. This was done in order to ensure that: (i) a true sense of the Swaziland's most committed citizens to multi-party democracy was estimated, and (ii) to minimize the error in the wording that is often a critique of Afrobarometer interviews – that word choice of the questions influences respondents, and, therefore, a response about "democracy being preferable" may not be Swaziland-specific, but instead a concept of democracy at large, which respondents have not yet experienced within Swaziland. Testing these combinations of variables of democracy, as well as their combinations, increases the degree to which we can capture a more accurate measure of support for democracy, as well as the specific components of democracy that Swazis may be averse to.

Table 1 in Appendix 11 shows a breakdown of the percentage of respondents who fall into each category of supporting democracy (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}). Only 18 percent of respondents fall into the first category of supporting the electoral definition of democracy tested here, S_D.[163] However, 35 percent supported a type of democracy with elections but no political parties, S_{D2}. Finally, 25 percent of respondents supported the notion of democracy and political parties, S_{D3}. Similarly, another 25 percent of respondents supported the presence of political parties and elections, S_{D4}. From this data, the percentage of "support for democracy" that the Afrobarometer cites – 46 percent – seems to be an overstatement because (i) some Swazis believe that the country is already a democracy and (ii) they have definitions of democracy that may not include multiple parties, and/or regular free and fair elections.

In addition to the logistic regressions created with the binary variables listed above, multivariate regressions were conducted to identify the demographic variables that can be considered significant predictors of perceptions about political parties, democracy, and elections. The results are shown below.

---

[163] These respondents answered "yes" to the question that democracy is the most preferable form of democracy, and were in favor of political parties and regular, free and fair elections

Similarly, for the data in my own interviews, a multi-dimensional variable was created to assess support for democracy. The variable created to measure interview respondents support for democracy was determined as the sum of two questions (see Appendix for full list of interview questions). The first is a question regarding whether a respondent thought Swaziland should be a democracy, the second regards whether the respondent thought Swaziland should have political parties.[164] Going by a minimalist definition of democracy, if a respondent thought both that Swaziland should be a democracy and that it should have political parties, they were assumed to support democracy.

The following individual characteristics were used to assess support for democracy. These variables are used to assess Afrobarometer data for all four definitions of democracy, S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}:

Support for democracy = β_1(female) + β_2(highest education level) + β_3(employment) + β_4(lived poverty) + β_5(community services) + β_6(region) + β_7(urban) + β_8(Age) + β_9(official leader of a religious group) + β_{10}(religious importance) + β_{11}(Swazi pride) + β_{12}(High trust in King)

Regression analysis was not carried out on my primarily qualitative data set. Using my data, similar variables were compared for a definition of democracy equal to believe political parties should be allowed and responding, "yes" to a question of whether respondent thinks that Swaziland should be a democracy:

Support for democracy = Believe that Swaziland should be democratic + Believe Swaziland should have political parties

5.4.2. Dependent Variable used to assess participation in Democratic Activity

---

[164] Question text: i) In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, people have varying opinions about democracy – some think that democracy is good and should be strived for, others think that it is controversial and not too effective, what do you think is the role of democracy in Swaziland? ii) Do you think Swaziland should have political parties?

It is rarely sufficient to assess attitudes when explicitly examining people's opinions about democracy. Investigating their actions in terms of democratic activity can not only tell us what they think, but also give an indication of their efficacy based on their political beliefs. Therefore, four questions that are indicators of "democratic activity" within the Afrobarometer were used to assess factors that influence democratic actions.

The variables for democratic activity (defined as participating in a protest, attending a community meeting, joining others to raise an issue, or voting) were asked as follows: *Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance.* The options to this question were the following: *0=No, would never do this, 1=No, but would do if had the chance, 2=Yes, once or twice, 3=Yes, several times, 4=Yes*. A binary variable was created to equal 1 for the "yes" responses to each form of democratic activity, and a dummy variable equal to 0 for "no" responses.

Participation in protest = β_1(female) + β_2(highest education level) + β_3(employment) + β_4(lived poverty) + β_5(community services) + β_6(region) + β_7(urban) + β_8(Age) + β_9(official leader of a religious group) + β_{10}(religious importance) + β_{11}(Swazi pride) + β_{12}(High trust in King)

The same independent variables were used with the dependent variables of voting in 2008 elections, attending community meetings, and joining others to raise an issue. These were all used as indicators to assess a respondent's participation in democratic activity. Additionally, a graduated democratic activity scale was created that is the summation of four of the binary variables. This graduated scale is equal to "4" for the respondents engaged in the highest number of democratic activities, as defined here. Respondents received a score of "0" if they engaged in none of these activities.

Graduated democratic activity = Voted (2008 election) + Attend community meeting + Joining others to raise an issue + Participation in protest

6. Gender, Education and Democracy in Swaziland

Highest level of education: Form 3
Reason: I got pregnant
   - Female, 22, Manzini rural interviewee

Highest level of education: Form 1
Reason: There were problems with school fees
   - Female, 31, Manzini urban interviewee

Highest level of education: Standard 3
Reason: I don't know the reason. It was my father who ordered that.
   - Female, 57, Shiselweni urban interviewee

The King will be remembered for the elderly grants and free education at primary schools.
   - Female, 37, Shiselweni rural interviewee

Compared to their male counterparts, women are less likely to believe that Swaziland should be democratic. One of the key findings from quantitative analysis was the assertion

that women tend to support democracy less than men. In this chapter, I seek to assess the relevant quantitative and qualitative variables that shape the political priorities of women such that they support democracy less than men. I find that both level of educational attainment and aversion to violence lead to less support for democracy by women. In terms of political parties, my research finds that women are significantly less likely than men to participate in any form of democratic activity with the exception of voting. Worth noting is that, with increasing educational attainment levels, all forms of democratic activity decrease except for attending protests or political marches.

6.1 Political attitudes

According to logistic regression of Afrobarometer data and my own in-depth interviews, gender is a statistically significant determinant of political preferences. In both cases, women are less likely to support democracy. According to my individual qualitative interviews, women were less likely than men to respond "yes" to both questions, I used to assess support for democracy: "*do you think Swaziland should be democratic?*" and "*do you think Swaziland should have political parties?*" The regression table in Appendix 9 shows statistical significance at a 99 percent confidence interval for almost all cases.

Similarly, Afrobarometer survey results show that women are less likely to support democracy than their male counterparts. In almost all cases, the results are statistically significant at a 99 percent confidence interval. The three components of democracy measured here are: (i) preference for democracy, (ii) support for political parties, and (iii) desire to see regular, free and fair elections. The negative coefficients on all measures of democracy (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}) are important signifiers of this. From this analysis, women are less likely to answer "yes" to the question about whether democracy is preferable. Moreover, the regression table in Appendix 9 illustrates the result of a multivariate logistic regression. According to this result, lack of support is significant at a 99 percent confidence interval especially for definitions of democracy that include political parties, S_{D3} and S_{D1}. This result holds even while controlling for education, type of area, employment, Lived

Poverty Index score, community level wealth, age, religious importance, Swazi pride, level of trust in king and membership in a religious group.

However, interestingly, Table 3 illustrates that even though women are less likely to support democracy, they have a positive coefficient with support for free and fair elections. Although not statistically significant, women are supportive of regular, free, and fair elections. However, they are more likely than men to be averse to political parties and less likely to respond affirmatively to *democracy as the most preferable form of government.*

6.2 The impact of education on women's political opinions

As previously stated, several theories have been proposed to explain why women support democracy less than men do throughout sub-Saharan Africa. According to Afrobarometer data, education has more significance in determining support for democracy than gender. Education is positively correlated with support for democracy at the $\propto$ = 0.01 of significance for any definition of democracy tested (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}). Patterns of gender and education show that within the Afrobarometer sample of respondents across Africa, fewer women than men have reached the highest levels of education, defined as a post-graduate degree.

Table 2 shows the breakdown of gender-specific education level data. Of the 6 percent people who have completed a post-graduate degree, approximately 58 percent were male. Because I controlled for education in my regression, it is clear that gender has an independent effect on determining support for democracy. However, taken by itself, education is the most significant predictor of democratic support, and the disparities in educational attainment levels between men and women are important.

Table 2: Highest education level of respondents

	Education level	Percentage of people in category (raw number)	Percentage male/female at each level (raw number)	
			Women	Men
0	No formal schooling	10.25 % (123)	55.28 % (68)	44.72 % (55)
1	Primary school completed	23.75 % (285)	55.79 %	44.21 %

			(159)	(126)
2	Secondary school completed	49.92 % (599)	50.25 % (301)	49.75 % (298)
3	Some university	9.85 % (118)	35.59 % (42)	64.41 % (76)
4	Post-graduate	6.25 % (75)	41.33 % (31)	58.67 % (44)

Figure 6 and 7 below show the magnitude of increase in the support for democracy with increasing educational attainment. In these figures, "0" represents respondents who had attained no formal schooling, "1" represents respondents who had completed primary school, "2" represents those who had completed secondary school, "3" represents those who had completed some university and "4" represents those who had attained a post-graduate degree.

Figure 6: Likelihood of support for democracy (S_D) by gender and education level
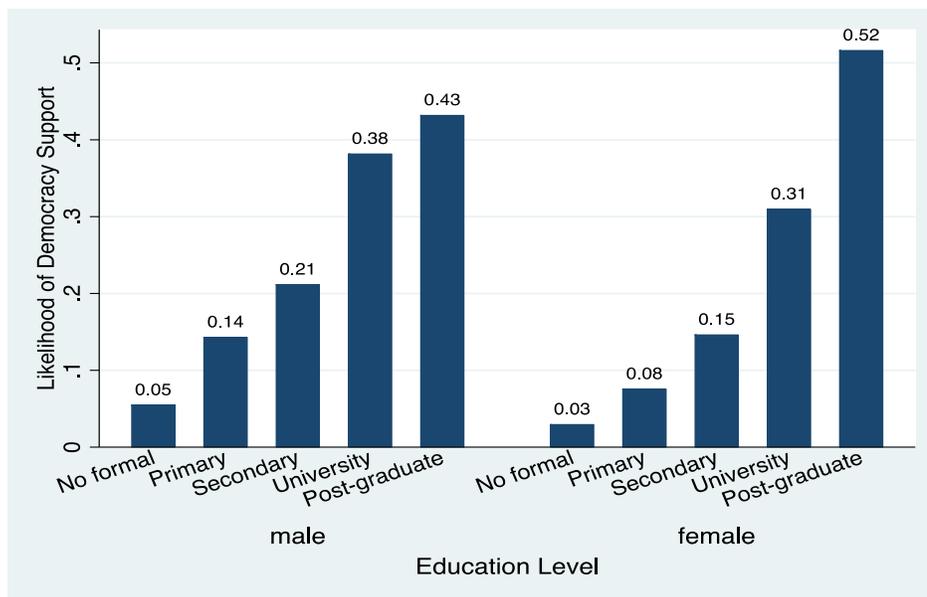
Figure 7: Likelihood of support for democracy (S_D) by gender and education level

Graphs by THISINT
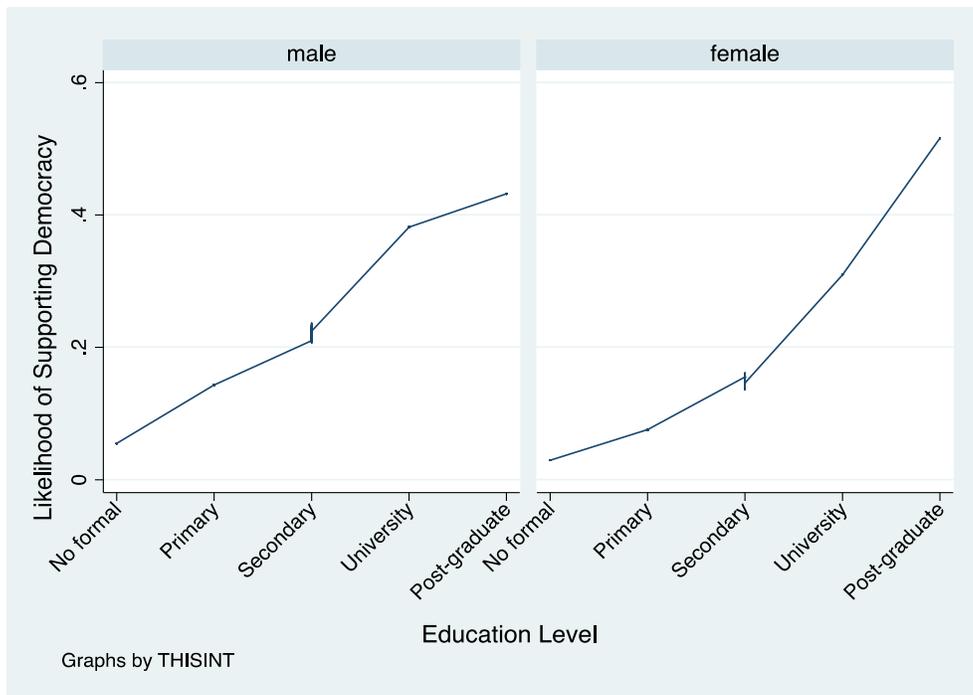
This table shows monotonically increasing support for democracy with each increasing level of educational attainment for women. In particular, the most significant increases in support for democracy occur after university-level education is acquired. Women with some university-level education have a 30 percent likelihood of supporting democracy, whereas the likelihood to support democracy at post-graduate level is just above 50 percent. However, since so few people complete post-graduate education, it is difficult to draw substantial conclusions about the impact of education on the different attitudes towards democracy between these genders. An assessment of the interaction shows that the difference between male and female support for democracy are not statistically significant with increasing educational levels for this sample. However, with no formal education (at ed_level = 0), the difference in support for democracy between men and women is significant even for this sample size. This is shown in Figure 8 below, which illustrates the interaction between support for democracy, gender, and education level.

Figure 8: Interaction between gender, support for democracy, and education level
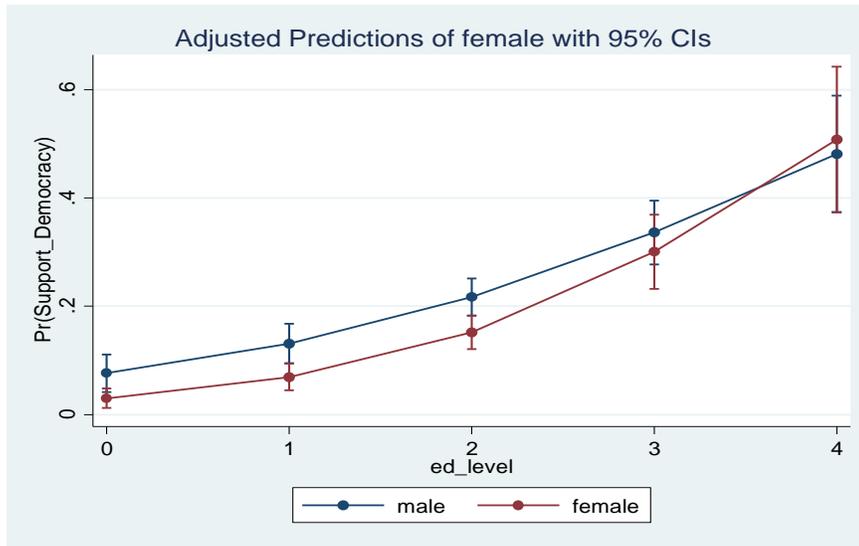
As is common in developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, women tend to drop out of school earlier than men do. This can be attributed to pregnancy, a shortage of money, or parental decisions that prioritize educating sons over daughters, leaving women at a greater risk of not completing their school programs. In Swaziland, the resulting issues may decrease support for democracy in two ways. First, as Afrobarometer data illustrate, more educated respondents are significantly more likely to support democracy. Second, due to the volatility of their educational security, women interviewees mentioned being grateful to the King for providing free primary education. This correlates with increasing gratitude towards the King, increasing trust in him, and support for him as a leader. Thereby reproducing support for a non-democratic regime in Swaziland.

From the above data, it is clear that males have higher levels of educational attainment than females. This supports the observation that lower support for democracy among females is at least somewhat associated with lower educational attainment. However, increasing educational attainment levels increases support for democracy more significantly for women than for men. Support for democracy among women particularly increases when they attain levels of education that are above university-level. In fact, over 50 percent of the 31 women with a post-graduate degree express support for democracy, S_D.

In an environment where women are not often given the chance to complete school, the introduction of free primary education in 2010 attributed to King Mswati III has been praised and thus reinforces the authority of the King. In fact, when asked about his legacy, women often mention that he will be remembered for "free education." They support the current regime more as a result of this edict, as it has allowed them to attain at least a primary school education. Worth noting is that, although there is no clear significance for different levels of education in this dataset, there is significance in the interaction between men and women at the lowest level of education, "0" where respondents have no formal schooling. With no formal schooling, men are almost twice as likely to support democracy as women.

6.3 The impact of education on women's political participation

It is useless to vote because there will be no change in this country.
- Female, 29, Manzini urban interviewee, O'level level education

As is evident from the regression table in Appendix 2, women are significantly less likely than men to participate in any form of democratic activity with the exception of voting. In Swaziland, for example, women are less likely than men to attend a community meeting or raise an issue or political concern. They are also less likely to attend a protest or march compared to their male counterparts. In part, this is due to the way households are structured and the patriarchal nature of Swazi society.[165] However, women demonstrate a positive coefficient for voting. Given that women are less supportive of democracy than men in Swaziland, their lesser likelihood of participating in protests is not surprising. However, the effect of the patriarchal nature of Swazi society should not be discounted in this interpretation of the data. Despite the fact that women are not as supportive of democracy as men, especially at low levels of society, their role in Swazi society often acts as a barrier to their ability to participate in democratic activity.

To investigate this further, I used my data and interview responses to examine how democratic activity varies with increasing levels of education based on the notion that women who are more educated can have more autonomy and thus be less exposed to patriarchal institutions (see *Theory* Chapter). The relationship between gender and each type of political participation is shown in the Appendix 10. Interestingly, with increasing educational attainment, women's democratic activity *decreases* on average. In particular, women with higher levels of education are less likely to attend community meetings, join others to raise an issue, or vote. The only measured form of democratic activity whose likelihood increases rapidly for educated women is the likelihood of attending a protest or march. Figure 9 below shows that dramatic increase in attending a protest for both men and women. For women, the effect is particularly large between secondary school and university. Worth highlighting is that out of 68 women with no formal schooling, none has participated in a protest.

Figure 9: Likelihood of protesting among men and women with different levels of educational attainment levels
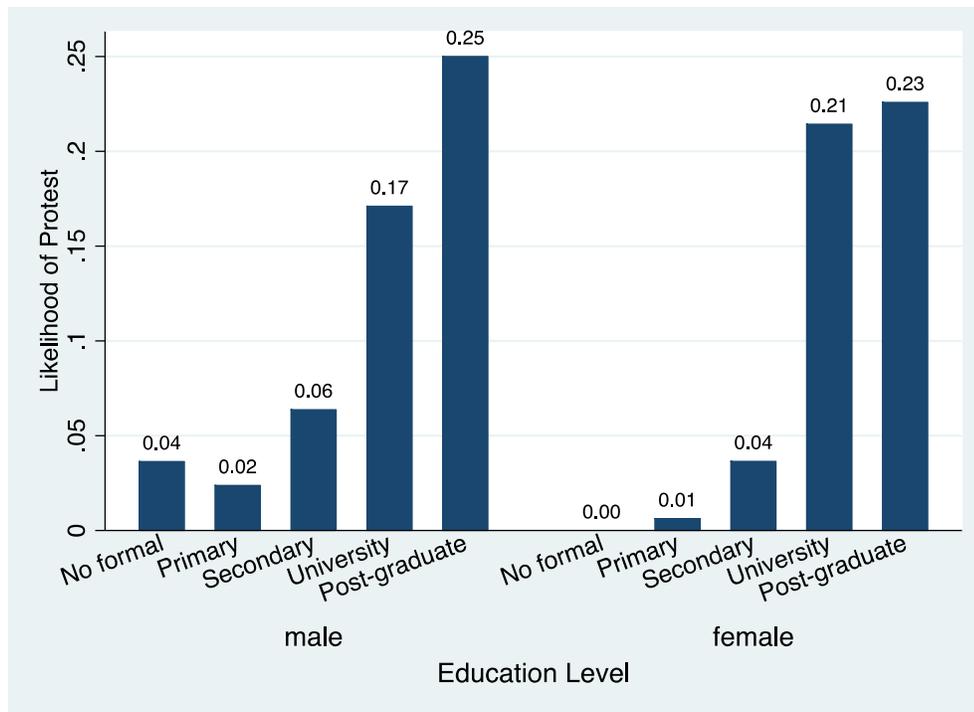
As shown earlier, increasing levels of education coincide with increased support for democracy among women. In a deeper examination of this phenomenon, qualitative interviews showed that interviewees held a general perception of futility in democratic activity such as attending community meetings, joining others to raise an issue, or voting. On the issue of voting, most respondents, including women, commented, "I know that my vote won't change anything." Similarly, those who refrained from voting also commented, "even if I voted, nothing would have changed." The quote below summarizes some of the common notions of the limitations of political participation through voting.

