

**Adolescents' perceptions of masculinity and femininity in the
context of sexual and reproductive health in Southern Province,
Zambia**

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Centre for International Health

Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry

University of Bergen, Norway

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Abstract

Adolescence is a very critical period in which gender norms develop for young people and are carried into adulthood. The gender norms of how adolescents construe themselves as fitting the masculine ideal for boys or the feminine ideal for girls have implications for their sexual and reproductive health. Among these norms are norms promoting unequal access to resources that weaken girls' negotiation in sexual issues. This inequality is associated with adolescent pregnancies and poor reproductive health outcomes. Pregnancy in adolescence is associated with health complications and also adverse socio-economic outcomes

Aim: The aim of this study was to generate knowledge on adolescents' perceptions of gender differences, gender relations, and empowerment of girls in relation to sexual and reproductive health in the CISMACH RISE project.

Methods: A qualitative study employing participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions was conducted in Southern province of Zambia. Secondary data collected from the same setting was also analyzed. 14 in depth interviews were conducted and 6 focus group discussions as primary data. 2 in depth interviews and 3 focus group discussions from a similar study were included for secondary analysis.

Findings: The findings demonstrate that there are multiple, sometimes contradictory and ambiguous ways of demonstrating masculinity and femininity. Findings show that there are exists some liberalism for boys to engage in sexual activity to demonstrate manliness, even though it is contested. Girls' sexuality is censured and is framed in terms of economic and material exchange due to the structural underprivileged position of girls. Empowerment of girls is seen as a form of protecting girls from the economic pressure that make them succumb to

relationships and sex. However, empowerment of girls is resisted and seen as an attack on traditional masculinity.

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List of abbreviations

CISMAC	Centre for Intervention Science in Maternal and Child health
CRCT	Cluster Randomized Controlled Trial
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalist in Zambia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDI	Individual In-depth Interview
RCT	Randomized Controlled Trial
RISE	Research Initiative to Support the Empowerment of Girls
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SRHE	Sexual and Reproductive Health Education
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WHO	World Health organization
ZDHS	Zambia Demographic Health Survey

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Perceptions of gender differences have consequences for health as these perceptions influence behavior. There is a lot of literature documenting the difference in mortality and morbidity by gender, and these differences have been associated not only with biology, but also with behaviors that are expected of being a man or woman (Bird and Rieker 1999, Courtenay 2000). These perceptions of the differences of what constitutes being feminine or masculine have consequences for adolescents' sexual and reproductive health, particularly adolescent pregnancy. The norms associated with these perceptions produce inequalities in morbidity and mortality between genders (Ampofo 2001). The perceptions of gender differences also dictate the way relations are shaped between genders and consequently have effects on adolescents' sexual and reproductive health (Ampofo 2001, Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016).

Teenage pregnancy is a complex medical, social and cultural phenomenon. Preventing early pregnancy is highly prioritized on the global health policy agenda (WHO 2012) and is addressed in an increasing number of trials.

This master study was nested within an ongoing cluster randomized controlled trial addressing the problem of teenage pregnancy (See Sandøy, Mudenda et al. 2016). This trial is intended to measure effectiveness of an intervention package aiming to heighten the age of childbearing among girls by keeping girls in school in Zambia. The intervention expects to change social norms and expectations to boys and girls, and my study was planned to generate knowledge on how boys and girls themselves perceive gender differences and norms within the context of sexual and reproductive health.

Background

Approximately 16 million girls in their adolescence between the ages of 15-19 and about two million girls below the age of 15 give birth each year (UNFPA 2013, WHO 2014). 95% of these adolescent pregnancies occur in developing countries (UNFPA 2013: 19). Pregnancy in adolescence exposes girls to risks of maternal death, illness, disability and obstetric complications such as fistula, and complications from unsafe abortions (Nove, Matthews et al. 2014). Babies born to adolescent girls constitute 11% of global births, but carry 23% of the global burden of disease related to pregnancy (WHO 2012, Holness 2015).

Complications arising from adolescent pregnancies constitute part of the gendered mortality and morbidity patterns that begin to emerge during adolescence (Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016). Many sexual and reproductive health related forms of morbidity have been found to be disproportionately distributed by gender, this is particularly the case for HIV/STIs (Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016).

Socio-economic Consequences of Adolescent Pregnancies and Marriages

Adolescent pregnancies are not only associated with health risks, but socio-economic risks and consequence as well. Among the effects of adolescent pregnancy is the disruption of education. In the United States adolescent motherhood in the long run is associated with a lifetime of poverty and lower educational attainment (Coyne and D'Onofrio 2012: 131). In Sub-Saharan Africa childbearing among 15-19 year olds has been found to be significantly higher among girls with no education and those living in rural areas (Doyle, Mavedzenge et al. 2012: 801). It has been argued that adolescent

pregnancies are a consequence and marker of lack of economic and educational opportunities (Sedgh, Finer et al. 2015: 223). However, the UNFPA argues that the causal relationship between adolescent pregnancies, and early school leaving can be difficult to disentangle as studies provide mixed results (UNFPA 2013: 25).

Gender Norms and Adolescent pregnancy

There is a constellation of factors that have been attributed to adolescent pregnancy apart from the ones presented above. Among them are gender norms. Norms basically refer to ideals or standards of behavior shared by a social group (Wight, Plummer et al. 2006: 987). Gender norms shape the lives of boys' and girls' sexual behavior. These norms cover attitudes and perceptions towards early marriage, and fertility particularly for girls (WHO 2012: 2). Social norms also affect how boys express their sexuality towards girls. Among the expectations boys could have include the need to gain sexual experience as well as proving their fertility as a sign of manhood (WHO 2012: 2).

Among these norms are ideals of how to be a man and also expressions of femininity, as every society has rules that are both overt and covert for how to be a boy or a girl in society, and deviations from these expectations are sanctioned (Ampofo 2001: 198).

These norms shape the interaction, relationships, sexual and reproductive health practices as well as other behavior (Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016: 2). Among the multiplicity of norms of enacting being a man or woman are harmful norms that encourage men and boys to engage in high-risk behavior, condone violence against women and norms that grant men and boys power over sexual matters. This power by men and boys over sexual

matters reduces women's and girls' ability to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS (Dean and Gary 2014: 579).

In many countries there are norms that guide or define what work is done by which gender, housework, childrearing, caring for the sick and old is perceived as women's work (World Bank 2011). In most low and middle income countries adolescent girls are socialized to take care of young siblings and assist with household work, whereas boys enjoy more freedom. Such socialization by gendering the division of the labor has the consequence of making skills inequality, and also inequality in economic opportunities. This inequality in skills is produced when girls begin to value only tasks perceived as feminine and boys tasks perceived as masculine (Ampofo 2001: 202).

Many studies find that amongst young boys definitions of manhood are closely tied to being tough and strong (Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016), whereas those for older adolescents in many Low and middle income countries (LMICs) are tied to being able to provide for a family or themselves (World Bank 2011). In the definition of femininity, girls are perceived as feminine based on physical attractiveness and beauty characteristics (Brown 1997). In many parts of Sub Saharan Africa gender roles and economic factors empower men, thus rendering women to be of lower economic status. Men wield most authority in the household, and young men are more assertive and enjoy more autonomy than young women (Wight, Plummer et al. 2006: 991).

The men's conception of masculinity that is tied to being providers in many parts of Sub Saharan Africa has been challenged due to unemployment and failure of young men to find jobs. This has had the consequence of men failing to achieve the expectation of

provider and household head, and has subsequently increased violence against women (Silberschmidt 2005).

In the socialization of the young boys and young men are given tasks that require them to leave the household, whereas girls are restricted to household work such which has a consequence of positioning boys for productive work (Ampofo 2001: 199). This socialization also positions boys as providers, such that women and girls have to concede the role of provider to men or boys even when women and girls are economically able to fend for themselves (Ampofo 2001). In many parts of Africa, this positioning of men and boys as providers has had the consequence of making intimate relationships transactional in nature as men are expected to be providers. This provision by men and boys to their partners is perceived as a signal of love and respect for their partners. In return women/girls are supposed to offer sex as a demonstration of love. This exchange is not seen as prostitution as men/boys in these relationships are seen as boyfriends and women/girls as girlfriends (Hunter 2002, Mojola 2015).

A number of studies show that male sexual prowess is valued as sexual experience for young boys is associated with or rather seen as a passage into manhood, and is seen as a bridge distinguishing boys from men. Sexual activity and promiscuity is seen as a conquest by which one demonstrates their masculinity, as a result many young people experience pressure to have multiple sexual partners (Hunter 2002: 108). However, the contrary holds for girls because they are expected to be naïve and express ignorance in matters of sexuality, whereas boys are expected to be informed and knowledgeable (Ampofo 2001). The general expectation is that girls should turn down sexual advances, no matter how strong the advance and urge is to both parties involved. This is because

girls/women that display knowledge of sexual issues are labeled as promiscuous, therefore expressing ignorance of avoiding being labeled as promiscuous (WHO 2000, Barker and Ricardo 2005: 16).

Adolescent marriages and pregnancies in Zambia

Zambia has one of the highest rates of adolescent pregnancies and child marriages in the world with 45% of the women aged 25-49 being married by the age of 18 (CSO [Zambia] 2014: 58). The number of schoolgirls falling pregnant has remained relatively over the years in Zambia. For instance the period 2009-2013 saw a total of 76,567 pregnancies among school girls in both primary and secondary school level (FAWEZA 2014), and the Zambia Demographic Health Survey of 2014 indicated that 29% of females aged 15-19 have had a child or were pregnant with their first child (CSO [Zambia] 2014).

The geographical distribution of adolescent pregnancies and marriages in Zambia highlights the poverty relatedness of the problem. Data show that adolescent pregnancies are higher in rural areas than in urban areas indicating 36% and 20% for rural and urban areas respectively (CSO [Zambia] 2014: 76). Adolescent pregnancies are the main reasons why girls drop out of school (FAWEZA 2014). The rates of adolescent pregnancy and the resulting school drop-out are related to high poverty and illiteracy levels characterizing Zambian rural areas (CSO [Zambia] 2014). Parents and guardians may marry off their girls early to lessen the economic burden of the household and to get a good price (Gillian Mann, Quigley et al. 2015: 24). The Central Statistical Office (2014) findings in the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) are consistent with

other findings that show that education has a strong impact on women in delaying marriage, contraceptive use, and a desire for fewer children (Murphy and Carr 2007).

Interventions to curb adolescent pregnancy and marriages in Zambia

Given the effects of adolescent pregnancies and marriages there has been global and national concern to deal with the problem of adolescent pregnancy in countries with high prevalence of adolescent marriages and pregnancies. In Zambia reducing the problem is a political concern (Sandøy, Mudenda et al. 2016) and at the global level the World Health Organization has called for research that seeks to find out how best to respond to the problem of adolescent pregnancy by heightening the age of first marriage and childbearing to 18 and 20 respectively (WHO 2014).

In response to this call, the Centre for Intervention Science in Maternal Health (CISMAC) initiated an intervention in Zambia as a way of generating knowledge on how to heighten age at first pregnancy (Sandøy, Mudenda et al. 2016). The intervention is a cluster randomized controlled trial (CRCT) dubbed Research Initiative to Support the Empowerment of girls (RISE). The trial intends to measure the impact of an intervention package targeting girls that aims to delay early marriages and adolescent pregnancies. This RCT has two intervention arms and one control arm and will measure (1) the effectiveness and cost benefit of paying school fees for girls which also includes an economic package in the form of a cash transfer to school girls and their families which targets the poverty and reduces the financial burden on parents associated with schooling and; (2) the effectiveness of a package that combines economic support with Sexual and Reproductive Health Education (SRHE) and through dialogue on adolescent marriage and childbearing intended to create or strengthen social norms supportive of girl's

education and of delaying child marriage and child birth.

The component that has both economic support and a sexual and reproductive health education was the main interest of this study. This component constitutes- youth club meetings, which are a forum in which comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education is provided to in out and out of school adolescents biweekly. The discussions in these meetings deal with topics related to importance of education, early marriage, pregnancy and reproductive myths, gender roles, and sexual and reproductive health (Sandøy, Mudenda et al. 2016: 5). In dealing with reproductive myths, conceptions of gender and adolescent sexual and reproductive health in the youth clubs there is need to understand how adolescents construe masculinity and femininity.

Problem Statement

The youth clubs in the CISMAL RISE study are an arena to explore how adolescents perceive gender differences and how these perceptions shape their relationships and interaction within the frames of sexual and reproductive health. There was need to understand how boys and girls perceived gender differences and how they defined femininity and masculinity within the frames of sexual and reproductive health, and the empowerment of girls.