My vote won't bring change, instead of making a difference, things get worse.
  - Female, 35, Semi-urban Manzini interviewee, O'level

In summary, women are less likely to believe that Swaziland should be democratic. Moreover, although this may be in part due to disparities in educational attainment between men and women, the continued significance when controlling for education shows that gender has an independent effect on determining support for democracy. Furthermore, women do not engage in as much democratic activity as men. Both men and

women with high levels of education are making more of a conscious effort to stay out of forms of democratic activity that they regard as futile. Still, at higher levels of education, women are almost equally as likely as men to attend protests or marches to further the prospects of democratic development. With a post-graduate degree, the likelihood that a women will attend a march is 22.5 percent compared to 25 percent for men. With some university level education, women are *more* likely (21 percent) than men (17 percent) to attend a protest. Although the statistical significance is not clear from this sample, education has the potential to increase women's support for and engagement in Swaziland's democratic development.

7. The impact of education on democratic attitudes and actions

Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world
                          - Nelson Mandela

(The Swazi government is) an oppressive government. The elderly are given insulting grants. There is no medication in hospitals. Our education system is poor. We want good quality universities. We are not able to talk about what frustrates us."
- Male, 34, Shiselweni, semi-urban interviewee

The King knew that people were not well versed about democracy, so he introduced the name (monarchial democracy).
- Female, 28, Manzini semi-urban interviewee

According to the Afrobarometer survey data, higher levels of educational attainment have a statistically significant impact on attitudes toward democracy in Swaziland (see Appendix 9 for regression results). This relationship holds true for all definitions of democracy: S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3} and S_{D4} and their components. In particular, higher levels of educational attainment increase the likelihood of support for democracy with the highest level of significance. Strikingly, however, educational attainment does not increase democratic activities that operate within the framework of the current regime such as attending community meetings, joining others to raise issues, or voting. Rather than these activities, respondents with higher levels of education were most likely to attend protests and marches.

7.1 Higher educational attainment increases support for democracy

As has been illustrated, education may shape support for democracy among women. Controlling for gender, education is a significant predictor of support for democracy (see regression tables in Appendix 9). Using the Afrobarometer, I considered five categories to describe different educational attainment levels. The relative proportions of respondents who fall into each category are shown in Table 2 in Chapter 6 This data shows that ten percent of respondents had no formal schooling. Equally low, only approximately six percent of respondents had completed a post-graduate degree. However, Figure 10 shows the variation between the likelihood of support for democracy, S_D, and the four levels of education shown in Table 2. As shown in the graph, support for democracy increases at each incremental level of education. This result is significant at the 99 percent confidence

interval, and education is positively correlated with support for democracy at the $\propto$ = 0.01 of significance for any definition of democracy tested (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}).

Figure 10: Likelihood of support for democracy at increasing levels of educational attainment levels
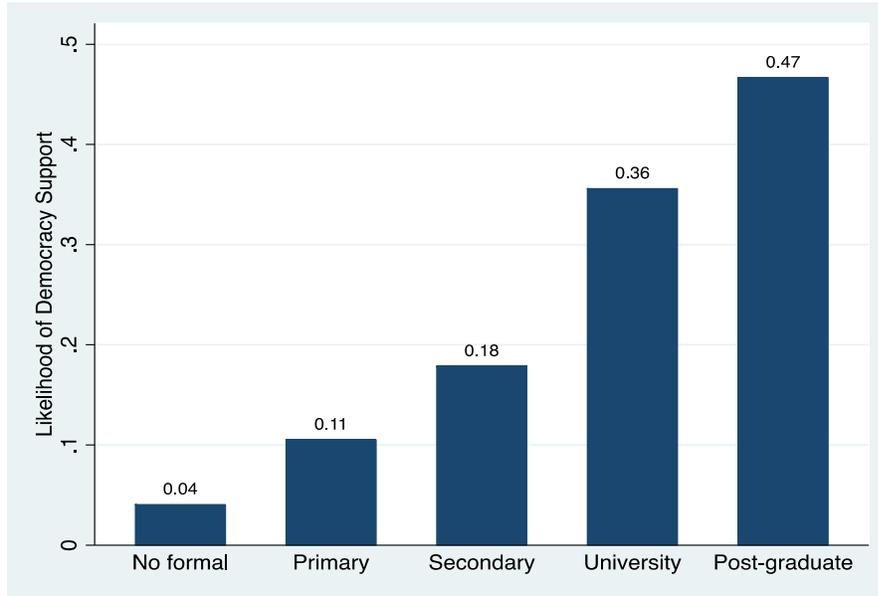
Education level has demonstrated its validity as a predictor at the .01 level of significance for all variables designed to measure support for democracy, which include gender, lived poverty, type of area (urban or rural), employment status, religious importance and membership, trust in the King, and Swazi pride. The disaggregated measures of support are shown in the regression tables in Appendix 9. The only exception to the dramatic significance of highest educational attainment is the measure of whether respondents supported free and fair elections. Although support for free and fair elections correlated positively with increasing levels of education, the significance of education level is only at the 0.1 level, which is notably lower than the significance of the other variables. This is consistent with findings in Chapter 5, which indicated that 75 percent of Swazis asserted that they agree that Swaziland should have regular, free and fair elections. This suggests that people from all levels of education believe Swaziland should have free and

fair elections. Therefore, education is not necessarily a good predictor of support of open elections.

7.2 Higher educational attainment increases involvement in protest

I always ask myself how these people will help us and I always conclude that there is none. So, I chose not to vote.
   - Male, 61, Semi-urban Manzini interviewee

Even though education is a significant predictor of political *attitudes,* it does not seem to be an equally valuable predictor of political *action.* Data shows that increasing educational attainment has a somewhat significant positive correlation with the likelihood of joining others to raise an issue at the 0.1 level of significance. For likelihood of having voted in the 2008 election, educational attainment level is not a statistically significant predictor. The statistically significant increase for increasing educational attainment level is the likelihood of joining a protest or political march. Survey respondents with higher levels of education are significantly more likely to participate in protests or marches as illustrated in Figure 11 below. Figure 12 shows that the increase in likelihood of protesting applies both for women and men (this can also be seen in Figure 9 in the previous chapter).

Figure 11: Likelihood of protesting with increasing educational attainment level

Figure 1

Graphs by THISINT

74
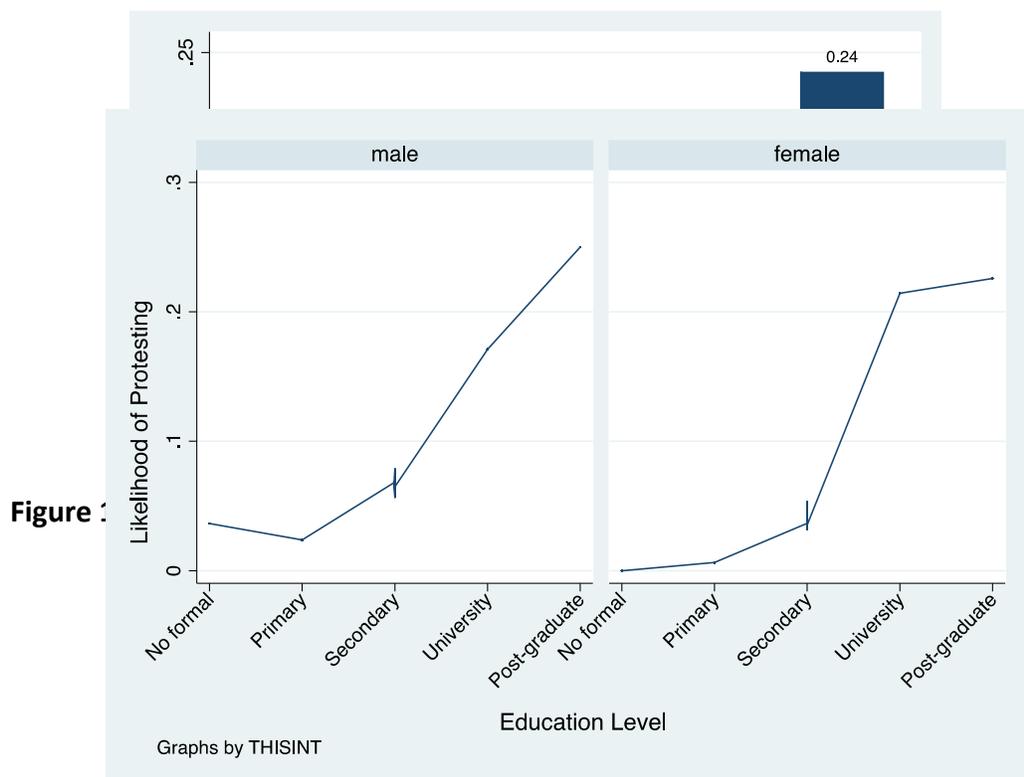
The negative relationship between educational attainment and the scale of democratic activity with the exception of participation in protests may be explained by examining the personal commentaries derived from the in-depth interviews conducted as a part of this study. These interviews suggest that the negative relationship between educational attainment and participation in these democratic activities may be due to lower levels of faith in the democratic action, especially those that involve working within Swaziland's government system. An example of this is the frequent reason given for abstaining from voting: "I know that my vote won't change anything."

Responses like these show a deep-rooted sense of helplessness and hopelessness among interviewees toward the current government structure. The interview data suggests that those with higher levels of education do not vote or attend community meetings or even raise issues because, according to them, "all those we elect end up dancing to the King's tune" (Male, 42, Manzini urban interviewee). In essence, they feel that participating in these types of democratic activity will not cause any impact. Instead, showing resistance through protesting is a more impactful way to cause change within Swaziland.

As Nelson Mandela once said "education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." For Swaziland, support for democracy seems to be significantly dependent on a respondent's level of educational attainment, irrespective of

which definition of democracy is tested (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3} and S_{D4}). Moreover, people who are educated are more likely to attend a protest. This finding is in line with Lipset's modernization theory, which postulates that a more educated population is more likely to demand democracy and engage in political participation.

8. *The Politics of the Belly*? Lived Poverty, Voting, and Democracy in Swaziland

> *In this country – Swaziland, the stomach rules (or determines our responses to situations)... Just look around and see who is making noise today. It is the hungry ones!*

- Times of Swaziland, 7 February 1999

The government is for certain people, not us. During elections we are transported in expensive cars, but once we are done, we are forgotten. The government of Swaziland is happy to see us poor. I have never seen such government before!
        -Female, 72, Shiselweni semi-urban interviewee

Sibusiso's government is not considerate to the poor. They just fill their own bellies and yet they say there is no money. The PM travels up and down with his new wife. We have not had an increment as teachers. He says there is no money. We struggle to make ends meet and that is why head teachers embezzle funds.
        - Male, 38, Shiselweni rural interviewee

Theories suggest that, in general, the prospects of sustaining democratic governance are lower in a poor society than in a relatively wealthy one.[166] Using Afrobarometer's Lived Poverty Index, it is possible to estimate the impact of an inability to secure basic necessities, called "lived poverty," on political attitudes and their efficacy in prompting democratic and political change. However, in the face of this assertion, Swaziland's poorest are the country's most committed to having multiple parties. Additionally, they support for democracy, S_D, more. Although not represented in the regression analysis, qualitative interviews present evidence of coercion from the government and traditional authorities, such as chiefs for the poorest to vote. Strikingly, those with higher levels of "lived poverty" are more likely to participate in democratic activity. Therefore, based on this evidence, Swaziland has seems to counter Lipset's modernization theory.

8.1 Peasant activism

The data surrounding lived poverty and support for democracy in Swaziland challenges modernization theory. In fact, instead of the middle class, the largest support for political parties lies among those who are somewhat poor. Just as the level of educational attainment is positively correlated with support for democracy and is statistically

---

[166] Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review. 53*(1); Bollen, K. and R. Jackman. (1989). "Democracy, Stability and Dichotomies," *American Sociological Review 54*: 438-57 ; and Przewroski, A. M. Alvare, J. Cheibub, and F. Limongi. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

significant at a 99 percent confidence interval, lived poverty is also positively correlated with support for political parties and is significant at this level. Regarding support for democracy, although higher rates of "lived poverty" are shown to increase support for democracy, this relationship is not linear. Graphing the regression examining the effect of lived poverty on support for democracy produces a U-shaped graph, showing that support for democracy increases with increasing poverty level. However, at very high poverty levels, support for democracy falls again (see Appendix 14 for graph).

On the "lived poverty" scale ranging from 0 to 3 created by Robert Mattes et al.[167], poorer Swazis have higher scores as 0 refers to people who have never "gone without" a cash income, food to eat, a cash income, cooking fuel, and medicines or medical treatment.[168] The Afrobarometer data show that lived poverty is positively correlated with support for political parties, and this relationship is significant at the 99 percent. Figure 13 illustrates that wealthier respondents (those with a score of 0) have the one of the lowest average levels of support for political parties. As seen, only 33 percent of respondents admitted to supporting political parties in Swaziland compared to 36 percent in the highest poverty category, those seen to be in "extreme poverty."

Figure 13: Likelihood of support for political parties with increasing Lived Poverty

---

[167] Mattes, R. B., Bratton, M., & Davids, Y. D. (2003). *Poverty, survival, and democracy in Southern Africa* (No. 23). Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA).; Dulani, B., Mattes, R., & Logan, C. (2013). After a decade of growth in Africa, little change in poverty at the grassroots. *Afrobarometer Policy Brief*, (1).
[168] See Appendix 12 for a complete outline of how this "lived poverty" scale was composed
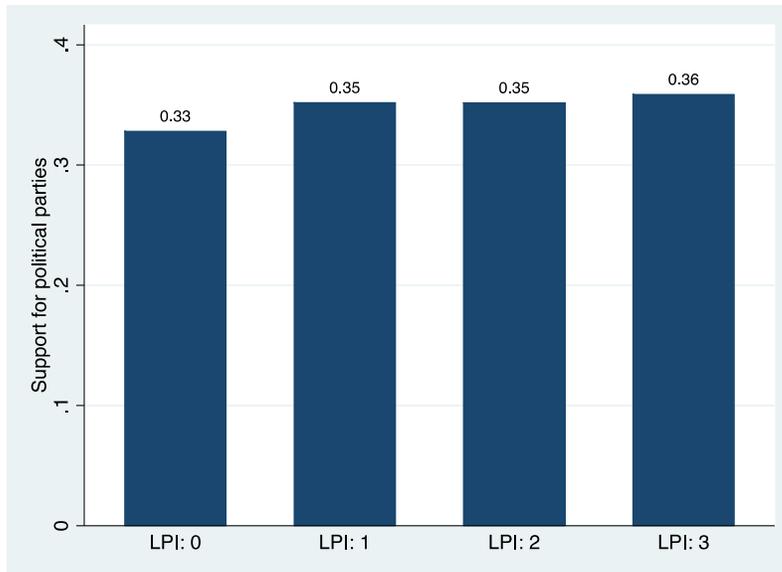
One possible reason that the poorest respondents support political parties and *not* elections is because they feel that elections have not worked in the past. Therefore, they may simply like to gain a better understanding of political parties. The statement below, derived from interviews conducted in this study, speaks to this possibility:

> *I voted for him expecting him to create job opportunities in my area, but he has not been able to do that. We wanted him to assist in the construction of bridges and houses for the destitute. This has not happened...In the next five years, I am expecting my MP to allow political parties in my area so that we get to know them. PUDEMO, SWAYOCO and others should come and show us how we can change things in my area to allow development. Government has failed us.*
> - Male, 32, Manzini semi-urban interviewee

With regard to this data, the regression table shows that lived poverty increases support for democracy until extreme levels of poverty. Notably, although support for political parties increases significantly with lived poverty, the correlation between lived poverty and support for free and fair elections is negative. Qualitative interviews explain why this might be the case in Swaziland. Per the qualitative interviews, there is evidence of sentiments that members of Parliament often leave poor communities after elections and do not serve the people who have elected them.

...The main problem could be that these MPs don't come back to us after elections.
Most of them stay in the urban areas and forget about us.
- Female, 61, Manzini rural interviewee

Additionally, this could be explained by the fact that the poor may not have positive associations with voting as there is evidence that they are often coerced into voting, which is discussed in the next section.

8.2. Voting and lived poverty

Both quantitative and qualitative data indicate that individuals living in the most pronounced poverty are more likely to vote than their more affluent peers. In quantitative data, the coefficients of both "urbanicity" and "lived poverty" are significant predictors of voting – as people live in more rural areas, and are poorer; they vote more (see Appendix 10). Here, voting *decreases* with increasing individual and community wealth.[169] During Swaziland's most recent election in 2013, the government-run, national newspaper reported a 97.3 percent rate of voter turnout. However, just five years previously, the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa reported that about 47 percent of the 400,000 eligible voters showed up for elections.[170] The disparity in these calculated rates indicate that the turnout in 2013 was at the least falsely reported and likely inflated.

Regarding the issue of voter coercion, the responses collected from interviewees suggest that local chiefs may be coercing eligible voters to cast their votes without freedom of conscience, particularly in rural areas. Below is a quote from an *indvuna* of Nkomati, which illustrated this practice in 1983:

...take part in the coming elections or get out of my area. If I do not
see you at Enkaba on election day, those people (who go) must come
back here immediately and demolish their (the people who do not go)
homes because I...will throw that family out of my area.[171]
- Indvuna of Nkomati, 1983

---

[169] Here, I am assuming that urban areas have more services than rural areas. See Appendix 13 for a measure of services that are used to compute community wealth. The correlation between these and urbanicity is 0.61, which shows that this variable is a good proxy for community wealth.
[170] "Swaziland: King's Paper Claims 97 Percent Poll Turnout." *AllAfrica*. AllAfrica.com, 21 Sept. 2013. Web. 21 Jan. 2015.
[171] Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.

Qualitative interview data includes some commentary on the issue of poor voters being convinced in one way or another to vote. Often, the coercion was executed through threats of the loss of access to government services, benefits, or scholarships. For example, when asked why she voted in the last (2013) election, a female from a semi-urban area in Manzini said, "I was advised that if I did not vote, I would not get a scholarship." Similarly, an urban interviewee from Manzini stated, "we were warned that if we did not vote, we would lose government benefits such as free primary education." Figure 14 & 15 below show the variation between likelihood to vote and Lived Poverty Score. According to Figure 14, the likelihood of voting increases the poorer the respondent, regardless of gender.