Aim

The aim of this study was to generate knowledge on adolescents' perceptions of gender differences, gender relations, and empowerment of girls in relation to sexual and reproductive health in the CISMAL RISE project.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were as follows:

- 1) To explore adolescents' perceptions of gender differences
- 2) To explore adolescents' perceptions of masculinity and femininity as it relates to norms regarding sexual and reproductive health.
- 3) To explore adolescents' perceptions of female empowerment in relation to sexual and reproductive health

Significance of study

The knowledge that was generated from this study is relevant in understanding adolescents' conception of femininity and masculinity and how gender norms expected of these conceptions affect gender relations. These findings are relevant in understanding how gender norms affect sexual and reproductive health of adolescents and also the empowerment of girls. The findings of this study will add input to the RISE study on gender relations, and how reproductive health are shaped by the adolescents' perceptions of masculinity and femininity. This study is also an attempt to add to the limited body of literature on masculinities and gender relations in Zambia.

Theoretical perspectives

This study drew upon two theoretical perspectives from R.W. Connell, namely-Gender and power-the structure of gender relations (1987), and Hegemonic Masculinities (1995).

Gender and power

The theory of gender and power was developed by Connell (1987), this theory provides a social constructionist perspective of exploring the psychosocial and cultural organizations

of gender identities and sexual behaviors (Pulerwitz, Gortmaker et al. 2000, Siu-ming, Hau-lin et al. 2013). The theory postulates that there are three major tenets that characterize the gendered relationships between men and women 1) Gendered division of labor, 2) sexual division of power and 3) structure of cathexis. The sexual division of labor refers to the allocation of particular types of work to men and women in societal structures such as schools, families and labor markets (Siu-ming, Hau-lin et al. 2013). This allocation of work confines women and girls to what is deemed as “women’s work” and serves to constrain women’s economic opportunities (Siu-ming, Hau-lin et al. 2013). The sexual division of power is explained as a product of the gender division of labor at the societal level and inequalities between the sexes is presented the basis of the gendered division of power. The sexual division of power is made manifest in the power men wield over women in decision making, and in terms of repression (Wingood and DiClemente 2000). Power is seen to be a consequence of the unequal resources parties bring to a relationship. The imbalance in resources brought into a relationship breeds unequal power in interpersonal relationships (Siu-ming, Hau-lin et al. 2013)

The third tenet in Connell’s gender and power theory is the structure of cathexis. It refers to the social norms related to gender roles (Wingood and DiClemente 2000). This structure defines socially expected sexual behavior for women with men. It produces the stereotypes that men and boys are expected to have sexual experience and multiple partners, whereas girls are expected to engage in sexual activity only for procreation and have only one partner (Connell 1987, Wingood and DiClemente 2000).

The theory was used because it provides a framework for understanding gender relations from an interpersonal level up to the structural level. The theory has tenets that are required for understanding gender relations also from an interpersonal level up to a structural level. The literature review and finding highlighted a number of issues that could be best understood from this theoretical perspective, thus this made its use relevant to this study.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell and Messerschmidt (1995) introduced the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

This theory analyzes gender in terms of power, and power structures. It gives prominence to the study of dominant groups, in particular that of the dominance of men over women and to what practices perpetuate such dominance (Wingood and DiClemente 2000). This theory posits that there is a multiplicity of masculinities which are fluid and that the enactment of hegemonic masculinities operates on two levels. It constitutes a hierarchy of masculinities among men, and also a hierarchy in relation to women, thus hegemonic masculinities is an embodiment of the ideal way of being a man, and requires men to position themselves in relation to it and by ideology legitimates the subordination of women by women (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 830). Men who do not enact hegemonic masculinities but benefit from it are said to be enacting complicit masculinities.

The theory holds that masculinity is not fixed and one person can enact multiple masculinities, and that masculinities are subject to change as they are fluid (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 835) fluidity and multiplicity of masculinities is because they are configurations of social processes that are accomplished through social action and

therefore can vary from one social setting to another depending on gender relations (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 836).

The use of hegemonic masculinities as a theory was inspired because it helped in understanding how gender norms are not fixed, but take multiple forms depending on place. This was because the study took a social constructionist perspective of gender relations thereby necessitating the use of the theory, and it offers a way of understanding what type of masculinity is considered ideal.

CHAPTER 2: Methods

Research Design

This is a qualitative study nested within a larger research venture name RISE an ongoing cluster randomized controlled trial in Zambia dubbed CISMAL RISE study. This study employed participant observation, semi structured interviews and focus group discussions as data collection methods.

‘Qualitative research describes in words rather than in numbers the qualities of social phenomenon through observation (direct and unobtrusive or participative and reactive), unstructured interviews (exploratory, in-depth or freestyle), diary methods, life histories, group interviews or focus group discussion’ (Bowling 2014: 364). It is the nature of the research problem that guides the choice of the research method (Cresswell 2013), the present study sought to describe the perceptions of the participants relating to gender differences, gender norms and the empowerment of girls in relation to sexual and reproductive health.

Achieving the aim of this study was only possible by employing a qualitative research design. Secondly I chose this design because there is little knowledge and literature on adolescent reproductive health and gender relation norms in Zambia. Therefore this research topic could only be explored using a strategy that was open and flexible.

Furthermore the research topic involved sensitive issues related to sexuality, and gender relations that the study sought to understand rather than explain (Creswell 2013).

Description of Study Site

The study was conducted in three districts in the Southern province of Zambia. These are Monze, Pemba and Mazabuka districts. Southern province is the homeland of the Tonga people and has a population of 1.9 million people. The province has a total fertility rate (TFR) of 6.30 births per woman (CSO [Zambia] nd) and 36% of girls aged 15-19 have began childbearing (CSO [Zambia] 2014) . Most of the people in the rural part of Southern province are cattle keeping pastoralists and hold their animals in high value both socially and economically (Cliggett and Bond 2013).

Tonga's have a rite of passage for girls known as 'nkolola'. This initiation ceremony marks the transition from a girl to an adult. When a girl reaches menarche she is required to go through this rite of passage (Jacques, Lesetedi et al. 2007). During this rite a girl is taught of how to manage a home and a how to satisfy her husband sexually (Jacques, Lesetedi et al. 2007). However, the practice has been said to be reducing over the years. In Southern province a man seeking to marry is required to pay bride wealth (Lubono in Tonga) to the bride's family in the form of cattle or the currency equivalent. Under Tonga customary law a man is allowed to marry several wives (Mizinga 2000: 62). The practice of polygamy is strongly embedded in Tonga construction of masculinity, the higher the number of wives a man has the richer the man in relation to other men in the village (Cliggett and Bond 2013: 186).

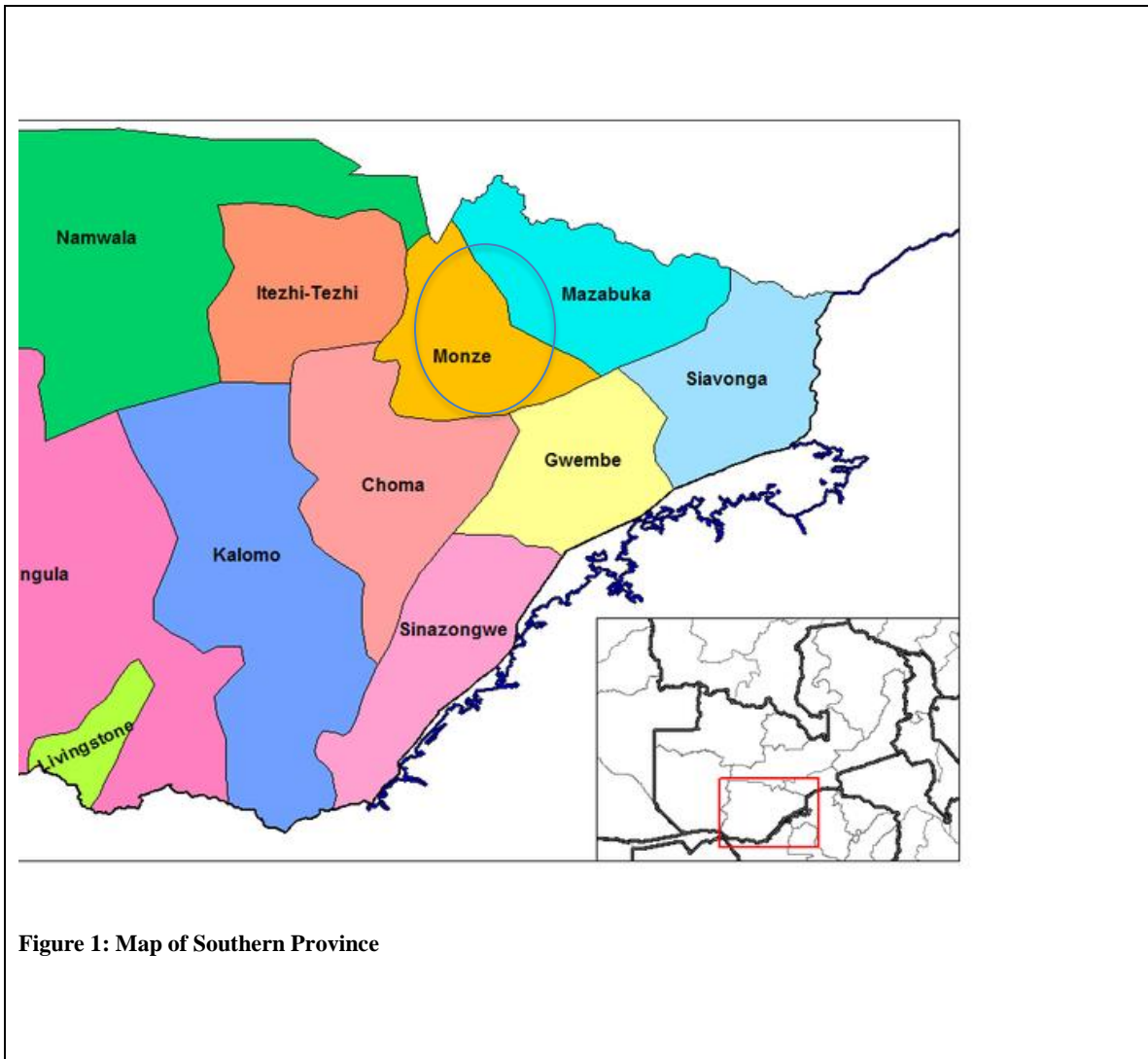


Figure 1: Map of Southern Province

Description of Study setting and Participants

This study used two data sources; the primary data source was collected in 2016, whereas the secondary data was collected in 2015 for the formative of the CISMACH RISE. The study settings for the primary data were the schools enrolled in the intervention arm with community component of RISE study. The data collected in 2014-15 was collected from communities, schools and administrative offices of the districts selected for the RISE study. The youth clubs were held biweekly, hence the visits to youth clubs were selected

according meeting days of the particular schools. An attempt was made to select different schools by looking at the sizes of schools and how rural the communities were-this was assessed by how far a school or community was from the main road.

The participants of the study were adolescents who were enrolled and attending the youth clubs at RISE intervention sites. The adolescents' ages ranged from 13-17 among the grade 7s who were attending the youth clubs. The study also included grade 9 informants. This was done to make a brief assessment of how informants in other grades looked at the viewed manliness in relation to the empowerment of girls, and sexual and reproductive health. The age range of the grade 9 participants was from 15-19. All of the study informants were Christians, primarily members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

A limited part of another data set collected in 2015 in the same setting was also reviewed collected in the formative RISE study. The reason for this was to attempt to compensate for the weakness in data from some interviews with girls. Purposive selection of interviews and FGDs was done from 28 formative interviews and discussions that. From the formative data 2 in-depth interviews and 3 focus groups were selected for secondary analysis.

Recruitment of participants

Purposive sampling was used in selecting schools and in recruiting informants for the study. Purposive sampling is a sampling strategy in which the researcher deliberately or purposefully chooses subjects for the study that will best contribute to the study (Polit and Beck 2013) Maximum variation sampling strategy as a framework within purposive sampling was used, "maximum variation sampling involves deliberately selecting cases

with wide variation on dimensions of interest” (Polit and Beck 2013). The dimensions of interest were age, gender and level of participation within the youth clubs.

The teacher and the community health worker running the youth club were informed about the study, and asked for the permission to interview some students from the youth club meeting. When the teacher agreed to welcome (My research assistant and myself) for an interview with a student, I outlined the characteristics of interests I was looking in the interviewee. This was in order to have a study participant who could talk freely and also in order for the study to reflect a wide variation in participants.

Data collection methods

Data collection was conducted from September-2016 to November 2016. As explained above the present study utilized participant observation, semi structured interviews (IDIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs).

Participant observation

I conducted participant observation within the youth clubs. Participant observation was particularly employed to collect data on the interaction and the participation of the boys and girls in the clubs. I participated in practical matters of the youth clubs such as setting up the projector and sound system when need arose. Beyond participation in practical matters this part of the study primarily involved observation. Observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, interactions, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting (Marshall and Rossman 2014). Field notes and memos were written on the observation both during the youth club meetings, in certain instances I wrote the field reflections after the youth club session. The youth club meeting on average lasted on average 90 minutes.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions

14 in-depth interviews were conducted. 7 interviews were conducted with girls and the other 7 with boys who were enrolled and attending the youth clubs. In-depth interviews were used because they are a good way of soliciting and documenting an individual's or groups' perspectives, feelings, opinions, values and beliefs about their personal experience and social world, in addition to factual information about their lives (Saldana 2011).

Focus group discussions were also to collect data, FGD were employed because they are a method used to generate knowledge on group norms and normative expectations (Guest and Namey 2014). 6 focus group discussions were conducted one focus group consisted of boys alone in grade 7, another focus group had both girls and boys in grade 9, and 4 focus groups were conducted with girls alone. The reason for conducting more focus groups with the girls was because it was noted that in using IDIs they were very superficial in giving responses, but provided more detail in FGDs. Therefore, I deemed it appropriate to conduct more FGDs with the girls in order to collect in-depth information and group perceptions that were of high quality and truthful. The data from in-depth interviews and focus group discussion was collected in the Tonga language as the medium of communication. This was because it was the language that most informants were conversant with. The focus group discussion consisted of 6-8 participants that shared similar characteristics (Liamputtong 2011).

A flexible interview guide was used to help guide the conversation with the participants (Cf appendix III). Flexible interview guide and topic guides contains a list of topics and questions that are open and flexible in that they allow the researcher to follow the flow of the conversation with reference to sequence of questions, potential follow up etc.

(Croucher and Cronn-Mills 2014). During the data collection the interview guide and topic schedule for focus groups were adjusted when new important data emerged that called for modification of the guides to make them as relevant as possible for the present research topic and site. Examples of new themes that emerged during the data collection and that were incorporated into the interview schedule were ‘provider masculinities’ and ‘labia elongation’ as these topics arose over and over again. These topics were thus included for further exploration in both semi structured interviews and FGDs. All the interviews and focus group discussions were on request audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim and translated to English. The interviews lasted 30-45 minutes, whereas as the FGD lasted for about 70 minutes. The audio to text data transcription of interview recordings was shared between the research assistants and myself. After transcription the transcripts were translated into English from the Tonga language.

Interview setting

The interviews were conducted in locations where the participants felt comfortable and free from disturbance. Most of the FGDs were conducted in empty classrooms. One focus group discussion was conducted in the school ground. Some interviews were conducted in classrooms (6), whereas others (8) were conducted under a tree. The reason for this was that the schools did not have infrastructure that we could use. Also informants reported that they were more comfortable being interviewed in the stated places. The data collection process was discontinued when participants’ responses become recurring, that is, the responses across different participants stopped yielding new major themes of relevance.

Credentials of Data collectors

Data was collected with the aid of a female research assistant (SS) who was 22 years old. The reason for having a female research assistant was because I deemed it appropriate for girls to be interviewed by a female as some topics were sensitive and were best asked by someone of the same gender. The research assistant (SS) had experience with qualitative research as she had worked in a similar role in the formative RISE study. Although the research assistant had experience with qualitative interviewing she was provided with general training in qualitative interviewing in qualitative interviewing, in conducting FGDs and generally about this study prior to fieldwork.

Halfway into the study SS had to discontinue her role as research assistant as she was offered a job in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. Following SS departure I recruited another research assistant (CN), a 24 years old educationalist and with training in qualitative methods from undergraduate studies. (CN) was like SS trained and carefully introduced to the study content and aims. For the reasons of gender sensitivity I conducted interviews and FGDs with the boys.

Reflection on interviews and focus groups

I started out by asking very general questions that were later followed by some sensitive questions regarding sexuality and relationships. This was done in order to create rapport with the participants. The data collection process varied a lot between informants. Some participants gave superficial responses in particular the younger ones. This made it difficult to probe for more responses or issues that were not clear. However, the older informants were engaged in the conversation and did allow for probing. On authors part it

was quiet awkward interviewing young adolescents on sensitive topics that had to do with sexuality.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an iterative and reflexive process that begins when the first data are collected (Fischer 2009). The analysis phase started during data collection also in this study, implying a continuous reflection of responses, the need for rephrasing questions, the adding of questions etc. to adjust for emerging findings.

Qualitative content analysis was employed in data analysis. Qualitative content analysis assists in the process of interpretation of the text through systematic guiding process of coding and identification of themes (Burnard, Gill et al. 2008: 430). Qualitative content analysis requires the is immersed in the data as the first step in the analysis of the data (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). I read all the transcripts several times in order to get familiar with the data and to gain a sense of the whole. After the first data immersion phase I started to code the data, with the assistance of the software program NVIVO 11.

Sentences or paragraphs with similar content and meanings were given the same codes (nodes) in NVIVO.

When the coding process was completed all the nodes were exported to an excel sheet to get an overview and sense of the full text in condensed form (Granheim and Lundman 2004). Following the text condensation categories were developed out of sets of codes/nodes. Eventually categories were developed and abstracted to form themes.

Ethical Considerations

This study was part of the process evaluation of the CISMAC RISE study. The study on which this study piggybacked had already been cleared for ethical consideration both in Norway and in Zambia. In Norway the main study was granted ethical clearance by the Committee for Medical and Health research Ethics (REC Western Norway) reference number 2015/895, and in Zambia it was cleared by the University of Zambia Biomedical Research Ethics Committee (Ref. No 021-06-15). See appendix-1 for ethical clearances.

The overall RISE project was ethically cleared in Norway and Zambia (see appendix. I). The present sub-study did not need a separate ethical clearance. All the participants in the interviews and focus group discussions provided written consent to be part of the study. The study content and purpose was explained to each participant (See appendix II), and consent was asked for. Each participant was provided with more information after orally agreeing to be part of the study. The informants were provided with information that participation in the study was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time they so wished.

It was emphasized that the data collected from the informants would be treated with utmost confidentiality. The interview transcripts were anonymized and stored in a password-protected computer. The audio recordings were exported to password-protected computers from the audio recorders.

The study participants who were interviewed or took part in FGDs were compensated k 30 equivalent to NOK 30 for their time spent in the study. The reason for the compensation was that the interviews and FGDs took place late in the afternoon, when

other students had completed school. It is moreover a requirement that that participants are to be compensated for lost time by participating in the study.

Chapter 3: Findings

This study specifically sought to enhance the understanding of how adolescents perceived being a man, and a girl/woman in relation to sexual and reproductive health in rural Zambia. From the analysis process five major themes emerged (1) Perspectives on gender differences, (2) Ideas and norms of being a man, (3) Ideas and norms of being a woman, (4) Relationships between boys and girls and, (5) Contested support to the empowerment of girls.

Perspectives on gender differences

Boys and girls are different...a girl was made in order to get pregnant even the work they do is different [15-year-old grade 7 boy]¹

The above quote indicates the way many informants perceived the differences between the two genders. The participants' narratives presented commonly the differences between boys and girls in dichotomies, as opposites, this was largely done with reference to what they perceived as bodily make up of gender and the social organization in terms of the division of labor. For adolescents gender emerged as the main organizing principle that involved the division of labor, the division of power and was firmly embedded in community norms and values about reproduction, sexuality, masculinity and femininity.

¹ Quotations in brackets without the suffix FGD have individual interviews as their source.

Girls suffer reproductive consequences

The adolescents narrated that girls suffered the consequences of sexual activity disproportionately. Being female was viewed as being inherently associated with a number of risks such as dropping out of school as a result of pregnancy, and the shame of carrying a pregnancy as elucidated in the following quote:

“When a boy gets a girl pregnant he can be coming to school without any problem but when a girl is pregnant she will be missing school because of the shame she will be experiencing. But for the boy there is nothing that is visible” [Girl in grade 7: FGD]

Another participant also narrated that pregnancy also posed a risk of death for young girls, as they were not physically matured to carry a pregnancy by saying,

Some of them you find that they fail to give birth. They have to undergo an operation and some even die when being operated on so that is a big problem. [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

Others what we see is that even in their homes they are abused because they got pregnant. Some pregnant girls can be sent to live with the boy/man who impregnated her and the guy begins to beat her. [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

The information provided above shows that informants felt that girls suffered a lot in relation to reproduction. Girls who got pregnant not only suffered health consequences but also social consequences, such as stigma, the shame associated with carrying a pregnancy and also abuse by some partners in the case a girl was sent to live with the person responsible for the pregnancy.

Division of labor between boys and girls

The ways labor was divided was different between boys and girls. The division of labor followed a customary fashion, in that roles and duties were gendered. The participants spoke of labor and the performance of tasks and chores as being gendered::

“The work of the girls is different from the work that boys do. For instance boys herd cattle and girls do not. Most gardening or farming work is for boys, but when it comes to planting it is the girl or women who plant. The work that boys do is (physically) hard. Most of the work that girls do is at home and in the house but the work that boys do is outside the home such as herding cattle” [Grade 7 girl]

Informants were aware that in principle both genders could do the same types of work, and that the gendered division of labor that so strongly emerged was a pattern they were socialized into. Some informants narrated how the customary gendered of labor was upheld due to continued resistance to cross tasks, as illustrated in the following quote,

“When we look at the work that girls do, even a boy can do it. The thing is that when a girl is sent to go to the kraal and open for the cows-, she will refuse saying that who told you that girls do such work, when in actual fact she can and the boys can also do the work that girls do.” [Grade 7 boy]

The participants perceived the customary division of labor as having negative consequences for educational attendance. They thought that it had negative consequences for both girls and boys schooling, although it was largely agreed that girls suffered more. One participant illuminated the point;

“It is different to be a boy-, and to be a girl, because we are raised differently, because girls are given a lot of work, and they go to school late everyday. Then for us boys we have to herd the cattle, and sometimes you do not have to go to school because of herding cattle” [16 year old grade 7 boy]

A woman in the district that worked with an organization that was dealing with gender issues explained that boys were also dropping out of school because of this division of labor. She said,

The boys usually drop out of school because their parents want to use them to take care of their animals at the flood (a place called Kutwa). So that’s where most of our boys go... [Woman, DWA]

Division of labor was seen as relatively clear-cut. It was generally stated boys were not supposed to perform tasks that were perceived as being for girls. The carrying out of tasks considered to be for the women was said to normally be carried out by men in certain instances, such as when a woman was not present. In instances where both genders were present and a task was to be completed, there was resistance by one gender to do the chores that were normatively attributed to another gender. An expression of the customary division of labor was observed within a youth club. Just before a youth club meeting started, the teacher in charge of the club asked the students to sweep the classroom. Whilst we waited outside one girl after having swept her portion passed the broom to a boy who refused to sweep. The boy told the girl “you have to sweep because you are the girls”

Despite the strongly emerging gendered division of labor held by young participants there were participants who narrated that matters were changing, and that there was an increasing willingness among boys to carry out the chores that were viewed as a girl's work. One girl said,

“These days it is fifty-fifty the work is done accordingly, boys wash plates, they cook and so we have shifts on who washes the plates or sweeps” [Grade 7 girl: FGD].

The seemingly rigid gendered division of labor was said to be changing, and higher education was considered to be a factor in changing the gendered views on the division of labor. Students indicated that anyone aspiring to go to college had to do all sorts of chores whether feminine or masculine chores as narrated below:

“When you go to college no one will be helping you to do the chores that you think are for girls,- you will have to do them yourselves. Therefore you just have to start now if you want to go to college” [Grade 7 boy, age unknown]

A retired teacher also indicated that things were changing; in the schools there were subjects that today dealt with the division of labor such as ‘home economics’ where all students, whether boys or girls would be taught about cleaning and cooking. However, she indicated that in the past in teaching this subject educators would be gender biased. She narrated,

“In the past we were gender biased. With girls we had things like Home Economics- in topics like cooking we concentrated on girls. Even though we allowed boys to take part in cooking we used to separate them a lot. In farming we include girls too, because farming is a wide topic. Maybe like poultry is farming, isn't it? Gardening is farming,

growing maize crop farming is also what? It's farming. So we were seeing to it that they all learnt. Both girls and boys because even a girl can be a farmer." [Retired teacher]

The normative landscape seems to strongly work in line with a customary division of labor, but there were signs of attempts to challenge or transform the strongly gendered landscape. This traditional division of labor was said to be increasingly challenged by the school system.

Ideas and norms of being a man

The study participants had differing and sometimes contradictory perceptions and expectations of what being a man meant. Some indicated that there were expectations of manliness that involved the following of and ascribing to definitions of manliness that were a product of peers, local customs and also religion, particularly Christianity. The general sentiment was that being a man and the enactment of manliness entailed being caught up in a flux of definitions and norms that partly contradicted each other.