Figure 14: Variation between likelihood of voting and poverty level for men and women
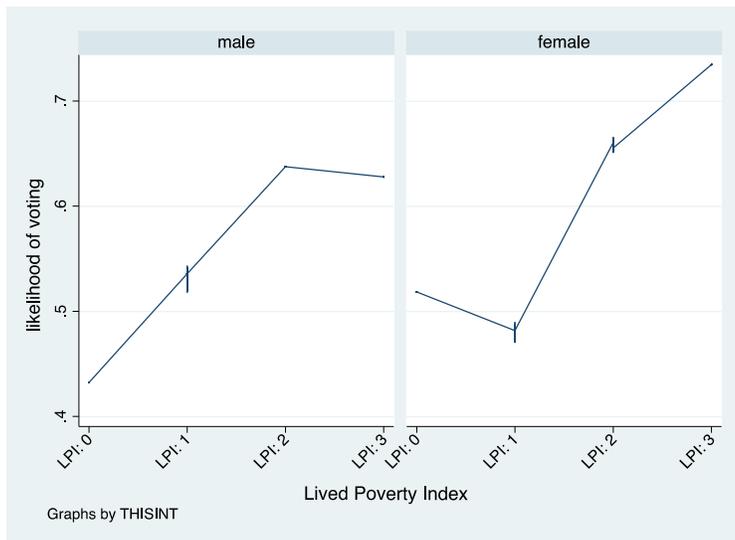
Figure 15: Likelihood of voting by type of area and gender of respondent

81
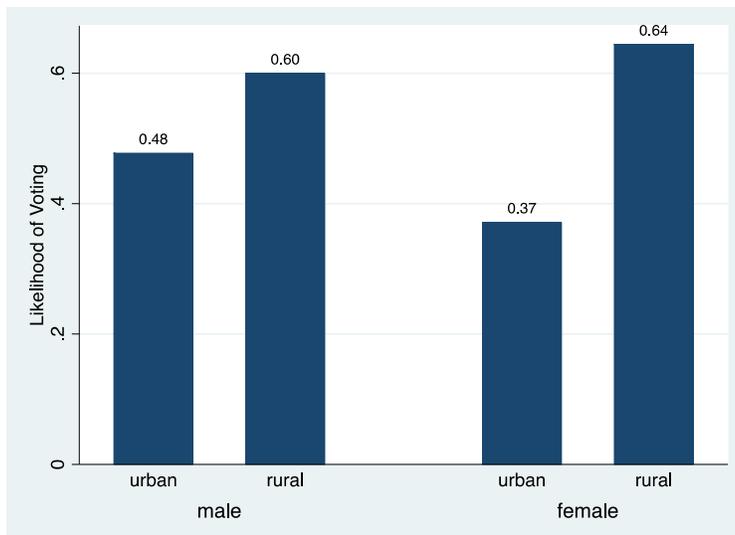
Moreover, according to Figure 15 above, approximately 65 percent of rural women voted in the 2008 election compared to 37 percent of women in urban areas. Women in rural areas are almost twice as likely to vote as those in urban areas. Similarly for men, 47 percent of men from rural areas turned out to vote in 2008, while almost 60 percent of those in rural areas voted. From the regression, the poor are more likely to vote than others. Additionally, based on qualitative interviews, the increased likelihood of voting for rural-dwellers may be due to the ease with which they can be coerced to vote due to their relative dependence on government benefits.

Overall, "lived poverty" complicates modernization theory in the case of Swaziland. The poor engage in all forms of democratic activity significantly more than the wealthy: they attend protests, community meetings, join others to raise an issue, and voted in the 2008 election, albeit with the possibility of coercion. Notably, they are also more supportive of political parties. Additionally, through in-depth interviews, the poor make a strong case in support of democracy citing their poverty and the disparity between the king's wealth and theirs as a reason why they are curious about democracy. They highlight that, "his [the king's] siblings get E12 000 a month while many Swazis live on E2.00 per day." Also, they highlight their own poverty as a reason to be supportive of change saying, the "government of Swaziland is happy to see us poor. I have never seen such government before!" and that government officials "fill their own bellies and yet they say there is no money*."* Additionally, the regression shows some significance for the increased support of democracy and lived poverty. At the very least, this result challenges the applicability of modernization theory to Swaziland's context.

9. Religion & politics in Swaziland

If we all believe in God we will live a good life. In a good life everybody will have ample opportunities.
    - Female, 18, urban Manzini interviewee

I am a born again Christian and we are advised not to be involved in politics. Pastor Justice works for the God's Kingdom.
    - Male, 36, rural Shiselweni interviewee

Over 90 percent of respondents of the Afrobarometer survey report that religion is "somewhat" or "very" important to their lives.[172] In Swaziland specifically, religion has been used as a political instrument by the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Sibusiso Shongwe, who commented that "the reason God's eye is closer to the Kingdom of Swaziland is that we are a platform of showing the world how the Almighty God wants the world to be ruled."[173] With self-identified Christians making up about 90 percent of the population, Shongwe's focus on religion can be regarded as a strategic political move. From this data, religious membership correlates negatively and significantly with support for democracy.[174]

9.1 Equality versus religious membership

Afrobarometer data shows that religious membership negatively correlates with support for democracy in Swaziland. In fact, support for democracy is negative ly correlated with S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, and S_{D4}. For these measures, the level of significance considered is highest, .01, for S_{D2}, and an expressed desire for democracy itself. People who are members, or more active members in religious groups are significantly less likely to say that "democracy is the most preferable form of government" out of the options presented

---

[172]J. McCauley and E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2009). Religious Faith and Democracy: Evidence from the Afrobarometer Surveys. (Working Paper No. 113). Afrobarometer.
[173] (2014, January 13). "Swaziland: God is like King Mswati – Govt Minister."*allAfrica.com*.
[174] To avoid problems of endogeneity, a regression with democratic activity and religious membership was not conducted. previous studies have shown that the same characteristics that lead to civically minded citizens that are involved in democratic process are also likely to encourage them to be involved in their local churches and mosques. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the causality in relationships between these variables, as people who are more involved in their churches tend to also be more involved in politics.

in Figure 3. Table 4 in Appendix 12 shows the relative proportion of people who fall into these categories of supporting democracy (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, or S_{D4}) in Swaziland's Afrobarometer Round 5 data.

A breakdown of religious dominance included in the Afrobarometer sample is shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Religions of respondents in Afrobarometer sample

Religion	Percentage of respondents
None	3.67 %
Christian only	31.42 %
Roman Catholic	4.67 %
Anglican	1.58 %
Methodist	5.67 %
Evangelical	12.08 %
Zionist Christian Church	27.92 %
Pentecostal	3.42 %
Others	9.57 %

Three main factors may explain this correlation. First, intense religious conviction in Swaziland bears a greater need for hierarchy, especially given that the Church is organized and functions in this way. On the other hand, democracy is based on equality. This conflict means that in order for respondents to support democratic tenets, it is necessary to believe that all persons are created equal. Belief in equality is radical in the Swazi society where people are not treated as equals; socially- and religiously-rooted notions of hierarchy challenge the concept of democracy. In the interviews conducted in this study, three key effects of religion on individual attitudes regarding democracy were identified. The first was challenge of the concept of equality. By extension, because democracy presupposes an expectation of equality, religious respondents would not be likely to subscribe to democracy as an ideal form of government. This sentiment is illustrated by this quote below:

> *"In a democracy, people are supposed to be in control of the government and there should be equality. The Bible never talks about equality. So I have problems with this concept of democracy."*
> - Male, 36, Shiselweni interviewee

Convincing respondents who cited religion as the main reason that they do not believe that they should have control over their government is understandably difficult when their religious attitudes and beliefs are opposite to democratic ideals. This effect manifests within the hierarchies that lay the foundation of the majority Christian religion in Swaziland. Moreover, the patriarchal nature of the country re-enforces these notions of hierarchy and difference that shape political opinions. In essence, intense religious conviction is associated with support for the monarchical government and the king, while democracy is associated with opposition, or a desire to control the king. In these cases, there is a clear conflict between democracy and religion.

The second reason why intensity of religious conviction is negatively correlated with support for democracy relates to the deep affection for the king that is built upon the reverence for royal figures described in the Christian Bible. Interviewees often expressed gratitude even simply to have a king and related King Mswati III's presence to biblical stories that involve kings and praise them as rulers of the people. In this instance, religiosity does not exclusively refer to church-related activities, the Bible, or formal, organized religion; it also refers to stories told about religious values and how they relate to society, government, and people of Swaziland. The two quotes below collected from an interview conducted in Shiselweni illustrate how the stories included in the Bible can influence Swazi people's feelings of gratitude for having a king.

> *I love the King; I am overcome by joy when his name is mentioned. He is always in my prayers. There were Kings in the Bible, so we are lucky to have a king in this age.*

> *The King is doing a good job. The bible says we should respect our king and we can only see God and respect him if we respect the king He has given us.*
> - Female, 36, Rural Shiselweni interviewee

In the first quote, the interviewee shares her sense of joy for having a king in Swaziland. She sees it as unique and considers it akin to the stories of kings in the Bible. She assigns value to the king based on his "kingship" as the concept is described in the Christian Bible. The second quote illustrates a core tenet of hierarchy: respect. One of the most common words interviewees shared when describing what it means to be Swazi was the word "respect." This interviewee likens respecting God with respecting the king. In her

words, her relationship with God depends on her relationship with the king—a relationship that has been given to her by God. This parallel has been played upon by various ministers in Swaziland, with the most recent example being the claim asserted by the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Sibusiso Shongwe, that "God operates in the same way as King Mswati III - in a monarchical way."[175] Stated plainly, if religious Swazis not only see themselves as fortunate to have a king, but also see their relationship with the divine God as *dependent* on their relationship with the king, it becomes clearer why Swazis who identify as religious show less support for democracy in Swaziland.

The third key effect of intense religious conviction involves the conflict of ideology between a belief in predetermination or fatalism that is challenged and threatened by democracy, which holds that people control and shape the world around them. Interviewees referred to their belief in pre-determination as "faith." Some interviewees asserted that God would take care of them, Swaziland's political situation is God's will, and that its future is in His hands.

> *(An ideal life) is a life in which you attend church. There is no hope without God as the government does not help us.*
>
> *We are happy because he was crowned by Sobhuza II at an early age. There was an old lady with a letter that declared him as king. This lady was prophetic; look this king has an ability to lure his investors. He gives people who attend cultural events gifts...*
>   - Female, 87, Rural Manzini interviewee

This faith in God, in spirituality, and in something greater than themselves influences people's political beliefs and may result in political inaction, especially if fatalism is an important part of the religious narrative. However, the importance of religious leadership is even more significant. Of the 30 official church leaders interviewed by Afrobarometer, only 3 supported democracy.

Table 4 below shows support for democracy separated by religious membership. To measure religious membership, the Afrobarometer survey asked: *Let's turn to your role in the community. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive*

---

[175] (2014, January 13). "Swaziland: God is like King Mswati – Govt Minister."*allAfrica.com*.

member, or not a member: A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services? Similarly, to assess religious importance, respondents were asked: *How important is religion in your life?* And they were asked to rank religious importance on a scale from: *not at all important, not very important, somewhat important,* and *very important.* Table 5 shows religious importance based on this question. Although these tables only show results of the strictest measure of support for democracy, S_D, which requires respondents to respond affirmatively to political parties, elections and the concept of democracy itself, the table in Appendix 12 for displays the proportions of respondents who fall into all categories: (S_D, S_{D2}, S_{D3}, or S_{D4}).

Table 4: Religious membership and support for democracy, (S_D)

Religious membership	Total number of respondents in this category	Percentage who support democracy (raw number)	Percentage who do not support democracy (raw number)
Not a member	671	20.72 % (139)	79.28 % (532)
Inactive member	92	14.13 % (13)	85.87 % (79)
Active member	405	15.80 % (64)	84.20 % (341)
Official leader	30	10.00 % (3)	90.00 % (27)
Don't know	2	0	100.00 % 2

Table 5: Religious importance and support for democracy (S_D)

Religious importance	Total number of respondents in this category	Percentage who support democracy (raw number)	Do not support democracy (raw number)
Not at all important	26	30.77 % (8)	69.23 % (18)
Not very important	36	25.00 % (9)	75.00 % (27)
Somewhat important	92	21.74 % (20)	78.26 % (72)
Very important	1,022	16.83 % (172)	83.17 % (850)

Although these are very similar, the correlation co-efficient for religious importance and membership is very low at .1173. Therefore, it can be assumed that these measures give us different types of information, and there is no relationship between these two seemingly similar variables.

Based on the regression results in Appendix 10, religious membership, measuring how active a respondent is within the church, is a significant negative correlate to support for democracy. The correlation between support for democracy, S_D, and religious importance is extremely low at -.0707. Even lower is the correlation between religious membership and support for democracy at -.0688. In fact, Thulani Maseko, a jailed human rights activist claims that, "churches in the country endorse oppression the same way the Dutch Reformed church endorsed apartheid in South Africa. Church leaders selectively read the Bible to glorify political leaders for personal gain."[176] Indeed, according to the regression results, church leaders do not support democracy at the highest level of significance. According to Maseko, "one Bishop was quoted by the *Sunday Times* as saying, "*Aliyindzawo,*" (translation: it's going nowhere) in relation to our march to freedom, justice and dignity." Although the N in the Afrobarometer sample is too small to prove conclusively that religious leaders may benefit from supporting Swaziland's current regime, this may indeed be the case. Here, there is opportunity for further research, which explores this relationship more carefully.

However, from the Afrobarometer sample we can tell that religious membership decreases support for democracy. Table 6 below shows a collapsed version of the Table 4, which separates those who are active within their religious communities from those who are not members of religious organizations. A difference of means test (p-test) between these two groups shows a p-value of .014, which shows significance in the difference in support for democracy between those who are members of religious organizations and those who are not.

---

[176] Maseko, Thulani "Churches in Bed with the State." The Nation Magazine, Apr. 2015. Web. Apr. 2015. In this article, Thulani writes, "Totally against the Scriptures, churches in the country endorse oppression the same way the Dutch Reformed church endorsed apartheid in South Africa. Church leaders selectively read the bible to glorify political leaders for personal gain. Oppression is against the will of God and God himself had sent Moses to free Israelites from bondage in Egypt. Our church leaders deliberately misinterpret scriptures that we should respect our leaders because they are ordained by God."

Table 6: Comparison of difference of means for support for democracy by religious membership

Religious membership	Total number of respondents in this category	Support democracy	P-value
Not a member	671	0.207 (0.015)	0.014
Member	527	0.152 (0.015)	

A p-value of .014 shows the significance of being a member of a religious group on the likelihood of supporting democracy. Therefore, we have found religious conviction to be negatively correlated with support for democracy. One possible reason for this, as suggested by Thulani Maseko, is that church leaders may be benefiting from patronage, or loyalty to the regime, and "selectively read the bible to glorify political leaders for personal gain."[177] Afrobarometer data suggests that instead of being an active member is the most significant determinant for support for democracy (see Appendix 15)

Indeed, it is clear that religious membership is a significant determinant of support for democracy. As discussed above, qualitative interviews suggest that this support is for three main reasons: first, intense religious conviction in Swaziland is correlated with a greater need for hierarchy; second, the deep affection for the king is associated with the reverence for royal figures described in the Christian Bible; and third, a belief in predetermination or fatalism that is challenged and threatened by the concept of democracy. Overall, increasing religious membership decreases support for democracy in Swaziland.

---

[177] *Ibid*

10. The use of traditions for political propaganda: Swaziland and the politics of peace

The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed
- Steve Biko, *I Write what I Like*

There is no country as peaceful as Swaziland. The problem is that people complain for nothing. Maybe if they could visit countries like Malawi, Somalia and Ethiopia they could appreciate that Swaziland is peaceful. We do everything we like without fear of being killed by a bomb. We still vote for our MPs.
- Female, 23, Semi-urban Shiselweni interviewee

Swazis now live in fear. They do not speak against the government. They prefer keeping quiet even if they see that things are not right. They don't want to be sent to jail.
- Female, 37, Manzini rural interviewee

During qualitative interviews, the two most frequently used words associated with political parties were "divisive" and "violence." This chapter will assess the relevant quantitative and qualitative evidence that relates to the desire among Swazi people to maintain peace. The data does indeed demonstrate that Swazis associate the existence of political parties with violence and division. As a result, the people show very low levels of support for the existence of political parties in Swaziland. I argue that the notion that political parties are destructive is perpetuated through annual national Swazi events. In this way, traditions are used as a political tool in Swaziland. Further, recent political events in South Africa, as well as the ways in which they are framed by the media, affects the opinions of Swazis toward political parties. Finally, the evidence that Swazis are afraid to oppose the government will be explored.

10.1 The politics of peace

…even though I am poor at least there is peace.
- Male, 28, rural Shiselweni interviewee

As previously discussed, definitions of democracy that include the concept of political parties are unpopular in Swaziland. Most of this opposition to democracy is

related to connotative thinking that links politics with both violence and divisiveness. According to Afrobarometer data, over 55 percent of Swazis are averse to political parties (see Figure 4) agreeing with the statement: *political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Swaziland*. Additionally, Figure 16 below shows similar aversion to political parties in a question investigating whether the constitution should be amended to allow political parties. Worth noting is that the percentage of respondents favoring allowing political parties here is almost identical to that quoted in Figure 4 at approximately 35 percent. Similarly, the percentage of respondents opposed to political parties is around 55 percent, almost identical to the proportions shown in Figure 4.

Figure 16: Attitudes about political parties in Swaziland
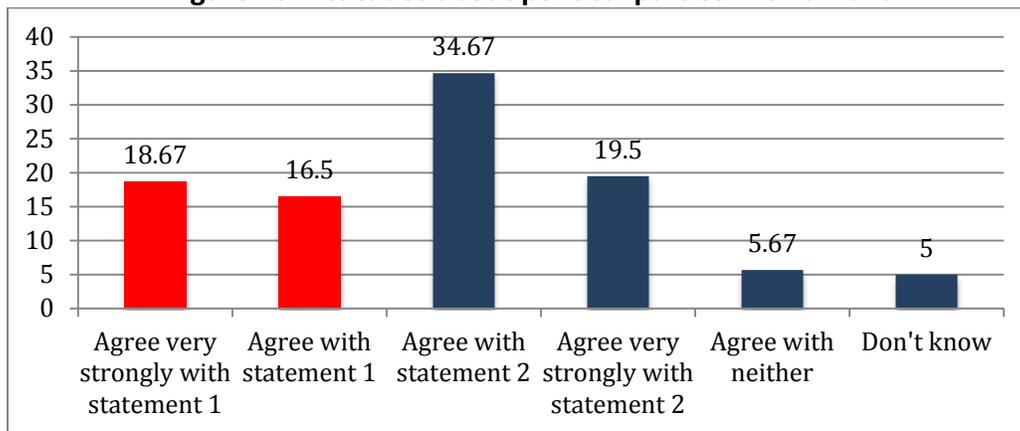
Statement 1: The Swazi constitution should be amended to allow for the existence of political parties in our country

Statement 2: The constitutional ban on political parties has served the country well and should therefore be maintained

The data in Figure 16 above indicates that only 35 percent of respondents are likely to respond affirmatively to a definition of democracy that includes multi-party democracy. As shown, political parties have the least level of support as an element of the definition of democracy. These findings were further enforced through the in-depth interviews wherein a male interviewee from a semi-urban area in the Manzini region remarked, "democracy that breeds violence is not necessary. That is why we want the king to destroy this call for

democracy, it is divisive." Another respondent concurred: "we are a peaceful, united nation; politics will divide us and turn us against the king and royalty" (female, rural Shiselweni). The most illuminating interviews described political parties as being responsible for chaos and violence, using words such as "disorder," "kill" and "instability." More severe assertions linked political parties to mass violence stating that, "[political parties] divide people, cause wars, and people kill each other for political beliefs." Similarly, one interviewee commented that, "political parties in other countries are responsible for unrest, divisions and wars."

While the interview data overwhelmingly demonstrates distaste for multi-party democracy, it also shows that, in contrast, King Mswati III's legacy is considered to have upheld the presence of peace rather than only the absence of political parties. In this way, the king is considered to be the center of peace in Swaziland. When asked about King Mswati's legacy, most interviewees answered that it would be one of "peace," commenting further that, "even though there are bad things that he sometimes does, we do have peace as a country."

The value placed upon peace is considered especially valuable in sub-Saharan Africa where elections for positions of power have become violent in the recent past. While the king does not contest power, Swazis are exposed through the media to the stories of "democratic" leaders of neighboring countries contesting for power. Even where elections are not necessarily violent, such as in South Africa, interviewees often describe political parties as compromising the country's state of peace. To this end, one interviewee proudly commented, "In Swaziland, we have a king who loves peace, yet in other countries, people fight to become presidents." One of the basic tenets of democracy – the contestation of power – is something that my qualitative data has shown to often be viewed negatively in Swaziland.