A man is respectful, strong and hardworking

For many being a musankwa- which is the tonga word for a boy that espouses manliness, was perceived as mainly "kuba bulemu" (being respectful) to elders and peers and generally being humble and chaste as elucidated below:

" Hmm ah to be a Musankwa [man] you are supposed to behave yourself and show respect to adults so that they can respect you. You do not have to be pursuing girls, you just have to behave yourself" [15-year-old grade 7 boy].

Many adolescents indicated that being a man involved being respectful. If one was respectful that respect would be reciprocated. Participants also indicated that hard work was an important virtue that one had to have. This hard work was talked of both in terms of doing hard chores and also in relation to schoolwork as expressed one boy,

“A man is also supposed to be hardworking and strong... He is the one passing number 1 at school.” [15-year-old, grade 7]

Many informants perceived hard work as a very strong marker of masculinity. Laziness was perceived as not being manly. A boy had the following to say:

“To be a ‘man’/boy is to be someone who has strength who is able to do things. You are the one who is quick to do things, then they say you are a man. If you are lazy they say you are not a man.” [14-year-old grade 7 boy]

Boys should provide for girls

The boys’ expectation of being manly in relation to girls was largely phrased in terms of the one who is providing. To girls, boys were generally expected to be giving gifts or money. Providing money or material things to girls was central in order to be considered as a man also by adolescent men, as indicated in the following quote:

“For girls to say that you are a real man... when you are with them for instance, there where they are selling fritters and you buy (fritters) for them, they will be saying you are a man if you are always buying for them. If you don’t, then you are not a man” [Grade 9 boy: FGD].

Ability to provide gifts, money or buy small things like biscuits or fritters for girls as a marker of manliness was recurring across many participants of both sexes. One participant said,

“The girls they want someone who buys them things like drinks, who gives them money, for instance you get this girl and tell her sit here, I will take you somewhere, I will buy you some things that you want. That is the type they say is a man” [19-year-old grade 9 boy].

These expectations by girls for boys to be providers seemed at times to be forced on the girls, they seemed to be left with little option, but to get gifts from boys and men. Parents would stop providing or would overtly tell their daughters that they had now grown up and were not expected to ask for more money for soap or lotion. This was among others elicited from a discussion with a retired teacher who narrated,

I have had situations where a small girl tells me that when she becomes of age she must not ask for Lotion, because the parent would say that as old as you are, can you ask for lotion? But this is a girl who doesn't work, who is just in school. So what does this mean? What it means therefore is that she must go and find a boy who is going to give her money to buy lotion. [Retired teacher; IDI]

The expectations placed on boys of providing gifts to girls were seen as closely linked with the division of labor between the genders and with the gendered normative role expectations. Older boys narrated that they were able to earn some money because they worked outside the home where they would be able to find smaller or larger piece works from which they could earn a small salary. The gift giving by boys and the girls' dependence on men and boys for money was

entrenched in the societal settings the data was collected from. Participants narrated that in the homes where they came from they had been socialized to learn that a man one is the who is supposed to provide for a woman, even in cases where a woman had the same resources as a man. It is the man who was supposed to provide as elicited in the excerpt below:

“ ...in the homes where we come from it is men that provide. Women stay home and do domestic work and men go outside to work and look for money. But sometimes- even when a woman has money-she is supposed to keep her money. It is the man that should provide”[15 year old grade 7 boy]

Pressure to prove manliness through sex

There were divergent views on whether or not sexual initiation, assertiveness and experience were perceived as markers of manhood. Hence manliness arising from sexual experience was contested. Many participants narrated that sexual experience outside wedlock was frowned upon. The shared general sentiment was that at their age they were not supposed to have sex. But there were a number of statements that indicated that boys and men without sexual experience were made fun of and ridiculed. The tension in the contradicting expectations emerged in statements;

“We are not supposed to be in relationships at our age, we are not supposed to have sex we are supposed to wait until we get married or when we finish school. Sex is for people who are grown up.” [14 year old grade 7 boy]

“But for guys they sometimes laugh. It depends on who one associates with. Sometimes they laugh at you saying you are not man! What type of person are you who has never

had sex? Others they follow the Bible and know that sex is not for people who are not married.” [15-year-old grade 7 boy].

In some instances a boy lacking sexual experience was made fun of through comments like “ a tree whose fruit cannot be eaten has to be cut down” (“*chisamu chita ligwi muchelo chi zyandika ku gonka*”). This metaphor was used to describe boys without sexual experience. In the definition they were perceived to be useless. Other participants were of the view that some boys might have never had sex because they were born or living with HIV and were abstaining because they did not want to infect others as indicated in the quote below:

“Some people were told not to have sex by their parents because they are HIV positive. Sometimes when people see boys who are not interested in such things they begin to ask if they are sick and make fun of them saying that they are living HIV” [14-year-grade 7 boy]

The material indicated boys faced a lot of pressure to prove themselves as ‘*real men*’ through having sexual experience. There were rumors such as the one presented in the preceding quote, statements- that would be spread if one was known to have never had sex:

“If one has not had sex before and they are known to have a lot of cattle, some people will be saying that maybe ‘his manhood is in the kraal’ His (penis) does not go up that is why they have a lot of cattle” [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

Among the people who were not particularly bible oriented. Sexual experience was strongly tied to manliness as indicated in the previous quote.

Conflicting expectations to manliness about sex

Despite the pressures that young boys faced to engage in sex as a way of proving their manliness, they narrated that sexual experience, or having multiple partners or wives (polygamy is allowed in Tonga land) was contradictory particularly in relation to peers and religion. Informants narrated that there were different ways of being a man, and some did not involve girls or sex.

These conflicting expectations are elicited in the following interview excerpt:

“ We hear people being called Tonga bull, they sleep around a lot, and they are married to several women. So to be a man means a lot of things. Others say ‘being a man’ is not doing such things as having a lot of wives because they say that it is against the Bible.”
[15-year-old grade 7 boy].

There were conflicting rather ambivalent ways of being a man. On one hand some participants narrated that those people who had multiple wives or had more than one sexual partner were perceived to be manly. On the other hand having multiple partners was something that was frowned upon by religion. Christianity as all participants professed to be Christians. The ambivalence of the manliness arising from being sexually assertive and having multiple sexual partners had also gained a particular in the context of HIV/AIDS as one participant illustrated in the quote below:

“People were (earlier) marrying more than one women, or were having many relations with women and they would be seen as men. But then you also find that they would get sick. So now you find that people don’t do that because of disease” [Grade 7 pupil, FGD]

Manliness arising from having many sexual partners was thus being challenged due to the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS, and the need for people to protect themselves from the virus.

The ambivalence of sexual experience and activity among adolescents was also expressed with regards to young boys (older adolescents) within the community who were known to have impregnated someone. The participants indicated that adolescents who had fathered children or were responsible for a pregnancy had nowhere to fit in as peers. They were stigmatized because they were perceived as parents and were made fun of as being 'old people' as expressed in the following excerpt:

“When a boy has a girlfriend some people will be saying that he is a man, but when he gets a girl pregnant they will be saying that he is ‘a parent’ and he is no longer fit to be in their circle of friends. They say we are young we do not play with parents.” [15-year-old boy]

The above section indicates that there are conflicting ideals linked to 'being a man' and in relation to sexual activity and experience among adolescents. On one hand sexual experience was seen as a marker of manhood, but if a boy got a girl pregnant he would be ridiculed. Adolescent boys also framed sexual experience and activity in the context of HIV/AIDS, and narrated how having multiple sexual partners was risky. Of equal importance in terms of sanctioning extensive sexual activity was religion, which would preach against having sexual relations before marriage.

Ideas and norms of being a woman

The following section presents the study participants' perceptions and normative ideals of being a girl and being a woman both in terms of sexual conduct and in general terms. A strong view emerged that a girl had to be clean and hardworking. Girls' narratives of sexuality and relationships were that of being chaste, although there were some dissenting opinions.

A girl should be hardworking and clean

Many were of the view that being a girl was defined by doing chores that were deemed feminine or womanly, of being clean, and of paying attention to one's physical appearance. The attention to physical appearance, being clean and hardworking is shown in the quotes that follows:

“For someone to be seen as a girl it means she does different types of chores and things that are different from others. She is clean she does not want to be dirty” [Grade 9 girl: FGD]

A girl should be hardworking and take care of herself so that she should have a good heart and be caring [13 year Grade 7 girl]

Like for boys and men, hard work was an ideal, but for girls the ideal was linked to the performance of domestic chores. A girl was expected to carry out tasks such as cleaning and taking care of the home. Chores such as cleaning were considered to be feminine and the better a girl performed such chores, the better she was perceived as illustrated in the following quotes:

“You have to do chores that women do, like cleaning plates, cooking...You basically have to do chores that women and other girls do in their homes” [Grade 7 girl: FGD]

“A girl has to be hardworking she has to be clean, especially hardworking that way you can say that is a real girl. [14-year-old grade 7 boy].

A girl should pay attention to physical appearance

The attention to physical appearance as a marker of femininity was recurring in many interviews, and focus group discussions. Many girls narrated that physical appearance was important because they did not want to be called villagers, which suggested that they were backward and old fashioned. One girl in emphasizing the importance of physical appearance expressed the following sentiments,

For someone to be seen as a girl...She is someone who is clean. She does not want to be dirty. When she baths in the morning, she will also bath in the afternoon, and she will even put on make up. [Grade 7 girl: IDI]

Another informant said,

‘To be a girl one needs to look good, put on make up. You need to have swag (nice clothes). When people come, or you go for holidays in town, you do not want to be called ‘a villager’. People in town think that when you live here then you do not know anything and that you are just a villager [Grade 7 girl, unknown age]

The narratives above indicate that the norm was that girls had to keep themselves clean and had to pay a lot of attention to their physical appearance in order to look feminine and to keep up with the prevailing fashion trends. The attention to physical appearance was said to move what the eye could see. Girls indicated that a girl had to have elongated labia in order to be considered

an ideal girl. Having this quality made a girl more attractive and approachable. Bathing and the wearing of make up were thus not enough to be perceived as an ideal girl or woman as illustrated in the following except,

“Being a girl is not just a matter of bathing and putting on make up. Inside here in the ladies part she has to pull her labia to make them longer. We were taught that if you do not have elongated labia no matter how much you bathe or make up you put on, no one will look at you. This is because elongation of the labia also says something about you being beautiful. Boys will just be ignoring you because there is something that you do not have.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD]

To some girls having elongated labia was something that was very important in defining them as feminine. There were people saying that if they did not have elongated labia they would not get married, and that no one would approach them. Not having elongated labia for some also meant that one was still a child as one girl put it,

“They say that when you don’t have elongated labia that you have a baby’s body, and that you will not get married because no guy will be approaching you. If you don’t have long labia, and you get married, the marriage will not last.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD]

The attention given to appearance was as such substantial, and implied attention to the entire body, including the looks of the entire genitalia.

Girls have to avoid boys and sex

Just like many of the boys, particularly the ones who were strongly engaged Christians, many girls stated that sex before marriage was inappropriate, and that they were too young to engage in sexual activity. They generally held the view of “*kutanta muka*”, meaning ‘keeping away from boys’. They expressed the ideal of remaining chaste until marriage or until after completing their high school education. A participant voiced out the following,

A girl is not supposed to have a boyfriend until she has finished school and is married that is when she can start having sex. For now she has to stay away from boys [14 year old grade 7 girl]

Another girl echoed similar sentiments by saying,

Like for us young people we are not supposed to be in relationships. We can start being in relationships maybe after we have finished school. [14-year-old grade 7 girl]

Girls simultaneously talked about being in romantic relationships, but ensuring that the relationships were not sexual. The reasons they gave for being or not being in relationships tended to border on respect and on material or monetary gifts from boys. Many girls shared the view that not engaging in sexual activity was a source a respect as elicited by one girl,

“The best is to wait until a girl finishes school then she can start having sex. So there is nothing wrong with a girl who has never had sex, and people respect you more if you have never had sex at our age than if you have started having sex already.” [14-year-old grade 7 girl]

A girl would be perceived as being serious with her education if she was not involving herself with boys, provided she was getting good grades in school. This way a girl would not face as much pressure to engage with boys because she would be seen as someone who is focused on her education and that her decision not to engage with boys would be respected. One informant said,

For the girls if she does not have a boyfriend or has never had sex people will say maybe she just wants to finish her education. But sometimes you cannot know that this girl is not in a relationship [14-year-old grade 7 girl]

Some informants were of the view that even if one had never had sex, their peers would not know because sex was an activity they perceived as very personal. It was up to one's discretion to disclose to friends that one had started engaging in sexual relations. One girl showed this by saying,

“ Ah you can't know that someone has never had sex. You can only know when they tell you... there are no ways we see each other [Grade 9 girl: FGD].

Apart from peer pressure, some girls narrated that they wanted to be respected because being known to be in a relationship or having started sex was shameful. The shame was seen in light of lack of social approval for adolescent girls in particular to be in relationships. However, girls narrated that it was actually not difficult to retain respect and experience the pleasure of relationships. Participants said that these two simultaneous concerns were easy to navigate between, as illustrated in the following interview excerpt:

“ What I think is that most girls here are just saying these things because we know that those who are in relationships keep them a secret. So the thing is that when you are in a

relationship you have to keep it a secret, but also being in a relationship does not mean you should be having sex.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD].

The overt normative landscape relating to girls’ sexuality and relationships were in any case strongly communicating being chaste and abstaining. However, girls narrated that breaching this norm was relatively easy and no one would know, once in a relationship a girl would attempt to keep it secret.

Pressure to engage in relationships and sex

The girls simultaneously indicated that they experienced a very different pressure; that of being in relationships or to begin engaging in sex. They narrated that the pressure by and large came from peers, but also at times from their homes. Peer pressure was mostly framed in terms of having access to money. Girls narrated that peers would ridicule them by saying that they wondered were they would be getting money if they did not have boyfriends. In highlighting this point one girl said,

“Someone who is not in a relationship and has never had sex is looked at differently by different people. There are those girls that have had sex before they will be saying this one is not socially intelligent They say ‘it’s your fault’, ‘we will see where you will be getting money’.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD].

Another girl talked of peer pressure and she said,

Sometimes it depends on whom you hang around with. If you hang around older girls that have started having sex they might be ridiculing you [Grade 9 girl: FGD].

Some girls talked of peer pressure of engaging in sexual relationships. They indicated that there was peer pressure to become sexually active especially if one kept company with older friends, and they would be ridiculed as stated in the preceding quote.

Some girls acknowledge that relationships were risky for them, but because of the lack of activities to keep them preoccupied they ended up getting into relationships. Idle time was reportedly to be in abundance, and was said to be a cause of relationships:

“For me relationships and sex are not good for us young people because you can get pregnant and then the boy denies responsibility for the pregnancy. But people get into relationships because they also do not have things to do. You find that when you knock off from school you have nothing to do..., and sometimes it is worse during the holidays so people get into relationships.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD].

The pressure to engage in relationships and sex was not coming only from peers, but also from the boys, and the girls saw boys’ advances as an avenue through which they would receive money or gifts as shown in the following excerpt,

“You find that when you knock off from school, you have nothing to do, and there is a boy who is pursuing you and gives you nice things.... and around here you just know k 20 is very difficult to get. So if a boy gives you something, you get into a relationship. But you just have to be careful because you can get pregnant and they can start mistreating you at home” [Grade 7 girl: FGD].

There was pressure for girls to get into relationships from boys and from their family homes. The pressure from their family homes was indirect. The girls saw it as being very alluring to have a

boyfriend from whom they would be receiving these small gifts. From the home some girls narrated that if a girl was the one cooking on a given day she would be expected to provide food for the home. This expectation of girls to provide food was said to put pressure on the girls to get into relationships:

“Parents force girls into relationships and sex. At times a parent can leave the house for some days without leaving enough food in the home. This pushes girls to get into relationships. Sometimes when it is your day to cook they expect you to provide food, and you are just a young girl..., so you get a boyfriend to help you.” [Grade 7 girl: FGD]

This section has indicated that there are conflicting views on girls’ engagement in relationships with boys and men. The immediate response will commonly be that girls should retain sexual abstinence until marriage. The study did however simultaneously encounter a number of pressures that work against these restrictive norms, and that work in favor in the favor of having boyfriends prior to marriage. The most overt example of this is the peer pressure to engage in relationships with boys and men, not the least desire out of the desire to receive money and gifts. Girls were moreover also said to be pressured from home to provide goods for the family economy, which in practice meant receiving money or gifts from boyfriends.

Relationships between boys and girls

Girls’ are vulnerable

As has been indicated above, many informants narrated that relations between girls and boys usually involved material or financial exchange. The exchange nature of relationships that arose from the discourse were said to place girls in an ambiguous position because on one hand it led

to a loss of bargaining power and on the other hand their sexuality was perceived as source of bargaining power in itself. Girls would clearly use their sexuality to acquire gifts and money. The gift giving as part and parcel of a sexual relationship that was widely reported usually placed girls at the receiving end. This exchange of gifts was perceived to compromise the negotiation ability of girls toward sexual advances. Informants perceived poor sexual negotiation power among girls as being linked to the receptivity of male sexual advances because of the gifts or money that they were given, as shown in following the quotes:

“ The problem is that a boy cannot be giving you free money because the boy expects to be having sex with you and when you refuse to give him sex he might resort to beating you because he will demand return for all the things he has been giving you.” [15-year-grade 7 girl]

The exchange involved in these relationships not only compromised their negotiating ability, but also made them susceptible to violence as one participant expressed,

“If the girl does not want (to have sex) then she does not want it, but for others if the girl is the girlfriend they (the boys/men) even use force. If the girl is the girlfriend she is just supposed to give the boy what he wants. He gives her money (and if she refuses) he might say he wants to get the things he has been giving her back! As she (usually) cannot pay them back she has to just do it” [Grade 9 boy: FGD]

Another informant similarly highlighted how girls’ sexual negotiation was easily compromised as a result of receiving gifts and money from men and boys,

Men refuse to use a condom because they say that you cannot just eat my money then start telling me to use a condom. I cannot use a condom with you because I waste the money I am giving you. I want to feel nice just like you feel nice with my money [out of school girl: FGD]

These quotes indicate how providing gifts and money to girls by boys appears to compromise girls' ability to negotiate safe sex. It also makes them vulnerable to violence. Other factors that were said to strongly compromise girls' ability to negotiate in relationships were the social norms that idealized girls as passive in relationships and towards sexual advances. One informant said,

Girls don't talk about sex, or ask for it. If a girl asks for sex then she is considered a prostitute. So it is boys who ask for sex or who show that they want sex, it is the boy that pursues a girl. [15-year-old grade 7 boy]

Another informant qualified this by saying,

A girl has to abstain, she has to avoid sex, she has to avoid sex by all means... she knows even if the friends pressure her to do it she has to be strong [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

The quotes above indicate that sexual-norms guiding girls and boys are partly similar and partly different. Girls were expected to be passive and express ignorance in relation to matters pertaining to sex. A girl displaying knowledge about sex signaled that she was a hule (Tonga word which means prostitute or promiscuous). What was strange was that the expectations of girls to be passiveness were expressed by boys.

Girls' are responsible to prevent pregnancy

Precaution for preventing pregnancy was viewed as a role of a girl by many participants in this study. Many of the reasons given for this were due to girls being the ones that conceive and therefore expected to be more careful. Other reasons were that many boys are known to refuse responsibility for preventing pregnancy. Other participants indicated that both boys and girls should both be responsible owing to the high demands of managing a pregnancy and bring up a child. However, there were also those who indicated that boys should be more careful in order not to be wrongly accused of responsibility for a pregnancy.

Participants were of the view that it was only natural for a girl to be the one who was mostly responsible for preventing a pregnancy. This was mainly based on biological reasons, because it is the girl that gets pregnant, and also the one who has to live with the consequences that would arise due to pregnancy:

“A girl is the one that should choose the method of contraception because she is the one who suffers when she gets pregnant.” [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

Another participant echoed similar sentiments of girls being responsible for preventing pregnancy. He said,

It is a girl should be responsible for preventing pregnancy. When a girl gets pregnant the boy continues to go school and the girl can stop going to school. Therefore a girl is supposed to choose the methods to prevent pregnancy so that she can progress in her life [19 year old grade 9 boy]

Prevention of pregnancy was indeed by and large perceived as a girl's responsibility. It was phrased in light of the many problems that a girl would have to face once pregnant, such as dropping out of school, and of suffering various kinds of abuse. The participants expressed the sentiments that if a girl wanted to progress in life she had to know methods of contraception so as not to get pregnant.

“For me I think it is the girl who is supposed to be more careful, because she is the one that gets pregnant and can suffer a lot, for instance she stops going to school and is also abused at home.” [Grade 9 girl: FGD]

The other reason why most informants perceived responsibility for fertility control as being first and foremost a girl's, was that adolescent girls who got pregnant early often suffered violence, and because of the other risks pregnancy posed to them at their age. Girls who got pregnant were said to suffer violence not only at the hands of their impregnators, but also their family homes. A boy responsible for the pregnancy would commonly deny responsibility of the pregnancy. Because of this girls had to be more careful in preventing pregnancy, as presented below:

A girl is supposed to choose the method of contraception. The boy can deny responsibility for the pregnancy and she will then suffer taking care of the child alone, so a girl is supposed to protect herself [Grade 7 girl: FGD]

One girl who had been impregnated by an elderly man narrated how he had been threatening her if she let people know that he was responsible for the pregnancy. The girl explained that the man told her to name someone else as being responsible for the pregnancy;

He forced himself on me, when he finished having sex he said to me, should you mention me that will be the end of you! When you get pregnant who would you say is responsible? I said it is you because you the one who has slept with me. Then he told me you should not mention me! If you do, you will see! [17-year-old grade 7 girl]

It thus emerged from the study that many participants perceived pregnancy prevention as a prime responsibility of a girl, because of the severe consequences that pregnancy brought with it, such as dropping out of school, a boy/man refusing responsibility for the pregnancy and the potential violence from both the partner and the family.

Boy's fear of becoming a father

However, other views did emerge during the course of the study. There were informants who perceived the responsibility for preventing pregnancy as not being placed solely on the girls. The view was communicated that both girls and boys should have to an active responsibility in preventing a pregnancy. Responsibility for preventing pregnancy was to be shared. Pregnancy was perceived as something that would bring hardships upon both the girl and the boy. One boy explained,

“The girl is the one that gets pregnant so she should take responsibility to prevent pregnancy and boys can sometimes refuse the responsibility... Again even boys should also take precaution because they are still too young to be parents so they have to keep away from girls, because they can get them pregnant.” [Grade 9 boy: FGD]

The involvement of boys in preventing pregnancy was somewhat contested and was at times framed in a way that suggested that girls were promiscuous as elicited below:

“Both the girl and guy should take responsibility to prevent pregnancy because they are supposed to know that getting pregnant brings problems. Even the boy is supposed to take precaution because he can be accused of responsibility for a pregnancy that is not his because some of these girls are naughty.” [Grade 9 girl: FGD]

The involvement of boys in responsibility for fertility control was thus perceived to be out of fear and suspicion of being wrongly accused of having impregnated a girl. Some participants narrated that in such situations a boy could be summoned or taken to court- which they feared in their young states, as elicited in the following quote:

“ Boys have to be careful, they should not be found with girls and be sleeping with them, because when you get a girl pregnant and they summon you, you will fail to defend yourself and being summoned is very scary.” [15-year-old grade 7 boy]

Perceived female promiscuity was reason seen to warrant active male involvement in preventing pregnancy. This perceived promiscuity stemmed from the perception that no girl could have one partner as shown in the following excerpts from interviews:

“As a girl’s partners become more, a boy can go there and find another boy and maybe somebody else another time. The first guy might refuse responsibility for the pregnancy, this is why we find kids with no dads.” [15-year-old grade 7 boy]

Another boy narrated the following from his experience,

“It is hard to trust these girls even when you get one pregnant. I had found my girlfriend at the stream with an elderly man, and she was telling me that he was just following her

around. I wanted to beat her, but my friend told me to calm down. He said to me you cannot find a girl with one boyfriend these days. I think a boy should take responsibility in order not to be accused falsely of a pregnancy” [19 year old grade 9 boy]

The above perceptions of the contested nature of pregnancy prevention were not without basis. One informant narrated how her cousin accused someone else for being responsible for a pregnancy that was not his. This is indicated in the following excerpt,

“The man that impregnated me had also impregnated my cousin and told her not to mention him, but to mention someone else as being responsible. The guy whom she accused of being responsible had refused at first. But he later accepted...when he had slept with me he told me to accuse another boy I was sleeping with, but I told him that he would refuse” [17-year-old grade 7 girl]

Contested support to the empowerment of girls

Schools in the combined intervention arm of the RISE study that had an economic empowerment component for girls in the form of cash transfers and educational support through school fees and books, also had a community component. The community component was in the form of youth clubs in and meetings for parents. The youth club meeting were a forum in which comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education was provided to adolescents in grade 7. Boys were not included in the economic component, but were welcome to attend youth club meetings in which topics that were supportive of equal gender norms, the value of education and sexual and reproductive health education were provided.