10.2 The use of traditional ceremonies for political purposes

One explanation as to why political parties are thought to be divisive can be found in traditional ceremonies, which are often used to perpetuate these notions. For example, over the years political songs have had an increasingly strong role at annual traditional

events attended by young women (*umhlanga*) or Swaziland's male regiments (*lusekwane*). Below is the translation of a song commonly sung at Swaziland's annual reed dance:

> *Political parties are dark presences.*
> *Political parties set people against each other.*
> *Your Majesty, we don't want political parties.[178]*
>   - Sung during Swaziland's Annual Swazi Reed Dance Ceremony

Clearly seen from its lyrics, this is political. It may seem innocuous because it is a song presented to the king, but it must be kept in mind that the song is selected by prominent traditional figures that wish to reassert support for "traditional" or non-democratic government. Similarly, political songs are sung at other traditional events, such as those attended by Swaziland's male regiments: "We have seen your slyness, we have seen it and conquered it through *Tinkhundla*, the *Tinkhundla* are the demonstration[179] of the Swazi nation." Historically, *tinkhundla* was presented as a form of governance that is authentic and true to traditional African and Swazi ways of being and thinking. Here I will re-emphasize the statement made by King Sobhuza II in 1967 before banning political parties in Swaziland (the full statement can be found in Chapter 2). In particular, he emphasizes, "the tradition of all African Kingdoms that their Kings are leaders as well as Kings."

Therefore, not only are national traditional events used to perpetuate the idea that the non-democratic *tinkhundla* are an authentic and traditional form of Swazi rule, but they are also used to convince Swazis that political parties cause division and thus lead to violence. In a country where unity is valued, interviewees frequently emphasized that in Swaziland, "we speak one language," or "we are all Swazi," or "we are all related." Yet, when considered critically, traditional songs contain propaganda, which warns about divisiveness and challenges notions of unity that are deeply embedded in the Swazi identity. This is probably also represented in the fact that people who have high levels of trust in the King are also less likely to support democracy with a 99 percent confidence

---

[178] Lukhele, L. (2012, April 27). "KING MSWATI BRAINWASHES MAIDENS THROUGH UMHLANGA SONG." *Swaziland Solidarity Network*. Google Groups.
[179] Or mirror

level. Each year, during the national traditional events, this simple but powerful notion about democracy is reinforced: multi-party democracy – the Western ideology – divides.

10.3 The politics of fear

> *Swaziland is peaceful, but people are not happy. But once they speak out, they are arrested and sent to jail. Political activists are detained, some die because of challenging the government.*
> - Female, 55, Rural Manzini interviewee

The extent to which the current atmosphere of peace in Swaziland is genuine is questionable as evinced by the number of times interviewees referenced feeling fearful. Under the surface of the peace in Swaziland lie increasing tensions, masked by fear. Many commented about the arrests of political activists. There was also difficulty making people comfortable enough to speak candidly about politics, which represents just one form of such fear. Interviewees shared stories about activists being "detained," "arrested," and "jailed" – sometimes persecuted even to the point of death. Therefore, the lack of support for political parties is at least in part due to the fear of expressing opinions that challenge anti-party politics. A 36-year-old male interviewee from rural Manzini summarized this fear, saying, "Swazis are afraid of challenging the government. They live in fear of being sent to jail. The Prime Minister uses force to make people accept this government." The level of peace claimed to exist in Swaziland may only be on the surface. Other comments about the climate of fear in Swaziland appear throughout the interviews:

> *The peace is on the outside of this country. Underground people are talking and complaining. People are afraid of being arrested and jailed, so they do not challenge the king and government, but most people are not happy at all.*
> - Female, 36, Rural Manzini interviewee

Interviewees referred to fear both implicitly and explicitly. Indirectly, they spoke about fear in terms of political elements currently lacking in Swaziland. For example, a comment on the lack of freedom of speech stated, "We do need democracy. [With democracy] we would be able to voice our problems without fear." Another interviewee

specified that, "as people, we fear to voice our concerns. We might not know whether what we say might land us in jail." Moreover, some respondents defined democracy as the absence of fear, saying democracy is "where people are free to speak without fear."

The interviewees who were most open to speaking about their fear commented along the lines that "government and royalty are against political parties so we should listen if we don't want to end up in jail." From this statement, it can be inferred that Swazis do not always independently develop opinions that oppose political parties. Sometimes, these opinions arise as a fearful reaction to the Swazi government. Where there is a perception that the armed forces protect royalty instead of the people as a whole, fear also emerges as a common response. One interviewee stated, "The armed forces are used to instill fear among the people. They are all bearing the name 'Royal' in their badges." This quote references the armed forces (both police and military) in Swaziland, which is called the "Royal Swaziland Police Service." Similarly, the King is the Commander-in-Chief of Swaziland's military, the *Umbutfo Swaziland Defense Force*. Moreover, although he delegates his daily duties, the King is also the substantive Minister of Defense.[180] Another example of an interviewee expressing fear was shared: "every country has armed forces but in our country they are there to protect the institution of the monarchy. Everything is Royal." Indeed, one male interviewee from Shiselweni commented, "armed forces protect the monarchy first and then protect the masses. The prime minister sets the armed forces on all the activists that question the government" (Male, 32, Shiselweni semi-urban interviewee).

> *Armed forces are supposed to protect the country, not an individual as they do. Presently, armed forces prioritize the protection of the monarchy above anything else in Swaziland.*
> - Female, 28, Shiselweni urban interviewee

> *Government fights political parties. Activists are sent to jail. Some even die there. This is a lesson to say that political parties are not good and we are fine without them.*

---

[180] According to a Public Expenditure Review published by the World Bank, Swaziland spends twice on military and police what it spends on health. The full report can be found from the following source: *Swaziland Public Expenditure Review: Strengthening Public Expenditure Policy and Management for Service Delivery and Poverty Reduction*. Rep. no. 35318-SW. Main Report ed. Vol. 1. Washington DC: World Bank, 2006. Print.

The arrest of these people creates fear among the people. Once you challenge the government, you are jailed. Nobody wants to go to jail, so people will keep quiet even if they see things that are not good.
- Female, 36, Rural Manzini interviewee

Recall that many Swazis oppose political parties. In their opinion, political parties disrupt "peace" by causing divisions and disruptions. At first glance, that seems to be strong resistance to democracy in Swaziland. However, the "peace" that respondents are grateful for may simply be an outcome of embedding propaganda into Swazi traditional songs sung to make the absence of political parties seem more authentic of what is considered "Swazi." More importantly, some of that opposition to parties may reflect fear of speaking out, fear of being seen to object to national policy. Accordingly, we must be cautious in interpreting the survey results to mean that Swazis resist democracy. An alternative interpretation is that the fear of repression makes people cautious about speaking out, even when responding to anonymous surveys or in-depth interview questions.

11. Patronage and Fear: Insights from Key Informants on How the System Works

Saying Swaziland is a peaceful country is false; it has serious political problems…In Swaziland there is silence and not peace because even those who are educated and have the information to challenge things are afraid of opposing the system.
        - KeyInformant01

The issue of peacefulness is only in terms of people not fighting, otherwise there is a lot of tension in the country and just because this has not translated into violence, then people say the country is peaceful. The peace is very shallow; there are deep political problems.
        - KeyInformant05

Government needs to ask itself why people are opposing the current system. We need to remember the history of South Africa-- the people who are in power today were called terrorists, change is inevitable for Swaziland.
        - KeyInformant09

A total of 10 key informant interviews were conducted. Key informants were mainly based in urban areas, and were purposively selected because of the "key" positions they occupy in Swazi society. The aim of key informant interviews was to get specialized knowledge on the same questions asked to the general Swazi population based on their positioning within Swazi society. Key informants included political appointees, civic organization leaders, and Swazi political scientists and academic researchers. An equal number of women and men (5/5) were interviewed as key informants.

11.1 Democratic activity through voting

I have never voted and will never vote as long as the current system exists. I will only vote when there is true democracy
        - KeyInformant01

Despite the fact that key informants were selected as some of the most well informed members of Swaziland's political sphere: political activists, appointees, and researchers, the voting numbers were lower than the national average. Out of the ten key informants interviewed, only two voted. Recall, the evidence in the previous chapter suggests a 50 percent voting-turnout rate may, at least in part, be due to coercion from

people in rural areas to vote. Because the key informants were not in the poorest ranks of Swazi society, coercion for voting is unlikely. Their qualms with voting lie with what they perceive to be an ineffective legislature, "parliament is a toothless dog, there is no effective law that they will pass, their power is very limited, they are told what to do…(if I had voted) it would have meant voting for a structure that is not capable of changing anything." Because they believe the parliament is ineffective, and cannot be made to be operational, they choose not to vote. The critiques from key informants were more blatant than those of the general population, "I did not vote in last election because MPs are useless in parliament, they are marshaled to think in a certain way. They do not represent constituencies, so my vote would have been useless. Elections are a sham; there is no competition, no political opposition or manifestos to bring different political views." Strikingly, seven of ten key informants had not cast a vote since Swaziland gained independence.

However, what was the most interesting were the nuances of the motivations of some key informants who registered to vote. Below is a quotation from an interview with a political appointee who suggested that there's a type of coercion for people within government to show allegiance to the system through voting. The key informant stated that the only reason she voted was not because she believed in the voting system, but because she was afraid of the repercussions of failing to vote.

> *I did not vote, but I did go through the process of registration because of the fact that government does to check if you align yourself with the processes of voting especially if you are in high positions in the country because for them this is a reflection of your allegiance. There is a real possibility that they might find ways to get rid of you if [you are] found not to have participated. So there is fear that you might lose your job.*
>   - KeyInformant10

Additionally, one of the respondents who voted did so because he was contending for a seat within Parliament. Ultimately, he won the election, and believes he has a better chance of creating change in Swaziland from within parliament. Key informants also affirmed the notion that intimidation was used against the poor to convince them to vote, saying they knew that the reason Swaziland is able to get some votes from rural areas is because, "People were told that if you do not register for elections, then you should leave

the area and that the chief would not sign scholarship forms for your children or any other papers that would facilitate any of the requirements for accessing most things in the country." In this way, they affirmed the finding that some of the poorest Swazis are coerced into voting.

11.2 Patronage Politics, Fear, and Intimidation

Key informants frequently emphasized the role of patronage and fear in maintaining Swaziland's government structure. On patronage, key informants mentioned the "personal rewards" that were the result of expressing support for government. The quote below specifically names, Walter Bennet, former senator and local businessman. In 2014, Walter Bennet commented that the arrest of Human Rights Lawyer, Thulani Maseko, and *The Nation Magazine* editor, Bheki Makhubu, were both "deserved" and "lawful" saying, "*uma kufanele umphini, kawukhale. Uma kufanele kukhale umzaca awukhale!*" Which roughly translates to "if people need a pick axe as a punishment let it be so."[181] They commented that his high-ranking position within Swazi society was at least in part due to his support of government. The rest of Swaziland, according to them, is "living in fear," and "cannot question bad decisions."

Moreover, key informants openly spoke about the acts of patronage saying, "high-powered people are made to be board members in numerous organizations...people are recycled in different boards...certain institutions are created to create jobs for certain individuals with no productivity whatsoever." Specifically naming the Border Adjustment Committee, Liqoqo, and other Advisory Councils. One key informant commented that, "Now even scholarships for children are based on whether you tow the line." Here, the respondent refers to showing support or indifference to Swaziland's current government structure as "towing the line."

On fear, key informants spoke specifically about the role of the armed forces in controlling civic action and organization, commenting, "they are there to protect the monarchy, which is why they end up getting involved in useless issues such as being on

---

[181] Mkhonta, Starksy. "Bheki, Thulani Deserve to Be in Jail - Walter Bennett." Swazi Observer, 04 Aug. 2014. Web. 10 May 2015.

stand-by whenever there are strikes." As a civic organization leader, this key informant commented on his personal encounters with the armed forces, which are often mobilized when workers organize.[182] As in the national sample, key interviewees spoke about being "afraid of opposing the system," or the surface-level nature of the peace that exists, as it is fuelled by fear. Therefore, they challenged the notion that Swaziland was a peaceful country.

> *SD* [Swaziland] *is not a peaceful country; the absence of violence does not mean that a country is peaceful. The state uses armed forces to intimidate people, which is why they are silent and not peaceful. SD is worse off than countries that are at war, in SD people have been muzzled, they are silently screaming for help.*
> - Female, 55, Rural Manzini interviewee

Additionally, one key informant highlighted, "arrests are demoralizing because people are afraid because if you go out of line, there is political humiliation. You are not allowed to think independently. No country can develop if there is no platform for people to think." Similarly, another respondent commented about the use of politics to stifle independent thought and creativity, "government is handling political problems badly because any dissenting view is punished in so many ways. For example, dissent may result in loss of employment for a person and his/her family."

11.3 Swaziland: looking forward, a perspective from key informants

Key respondents were more optimistic about Swaziland's potential for democratic consolidation that the national respondents who again and again emphasized that there would be "no change" in Swaziland in the next decade. Key respondents saw potential for democratic development, because of the "revolution in the Arab world," and a possible multi-party democracy within the next ten years. Despite the fact that key informants were more openly critical about the king, calling Swaziland a "monarchical dictatorship" instead of a "monarchial democracy," none desired to remove the institution of the monarch

---

[182] The most recent example of this was in March 2015, where a meeting of the Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA) was broken up by police officers who alleged that workers were discussing democracy, which in not on workers' agenda. A full report from the Solidarity Center can be found online: http://www.solidaritycenter.org/citing-democracy-swazi-police-break-up-union-meeting/

entirely, they simple wanted to restrain its power. One key informant stated, "Swaziland needs a non-executive monarchy where executive power is vested in an *elected* not an *appointed* Prime Minister." Another echoed this in saying, "I do not have any problems with King. However he has to be a constitutional monarch who would encourage an inclusive government and him as an overseer and a unifying force and not be involved in governance issues as is currently the case."

However, most were optimistic about Swaziland's democratic prospects, saying, "in five years the country will have concrete roots to democracy," and "in ten years the country will be fully democratic, the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) benchmarks will have been met resulting in democratic principles governing the country." According to key informants, therefore, Swaziland has potential to democratize within the next decade.

12. The noisy neighbor: South Africa's role in influencing Swazi attitudes about democracy

When evaluating democracy, most interviewees compared Swaziland to neighboring countries. In particular, most comparisons were made with neighboring South Africa. Interestingly enough, even though respondents acknowledged that South Africa is doing better than Swaziland economically, there were conflicting opinions as to whether it was in a better political position. This seems to have led to interviewees questioning the concept of democracy, as they do not believe it to be working in South Africa. Comparisons to neighboring countries illuminated that many felt that democracy, as they defined it – "the ability to control the government" – is unattainable. It is "a dream, not a reality." The quote from an interviewee below highlights this sentiment:

> *"People get into power and forget about the masses – there is no transparency, equality, and even in South Africa you see it happening. Those with money live in mansions while the poor struggle to even get RDP houses. Some live in shacks. There is no democracy! Democracy is a dream, not a reality."*
> - Female, 23, Rural Shiselweni interviewee

The fundamental problem that emerges here is that although there is no empirical evidence that links democracy with economic development, many respondents perceived that democracy will lead to increased prosperity. Therefore, people might misconstrue economic problems in South Africa as problems with its entire form of government. However, it should be considered that though South Africa is considered a democracy, some of the core tenets of democracy – "transparency, equality" – are missing within its government. According to interviewees, South Africa's democracy yields economic inequality – years after its democratic transition[183], South Africa's poor remain poor. Without hope for greater economic equality and prosperity, interviewees in general found it difficult to see what value democracy would bring to Swaziland. This seems to be further reinforced by Julius Malema's[184] shift from the African National Conference to his own

---

[183] Although it's an open question whether South Africa has consolidated democracy, the majority of Swazis view South Africa to be a democracy

[184] Julius Malema is currently the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, a South African political party that he founded in July 2013. Previously, he was president of the African National Congress Youth League but was expelled from the political party in April 2012.

party, which highlighted a problem with democracy. According to interviewees, this provided further evidence that political parties are divisive. Evidence of the impact of what is perceived as "division" in South Africa's politics is shown in the quote below:

> *No we don't need political parties. They are divisive. Look at South Africa,*
> *Malema was once ANC and now he is against the ANC and has formed his own*
> *party. There is enmity now between him and the ANC.*
>   - Male, 38, Rural Shiselweni interviewee

Concerns are not only about South Africa; other quotes demonstrate that, more often than not, democratic countries are perceived as violent. According to interviewees, Swaziland, despite being non-democratic, has peace at the very least, for which they express gratitude. One interviewee stated, "There is no country as peaceful as Swaziland." In addition to differences of political opinions in South Africa, conflicts in countries such as "Malawi, Somalia, and Ethiopia" were viewed as problematic. One interviewee said, "We have peace in Swaziland. Here we don't have violence as in the case in South Africa." Again, another qualified this notion, saying "Swaziland is a peaceful country in terms of war." Therefore, when discussing the existence of political parties, interviewees seemed to be responding positively to notions of peace. They clearly expressed concerns regarding the risk that political parties would disturb peace in Swaziland, and possibly lead to a greater calamity such as war.

> *There is no country as peaceful as Swaziland. The problem is that people complain for*
> *nothing. Maybe if they could visit countries like Malawi, Somalia and Ethiopia they*
> *could appreciate that Swaziland is peaceful. We do everything we like without fear of*
> *being killed by a bomb. We still vote for our MPs*
>   - Female, 23, Semi-urban Shiselweni interviewee

12.1 South Africa's role in Swaziland's politics

When asked about the role that South Africa should play in Swaziland's politics, respondents presented three main ideas. First, they suggested that although South Africa wants Swaziland to be democratic and has the political power to coerce Swaziland's

leadership, there are historical and political factors that have prevented them from doing so. These sentiments also highlight the opinion that politics is shaped by personal relationships. Of these, the first thread of relationships is based on the historical notion that King Sobhuza II was a key actor in South Africa's liberation, and that, now, South Africans were "repaying" Swaziland's leadership by not interfering in political affairs. The second is the role of Jacob Zuma, South Africa's current president [as of 2015], whom some said "has now grown a personal relationship with the royal family." The personal relationship interviewees referred to was Jacob Zuma's postponed marriage to a Swazi princess, Sebentile Dlamini. In Swaziland, marriages have historically been viewed as ways to strengthen relationships between families.

> *South Africa wants to overthrow our King. They support these political parties, which were banned due to their violence. This is what I hate about our neighbors; they want to see war in Swaziland.*
> - Female, 57, Urban Shiselweni interviewee

Second, interviewees often cited Swaziland's sovereignty as another reason South Africa cannot interfere in Swaziland's politics. The quote above illustrates that some respondents cited that any interference in Swaziland would be violent. Although South Africa is both economically and politically influential in the region, Swaziland, they suggested, should have complete autonomy over its own actions. One interviewee commented that, "Zuma respects Swaziland's independence as a state," referring to the idea that South Africa could not intervene in Swaziland because they had "never heard of Swaziland poking her nose in South Africa's affairs."

13. Conclusion

13.1 The loss of the African Growth and Opportunity Act & an uncertain SACU distribution formula

The lack of democracy in Swaziland has attracted international attention. Worth highlighting, in mid-2014, the United States rescinded Swaziland's benefit from the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Although AGOA has been criticized for draining more resources than it gives to the African continent, Swazi exports to the US had averaged $100 million per year under AGOA. They have primarily been in the apparel sector. This loss immediately saw the closure of apparel firms in Swaziland, which had employed approximately 17,000 Swazis.[185] The loss of AGOA benefits is attributed in part to the United States' concerns about a lack of democratic progress in Swaziland. An official from the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) cited "Swaziland's use of security forces and arbitrary arrests to stifle peaceful demonstrations, and the lack of legal recognition for labor and employer federations" as reasons for the loss. He also commented that the United States had been in talks with Swaziland since 2010, but that Swaziland had not taken any concrete steps toward a more open society.