Empowering girls is protecting them

As stated many participants indicated that girls got into relationships because they wished to receive money from boys or men. Many informants narrated that ‘empowering girls’ economically would make it unattractive for them to get into relationships. One participant said,

“It is good that they pay the girls and buy them books because that way they will stop getting pregnant early, because they will stop receiving things from boys.” [14-year-old grade 7 boy]

There was an acknowledgement by some boys that girls got into relationships in order to access simple and basic necessities such as lotion, and therefore with the intervention package they would have no reason to get into relationships. In showing this one participant said,

“I think this is done because they want to find ways to stop girls from getting pregnant at an early age and also being married, because they get money from boys for things like lotion.” [15-year-old grade 7 boy]

Other participants were of the view that the potential giving money to boys would be disadvantageous for the girls as boys would use that money to pursue girls, and so merely providing girls with pocket money was good as narrated below:

“Because when you give money to boys they will find means to start chasing around girls and that way they will confuse the girls.” [14-year-old grade 7]

Boys fear girls being better

However, there were boys who expressed their displeasure of empowering girls economically to their exclusion. This displeasure was expressed in several ways. Some of the ways it was expressed was by boycotting the youth clubs such that one school youth club only had 3 three boys in attendance in contrast to 20 girls that were attending. The boycotting of the youth club was by some even accompanied by threats of violence and theft of some of the school materials that were provided to girls. One participant narrated,

“Some boys do not attend the youth club meetings because we boys are not paid like the girls so we just come here for the drinks and biscuits. Some boys have been telling the girls to behave, saying that if you start skirting and become haughty with that money we will be beating you and stealing your books ” [14-year-old-grade 7 boy].

Another girl narrated that theft of books was indeed real and that it had happened to her classmate.

“There is a difference in how we relate with boys. When girls are being given those things boys are onlookers. Even when girls are being given the money the boys are able to steal the money...When we were done receiving those things such as books, we went for a break, when we came back we found some books had been stolen. This happened to my desk mate.” [17-year-old grade 7 girl]

Many boys exhibited some degree of resentment to girls being better off than them. This resistance by boys to see girls becoming better than them, also played out within the youth clubs. Boys participated less than girls in a number of youth clubs I observed. The reason that was

given for boys' lack of participation was that girls made fun of boys who made mistakes or gave wrong answers in class, and similarly in the youth clubs. A boy said,

"I started my school from here. This school has just been a mixed school with both girls and boys. I started a long time ago learning with girls, for me I think the experience of being in a youth club meetings is just fine. It is just the same as in class, although sometimes when a boy makes a mistake girls laugh a lot." [14-year-grade-7-boy]

Informants' narratives suggested that girls were already displaying their intellectual prowess over boys within the schools and therefore what was happening in the youth clubs was just a further reflection of everyday life at school. The participation of students in the youth clubs was said to be no different from participation in the regular class room:

"Girls are more active in the youth club, just like in the ordinary classroom. Girls are the ones with good grades in this classroom, when you look at the top 12 students in class all of them are girls except me, so many boys are afraid to talk in the classroom just like in the youth club." [15-year-old grade 7 boy]

Girls ambivalence to the presence of boys in the youth clubs

The presence of boys in the youth clubs was contested because some girls and boys were of the view that the youth clubs were intended for girls, and therefore even the knowledge that was being imparted mostly related to girls, as they were the ones who got pregnant. Some girls were of the view that some certain topics in the youth club curriculum that dealt with female reproduction were to be taught exclusively to girls. This exclusiveness of knowledge by gender was stated by a number of participants. In illuminating this one boy said,

“They made this youth club for girls because they felt they are the ones that suffer the most when they get pregnant and also because they are the ones who are always dropping out of school and this makes them suffer a lot because they cannot fend and provide for their babies.” [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

Another participant echoed similar sentiments, but with reservations as regards to the content of the youth club meetings and presence of boys. She felt boys should be excluded from topics that had to do with the biology of the female sex as expressed in the following except,

“It is just fine to be with boys in the youth club, but they are not supposed to know about such things as our menstrual periods, because they laugh when such things are brought up.” [Grade-7-girl: FGD]

Another responded to the preceding quote by saying,

“We learn about how both girls and boys grow, and menstruation has got something to do with pregnancy. Boys are therefore supposed to be present in such topics” [Grade-7-Girl: FGD]

Some girls looked shy when topics such as adolescence and puberty were brought up during the youth clubs because it seemed like those were things they talked of only in gender exclusive settings. This seemed to be the reason why they did not want boys to be present in some of the youth club sessions. Boys defended their presence in the youth club meetings by narrating that the information they were getting was not available in the community. It was only in the youth clubs where such information was presented in an a way that was respectful as elicited in the following quote:

“Well even for us boys what we are learning here is important. There is no other place to learn this. In our homes when they mention things about sex, they do it insultingly and to scare you instead of educating you” [Grade 7 boy: FGD]

CHAPTER 4: Discussion and conclusion

In discussions about gender differences the study informants attached substantial meaning to physical or bodily differences, with subsequent emphasis on the diverging and gendered implications resulting from sexual activity and reproduction, as well as from the gendered division of labor. Ideal expectations for both boys and girls are that they are supposed to be respectful and hardworking. Beyond the ideals of being hardworking and respectful a complex set of partly ambiguous and contradictory normative expectations were found regarding both the masculine and the feminine. In the Christian discourse both girls and boys should remain sexually abstinent until marriage, and hence should be abstinent, chaste and clean. A just as strong discourse did however emerge in which a number of expectations were ‘placed on’ boys in order to be seen as manly especially in relation to an expected assertiveness regarding girls and sex. But there were restrictions not the least strongly discouraging getting into untimely fatherhood. As for girls, untimely motherhood was even more shameful, and sexual experience for girls was associated strongly with lack of respect and shame. At the same time girls faced peer pressure to engage in sexual relationships. It is thus a highly ambiguous scenario that emerges in terms of cross cutting, ambivalent and partly contradictory normative patterns.

Although primarily perceived to be the girl’s responsibility, boys were also supposed to take precaution to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Pregnancy in itself is in principle highly cherished in a culture placing enormous emphasis on childbearing and fertility but untimely mother and fatherhood were both strongly sanctioned. Regarding the many attempts to empower girls within the initiatives of the CISMAL RISE project they were by and large were received positively, but there were mixed feelings towards the empowerment of girls at their exclusion of boys in the

project. This partly emerged with reference to the economic empowerment of girls which to some emerged as an attack on boys' conceptions of masculinity.

In this study I draw upon R.W Connell's structural theory of gender and power and her theory of masculinity to interpret my findings. The theory of gender and power by Connell (1985) is a relational theory about the nature of power in relationships between men and women. This theory postulates that relationships between the genders are characterized by three elements, namely gender division of labor, (2) sexual divisional of power, and (3) effective attachment also called cathexis. Hegemonic masculinity theory posits that men dominate over women, and over other men. This dominance is done through a system of practice. The theory posits that there is no one ideal masculinity, but masculinities are fluid as they change over time and place, and that there are multiple ways of being a man (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

In the present study many boys narrated that respectful conduct and hard work are seen as markers of manliness. Being respectful is perceived as an investment that would be returned and it was perceived as a virtue that put one in good standing. Humphreys in his study conducted in rural Botswana found that an ideal man had to show respectfulness as respect was associated with prosperity and social inclusion, as a lack of the two lead to failure and social exclusion about boys being respectful (Humphreys 2013). Other normative expectations emphasized having many girlfriends which again conflicted with the Christian ideals of being chaste. Hence what constitutes the masculine depends on the audience and the context. In line with a number of other studies the present study thus found that there seems to be a multiplicity of masculinities that vary from time and place depending on whom the masculine is enacted and staged for.

An enhanced understanding of the different forms which being a 'man' can take can be aided by Connell's masculinity theory, which asserts that masculinities are fluid and vary from place and time using and that there is no one ideal form of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Connell's theory eases the understanding that neither in the Zambian society do we find one ideal form of masculinity, -masculinities are diverse, partly contradictory and always in a flux. It emerges or is played out differently depending on contextual factors such as age, time, place and audience.

The division of labor is perceived to serve a function of differentiating genders, as the allocation of tasks and work was said to be gendered. Boys' work was primarily said to take place outside the home and mostly involves herding cattle while girls are expected to carry out house chores. Such a division of labor where boys' work is tied to cattle and girls' work is tied to the home has been documented time and again elsewhere, Tournas, for example in his study from Botswana found that boys and men work with cattle and cattle are associated with wealth and status (Tournas, 2000 cited in Humphreys 2013). Using Connell's gender division of labor, the division of labor in the present study can by and large be understood to serve men and boys as it empowers them with economic opportunities, whereas girls domestic work rarely provide similar income generating activities. This has the implication that it creates a dependence of girls on men and boys for basic requirements such as lotion. The general division of labor may hence be said to create and perpetuate the expectation of men and boys to provide for girls, usually in exchange for relationships.

Girls narrate that the provider masculinity expected of boys reduces girls' ability to negotiate safe sex. Girls commonly bring few resources if any into the relationships and hence commonly

become dependent upon the boys/men. Many girls see relationships with boys as an avenue for the appropriation of some basic needs which they lack. This imbalance in resources brought in the relationship is said to strongly affect girls' negotiation power in sexual decision-making. The inherent power that men and boys have in sexual negotiation has been written about extensively (See Hunter 2002, Barker and Ricardo 2005, Mojola 2015), and it highlights Connells second tenant related to the sexual division of power (Pulerwitz, Gortmaker et al. 2000). The inequality in power that girls speak about in relationships, and that is partly related to the normative expectation of exchange of goods makes it difficult for girls to negotiate safe sex, or contraceptive use. The limited power that springs out of the unequal manner in which girls and women enter into relationships with boys and men also makes girls susceptible to violence and abuse in relationships (Pulerwitz, Gortmaker et al. 2000). I have tried to demonstrate that that there are clearly ambiguities as regards to power in such relationships. Girls to some degree have the negotiating power requisite for acquiring material things from boys and men, however, this materiality simultaneously reduces strongly the potential they have for the negotiation of the sexual relations.

The boys in this study narrate how they expect girls to be sexually passive, while boys are expected to have sexual experience, which is perceived as a marker of manhood. Such findings have been found in most parts of the world and Sub Saharan Africa (Wingood and DiClemente 2000, Tschann, Adler et al. 2002), for instance in Tanzania, Sommer, found that sexual experience or taking on any chance to have sex amongst boys was fulfilling a masculine norm, whereas for girls sexual experience is a source of disrespect (Hunter 2002, Wight, Plummer et al. 2006, Sommer, Likindikoki et al. 2015). Some studies conducted in Zambia and Zimbabwe similarly found that sexual experience is associated with masculinity, but girls' sexual

experience is censured and is associated with promiscuity and reduces a girl's marriageability (Sommer, Likindikoki et al. 2015). This can be better understood by drawing upon Connell's 'structure cathexis' in which sexual norms frame women' and girls sexuality in terms of procreation only and with normative expectations that girls are to remain in a relationship with one person only. Norms that expect girls to be naïve and ignorant to matters relating to sexuality from Connell's perspective imply that girls are embedded in social mechanism and cultural norms that put them at risk of pregnancy and HIV/STIs. These normative patterns make it difficult for girls to attempt to take deliberate measures such as contraception or gaining knowledge required for preventing pregnancy. The expectations of girls to be naïve about sex can be said to hamper sexual negotiation and also contribute to adolescent pregnancies and also HIV/AIDS among adolescent girls. However, informants expressed that in such instances it was expected of boys to take precaution by securing condoms, as boys also feared the ridicule and shame associated with fatherhood at a young age.

The findings of this study's indicate that informants see the prevention of pregnancy first and foremost a girl's responsibility, which I refer to as the feminization of pregnancy prevention. This perception of pregnancy prevention as a girl's responsibility has also been found in other parts of the world. Varga in South Africa found that pregnancy prevention was the sole responsibility of the girl (Hattori and Longfield 2008, Kagesten, Gibbs et al. 2016), another study in America amongst American young Indians also found that girls' were supposed to be more active in preventing pregnancy (Varga 2001). This feminization of pregnancy prevention has been reported to take place because a girl has more to lose, and because she is the one that eventually carries the pregnancy (Hanson, McMahon et al. 2014).

In this study many participants reported that providing support to girls in the RISE project would make difference as it could contribute to a dynamics where it was less important for girls to get gifts or money from boys, as such reducing the effects of provider masculinities that compromise the ability of girls to negotiate sexual relations. A number of quantitative studies have found that economic empowerment of girls leads to reduced school dropout and early childbearing, one such study has been conducted in Malawi, where cash transfer reduced school dropout and pregnancy among school girls (Varga 2003, Hanson, McMahon et al. 2014). A similar study in Kenya found a reduction in adolescent pregnancies following unconditional cash transfers to girls (Baird, McIntosh et al. 2011).

Many informants perceived the empowerment of girls positively, although some boys showed some degree of resistance to the idea that the project targeted girls only. The resentment emerged in the form of threats to girls demanding them not to show that they are better than boys. The girls' dominant participation in youth clubs seemed to be met by limited participation from boys. Many boys indeed voiced that they fear being ridiculed for giving wrong answers in the youth clubs. Studies on the economic empowerment of women provide mixed results on the effect of empowerment of women on violence. Some studies show that empowerment of women increases violence against women in the short run as they find a u shaped relationship (Silberschmidt 2005, Fraser 2012), whilst others find it protective both in the short term and long term (Vyas and Watts 2009). Connell's hegemonic theory on masculinity can aid in understanding the resentment of girls' empowerment process found in the present study. The resistance observed in the present study though nuanced can be framed as an attempt by boys' to protect the embedded cultural, stereotypical norms of masculinity that expect men to be better than girls intellectually and materially.