An official statement by the United States Embassy affirmed that, "the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland repeatedly failed to demonstrate measurable progress toward the guarantee and protection of internationally recognized worker rights, including the right to freely speak, associate, and assemble without police or government interference."[186] Although the rescinding of AGOA went into effect on January 1, 2015, Swazi citizens prematurely felt this impact after 1,450 jobs were lost when Tex Ray clothing manufacturer closed in November 2014.[187] The lack of democratic progress in Swaziland has been noticed throughout the world, and its poorest citizens are paying for a lack of democratic development. More recently, the European Union (EU) called on the

---

[185]Lewis, Z. and A. Sy. (2014, May 23). "Swaziland's AGOA Status Revoked: Madagascar All Over Again?" The Brookings Institute.

[186] The Embassy of the United States, Mbabane, Swaziland. "President Obama Proclaims Swaziland Ineligible for AGOA." Mbabane, Swaziland.

[187] Zwane, S. (2014, 22 September). "1 450 Jobs To Be Lost At Tex Ray." *The Times of Swaziland*.

Swazi government to release political prisoners. The EU passed a resolution to monitor human rights violations in Swaziland, saying the imprisonment of political activists contradicts the Cotonou Agreement, to which Swaziland is a signatory.[188]

Moreover, outside of the possible detrimental impacts of the loss of AGOA or the possible loss of the trade benefits that are part of the Cotonou Agreement, the reconsideration of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) revenue-sharing formula may spell trouble for Swaziland. Swaziland receives about 50 percent of its national budget from SACU, a customs union established in 1910 with South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana and Namibia. According to Swaziland's Finance Minister, Martin Dlamini, SACU revenues, "have fallen from E7.4 billion in 2014-15 to E6.9 billion in 2015-16, a reduction of around E560 million."[189] They are likely to decline again in 2016/17, especially with South Africa's finance minister, Nhlanhla Nene, emphasizing "an improved sharing formula" for the way that SACU is organized.

However, in some places there is hope. In an interview with Vincent Ncongwane, the Secretary General of the Swazi trade union, Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA) said, "it's going to take time, it's going to take a lot of suffering, but we think that in the end multi-party democracy will come to Swaziland – our only problem is what will be the cost?"[190] Similarly to understanding the costs of revolution and change, a 27 year-old interviewee from rural Manzini commented, "in ten years to come we will have bloodshed in the country if the leadership continues to ignore the people's demands." Many have answered the call for democracy; some are Swaziland's jailed activists, some are writers, bloggers, tweeters, "Facebookers," and human rights advocates.

However, not everyone shares this optimism. The majority of respondents believe that things will remain as they are in Swaziland, and despite the oppressed opposition movements, political parties, and voices of dissent, "there will be no change."

---

[188] Simelane, Lewis. "Clean Your House, EU Tells Mswati - Africa | IOL News." *Independent Online*. IOL News, 23 May 2015. Web. 23 May 2015.
[189] "Tough times Ahead for Swaziland." The Nation Magazine, 29 Apr. 2015. Web. 05 May 2015.
[190] "Is It a Crime to Discuss Democracy in Swaziland?" Interview by Vincent Ncongwane. *BBC Africa*. Apr. 2015. Radio. Link to the original interview: https://soundcloud.com/bbcafrica/is-it-a-crime-to-discuss-democracy-in-swaziland (Soundcloud)

13.2 Education as activism & *The Politics of the Belly*

What have we learned about progress toward democracy in Swaziland? It turns out that the research on political attitudes leads in unexpected directions. Two things are key: education is the single most important factor that shapes support for democracy in Swaziland. Specifically, educating women, who are known to be less democratic than men throughout sub-Saharan Africa, increases support for democracy more significantly then educating men. Second, the poor are more committed to democracy in Swaziland than their wealthier counterparts. However, at extreme levels of poverty, the spirit of democracy among the poor is diminished.

Even though religion and education point to the applicability of modernization theory in Swaziland, the counter-evidence provided by lived poverty is undeniable. Therefore, Swaziland may pose an interesting counter-case to modernization theory. Of the calls for democracy, the commitment of the poorest to democracy seems to be the loudest. These calls are expressed not only through the declared support for democracy as indicated in the Afrobarometer, but also through the efficacy they demonstrate with their democratic participation, such as attending protests, marches and joining others to raise issues. Because of their frustration with the current regime, the poor are more supportive of political parties. However, qualitative evidence shows that they could benefit greatly simply by more knowledge about multi-party democracy. My interview data shows that the poor are tired of elections where they elect representatives who leave rural areas once elected to live in more affluent, suburban-style homes, and they are ready for a more radical form of activism.

As has been discussed, higher levels of education result in increased support for democracy. Although these results seem to be in direct opposition to each other, this contrast may be due to a very simple reason: As a result, these frustrated yet educated poor are more open to ideas about democracy that include multiple parties and competition for power.

Ultimately, this study and examination of Swazi support for democracy shows two seemingly contradictory pieces of information: the greatest potential for citizen-led democratic development comes from poorer and better educated echelons of Swazi society.

This intersection of high education and poverty means that Swaziland has some highly educated people that are also poor, and they are frustrated by government failures. Whether it is due to the "politics of the belly," or fundamental ideals that support democracy, equality and participation, based on this analysis, some of Swaziland's poor are the calling for change. More than attitudes that illustrate support for democracy, they advocate for change within their communities. However, skeptics may wonder about the durability and sustainability of support for democracy among the poor. The poor, they argue, have the most to lose and are the most easily attracted by anti-democratic organizations that promise solidarity and identity in exchange for acceptance of authority. Perhaps this is true, however, with negative growth and worsening economic situations, it is unlikely that the poor can continue to be exclusively influenced by notions of identity. And although it is true that sustaining a democracy in a poor society is more difficult than in a wealthier one, Swaziland's story will continue to unfold.

Just as my thesis began with a group of young Swazi girls in a classroom in Swaziland, it ends with this: my most significant finding is the incredible impact that education has on support for democracy. As a subset of this, another striking finding is that the impact of education for girls can have profound prospects for democracy in Swaziland. Throughout the continent, scholars have found that women support democracy less so than men. Swaziland shows this to be true, but it also shows the significance of education for women to be substantial. It seems that when there is an increase in a woman's educational attainment level, she is significantly more likely to support democracy as well as to participate more in civil society in order to demand change.

For activists, or pro-democracy groups, there are two key ways to proceed: first, educate everyone, *especially* Swazi women who currently have lower educational attainment levels than men. Second, educate the poorest citizens about political parties, as they are the most open to embracing change despite the fact that the country is being taught that they are divisive. Indeed, the use of propaganda, fear and religion to shape democratic attitudes and actions makes this call to action more difficult. Although, from my data, it is clear that an educated Swazi population is more supportive of democracy, it is less clear that Swaziland will be able to prioritize education for all its citizens.

13.3 Resistance, Hope & Swaziland's "Vision 2022"

As I write this conclusion, Swaziland does not have a Chief Justice. The former Chief Justice, a Lesotho national, Michael Ramodibedi, has just completed his 16th day of hiding inside his house, having "barricaded himself in his residence,"[191] in order to avoid arrest. Currently, he has a reported 23 charges against him, including the abuse of power, conflict of interest, and defeating the ends of justice. In his negotiations with authorities, he has asked to speak with the king because the king appoints and fires the Chief Justice. According to reports, the king has indeed dismissed him. Similarly, the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Sibusiso Shongwe, has been arrested and refused bail because he is considered a flight-risk. These events are just one form of evidence of the timely manner of this research: Swaziland's justice system is crumbling. What's more, I hope the candor of these interviews show that around the thin veil of peace, complicated and more nuanced conversations are happening around the topic of democracy in Swaziland. Even citizens that are not experts of law and justice systems have seen flaws in Swaziland's judiciary. In my interviews, some have boldly said, "In my view, we need to destroy the constitution because it is useless."[192]

Based on my analysis of the Afrobarometer data, only 18 percent (or 46 percent, by the most generous terms) support a definition of democracy that includes free and fair elections, and competition between political parties. However, this does not necessarily mean that the remainder of the public supports autocracy. In fact, an analysis of autocratic sentiment in Swaziland shows that a large majority of over 75 percent of Swazis either strongly disapproves or simply disapproves of this proposition: *Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives: Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the King can decide everything?* Similarly, about 55 percent of the population disapproves of military rule, with the remainder being scattered between not knowing and approving. Therefore, it is clear that a lack of support for democracy does not necessarily imply support for an

---

[191] Mohloboli, K. (2015, April 30). "Swazi premier appeals to Mosisili over Ramodibedi stalemate." *Lesotho Times*.
[192] This is a quote from a male respondent from urban Manzini who was forced out of school in Grade 2 because his father wanted him to look after cattle instead.

autocratic regime. Rather, it may signal Swazis grappling with the concept of democracy itself.

There is also vibrant, hopeful, and brave support for democracy. Despite the climate of fear that stems from the arrests of trade union leaders, labor activists, human rights advocates, critics of the constitution, and other persons who have voiced dissent within Swaziland, there exist progressive parties that are still campaigning for democracy. In 2008, banned political parties called for a boycott of elections and voting, and the low voter turnout rates that year (around 47 percent) were just one form of evidence that some had heeded the political party's call to inaction. Additionally, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are being used by pro-democracy groups to disseminate information, voice dissent, and increase the visibility of injustices in Swaziland's legal system. One interviewee involved in leading the pro-democracy movement states clearly, "…because of the love for the Swazi people, I am committed to contribute to the liberation of the Swazi people." This statement shows an astonishing commitment to freedom. Similarly, in response to the King's renaming of Swaziland's government system, another interviewee stated firmly, "We need 'democracy' not 'monarchial democracy'." And although the majority of those interviewed believe there will be no change in Swazi politics in the future, some have already started paving the way for it through their own activism.

Political leader Mario Masuku has been in-and-out of prison for sedition: for the first time around 2001, and later under Swaziland's "Suppression of Terrorism Act" in 2008, and then after the May-Day rally in 2014. Also under arrest now is Maxwell Dlamini, leader of the youth arm, Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO), of the banned political party People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO). In an infamous story, Sipho Jele was killed in prison for allegedly wearing a t-shirt with the PUDEMO's logo. Human rights lawyer, Thulani Maseko, and Editor-in-Chief of *The Nation* magazine, Bheki Makhubu, have been held in contempt of court after criticizing Swaziland's judiciary in a February 2014 issue of the magazine. Therefore, despite the politics of fear or propaganda, some voices continue to advocate loudly in support of democracy in Swaziland.

Looking ahead, changes in Swazi policies are emerging. And alongside these emerging changes in policies, challenges to those policies are also emerging. An example of one major policy is the National Development Strategy, or "Vision 2022," through which

Swaziland aims to reach "first-world" status – that is, to "be in the top 10 percent of the human development group of countries founded on sustainable development, social justice, and political stability"[193] – by the year 2022. However, the loss of the African Growth and Opportunities Act and recalculation of the Southern African Customs Union may present serious obstacles to this goal. Other challenges include the high rates of poverty, inequality, HIV/AIDS infection, and unemployment within Swaziland. A more accountable government may be better able to provide the platform for Swaziland to reach this goal. Indeed, more open governance is needed, which may be best manifested through the adoption of democracy. Movements away from repression, and towards a more open, transparent, and democratic regime may make Swaziland's "Vision 22" is, at the very least, more achievable.

---

[193]Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. Swaziland: A Framework for National Development Strategy (NDS) Review. Swaziland.

Major Works Cited

Acemoglu, D. and J. Robinson. (2005). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

African Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013*. South Africa.

Ake, C. (1993). "The Unique Case of African Democracy." *International Affairs 69*(2): pp 239-44.

Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press.

Almond,G. and S. Verba. (1989). *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Arnold, G. (2005). *Africa: A modern history.* London: Atlantic.

Barro, R. (1999). "Determinants of Democracy". *Journal of Political Economy. 107*: 158-183.

Boix, C. (2003). *Democracy and Redistribution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, C. and S. Stokes. (2003). "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics 55*: 517-549.

Bollen, K. and R. Jackman. (1989). "Democracy, Stability and Dichotomies," *American Sociological Review 54*: 438-57

Brachinger, A., M. Brown, M. Gysler, and R. Schubert. (1999). "Financial decision-making: are women really more risk-averse?" *American Economic Review 89*: pp. 381–385.

Bratton, M. and R. Mattes. (2000). Support for Democracy in Africa Intrinsic or

       Instrumental? (Working Paper No. 1).

Bratton, Michael, and Richard Houessou. "Demand for Democracy Is Rising in Africa, But

       Most Political Leaders Fail to Deliver." *Policy* (2014).

Bratton, M., R. Mattes, and E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2005). *Public Opinion, Democracy and*

       Market Reform. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chattopadhyay, R. and E. Duflo. (2004). "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a

       Randomized Policy Experiment in India." *Econometrica 72*: pp.1409–1443.

Cheibub, J., A. Przeworski, F. Neto, and M. Alvarez. (1996). "What Makes

       Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7(1): 39-55.

Coppedge, M. (1994). *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and*

       Factionalism in Venezuela. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dahl,R. (1971). *Polyarchy; Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University

       Press.

Davenport, C. (2007). "State repression and political order." *Annual Review of*

       Political Science 10: pp. 1-23.

Diamond, L. (1997). Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over?: An Empirical

       Assessment (Working Paper No 236).

Diamond L. (1999). *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* Baltimore: Johns

       Hopkins University Press.

Dimitrov, M. (2014). *Dictatorship and Information: Autocratic Resilience in*

       Communist Europe and China. Book Manuscript, Tulane University, New

       Orleans, LA

Edlund, L. and R. Pande. (2002). "Why Have Women Become Left-Wing? The

    Political Gender Gap and the Decline in Marriage." *The Quarterly Journal of*

    Economics 117: pp. 917–961.

Evans, G. and P. Rose. (2007). "Support for Democracy in Malawi: Does Schooling

    Matter?" *World Development 35*: pp. 904–919.

Fallow, J. (2008)."Their Own Worst Enemy," *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Fjelde, H. (2010). "Generals, Dictators, and Kings Authoritarian Regimes and Civil

    Conflict, 1973—2004." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27(3): pp. 195-218.

Gandhi, J. and A. Przeworski. (2007). "Authoritarian institutions and the survival of

    autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies 40*(11): pp. 1279-1301.

Heath, A., S. Fisher and S. Smith. (2005). "The Globalization of Public Opinion

    Research", *Annual Review of Political Science 8*: p. 326.

Huang, H. (2014). "Propaganda as Signaling." Forthcoming *in Comparative Politics*.

Huntington, S. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University

    Press.

Huntington, S. (1989). "The Modest Meaning of Democracy" in Pastor, ed.; Huntington

    1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK:

    University of Oklahoma Press.

Huntington (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman,

    OK: University of Oklahoma Press

Huntington, S. (1995). "Armed Forces and Democracy: Reforming Civil-Military Relations."

    Journal of Democracy 6(4) 9-17.

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 societies.* Princeton,

NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. and W. Baker. (2000). "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the

Persistence of Traditional Values." *American Sociological Review 65*: pp.19-51.

Inglehart, R. and P. Norris (2003). *The Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R. and C. Welzel. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kumalo, R. Simangaliso. *Religion & Politics in Swaziland: The Contributions of Dr. J.B. Mzizi*. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Lakeoff, G., and M. Johnson. (1980). "The Metaphorical Structure of the Human Conceptual System." *Cognitive Science 4*: pp. 195-208.

Langwenya, M. *Swaziland--Justice Sector and the Rule of Law*. Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA). (2013, June 22).

Lewis, Z. and A. Sy. (2014, May 23). "Swaziland's AGOA Status Revoked: Madagascar All Over Again?" The Brookings Institute.

Levin, R. (1991). "Swaziland's Tinkhundla and the Myth of Swazi tradition." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 10*(2): pp. 1-23.

Levi, M. (1998)."A state of trust." *Trust and governance 1*: 77-101.

Linz, J. and A. Stepan. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Link, P. (1992). *Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China's Predicament*. New York:

W.W. Norton & Company.

Lipset, S. (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and

Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review 53*: 69-105.

Lott, J. R. and L. W. Kenny. (1999). "Did Women's Suffrage Change the Size and Scope

of Government." *Journal of Political Economy 107*: pp.1163–1198.

Lukhele, L. (2012, April 27). "KING MSWATI BRAINWASHES MAIDENS THROUGH

UMHLANGA SONG." *Swaziland Solidarity Network*.

MacMillion, H. (1985). "Swaziland: Decolonization and the triumph of Swazi

tradition*." The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(4): 643-666.

Magagula, M. (2015, March 09). Monarchical Democracy from Heaven – King. *Times

Of Swaziland*.

Magagula, M. (2013, September 3). Mswati Declares Swaziland a 'monarchial

Democracy'. *Mail & Guardian: Africa's Best Read*.

Manga, Fombad Charles (2005) *The Swaziland constitution of: can absolutism be reconciled

with modern constitutionalism* South African Journal on Human Rights, vol. 23, no. 1,

2007

Matsebula, J. (1972). *A History of Swaziland*. Cape Town: Longman Southern Africa.

Mattes, R., Y. Davids, and C. Africa. (2000). Views Of Democracy In South Africa and

the Region: Trends and Comparisons. (Working Paper No. 8).

Mattes, R. and D. Mughogho (2009). The Limited Impacts of Formal Education on

Democratic Citizenship in Africa? (Working Paper No. 109).

McCauley, J. and E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2009). "RELIGIOUS FAITH AND DEMOCRACY:

EVIDENCE FROM THE AFROBAROMETER SURVEYS." (Working Paper No. 113).

Miles, M., B, Huberman, and J. Saldaña. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis : a Methods Sourcebook.* Third edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Moore, B. (1966). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* New York: Beacon Press.

Mohloboli, K. (2015, April 30). "Swazi premier appeals to Mosisili over Ramodibedi stalemate." *Lesotho Times.*

Mthimkhulu, Noxolo (2010) *The influence of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions on the workers and government (1964 – 2006)* Thesis (B.A.), Univerisity of Swaziland, 2010 (in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B.A. Humanities

Mzizi, J. (2002). *Leadership, Civil Society and Democratisation in Swaziland.* Addis Ababa: Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF).

MzizI, J. B. (2004). The dominance of the Swazi monarchy and the moral dynamics of democratisation of the Swazi state. *Journal of African Elections*, *3*(1), p-94.

National Development Strategy (nds) : Vision 2022, Key Macro and Sectoral Strategies. [Swaziland]: Kingdom of Swaziland, 1999.

Nhlapo R.T. (1989). "Legal Duality and Multiple Judicial Organization in Swaziland: An Analysis and a Proposal" in *The Individual under African Law.* Manzini, Swaziland.

O'Donnell, G. (1994). "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy 5*(1): 55-69.

Payne, R. (1995). "Freedom and the Environment." *Journal of Democracy* 6(3).

Penalosa, C. and M. Konte. (2014). "Why are women less democratic than men? Evidence from Sub-Saharan African countries." *World Development 59*: pp.104-119.

Potetee, A. (2015, October 1). "Botswana: Elections Expose Nation's 'Fading'

Democracy." *AllAfrica.com*. N.p., 21

Prince Makhosini Dlamini, Legislative Council, Official Report, 1st Session, 1st Sitting, 14

   September 1964

"President Obama Proclaims Swaziland Ineligible for AGOA." *2014 Press Releases*. Embassy of

   the United States Mbabane, Swaziland, 27 June 2014. Web. 10 Jan. 2015.

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market: political and economic reforms in Eastern*

Europe and Latin America.

   Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, A. and F. Limongi. (1997). "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World*

   Politics 49: 155-183.

Przeworski, A. Cheibub, M. Alvarez, F. Limongi. (2000). *Democracy and Development:*

   Political Institutions and Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990. Cambridge:

   Cambridge University.

Rackner, L., and A. Menocal, (2007). *Democratisation's Third Wave and the*

   Challenges of Democratic Deepening: Assessing International Democracy Assistance

   and Lessons Learned: Ireland: Advisory Board for Irish Aid.

Rose, R. W. Mishler, and C. Haerpfer. (1988). *Democracy and its alternatives:*

   understanding post-communist societies Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Saunders, M. (2006). "GATEKEEPER." *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research*

   Methods

Sen, A. (1990). 'Food Economics, and Entitlements' in The Political Economy of

   Hunger, 34-52. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Schumpeter, J. (1947). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 2nd ed. New York:

Harper.