Trustworthiness of study

According to Graneheim and Lundman the quality of a qualitative study is judged using the concept of trustworthiness, which refers to the procedures that were used to come up with the findings. It has four criteria on which it is judged; credibility, dependability and transferability (Varga 2003: 163).

Credibility: this was a triangulated study. Triangulation refers to the comparison of results from two or more data collection methods or data sources such FGDs and individual Interviews (Granheim and Lundman 2004). This study drew upon more than one data collection method. It utilized participant observation, focus group discussions and also individual in-depth interviews. The methods triangulation of the data collection method helped to compensate for weaknesses among the methods I used (Mays and Pope 2000). Carrying out a number of focus group discussions with girls helped to compensate for the weakness in the responses that were obtained through individual interviews. The lack of depth in the interviews was a weakness in this study, although I tried to compensate for it by secondary analysis of interviews from an earlier study that had some similar study aims. There was triangulation of participants (source triangulation), data was obtained from participants who were different in terms of gender and age, but whose perceptions converged. The short period I spent in the field was a weakness particularly in relation to observation of the youth clubs. A more extensive observation may have enhanced my understanding of the gendered dynamics within the youth clubs and hence enhanced my understanding of the relation between boys and girls.

In increasing the credibility of the study negative case analysis was done. Negative case analysis entails searching for patterns in the data that do not support or rather contradict the emerging

patterns from the data analysis (Mays and Pope 2000). There was fair dealing in the write up process as negative cases were also included in the study. This study did not only provide quotes/analysis from cases that were similar, but also deviant cases. This allowed for more and a richer analysis of the data.

The degree to which the results of a study can be confirmed by others or corroborated by others is known as confirmability (Mays and Pope 2000) . As a way of ensuring confirmability peer checking was done during analysis. This involved my supervisors and colleagues from the global health anthropology research going through my analysis and checking through my categories and themes. It was found that their analysis of part of my data and themes were similar to what I did. What can be seen to be a weakness in this study is that member checking was not done. I did not go back to my study participants after analyzing the data to find out if what I had found resonated with their perceptions.

Transferability is another concept used in assessing the quality of a qualitative study. It refers to the extent to which findings can be applied to similar settings (Connelly 2016). The results can be transferable to a lesser degree to some parts of Southern province of Zambia and to some schools within the RISE study particularly with regard the empowerment of girls and how it was well received. However, in determining the transferability of the findings due consideration has to be made as there were some contextual variations in some of the schools data was obtained from.

Reflexivity: is another concept that is used in checking the trustworthiness of a research study. Reflexivity refers to the researcher's ability to reveal personal biases and how one's position in relation to the researched might affect the generation of knowledge (Mays and Pope 2000). The age difference between the study participants and myself might have affected the quality of data

I collected. Informants might not have been comfortable sharing with me some of their perceptions and experiences that related to sex as in most Zambian cultures it is rare that an adult would have a conversation that has topics to do with sex with young people. Secondly I had my own biases about young people in regards to sex, however, I attempted to apply the concept of bracketing. Bracketing refers to an investigator identifying vested interests that could affect the way data is collected and analyzed and these interests could range from personal to cultural (Fischer 2009) . Given that in qualitative study knowledge is generated during the interaction between researcher and the researched, I tried to be engaged in the process in an interested, and neutral manner through out the research process.

Conclusion and recommendations

This master study has, in line with many others studies suggested that masculinity and femininity can take multiple forms. The normative landscape may be ambiguous and sometimes contradictory. Different forms of ‘being a man’ or ‘being a woman’ in Tonga land are simultaneously influenced by Christianity, by customary norms as well as by ‘modern’ expectations and discourse characterized by materiality, independence etc. The different normative patterns partly contradict each on in relation to sexual and reproductive expectations. The findings of the present study in this regards seem to be largely confirmative of findings from elsewhere in Eastern and Southern Africa regarding adolescents’ perceptions of masculinity and femininity in the context of sexuality and reproductive health. There are however indications that some of the findings in the present study point out aspects that have not earlier been given much attention One point is the important point that also for young men untimely fatherhood is stigmatizing and will be ridiculed, and can readily change the life course for a man who is pressured into responsibility for a child and into marriage. The sanctioning of untimely

fatherhood is found within Christianity but also in customary normative patterns. This study moreover is an early indication of the seemingly increasing vulnerability that boys experience in the face of girls' empowerment. The youth clubs within which girls' presence and participation was substantial the boys became quite, partly out of a fear of ridicule by the girls. The indications of a resentment expressed towards the economic and intellectual empowerment of girls by some boys in the present study may suggest the early signs of a transitional phase which will imply a stronger position of girls. Although not found in the existing literature, a related trend where boys rather than girls are said to be silenced or ridiculed in schools has been a recent topic pointed out in everyday conversations in Lusaka. There is as yet no research based evidence as suggest such early indications of a gradual gendered transformation, but I shall still dare to mention what may be early signs of a change. A trend that seems to be working in the other direction is the seeming increase in material exchange implied in boyfriend- girlfriend relationships, hence in reference to 'provider masculinity', where the embedded cultural practice seems to be strengthened rather than weakened in Tonga land as well as in larger parts of sub Saharan Africa. Based on the findings of this study it seems important that the early sign of empowerment of girls is scrutinized further in coming research. Similarly, the culture of material exchange related to sexual relations and how such exchange relations may be countered by interventions targeting the empowerment of girls and women seem to be urgent.

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Appendix

Appendix I: Ethical Approvals



Region:
REK vest

Saksbehandler:
Øyvind Straume

Telefon:
55978496

Vår dato:
09.09.2015

Vår referanse:
2015/895/REK vest
Deres dato: Deres referanse:
12.05.2015

Vår referanse må oppgis ved alle henvendelser

Ingvild Fossgard Sandøy
Senter for internasjonal helse/Institutt for global helse og samfunnsmedisin
Univ i Bergen

2015/895 Klyngerandomisert studie på effekten av å styrke jenters posisjon på tidlig svangerskap, ekteskap og skolefravall blant tenåringsjenter i rurale Zambia

Forskningsansvarlig: University of Zambia, University of Bergen

Prosjektleder: Ingvild Fossgard Sandøy

Vi viser til søknad om forhåndsgodkjenning av ovennevnte forskningsprosjekt. Søknaden ble behandlet av Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk (REK vest) i møtet 20.08.2015. Vurderingen er gjort med hjemmel i helseforskningsloven (hfl.) § 10, jf. forskningsetikkloven § 4.

Prosjektomtale

The aim of this cluster randomized trial, in which schools will be randomly allocated to one of two intervention arms or a control arm, is to measure (1) the effectiveness of providing a unique package of economic support to girls and their families that targets both the poverty dimension and the school drop-out dimension of adolescent pregnancy and marriage in a Zambian context, and (2) whether economic support combined with a community approach targeting social norms and sexual and reproductive health knowledge can have an even stronger impact on the same outcomes.

Vurdering

With reference to your application and your respons to the remarks from REK vest, the committee reviewed the application again in their meeting on the 20th of August 2015. In addition, the committee has obtained an expert riview.

The expert review conclude that it is not advisable just to drop the control arm with no intervention, but to reassess the intervention provided in the other groups. In Your response, you stress that in order to determine whether the economic support make a difference, it is important to have a control group which is offered the same standard of services as girls in Zambia are being offered at present and are likely to be offered during the coming date.

The committee conclude that the project can be carried out according to the application. However, the committee assume that the expert conclusions are taken into considerations as best they can.

Research project end date: 31.12.2019.

Besøksadresse:

Armauer Hansens Hus (AHH),
Tverrfly Nord, 2 etasje, Rom
281. Haukelandsveien 28

Telefon: 55975000

E-post: rek-vest@uib.no

Web: <http://helseforskning.etikkom.no/>

All post og e-post som inngår i
saksbehandlingen, bes adressert til REK
vest og ikke til enkelte personer

Kindly address all mail and e-mails to
the Regional Ethics Committee, REK
the Regional Ethics Committee, REK

Vedtak

REK vest approve the project according to the application.

Sluttmelding og søknad om prosjektendring

Prosjektleder skal sende sluttmelding til REK vest på eget skjema senest 30.06.2020, jf. hfl. §

12. Prosjektleder skal sende søknad om prosjektendring til REK vest dersom det skal gjøres vesentlige endringer i forhold til de opplysninger som er gitt i søknaden, jf. hfl. § 11.

Klageadgang

Du kan klage på komiteens vedtak, jf. forvaltningsloven § 28 flg. Klagen sendes til REK vest. Klagefristen er tre uker fra du mottar dette brevet. Dersom vedtaket opprettholdes av REK vest, sendes klagen videre til Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komité for medisin og helsefag for endelig vurdering.

Med vennlig hilsen

Ansgar Berg
Prof. Dr.med
Komitéleder

Arne Salbu
Sekretariatsleder

Kopi til: gomafm@unza.zm; postmottak@uib.no

Region:	Saksbehandler:	Telefon:	Vår dato:	Vår referanse:
REK vest	Anne Berit Kolmannskog	55978497	15.02.2016	2015/895/REK vest
				Deres dato: 01.02.2016
				Deres referanse: Vår referanse må oppgis ved alle henvendelser

Ingvild Fossgard Sandøy
University of Bergen

2015/895 Randomized cluster trial on the effectiveness of a girls'empowerment programme on early childbearing, marriage and school dropout among adolescent girls in rural Zambia

Institution responsible for the research: University of Bergen

Project manager: Ingvild Fossgard Sandøy

With reference to your application received 1.2.2016. The Chairman of the Regional Committee for Medical and Health Research Ethics (REC Western Norway) reviewed the application pursuant to The Health Research Act § 10.

Project changes

- (1) The economic support package described in the approved project application consisted of three components: unconditional cash transfers to girls and guardians, conditional cash transfers to girls and guardians if the girl enrolls in grade 8 and grade 9, and payment of school fees for girls who enroll in grade 8 and 9. The combination of conditional and unconditional cash transfers would add up to 50 NOK for the girl and 75 NOK for the guardians per month. The plan to provide a conditional cash transfer is dropped, and the economic support package will only include an unconditional cash transfers to girls and guardians and payment of school fees for girls who enroll in grade 8 and 9.
- (2) There will be provided free writing materials for girls in all the trial arms.
- (3) The baseline interview questionnaire is now 50% shorter and contains less sensitive questions.
- (4) The follow-up will end after 4 years instead of 4.5 years.
- (5) The recruitment period is planned to take 4 months instead of 1 month.
- (6) The plan to do a validation study of face-to-face responses versus responses to telephone-interviews is dropt.

Ethical review

The committee has no objection to the changes made in the protocol and consent forms. The ethical justification of the study is strengthened by the planned changes.

Decision

REK vest approve the project changes as described in the application.

The approval is based on the grounds that the project is implemented as described in the application and the protocol, as well as the guidelines stated in the Health Research Act. If amendments need to be made to the study, the project manager is required to submit these amendments for approval by REC via the amendment

Besøksadresse:
Armauer Hansens Hus (AHH),
Tverrflyøy Nord, 2 etasje, Rom
281, Haukelandsveien 28

Telefon: 55975000
E-post: rek-vest@uib.no
Web: <http://helseforskning.etikkom.no/>

All post og e-post som inngår i
saksbehandlingen, bes adressert til REK
vest og ikke til enkelte personer

Kindly address all mail and e-mails to
the Regional Ethics Committee, REK
vest, not to individual staff

form. The decision of the committee may be appealed to the National Committee for Research Ethics in Norway. The appeal should be sent to the Regional Committee for Research Ethics in Norway, West. The deadline for appeals is three weeks from the date on which you receive this letter.

Sincerely

Ansgar Berg Prof. Dr.med
Committee Chairman

Anne Berit Kolmannskog
Committee Secretary

Copy: gomafm@unza.zm; postmottak@uib.no



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Telephone: 260-1-256067
Telegrams: UNZA, LUSAKA
Telex: UNZALU ZA 44370
Fax: + 260-1-250753
E-mail: unzarec@unza.zm
Assurance No. FWA00000338
IRB00001131 of IORG0000774

Ridgeway Campus
P.O. Box 50110
Lusaka, Zambia

26th February, 2016.

Your Ref: 021-06-15.

Dr. Patrick Musonda,
University of Zambia,
Department of Public Health,
P.O Box 50110,
Lusaka.