Sen, A. (1990). "Food Economics, and Entitlements" in *The Political Economy of Hunger*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Simelane, N. (1988). *General Election Survey of 1987,* University of Swaziland

Sobhuza II, Petition to the House of Commons, 19 November 1963, quoted in Kuper, *Sobhuza II*, p. 241.

Solomon, Hussein. *Against All Odds: Opposition Political Parties in Southern Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe*. Johannesburg: KMM Review, 2011. Print.

Stockmann, D. and M. Gallagher. (2011). "Remote control: How the media sustain authoritarian rule in China." *Comparative Political Studies 44*(4):436– 467; Shirk, S.

(2010). *Changing Media, Changing China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Valenzuela, J. (1990). Democratic Consolidation in Post-transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Facilitating Conditions (Working Paper No. 150).

The Embassy of the United States, Mbabane, Swaziland. "President Obama Proclaims Swaziland Ineligible for AGOA." Mbabane, Swaziland.

United Nations Development Programme. (2009). *Human Development Report 2008/2009*. New York. World Bank. (2010). *GINI index (World Bank estimate)*. Washington, DC.

United Nations Country Team (UNCT), *Swaziland United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2011-2015*. Swaziland.

Wanda, B. (1990). "The Shaping of the Modern Constitution of Swaziland: A review of social and historical factors." *Lesotho Law Journal 6*(4).

Wucherpfennig, J. (2009). "Modernization and Democracy: Theories and Evidence

      Revisited." *Living Reviews in Democracy.*

Zwane, S. (2014, 22 September). "1 450 Jobs To Be Lost At Tex Ray." *The Times of*

      Swaziland.

Appendix 1: Map of Swaziland with circles around the two regions where interviews were conducted
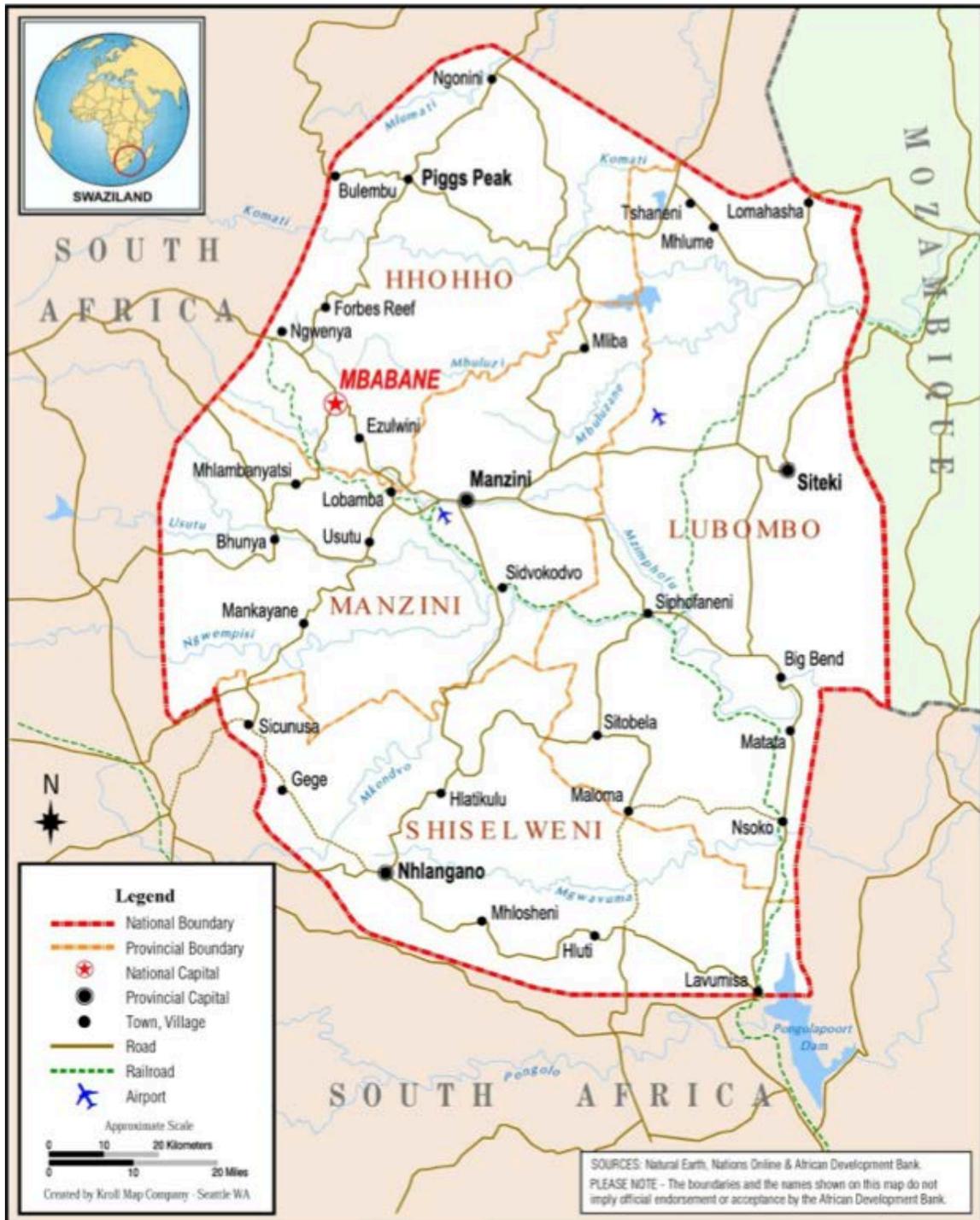
Source: African Development Bank. (2011). *Kingdom of Swaziland Country Strategy Paper, 2009-2013*. South Africa.

Appendix 2: IRB Protocol for Research

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Stanford, CA 94305 [Mail Code 5579]

Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D.   (650) 723-2480

CHAIR, PANEL ON NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS   (650) 725-8013

Certification of Human Subjects Approvals

Date: May 30, 2014

To: Miss Selamile Ncandzekile Dlamini, MS&E, junior , Management Science and Engineering
Joel Samoff, Larry Diamond

From: Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D., Administrative Panel on Human Subjects in Medical Research

Protocol   Political Participation in Swaziland

Protocol ID: 30548   **IRB Number:**   349 (Panel: 2)

The IRB approved human subjects involvement in your research project on 05/30/2014. **'Prior to subject recruitment and enrollment, if this is: a Cancer-related study, you must obtain Cancer Center Scientific Review Committee (SRC) approval;** a CTRU study, you must obtain CTRU approval; a VA study, you must obtain VA R and D Committee approval; and if a contract is involved, it must be signed.'

The expiration date of this approval is 05/30/2017 at Midnight. If this project is to continue beyond that date, you must submit an updated protocol in advance for the IRB's re-approval. If this protocol is used in conjunction with any other human use it must be re-approved. Proposed changes to approved research must be reviewed and approved prospectively by the IRB. No changes may be initiated without prior approval by the IRB, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects. (Any such exceptions must be reported to the IRB within 10 working days.) Unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others and other events or information, as defined and listed in the Report Form, must be submitted promptly to the IRB. (See Events and Information that Require Prompt Reporting to the IRB at http://humansubjects.stanford.edu.)

All continuing projects and activities must be reviewed and re-approved on or before Midnight of the expiration date. The approval period will be less than one year if so determined by the IRB. It is your responsibility to resubmit the project to the IRB for continuing review and to report the completion of the protocol to the IRB within 30 days.

Please remember that all data, including all signed consent form documents, must be retained for a minimum of three years past the completion of this research. Additional requirements may be imposed by your funding agency, your department, or other entities. (See Policy 1.9 on Retention of and Access to Research Data at http://doresearch.stanford.edu/policies/research-policy-handbook)

This institution is in compliance with requirements for protection of human subjects, including 45 CFR 46, 21 CFR 50 and 56, and 38 CFR 16.
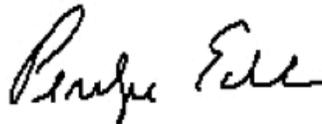
Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D., Chair

Approval Period: 05/30/2014 THROUGH 05/30/2017

Review Type: EXPEDITED - NEW

Funding: None

Expedited Under Category: 7

Assurance Number: FWA00000935 (SU)

Appendix 3: IRB Approved Oral consent form (English)

You are invited to participate in a research study to understand the main barriers that hinder democratization in Swaziland. You will be asked to answer questions about your demographics, your participation in civic groups, and some of your opinions about Swaziland's current leadership.

With your permission, the interview will be audio taped. These tapes will be transcribed for data analysis purposes and then destroyed after completion of the study.

Your participation will take approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes.

The risks associated with the study are that you may be uncomfortable with answering some of the questions, as they represent opinions about the government and monarchy that you may not be familiar with expressing. The benefits, which may reasonably be expected to result from this study are that you may add insight and information about the opinions of Swazi's in Swaziland's politics. You will receive no compensation as payment for your participation.

Please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. Your individual privacy and confidentiality of the information you provide will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

I will provide you with my contact information if you have any questions for me about this study, or anything else. The card I am giving you also has the contact information for the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have any questions about your rights as a participant. Locally, you can also contact Selamile Dlamini at 76047984 who can contact the Stanford IRB on your behalf and answer any questions you may have regarding this study.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide Used to Structure Questions

1. News Sources:

Where do you get your news? 01: Radio 02: Newspapers 03: Magazines 04: Word of Mouth 05: Cellphone 05: Other (Specify)	Do you read newspapers/magazines (yes/no)?	**If Yes**, How often do you read newspapers? (Estimate) 01: Everyday 02: Once a week 03: Once a month 04: Never 05: Other (Specify)	If so, which one: 01: Times of Swaziland 02: Swazi Observer 03: The Nation 04: South African (if so, state name) 05: International (if so, state name) 06: Church newspaper (state name) 07: Other organizational newspaper (state name) 08: Other (specify)	Do you have access to the internet? (Yes/No)	Do you have an account on Twitter or Facebook? (Yes/No)	**If Yes**, do you follow any groups regularly? (Yes/No)	Please state group names

2. Measures of socio-economic status: (also gathered from "employment and demographic" questions)

Where do you access the internet? 01: home 02: work 03: internet café 04: school 05: cellphone 06: Other (specify)	How often do you go onto the internet? 01: Everyday 02: Once or twice a week 03: Once of twice a month 04: I've only been on once or twice in my life 05: Never	(If mentioned television as a news source) Where do you watch television? 01: Home 02: Outside (state where) 03: Other (specify)	What kind of area do you live in? 01: Urban 02: Rural 03: Semi-urban 04: Semi-rural 05: Other (specify)

3. Civic Engagement:

Are you a member of a union, organization, regiment, coalition or some form of network? (Yes/no)	If yes, which one: 01: Swaziland Coalition of Concerned Civil Organizations 02: Swaziland Single Mothers Association (SWAMASO) 03: Swaziland's Young Women's Network 04: Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse (SWAGAA) 05: Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions 06: Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA) 07: National Public Service and Allied Workers' Union (NAPSAWU) 08: Swaziland Transport and Allied Workers' Union (STAWU) 09: Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT) 10: PUDEMO 11: COSATU 12: King's regiment 13: Young women's regiment (*Imbali*) 14: Young men's regiment (*Lusekwane*) 15: Men's regiment 16: Church group 17: Other (specify)	When did you last participate in an event hosted by this organization? (State day/month) What was the event?	How often does group meet?	How often do you attend these meetings?	Do you now (or at any point in the past) held a position in the organization? e.g. treasurer, secretary, president, vice president, speaker, choir leader etc.

4. Open-ended questionnaire

Questions about Civic Engagement for People who are involved in groups, unions, regiments, organizations and (other) as indicated by Civic Engagement Table:
1. Can you explain what the purpose is of the civic organization you have joined?
2. In your opinion, is this a small group comprised of very few members who talk only to each other; or do you think it is a middle-sized group (composing of about less than 200 people); or do you think this group is very large (200+ people)?
3. Why did you join [civic organization name]?
4. What do you think is the impact of [civic organization name] (if any)?

Opinion on Swazi Government:
1. What does an ideal life look like for you?
2. Do you think you find what you need to live this ideal life in Swaziland?
Extent of Knowledge about Swazi Government:
1. When you think about Swazi government, what comes to mind? What do you think the main parts of government are?
2. Who is the Member of Parliament in your region?
3. Did you vote in the last election? (For him, or any of the opposing members) – *this is a yes/no question*
4. Why? (In both cases – if yes, why do you vote? If no, why not?
5. MP's have many roles. Sometimes they help make laws and regulations, other times they provide services to people in their constituents. What are you expecting in the next few years from your member of parliament? **Probe for political issues if focus is only on economic issues**
6. What obstacles do you think he might face in delivering these things to your community?
7. Some groups have come out and said they believe that Swaziland has some political problems, while others have said that Swaziland is a peaceful country, do you think SD has any political problems? <u>Why or why not?</u>
8. **If yes to last question**: How well do you think government is handling any political problems that Swaziland is facing? How can they better be resolved?
9. While many countries in the world have political parties, others do not. Why do you think political parties are currently banned in Swaziland?
10. Do you think Swaziland should have political parties?

Questions about Democracy in general:
1. There are many varying definitions about what democracy is and what it means. From your understanding, what is democracy, and what does it mean for you?
2. A few months ago, the King declared that Swaziland is a "monarchial democracy." This change of name meant different things to different people – for some people, it means that the system of governance changed in Swaziland, while for other people, it meant nothing – what do you think most people in Swaziland thought of this change?
3. Is there a difference between the old Tinkhundla system and the monarchial democracy?
4. **If yes follow up:** What is the difference? In your opinion, do people understand this difference?
5. Do you think the King's declaration that Swaziland is a "monarchial democracy" was important for Swaziland? How (or why/why not)?
6. In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, people have varying opinions about democracy – some think that democracy is good and should be strived for, others think that it is controversial and not too effective, what do you think is the role of democracy in Swaziland? (Probe: Why?)

Opinions on Relationship with South Africa:
1. What kind of influence does South Africa have on Swaziland (if any)?
2. On the topic of democracy, South Africa, our neighbor had one of the most well known transitions to a democratic country. In your opinion, does South Africa have any influence on Swaziland's political state?
3. In your opinion, what is SA's position on the democratization of SD? Follow up: If SA is not interested in the democratization of SD, what are the main reasons for this position?

Opinions about the King:
1. Swaziland is a bit unusual because we have a king, and not many countries in the world have a king. Who is the King to you? When I say "King Mswati III" or "Makhosetive," what do you think of?
2. Some leaders are remembered for good things they have done. For example, Nelson Mandela will always be remembered for his role in liberating South Africa. Other leaders are remembered for the bad things they have done. For example, Mobutu in DRC, many people remember him for bad economic policies and human rights violations. What do you think King Mswati will be remembered for?

Loyalty:
1. Some people believe that being a Swazi is simply a matter of birth, once you are born in Swaziland, or to Swazi parents, then you are Swazi. Other people think there

are other requirements, for example, living in Swaziland and speaking Siswati. For you, what does being Swazi mean?
2. What do you think the King's role is in the Swazi identity?
3. Some monarchs give power to control the government to the King/Queen. Others separate the King from any political responsibility. What do you think the King's political role should be?

Fear:
1. Some people see the armed forces as responsible for protecting Swaziland as a country, other see the armed forces as responsible for protecting the interests of the monarchy, what do you perceive as the role of armed forces in Swaziland?
2. Several people have been arrested for challenging the present system of governance, some people think that their arrests are good because they protect Swaziland's current system of governance, and other people think they're bad because the arrests makes people afraid to question the Swazi government. How do you think most Swazi's view this?
Follow up when the person is comfortable: How do you view this?
3. What impact would you say these arrests have on Swazis in general?

Questions for 50+ year olds:
1. In your opinion, how have politics in Swaziland changed since the late 1960's?
2. What was Swaziland's biggest political shift, and when did it occur? (Frame questions as trying to learn from an elder person instead of achieving any political agenda)
3. How different do you think King Mswati III is to his father, King Sobhuza II?

Questions for People Involved in Social Media Activism:
[Questions to be asked for each social media group that makes political commentary online]
1. Can you explain what the purpose is of the social media group/s you have joined?
2. In your opinion, is this a small group comprised of very few members who talk mainly to each other; or do you think it is a middle-sized group (composing of about less than 200 people); or do you think this group is very large (200+ people)?
3. How does the group recruit more people?
4. How regularly do you open the group page/read the content on the group website (every day, a few times a week, a few times a month, a few times every three months)?
5. Do you now (or at any point in the past) held a position in the organization? e.g. treasurer, secretary, president, vice president, speaker, choir leader etc.
6. Why did you join [group name]?
7. What do you think is the current impact of [group name] (if any) on the political situation in the country?
8. What impact do you think the group will have in the future? (Does this align with its long-term goals/vision?)

Final Questions (for everyone):

1. Countries are constantly changing politically. Recently, there was an election in South Africa and the ANC remained in power, there was an election also in Malawi where Joyce Banda handed over to the next president, and even in Swaziland the election for members of parliament just happened last year. But sometimes, politics doesn't change – for example, the king has been in power for over 30 years now, the prime minister is in power again for the third time. Since sometimes things change a lot and sometime they change a little, where do you see Swaziland in the next 5 years? (Follow up: 10 years?)

2. I have sat down with you and asked you questions for over an hour now, but what have I missed? What else do you think that I should know/want to tell me about the political system in Swaziland?

Demographic Information: Education, Age

Sex: F/M/ Other	Age (state)		Have you ever had a chance to go to school? (Yes/No)	**If No**, did you have an opportunity to learn how to read and write? (Yes/No)	**If Yes**, Education (For those 18-30 years)			**For those not in school:** Highest Education Level Reached (for those 24+), 4 Suggested Categories: Primary, Secondary, Technical Education, University
	2				**Have you completed school? (Yes/No)** **If Yes, move to Section 7** **If No, Complete Question 6 Below**			
	Sociological Age: Do you have Children? 01: No Children 02: Children 03: Grandchildren 04: Great-grandchildren							
1			**4**	**5**	**6**			
	Married? (Yes/No)				Did you ever attend school during the last 2013-14 school year? (Yes, No)	If yes, in what grade/from were you enrolled?	If no, what is the main reason that you are not attending school?	

Employment:

Do you currently work? (Yes/No)	
1	2
If Yes, Employment Information Sectors: 01: Self-employed 02: Hawker 03: Agriculture 04: Industry 05: Agriculture 06: Manufacturing 07: Teaching 08: Civil Servant 09: Domestic Worker 10: Semi-Employed e.g. casual worker 11: Lawyer 12: Doctor 13: Consultant 11: Other (Specify)	**If No:** What do you do during the day? 01: Spend time in the garden 02: Farm 03: Sew 04: Clean the house 05: Take care of Children 06: Sit with people in the neighborhood 07: Other (state)

Appendix 5: Round 1 Coding chart used to hand code interviews

Code Abbreviation	Code Definition	Example	Type	Notes to self	Frequency
GR	Group Affiliation – an association with another organization as a subordinate, subsidiary, or member	"As Swazi's, we" "as an organization, we," "as a member of the regiment, I…" "An ideal life is unity," "our people work in the mines"	Descriptive		IIIIIIIIIII (11)
ID	Identity – a description of *being* i.e. who or what a person is	"To be Swazi is to have the proper national documents"	Descriptive		I (1)
DIF	Difference - description that indicates ways through which people in Swaziland are not the same.	"Government spends a lot of money feeding these people" "Maybe some communities benefit from the government but for us there is nothing"	Description		IIIIIIII (8)
FEAR	Fear - emotion caused by the belief that someone or something is dangerous, or a threat.	"That will make him afraid to express himself"	Emotion/ Hypothesis		IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (25)
CHRON	Chronology – a description of the arrangement of events or dates in the order of their occurrence	"Since (insert appropriate year)," "we have changed…"	Descriptive		II (2)
SWAPRID	Swazi Pride - a description of feelings of deep pleasure or satisfaction derived from one's identity as a Swazi, and affiliation with cultural practices	"To be a Swazi is to be a person who loves Swazi culture…"	Thematic		I (1)
Acc.	Access -	"we can have access to electricity" "it is when people have	Descriptive		I (1)

		access to services"			
Barr	Barrier – description of a circumstance or obstacle that keeps people or things apart or prevents communication or progress.	"Sometimes we find it hard to access government" "I registered to vote but couldn't because of illness"	Thematic		IIII (4)
CULOWN	Cultural Ownership	"The country is mine" "the King is mine" "my King is my king"	Interpretive		III (3)
$	Money	"…also the issue of government not having money" "financial problems in the government…"	Descriptive		IIII (4)
FAM	Family - the descendants of a common ancestor.	"The (insert appropriate last name)" "South Africa is like a father to us"	Descriptive		I (1)
FEM	Female	"as a woman…"	Descriptive	I didn't code the demographic part of the interview when they state their gender. I was more curious as to whether they referred to their gender when answering political questions.	0

MALE	Male	"As a man, I should…"	Descriptive	Same as above	0
GENROLES	Gender Roles	"The women should…" or "the men do…"			I (1)
STR	Struggling – description of striving to achieve or attain something in the face of difficulty or resistance.	"We find it hard to access government"	Interpretive	The low number here may highlight a flaw with my coding chart because struggle was captured in "needs," negative perceptions of government, and "barriers"	II (2)
AGE	Age	"Since I was a teenager…" "When I was younger,"	Descriptive		0
EISH	Eish codes – codes to demonstrate hesitation or difficulty with the question or signal where respondent has paused.	"Eish…" "Aw!"	In-vivo		IIIIII (6)
EDU	Education – description of formal schooling, or governments engagement through providing education through providing scholarships or building schools	"…until high school and then went to South Africa"	Descriptive		III (3)
CHI	Children	"My grandchildren," "my children"	Descriptive		II (2)
POV	Poverty	"To live without poverty" "We don't have…and the government is not doing…"	Thematic		I (1)

CONT	Contrast – a description of being strikingly different from something else.	"Sobhuza listened to the people while Mswati does not but instead arrests the opposition" "Unlike other countries, Swaziland has…"	Interpretive	II (2)
COMP	Comparison – instances of comparing	"Mswati is good – Sobhuza was stingy" "What we used to see in the past is now no more"	Descriptive	III (3)
VOICE	Voice – description of the ability or desire to express some kind of opinion or emotion	"People need to have the ability to voice their dissatisfaction or problems without fear"	Descriptive (can be interpretive)	IIIIIIII (8)
POS	Positive – description of a negative government perception	"The current system works. Our MP's represent us and they do take our issues to parliament"	Thematic	III (3)
NEG	Negative – description of negative government perception	"No. The government does not look our concerns." "The government of Swaziland is helpless. There is nothing good I can say about this government."	Thematic	IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (17)
ACC	Accountability – description of wanting responsibility to be demonstrated through action, or some form of accountability within Swaziland's system of law	"We should all be allowed to recall non-performing MPs" "Even if the MP does not perform, there is no way you can recall	Descriptive	IIIII (5)

		him or her"			
PEACE	Peace – description of freedom from disturbance, war or violence	"We prefer the way we do things because it brings peace and stability"	Descriptive		IIIII (5)
DIST	Distance – description of space between respondent and political situation	"They are closer to us than other people like Prime Minister Barnabas…"	Interpretive		IIIIIII (7)
KNOW	Knowledge – description of facts, information, and skills acquired by a person through experience or education	"In the past men were dispersed around the country to give information to people" "The main parts of government are legislature, judiciary and executive"	Descriptive		IIIIIIIIIIIIII (14)
NEED	Need	"We need health facilities, financial support to start a business and we need protection"	Descriptive		IIIIIIIII (9)
LEAD	Leadership	"We are under the leadership of the King"	Descriptive		I (1)
POLDEM	Political Demonstration – description of action by a mass group or collection of groups of people in favor of a political or other cause	"…but there are political problems because you do hear people talk and toy-toy"	Descriptive		III (3)
POW	Power – description of the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events.	"This democracy could render our king powerless. He needs to command his	Descriptive		III (3)

		people"			
CORR	Corruption – description of dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power	"Chiefs demanding large sums of money" "Money is given to those who are butsekaed" "...the stealing of public money..."	Descriptive		III (3)
TRUST	Trust	"...we cannot trust these politicians with money"	Values coding		II (2)
ASP	Aspiration – description of the way that things should be – EXPECT (word repeated together with "should")	"...these people should be heard"	Thematic		IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIII (32)
ARR	Arrested	"...people used to be arrested if they were against certain factions within royalty"	Descriptive		II (2)
OPP	Oppression - a description of the exercise of authority or power in a burdensome, cruel, or unjust manner.	"the organization conscientizes the people of Swaziland about their oppression"	Descriptive		IIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (16)
LIB	Liberation – a description of the act of setting someone free from imprisonment, slavery, or oppression	"I wanted to help the liberation of the Swazi people"	Descriptive		IIIIIII (7)
DESP	Despondence – a description of a state of low spirits caused by loss of hope or courage	"I know that my vote won't change anything"	Interpretive/Descriptive		III (3)
CRISIS	Crisis – a description of intense difficulty, trouble, or danger.	"...what I at least expect him to do is deal with the judicial crisis in the country"	Descriptive		I (1)

UPRISE	Uprising – a description of revolution, resistance or rebellion	"As Swazis we need to stand up and fight for justice in the country," "This will engender a revolution in the country"	Descriptive		IIIIIIIIIIII (12)
DISP	Disparity – a description of a great difference between royalty or government officials and Swazi citizens	"They wanted to enrich themselves at the expense of the monarchy" "He enjoys the luxurious life without thinking about the people of Swaziland"	Interpretive		IIIIII (6)
PART	Participation – a description of the desire to participate in the political electoral process	"…the full control of the government by the people, for the people"	Descriptive/Interpretive		IIIIIII (7)
REL_INT	Religious intensity - Intense religious conviction in Swaziland bears a greater need for hierarchy, especially given that the Church is organized and functions on the basis of hierarchy.	"In a democracy, people are supposed to be in control of the government and there should be equality. The Bible never talks about equality. So I have problems with this concept of democracy"	Interpretive		IIIIIIIIIIIIII (7)
REL_AFF	Religious affiliation - affection for the king that is built upon the reverence for royal figures described in the Christian Bible.	"I love the King; I am overcome by joy when his name is mentioned. He is always in my prayers. There were Kings in the Bible, so we are lucky to have a king in	Interpretive		IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (14)

138

		this age."		
REL_FAT	Religious fatalism - belief in predetermination or fatalism that is challenged and threatened by democracy, which holds that people control and shape the world around them.	"(An ideal life) is a life in which you attend church. There is no hope without God as the government does not help us."	Interpretive	IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (14)
POLACT	Political Activism – a description of efforts to promote, impede, or direct political change, or stasis.		Descriptive	IIIIIIIIIIII (12)
VIO	Violence	"We don't have peace because people kill each other" "people will find themselves with no avenues but to fight because all the avenues to speak are shut down"	Descriptive, (can be interpretive)	IIIIII (6)
ORG	Organize – describing organizing around a cause or movement	"the only way is to organize the whole society of Swaziland"	Descriptive	II (2)
GOAL	Goal – describing a personal or national goal	"…reach the First World status"	Descriptive	I (1)
DEV	Develop – describing increasing access and opportunity from service delivery within Swaziland's context	"…to have equal opportunities to develop ourselves"		IIIIIII (7)
ECODEP	Economic Dependence – a description of Swaziland's economic reliance on South Africa	"Our currency is linked to South Africa's currency"		IIIIIIIII (9)
TRAD	Traditions – a description of a long-established custom or belief that has been passed on from one generation to another.	"…(to be Swazi is) to pay allegiance to the local chiefs" "He calls Incwala, Umhlanga,		IIIIIII (7)

		and Lusekwane"			
LACKCHANGE	Lack of change - description of the lack of act or process through which the country and government will become different	"I don't see any change…" "Many people think there is no change"			IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII (20)
CHANGE	Change – description of the act or process through which the country and government will become different	"(I voted because) I wanted to see change in the government…"			IIIIIIIIIIII (12)
CENS	Censorship – a description of media censorship, or the absence of freedom of speech	"How will the government know the people's problems if it does not want to be criticized?" "You cannot get such stories from newspapers" "People should be allowed to speak whenever they feel aggrieved"			IIIIIIIIIII (11)
RESP	Respect – descriptions of due regard for (someone's feelings, wishes, or rights).	"An ideal life is when all the laws of the country are respected by everyone."			IIIII (5)
DICT	Dictate – description of an order/orders and principles that must be obeyed	"…he is the one dictating terms" "He demands people to…"			III (3)
NEGDEM	Negative perceptions of democracy – descriptions of democracy or freedom in a negative way or the notion that Swaziland does not need democracy	"…too much freedom is not good" "We don't need democracy. Tinkhundla just needs to be fine tuned" "democracy could render our king powerless"			IIII (4)

POSDEM	Positive perceptions of democracy - descriptions of democracy or freedom in a positive way, or the notion that Swaziland needs to democratize	"Democracy will make the country develop."			IIIII (5)
HOPE	Hope – positive descriptions of Swaziland's future	"Yes we can get change"			III (3)
IGNOR	Ignorance – a demonstration of lack of knowledge about Swaziland's government	(In response to what is democracy) "I don't know"			IIIIII (6)
DECEP	Deception – a description of the action of deceiving someone	"He was just fooling the international community" "He lied to the people of Swaziland because they were illiterate" "…most of the time he does not speak the truth"			III (3)
SELFISH	Selfishness – a description of the king as a selfish ruler	"He has no interest in the people. He always looks after his family"			IIIIIII (7)

141

Codes used for qualitative analysis:

1. Emotion/Hypothesis coding: without exception, all of my participants speak about some level of "fear" or censorship, or the lack of freedom of speech in Swaziland. This code is particularly important because (i) it relates to the hypothesis of "fear" that I am testing, and (ii) it allows me to better understand the emotions that may impede political participation within Swaziland.
   "Eish" codes (In vivo code): I speak in "Memo 5" about the importance of metaphors when engaging with politically sensitive topics. I've applied the "eish" code to illustrate more nuanced points. Primarily, these involve codes where respondents hesitated before answering the questions, or paused to show difficulty with answering a particular question. If this happens often with a certain demographic of the population, it may give insightful information about political participation.

Appendix 6: Perceptions matrix: the differences between rural, semi-urban and urban areas in Swaziland

Codes	Rural	Semi-urban	Urban
Ignorance	1	1	-
Peace	5	-	-
Liberation	1	1	4
Voice	4	1	2
Fear	5	9	12
Oppression	2	4	9
Knowledge	1	7	3
Traditions	4	-	2
UPRISE	4	-	2
Respect	4	3	-
PoliAct	2	3	4
Positive perception of Democracy	3	3	3
Negative perception of Democracy	1	1	1

Appendix 7: Examples of memo's written after various coding cycles

Memo 1: Stark differences between urban and rural participants

After first pass coding of 1 rural, 2 urban interviews, I have found starking differences between responses from my rural and urban participants. So far, the rural participants speak much more in favor of the king, and identify Swaziland as a peaceful country. On the other hand, the urban respondents are more engaged in civic organizations, specifically ones that have a political agenda, and speak critically about the king. They speak of Swaziland's need for liberation, struggle, and even revolution or "UPRISE" in my coding chart.

Due to these stark differences between urban and rural participants, I want to probe the hypothesis that modernization theory is occurring in some form in Swaziland. That is to say, **if Swazis have high incomes, access to information, and have attained a higher-level education of some form, then they are more likely to be in favor of a more democratic regime within Swaziland**.

Memo 2: The impact of religion

"(An ideal life) is a life in which you attend church. There is no hope without God as the government does not help us."

After a second pass of 3 rural interview codes, the impact of religion on political participation was evident. Respondents cited religion, faith, or even Jesus as reasons for hope despite poor socio-economic conditions. As a result, respondents chose not to engage in political activism. This thesis leads me to hypothesize that there's a correlation between religious conviction and political participation. This unexpected result made me include additional grounded codes for religion in my coding chart above. These results have made me excited to both read the literature on the relationship between religion and democracy, and explore how the monarch uses this to his advantage in Swaziland's context. In fact, just last week, the king was preaching about David and Goliath to the country.

From this finding, my proposition is that: **if a respondent is very religious, then he/she is less likely to engage with the problematic elements of his/her government**.

Memo 3: The stories we tell

"We are happy because he was crowned by Sobhuza II at an early age. There was an old lady with a letter that declared him as king. This lady was prophetic; look this king has an ability to lure his investors. He gives people who attend cultural events gifts..."

After first pass coding of 2 rural, and 1 urban interview, what stood out to me from this set of interviews was the use of metaphors and stories to describe the Swazi regime, how the king got to power, and even everyday politics within Swaziland. The quote above illustrates it as an old woman from an 87-year-old widow from a rural area tells the story

of kingship in Swaziland, and how King Mswati was chosen. This represented an area I hadn't coded for of "traditions": traditions of storytelling, rituals, hierarchies, and customs. These stories introduce a new hypothesis: that traditions, customs and stories told encourage Swazis to believe in ideologies that impeded their political participation.

My proposition is, therefore, as follows: **if Swazis have grown up in areas where they have been more exposed to traditions, customs, and the stories that represent these truths, then they are less likely to demand democracy in some way**.

Memo 4: The separation of the king from problems of service delivery within Swaziland's government

"My king is my king. He is not supposed to be in government because the people will think it is him who does the bad things"
"I think of a king. Even though he does good things, there are people who mislead him."
"He must be involved in government because these politicians could steal the money in his absence. You cannot trust these people. They even steal from the king."

After two passes of coding at 4 semi-urban interviews, I found it particularly insightful that although respondents knew about the technicalities of the Swazi political system, they separated the king from the problems and shortcomings of the government. There was consensus that the government was not serving the people. However, there was also the notion that the king was separate from the functions, decisions and actions of the government. Moreover, they believe the king is somehow being misled, and the guilty parties are politicians within Swaziland's government. This was often the case even for people who were members of civic organizations that were demanding some form of liberation movement.

My next proposition is that **if Swazis do not associate the king with the problems they identify within their government, then they will not demand any change in his executive or absolute rule.** This ties closely with the "modernization theory" hypothesized in "Memo 1" as it requires people to have higher levels of knowledge about the political structure in Swaziland.

Memo 5: Syntax and word choice: the role of metaphors, "eish" and hesitation

"...we are a sick nation because we are barred from saying what troubles us"
"...now people see the organization as their messiah"
"Why did he change the name without informing us? We are in power, therefore, he must not change things willy-nilly without our knowledge. A parent at home first consults the family before taking any decision"
"The fact is: the government is evil"

This somehow links to "Memo 3" about the stories we tell. The above quotations are cases where people have used metaphors in some way to describe something that is going on within the Swazi government. After a second pass of coding 4 semi-urban interviews, I

noticed the pattern of often using metaphors or pauses through statements such as "eish" before speaking about things that are politically charged. Instead of speaking of specific deficiencies within service delivery by government, respondents sometimes referred to a "sick nation" or "beast." Moreover, pauses, hesitation, and especially the use of the word "eish" where applied illustrates hesitation and possible conflict before respondents answered specific questions.

In this instance, my proposition is that **if respondents use metaphors to describe a topic or specific subject area, then they are negotiating how to talk about a topic that is politically sensitive.** Although this might be somewhat irrelevant in the time being, it will be relevant in the chapter of my thesis that examines rhetoric and how it can impede political participation.

Memo 6: Is democracy what Swaziland should strive for?

"Too much freedom is not good"
"We do need an authoritative person. Sometimes people cannot make the best choices"
"This democracy could render our king powerless. He needs to have command on his people. Can you imagine the king calling his people to weed his fields without anyone showing up?"

After 2 passes of codes for 2 urban, 2 semi-urban, and 2 rural interviews, I found that there is debate about whether democracy is the best form of governance for Swaziland. I have my own ideas about the best system of governance for Swaziland, but some of my interviewees have argued that it isn't necessarily democracy – that "too much freedom" isn't the best thing for the country. This is something that I hadn't captured with my initial coding chart, but this made me check my own beliefs and the biases if I ignored the voices that challenged the notion that democracy is best for Swaziland. Therefore, I added the codes of "NegDem" and "PosDem" to better capture these views because if people don't think Swaziland should be democratic, then those perceptions are a barrier to democratization.

From these interview transcripts, my proposition is that **if Swazis do not believe that democracy is the best form of governance, then they will not strive for it**. As a result, they will not undergo any political activism where they demand democracy.

Memo 7: Notions of sacrifice, and the influence of South Africa's liberation movements

"Many liberated countries or people sacrificed their lives. Even Swazis have reached the stage of non-fear. We need fearless Swazis that will dismantle the current system."
"Swazis will decide to come all out to fight this wicked system"
"If we vigorously demand change we will get it."
"As Swazis we need to stand up and fight for justice in the country."

After 2 passes at 3 semi-urban and 1 urban interview, notions of sacrifice, struggle, and liberation movement became clear in several interviews. What was interesting is how, as a student of South African history, how respondents responded to questions about Swaziland's liberation resembled how people had spoken about South Africa during the apartheid transition. Respondents were prone to use the word "sacrifice" and speak about liberation or revolution in the same way it was spoken about in South Africa during apartheid.

Therefore, my proposition is that **if respondents are civic organizations with a political mandate and have knowledge about South Africa's liberation movement, then they are more likely to want the same "liberation" movement within Swaziland**.

Memo 8: The South African influence

"I can say South Africa contributes to our oppression"
"South Africa does not want us to democratize. They have all the power to sanction Swaziland but they do nothing. They want to continue to make us their investment hub as many companies in the country are from South Africa."
"South Africa is jealous of our peace because they have conflicts and instability there"

When I initially drafted my research proposal for my honors thesis, the third hypothesis I was testing is that South Africa is complicit in Swaziland's lack of democratization – that there is some reason (which I am yet to determine) why South Africa has refused to put pressure on Swaziland's democratization. After proposing my initial chapter breakdown, and realizing that I am data heavy, I thought it would be too overwhelming to start an investigation of this hypothesis over winter break. However, after having done at least first pass codes at approximately 25 interviews, there is an overwhelming sentiment that South Africa has an interest in keeping Swaziland undemocratic. Therefore, this is something I intend to explore further during my Winter Break.

The South African influence or lack thereof has lead me to my final proposition: **if South Africa benefits from the lack of democracy in Swaziland, then it will act as a barrier for Swaziland's democratization**.