Dear Dr. Musonda,

RE: **CHANGES TO THE APPROVED PROTOCOL FOR THE STUDY:
"RANDOMIZED CLUSTER TRIAL ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A GIRL
EMPOWERMENT PROGRAM ON EARLY CHILDBEARING, MARRIAGE AND
SCHOOL DROPOUT AMONG ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RURAL ZAMBIA"
(REF. No. 021-06-15)**

We have noted the proposed changes to the protocol and of the new that will result in net benefit for participants.

We therefore approve the suggested changes as presented in the three languages.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. S. H Nzala
VICE-CHAIRPERSON

Dr. Patrick Musonda,
University of Zambia,
Department of Public Health,
P.O Box 50110,
Lusaka.

Dear Dr. Musonda,

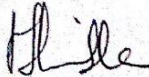
RE: RESUBMITTED RESEARCH PROPOSAL: "RANDOMIZED CLUSTER TRIAL ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A GIRL EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMME ON EARLY CHILDBEARING, MARRIAGE AND SCHOOL DROPOUT AMONG ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RURAL ZAMBIA" (REF. NO. 021-06-15)

The above-mentioned research proposal was presented to the Biomedical Research Ethics Committee on 18th August, 2015. The proposal is approved.

CONDITIONS:

- This approval is based strictly on your submitted proposal. Should there be need for you to modify or change the study design or methodology, you will need to seek clearance from the Research Ethics Committee.
- If you have need for further clarification please consult this office. Please note that it is mandatory that you submit a detailed progress report of your study to this Committee every six months and a final copy of your report at the end of the study.
- Any serious adverse events must be reported at once to this Committee.
- Please note that when your approval expires you may need to request for renewal. The request should be accompanied by a Progress Report (Progress Report Forms can be obtained from the Secretariat).
- Ensure that a final copy of the results is submitted to this Committee.

Yours sincerely,



M.C Maimbolwa PhD
CHAIRPERSON

Date of approval: 7th September, 2015.

Date of expiry: 6th September, 2016.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

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Lusaka, Zambia

Assurance No. FWA00000338
IRB00001131 of IORG0000774

7th September, 2015.

Our Ref: 021-06-15.

Appendix II Consent form

Request for participation in a research project

Adolescents' perceptions of masculinity and femininity in the context of sexual and reproductive health in Southern Province, Zambia

Background and purpose

The aim of this study was to generate knowledge on adolescents' perceptions of gender differences, gender relations, and empowerment of girls in relation to sexual and reproductive health in the CISMAL RISE project.

What does the study entail?

The study will be conducted using interviews, focus group discussions and focused observations will be done on how interactions are shaped within the youth clubs.

Voluntary participation

Participation in the study is voluntary. You can withdraw your consent to participate in the study at any time and without stating any particular reason. If you wish to participate, sign the declaration of consent on the final page. If you agree to participate at this time, you may later on withdraw your consent.

Consent for participation in the study

I am willing to participate in the study [**Participants signature**] _____

I confirm that I have given information about the study [sign] _____ role in the study _____

Appendix III: Interview Guides

Date _____

Gender _____ District _____

The aim of this study was to generate knowledge on adolescents' perceptions of gender differences, gender relations, and empowerment of girls in relation to sexual and reproductive health in the CISMAR RISE project.

Introductions

Tell me about yourself?

- Where you live,
- Age
- Who you live with
- Information about guardians/parents

Experience and interaction in the youth clubs

Experiences in the youth clubs

- How do you find the youth clubs?
- What has been your experience in the youth clubs as regards:
 - What you are learning in the youth clubs?
 - Learning with girls in the youth clubs?
 - Involvement of males in the youth clubs?
- How do you see the presence of both genders in the youth clubs as regards to participation?
- What has been your experience with learning with girls?
- Why is it that it is girls/boys that participate more on the youth club?

General questions on pregnancy and marriage

- What are your perceptions about girls your age in the clubs that are pregnant/married?
 - Why do you say so?
- Do you think it is a problem?
- Why do the girls get pregnant/married early?
- What do you think are the associated benefits and advantages of marrying early or getting pregnant?

- How are boys that have impregnated a girl perceived?

Economic Intervention package

- Girls are paid an allowance and provided with books, pens and economic support for school fees. How has this affected your participation in the youth clubs?
 - How has this affected how you relate with boys/girls in the school?
 - What are your perceptions about boys not being paid?
 - What are your perceptions about women being more educated men in the community?
 - How do you perceive girls or women having more money than men in the community?

Gender (Masculinity, femininity) and Reproductive health

- In what ways are males and females different?
 - Socially?
 - In terms of behavior
 - Sexual behavior?

Femininity

- How should a girl be to be considered a lady?/probe depending on response
 - Why is it so?
 - Where do these ideals come from?
- How is a girl that does not have elongated labia perceived?***
- What are young girls' perceptions about someone your age that has not had sex?
- How do you perceive a girl that has been through an initiation ceremony nkolola?
- Who between a girl and a boy is responsible for initiating sexual behavior?/probe according to response
 - Why do you say so?
- Have you been through the initiation ceremony nkolola?
- What was your experience in there?
- How is one who has not been through nkolola perceived?

In your experience have you proposed a boy?

- To be your boyfriend
- Sexually?
- Why?
- How do your peers look upon that?
- What does it mean when a girl tells a boy of the same age that 'you are young'?

Masculinity

How should a boy be to be considered masculine?

- Physically?
- Socially?
- How about as regards to sexual behavior?

Where do these ideals come from?

How do these ideals change over time?

- In the previous questions we talked about pregnancy and sex, whose responsibility is do you think it is to prevent pregnancy
 - Why do you say so?

Appendix IV: FGD Guide

Experience and interaction in the youth clubs

Experiences in the youth clubs

- How do you find the youth clubs?
- What has been your experience in the youth clubs as regards:
 - What you are learning in the youth clubs?
 - Learning with girls in the youth clubs?
 - Involvement of males in the youth clubs?
- How do you see the presence of both genders in the youth clubs as regards to participation?
- What has been your experience with learning with girls?
- Why is it that it is girls/boys that participate more on the youth club?

General questions on pregnancy and marriage

- What are your perceptions about girls your age in the clubs that are pregnant/married?
 - Why do you say so?
- Do you think it is a problem?
- Why do the girls get pregnant/married early?
- What do you think are the associated benefits and advantages of marrying early or getting pregnant?
- How are boys that have impregnated a girl perceived?

Economic Intervention package

- Girls are paid an allowance and provided with books, pens and economic support for school fees. How has this affected your participation in the youth clubs?
 - How has this affected how you relate with boys/girls in the school?
 - What are your perceptions about boys not being paid?
 - What are your perceptions about women being more educated men in the community?
 - How do you perceive girls or women having more money than men in the community?

Gender (Masculinity, femininity) and Reproductive health

- In what ways are males and females different?
 - Socially?
 - In terms of behavior
 - Sexual behavior?

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- How should a girl be to be considered a lady?/probe depending on response
 - Why is it so?
 - Where do these ideals come from?
- How is a girl that does not have elongated labia perceived?***
- What are young girls' perceptions about someone your age that has not had sex?
- How do you perceive a girl that has been through an initiation ceremony nkolola?

- Who between a girl and a boy is responsible for initiating sexual behavior?/probe according to response
 - Why do you say so?
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- What was your experience in there?
- How is one who has not been through nkolola perceived?

In your experience have you proposed a boy?

- To be your boyfriend
- Sexually?
- Why?
- How do your peers look upon that?
- What does it mean when a girl tells a boy of the same age that ‘you are young’?

Masculinity

How should a boy be to be considered masculine?

- Physically?
- Socially?
- How about as regards to sexual behavior?

Where do these ideals come from?

How do these ideals change over time?

- In the previous questions we talked about pregnancy and sex, whose responsibility is do you think it is to prevent pregnancy
 - Why do you say so?

Appendix V: Tonga guide

Muzezo mupati waku vwuntauzya nku zibizya RISE ploject kwinda mbobayibona bana bali mutubungano twa RISE, zyoba indamo mumi sangwano aku langa kapati basimbi aba sankwa mboba vwana mumi swangwano ya tubungano twaba RISE. Oku kuvwuntauzya kuli buzyunya aku tamba zyichitika mutubungano twaba RISE ploject.

Kutola lubazu chakulisungula

Kutola lubazu muchiiyo eechi nkwakuli sungula. Muli nguzu zya ku leka kakunyina akaambo. Kuti mwazumina kutola lubazu bwachechino chindi muli jisi nguzu zyakuleka kufwumbwa chindi.

Chizuminano chakutola lubazu muciyoy

District _____ School _____

Ndalisumbula kutola lubazu muciyoy _____ (kusaina kwa utola lubazu) Mwezi _____

Kusaina kwa sikubuzya _____ Mwezi _____

zyakutanguna

Nga wadimbalako asyonto alindiwe

- Ino wiiya grade nii
- Ukala abanii
- Bazyali/bakulela babeleka zyi?
- Hena ulabapati?

o Hena batyanii- balabeleka?

zyoba indamo mumi swangwano yaba RISE ploject (experiences)

sena chivwika buti ku janika mutubunga twa RISE?

Experience yakuba muma youth club ili buti-

- Ino wiiya nzi mukabunga aaka?
- Chihvika buti Kwiiya antomwe ba simbi- abasankwa?***

Ino ukubona buti kujanika kwaba sankwa aba aba simbi omu mutubunga

kwendelanya ambo batola lubazu?

- Mbubotu nzii bujanika mukabunga aaka?
- Naa mbubi nzi bujanika muka bunga aaka?

Interaction- mutubunga twa RISE

- Hena mwiya bona buti milimo yaba maii abalanganya nseba mutubunga?
- Bana basimbi balapegwa zyakubelesya kucikolo (ma bbuku, imbopeni a pensulo) kuyungizya bala pegwa k30 a cindi a cindi. Ino oku kupegwa zyintu kubana basimbi kwaka chinca kumvwana kwenu?
- Hena ubona buti kuti basimbi na baiya naanka ku vwuba kwiinda basankwa?
- Ino mizezo nzi njojisi ku bana basimbi bamitide ba musela wako?
 - Na bakwetwe
- Ukubona buti Kumita kwabana basimbi amusela oyu?
- Nchinzyi chipa kuti bana basimbi kaba mita kabashili basyoonto?
- Mbubotu naa mbubi nzii bujanika muku mita na kukwatwa amusela ngobede?

Gender relations and sexuality

Hena kuba misimbi chi impene buti akuba musankwa?-

- mbo balilemeka?
- Ncito njoba beleka

Masculinity (Bulombwana)

- Hena musankwa uyeledi kuli tondezya buti kuti kabamulanganya kuti
 - ooya musankwa ndiza bulombwana (ndiza guy)?
 - Hena kumakani aku haba musankwa uyelede kuba buti?
 - Ino kumakani aankwela?
 - Ino eyi mizezo njomwamba yakuba musankwa izwa kuli?

Femininity and masculinity

- Hena musimbi uyeledi kuli tondezya buti kuti kabamulanganya kuti ooyu musimbi?
 - Hena kumakani aku habya ino musimbi uyelede kuli lemeka buti?
 - Ino kumakani ankwela?
- Hena musimbi wakainda munkolola nga mumulanganya buti?
 - Ino kubikwa mu nkolola chaamba nzyi?
- Hena musimbi wakomena uyelede ku cita nzyi kumubili wakwe kulanganya zyintu mbuli kukwela malepe?
 - Ino nga kotajisi nga bakulanganya buti?
- Hena bana basimbi aba sankwa ba hyabene beelede kulilemeka buti kumakaani
 - ankwela amuzyi hyabo zyabo?
- Hena kuti musimbi tayandi nkwele pesi musankwa ulayenda inga mwavwana buti?
 - Hena chakakuchitikila cha boobu?

- Ino nguni uyandandisya nkwela kapata akati ka musimbi a musankwa?
 - Nchizyi chipa kuti bana basyonto kabalyana nkwela?
- Hena waka hyabwa? Ula musankwa/musimbi
- Hena ula myaka yongaye musankwa naa musimbi wako?
 - sena chinzyi chakupa kuti uhyabye?
- Ino kuti musimbi wambila musankwa kuti uli mwana yebo kunyina ncho kozya kundi chita inga nchi zyi chasola kwamba?
- Hena musankwa uyelede kuli kwabilila buti kuti ata misyi?
- Hena musankwa waka misya nga bamulanganya buti bezyina aba simbi bamwi?
- Hena musimbi na musankwa uyelede kuli kwabilila kumita?
 - Nchizyi shakupa kuti uwambe boobo?
 - Ino kumalwazi aboola a nkwela?
- Hena musimbi na musankwa utana lide nkwela inga bamulanganya buti benzyinyina?
 - Hena wakalya kale nkwela?
- Hena linji alii musankwa aa musimbi nguni uupa kuuti ba lyane nkwela?
- Nguni uyelede ku sala nzili yakuli kwabilila ku mita?
 - Ino kayi?