Appendix 8: Example of Data Index: Manzini Rural Area Interview Data

Manzini Interviewee Identifiers & Details: Rural interviews										
Interviewee pseudo name	1) News sources, 2) internet, and 3) civic engagement			Demographic information	Open-ended questions	50+ year olds	Social Media	Civic Engagement	Employment info.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ManzRur1F	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur2F	✓	N/A	N/A	✗☐	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur3M	✓	✓	N/A	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur4M	✓	✗☐	✓	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	✗	✓	✓
ManzRur5M	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur6M	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur7F	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur8F	✓	✓	N/A	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur9F	✓	N/A	N/A	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓	✓
ManzRur10F	✓	✓	N/A	✓	✓	N/A	N/A	N/A	✓	✓

Key/legend:
✓☐ = complete data
✗☐☐ = incomplete data
N/A = not applicable
Blank = missing data

Appendix 9: Regression Table used to assess Support for Democracy

VARIABLES	(1) a S_D	(2) ab S_{D2}	(3) ac S_{D3}	(4) ad S_{D4}	(5) ae Democracy is preferable	(6) af Support political parties	(7) ag Support free and fair elections
Female	-0.305*	-0.132	-0.530***	-0.177	-0.403***	-0.368***	0.234*
	(0.176)	(0.134)	(0.164)	(0.153)	(0.131)	(0.142)	(0.142)
Education Level	0.569***	0.449***	0.596***	0.419***	0.523***	0.310***	0.201**
	(0.106)	(0.0840)	(0.101)	(0.0945)	(0.0846)	(0.0882)	(0.0889)
Employment	0.102	0.0313	0.200	0.0531	-0.0314	0.155	0.122
	(0.197)	(0.155)	(0.183)	(0.174)	(0.153)	(0.162)	(0.168)
Lived Poverty Index score	0.226*	-0.0340	0.384***	0.155	0.101	0.306***	-0.164
	(0.128)	(0.0979)	(0.121)	(0.112)	(0.0961)	(0.105)	(0.103)
Urbanicity	-0.174	0.0199	-0.169	-0.0777	-0.0826	-0.178	0.328*
	(0.203)	(0.163)	(0.193)	(0.180)	(0.162)	(0.170)	(0.172)
Age	0.00331	0.0101**	0.00120	-0.00776	0.00891**	-0.0160***	0.00631
	(0.00641)	(0.00460)	(0.00592)	(0.00559)	(0.00450)	(0.00511)	(0.00488)
Religious membership	-0.153*	-0.203***	-0.175**	-0.0751	-0.219***	-0.127*	-0.00397
	(0.0899)	(0.0677)	(0.0834)	(0.0772)	(0.0658)	(0.0717)	(0.0709)
Religious Importance	-0.0941	-0.0168	0.0242	-0.0503	0.118	0.0298	-0.146
	(0.133)	(0.110)	(0.130)	(0.123)	(0.110)	(0.119)	(0.124)
Swazi pride	-0.330*	-0.0284	-0.533***	-0.166	-0.218	-0.414**	0.289
	(0.200)	(0.170)	(0.189)	(0.184)	(0.170)	(0.177)	(0.180)
High trust in king	-0.517***	-0.179***	-0.638***	-0.444***	-0.305***	-0.581***	0.159**
	(0.0801)	(0.0680)	(0.0762)	(0.0726)	(0.0687)	(0.0715)	(0.0720)
Constant	-0.620	-0.999	-0.124	-0.187	-0.263	1.369**	-0.288
	(0.759)	(0.620)	(0.728)	(0.688)	(0.618)	(0.659)	(0.672)
Observations	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129
Education + Education^2	0.697***						

149

	(0.274)						
Lived Poverty + Lived Poverty^2	0.539* (0.317)						
Standard errors in parentheses							
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1							

Appendix 10: Regression Table used to Assess Political Participation

VARIABLES	(1) a Graduated Democratic Activity	(2) ab Attend a Protest	(3) ac Attend a Community Meeting	(4) ad Join Others to Raise an Issue	(5) ae Voted in 2008 Election
Female	-0.580***	-0.485*	-0.918***	-0.626***	-0.00682
	(0.115)	(0.269)	(0.154)	(0.132)	(0.141)
Education Level	0.209***	1.070***	0.168*	0.160*	-0.0352
	(0.0715)	(0.163)	(0.0954)	(0.0817)	(0.0882)
Employment	0.0658	-0.666**	0.0202	-0.173	0.606***
	(0.133)	(0.315)	(0.173)	(0.151)	(0.163)
Lived Poverty Index	0.391***	0.333*	0.627***	0.279***	0.228**
	(0.0843)	(0.191)	(0.115)	(0.0964)	(0.104)
Urbanicity	0.629***	-0.139	0.927***	0.384**	0.382**
	(0.141)	(0.297)	(0.168)	(0.158)	(0.168)
Age	0.0460***	0.00619	0.0367***	0.0266***	0.0660***
	(0.00420)	(0.00984)	(0.00579)	(0.00464)	(0.00575)
Religious Importance	0.165*	0.146	0.0108	0.158	0.267**
	(0.0941)	(0.220)	(0.131)	(0.109)	(0.123)
Swazi pride	0.267*	0.0320	0.0517	0.515***	0.104
	(0.148)	(0.308)	(0.191)	(0.168)	(0.180)
Trust in King	0.143**	-0.241*	0.264***	0.0740	0.208***
	(0.0597)	(0.124)	(0.0750)	(0.0676)	(0.0723)
Constant cut1	2.199***				
	(0.536)				
Constant cut2	3.364***				
	(0.541)				
Constant cut3	4.701***				
	(0.550)				
Constant cut4	8.344***				
	(0.596)				

		-4.698***	-2.497***	-2.264***	-4.770***
Constant		(1.218)	(0.709)	(0.617)	(0.700)
Observations	1,131	1,131	1,131	1,131	1,131
Standard errors in parentheses					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

Binary variable created	Afrobarometer questions used	Percentage of respondents that fall into this category
Support_democracy	**Democracy:** Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. **Political parties:** Many political parties are needed to make sure that Swazis have real choices in who governs them* **Elections:** We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.*	**18.25 %**
Support_democracy2	**Democracy:** Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. **Elections:** We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.*	**35.17 %**
Support_democracy3	**Democracy:** Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. **Political parties:** Many political parties are needed to make sure that Swazis have real choices in who governs them*	**24.83 %**
Support_democracy4	**Political parties:** Many political parties are needed to make sure that Swazis have real choices in who governs them* **Elections:** We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections. *	**24.50 %**

agree strongly and simply agree both included in this measure

Appendix 12: Afrobarometer's Lived Poverty Measure Methodology

Wealth is composite; there are individual aspects, community aspects, and a combination of community and individual aspects to wealth. Even though it is such an important indicator, it is challenging to estimate how poor or wealthy respondents to surveys are. In this section, I explain my methodology for assessing wealth in Swaziland through lived poverty, community wealth, and employment information.

Index of Lived Poverty

In 2002, Robert Mattes, Michael Bratton and Yul Derek Davids created an index of lived poverty and well being to measure the impact of poverty on political attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa. This index is based on short subjective items that obtain the same cross-national information as measures often preferred by economists e.g., GNP per capita, household income, expenditure Therefore, Mattes et al. use the subcomponents of poverty such as hunger to estimate lived poverty. In the measure, Mattes et al. use eight questions to measure how often people have "gone without" what they have identified as a series of basic necessities.

In order to expand that traditional definition of poverty, that is based primarily on monetary measure, Afrobarometer researchers have included questions that include the experiences of the poor a little bit more. Therefore, Mattes et el. use 13 questions posed directly to the respondent together with 23 other questions about household access to services, educational attainment, employment status to estimate the lived experience of respondents that "depends not only of income but also access to services."[194]

The first measure they use is based on how frequently respondents "go without" the following basic necessities: cash income, food, medical treatment, home fuel, water, electricity and feeling safe at home. For the Round 5 of the Afrobarometer survey, all these questions were included except the one about going without electricity. Therefore, all these measures *except* "gone without electricity" were used to construct this part of the lived poverty scale. These questions and the proportion of people who fall into each category for Swaziland are shown in Table 8 below.

---

[194] Poverty, Survival and Democracy In Southern Africa, Robert Mattes Michael Bratton Yul Derek Davids

Appendix Table I: Frequency of each category of measure used to estimate lived poverty

	Gone without cash income	Gone without food	Gone without clean water	Gone without medical treatment	Gone without cooking fuel	Felt unsafe
Never	15.33 percent	34.92 percent	47.67 percent	52.17 percent	61.17 percent	46.83 percent
Less than once a month	14.25 percent	21.08 percent	12.75 percent	16.83 percent	14.58 percent	15.67 percent
A few times a month	23.92 percent	24.92 percent	15.83 percent	19.83 percent	13.83 percent	17.08 percent
A few times a week	28.08 percent	15.17 percent	12.00 percent	7.08 percent	7.83 percent	11.67 percent
Every day	18.42 percent	3.83 percent	11.67 percent	3.17 percent	2.50 percent	8.58 percent
Don't know	-	0.08 percent	0.08 percent	0.92 percent	0.08 percent	0.17 percent

The questions begin as follows: *in the last twelve months, how often have you or your family gone without (cash income, clean water, food etc.)*. Respondents given options to choose frequency such as: never, less than once a month, up until every day. Mattes et al use Amartya Sen's assertion that "the value of one's standard of living lies in the living itself"[195] to justify using the measure of personal experiences to estimate "lived poverty." Therefore, instead of measuring income, this measures the frequency that people "go without" specific goods and services. The five questions used in Swaziland are: *food, clean water, cooking fuel, medicines or medical supplies, and a cash income.* Scholars such as Sipho Kunene in his paper *"Lived Poverty can inform Swazi anti-poverty efforts."* In addition, this

---

[195] *Development as Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1999)

index has been applied in other African countries to show that it is a relatively good predictor of wealth.

On this scale, the values ranged from 0-3, with the "best off" having a score of 0, and the "worst off" scoring 3 (this means, they had gone without cash income, food, and clean water virtually every day). While it is typical to weigh the different components of wealth when creating a wealth index, Robert Mattes, Michael Bratton and Yul Derek Davids have found these measures are composite measures of poverty through both multifactor and reliability analysis.[196] On the fundamental "living" needs of food, water and income, it is difficult to assign any factor as weighing more than another as these are usually inter-reliable and those who are impoverished on one item tend to be impoverished on others. The measures excluded in this index were those of home security and medical treatment.

Community Wealth

Although I did not include this as an independent variable in my regression because of it's high correlation with "urbanicity" (whether an area is urban or rural), a second measure used to assess the wealth of the community was through assessing its developmental infrastructure. This measure allows us to estimate the amount of services that are available within an area, and is a more detailed representation of wealth that urbanicity. However, they end up giving the same information as the correlation coefficient is above 0.6. To measure "developmental infrastructure" I used Afrobarometer's methodology involving a series of questions posed to the *interviewer.* These measure the presence of developmental infrastructure within the area where the interviewer is conducting the interviews. The questions used for this measure include questions that assess access to electricity grid, piped water *within the immediate enumerator area.*

A breakdown of the proportion of people who fall into each category, and the questions used to construct this measure can be viewed in the table below:

---

[196] Mattes, Robert, Michael Bratton, and Yul D. Davids. *Poverty, Survival and Democracy in Southern Africa*. Working paper no. 23. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Appendix Table II: Percentages of Swazis exposed to community level services

Service/Good	Percentage of respondents who had access	Percentage of respondents with no access	Can't determine
Electricity grid that most houses could access (in Enumerator Area or Primary Sampling Unit)	95.33 percent	4.67 percent	-
Piped water system that most houses could access (in Enumerator Area or Primary Sampling Unit)	58.00 percent	42.00 percent	-
Sewerage system that most houses could access	17.33 percent	80.67 percent	2.00 percent
Health Clinic	52.00 percent	48.00 percent	-
Post Office	26.00 percent	74.00 percent	-
Police Station	30.00 percent	70.00 percent	-

Using these measures, I created an index from 0-6 to estimate access to community services. While no area scored 0, there was some variation in this result. For this reason, this measure was simply used to supplement the "lived poverty" measure created above by looking beyond the experiences of the individual, but the services available within the community. This measure may add robustness to the measurement of wealth.

The final measure used within the Afrobarometer is the measure of employment. While Swaziland's unemployment rate is approximately 40 percent, the Afrobarometer figure is similar to this figure at 44 percent. Similarly, my own interviews showed that out of a total of 60 people interviewed, approximately 62 percent were employed,[197] and 38 percent were unemployed. The majority of unemployed stated that they would sit with their neighbors during the day, suggesting that they were not actively seeking employment.

---

[197] Respondents who are employed part-time are included in this figure

Employment:

Question: *Do you have a job that pays a cash income?[198] If yes, is it full-time or part-time? If no, are you presently looking for a job?*

Table 10: Employment characteristics of respondents to Swaziland's Afrobarometer survey

Employment status	Percentage of respondents falling into category
0 = No (Not looking)	28.83 percent
1 = No (looking)	44.00 percent
2 = Yes, part time	10.50 percent
3 = Yes, full time	16.58 percent
9 = Don't know	0.08 percent
998 = Refused to answer	-
-1 = Missing data	-

In addition to these measures from Afrobarometer's "lived poverty" index, measures concerning i) urbanicity,[199] ii) Internet access, and iii) frequency of television viewership[200] can also be used to estimate a respondent's socio-economic status. Although not perfect, these measures can indicate which respondents are wealthier on a relative basis. On urbanicity, approximately 84 percent of the country's poor live in rural areas. In Swaziland's rural areas, per capita income is about four times lower than in urban areas. Additionally, food consumption is twice as low.[201] For this reason "urbanicity" can be used to estimate socio-economic status. That is to say, we can assume that living in an urban or semi-urban area would make someone wealthier than their rural-dwelling counterpart. Although many cities have poor neighborhoods whose residents have a lower standard of living than the rural poor, controlling for multiple factors that might be indicators of wealth mitigates this risk. On Internet access as a proxy to check the lived poverty results, Swaziland's 2013 International Telecommunications Union estimated that 24.7 percent of

---

[198] Based on the wording of this income, subsistence farming would not count

[199] rural, urban, semi-urban

[200] newspapers, television, radio, word of mouth

[201] http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pf/factsheets/swaziland.pdf

Swazis use the Internet.[202] Because of the scarcity of this usage and the high cost of Internet access, it can be assumed that wealthier individuals are able to pay this cost through home connections, mobile phones, or Internet connections. Although correlated with community wealth the measures of Internet access, television viewership and urbanicity were not significant enough to result in co-linearity and are used primarily as an illustrative tool.

---

[202] file:///Users/selamiledlamini/Downloads/Country_Profile2013.pdf

Appendix 13: Methodology and tabulated results for Religious Importance and Membership

Methodology

To measure religious devotion, I used a question in the Afrobarometer that asks: *how important is religion in your life?* The scale of self-described religious importance ranged from "not at all important" to "very important" and participants who answered "very important" were given a 1 and all other responses were assigned a 0. According to Afrobarometer data, over 85 percent of Swazi respondents stated that religion was very important (*See Table 4 below*). Another question that Afrobarometer asks about membership of a religious organization was not included in this measure. The question asks about the level of involvement as a religious group with responses ranging from non-member to official leader. Although information regarding attendance and membership is often regarded as preferable to information about attitudes, the specific question regarding religious *importance* was used to assess intensity of religious devotion for three main reasons.

To assess whether it was religion itself that is important, or whether the intersection of religious devotion and church membership, a measure of membership in a religious group was included.

Appendix Table III: Religious importance & membership questions used to estimate intensity of religious conviction and proportion of people in each category

Measure used to assess religion	Afrobarometer question used	Percentage of respondents that fall into category
Importance of religion	How important is religion in your life?	0=Not at all important, **2.17 percent** 1=Not very important, **3.00 percent** 2=Somewhat important, **7.67 percent** 3=Very important, **85.17 percent** ***Not included in code:**

		8 = Refused to answer, **1.50 percent** 9 = Don't know, **0.50 percent**
Membership of religious group	Let's turn to your role in the community. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: A religious group that meets outside of regular worship services?	0=Not a member, **56.01 percent** 1 = Inactive member, **7.68 percent** 2 = Active member, **33.81 percent** 3 = Official Leader, **2.50 percent**

Possible limitations of this methodology

Firstly, previous studies have shown an endogeneity problem when investigating links between religious devotion and democracy. As it turns out, the same characteristics that lead to civically minded citizens that are involved in democratic process are also likely to encourage them to be involved in their local churches and mosques. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the causality in relationships between these variables, as people who are more involved in their churches are also more involved in politics. Secondly, because of the patriarchal nature of Swazi society, simply investigating membership gives results that are susceptible to gender-norms. For example, most churches do not allow female priests or church leaders. Therefore, even though women may *want* to be more active members within the church, they cannot because of the church rules that marginalize them. Beliefs linked to religion were often the primary drivers of political opinions. The correlation co-efficient between religious membership and importance is relatively low, meaning that the importance in religion measures something different from community activism.

Appendix 14: Regression graph showing the Effect of Lived Poverty on Support for Democracy

Effect of Lived Poverty on Support for Democracy

$$S_D = 0.6858\beta_1 - 0.1468\beta_2^2$$
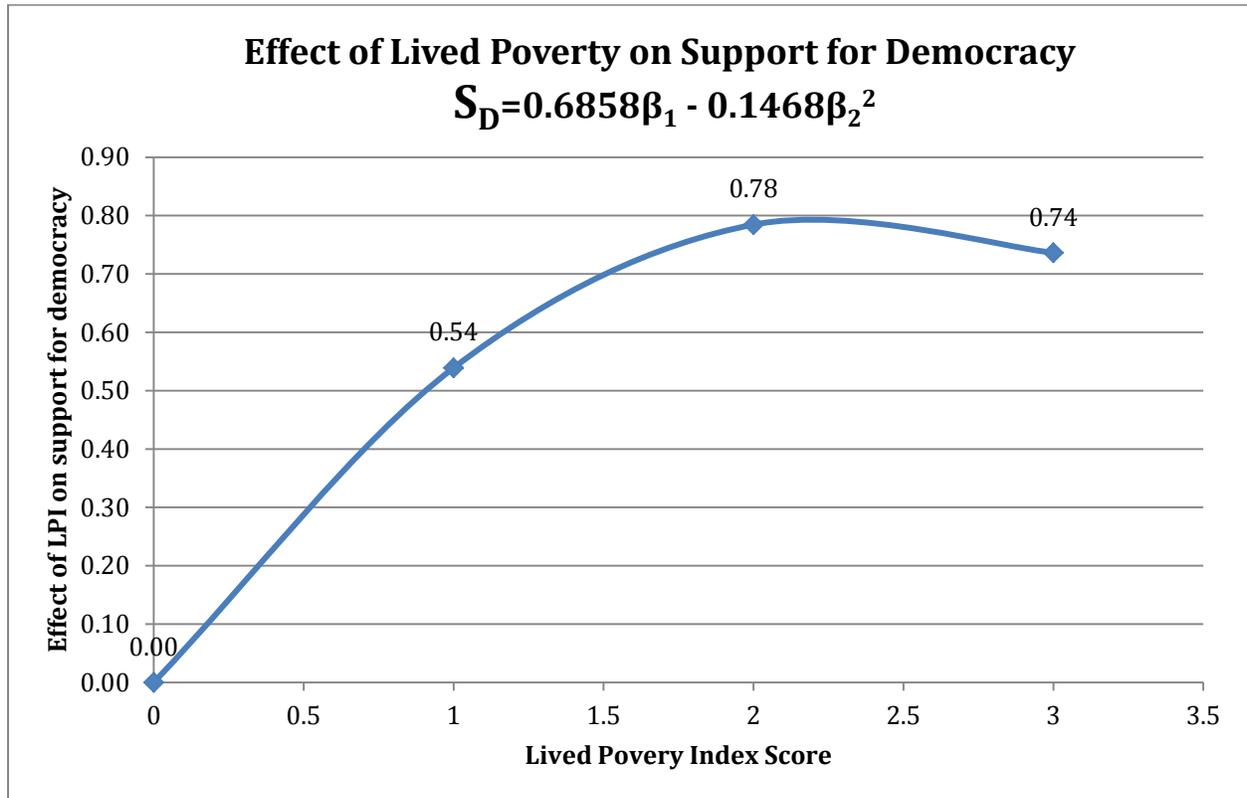
Appendix 15: Comparison of means tests (p-tests) for independent variables

1. Religious membership

Appendix Table IV: Comparing means of support for democracy by religious membership type

Religious membership	Sample size	Support democracy	P-value
Not a member	671	0.207 (0.015)	-
Inactive member	92	0.141 (0.0363)	0.138
Active member	405	0.158 (0.0181)	0.046*
Official leader	30	0.100 (0.0548)	0.153

Note: P-values correspond to comparison of means between non-members and the listed religious membership group; *$p<0.05$

2. Highest level of education

Appendix Table V: Comparing means of support for democracy by education level

Highest educational level	Sample size	Support democracy	P-value
No formal	123	0.041 (0.0178)	-
Primary	285	0.105 (0.018)	0.032*
Secondary	599	0.178 (0.016)	0.004***
University	118	0.356 (0.044)	0.000***
Post graduate	75	0.467 (0.058)	0.000***

Note: P-values correspond to comparison of means between respondents with no formal education and the listed education levels; *$p<0.05$, $p<0.001$***

3. Lived Poverty

Appendix Table VI: Comparing means of support for democracy by Lived Poverty Index Score

LPI Score	Sample size	Support political parties	P-value
0 (wealthiest)	64	0.172 (0.047)	-
1	540	0.181 (0.0166)	0.707

2	489	0.178 (0.016)	0.709
3 (poorest)	92	0.356 (0.044)	0.693

Note: p-values correspond to comparison of means between wealthiest respondents and all other categories of lived poverty