



SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

Changing Norms about Life Skills and Sexuality Education through Empowerment

A study of public secondary life skills teachers' experiences and perceptions in Zanzibar

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ABSTRACT

Formal life skills education, including topics related to sexuality, was developed in the 1990s to prevent HIV/AIDS as well as a method to strengthen ‘good’ behaviours among students in schools. In Zanzibar, life skills education interventions have duplicated in recent years. However, it can still be difficult to discuss topics related to sexuality and harmful traditions such as early marriage, unintended pregnancies, and the shame of condom use is perpetuated. Children in Zanzibar may therefore approach adulthood with confusion and lack of knowledge.

Teachers play an important, yet difficult, role to deliver formal life skills and sexuality education. This study focuses on how teachers in Zanzibar experience and perceive life skills education, including topics related to sexuality, in public secondary schools. The data is based on interviews with 10 life skills teachers at three chosen schools in the district of Mjini Magharibi in Zanzibar. In my study, I have focused on norm changing and empowerment by looking at teachers’ perceived challenges of teaching life skills and topics related to sexuality, their role and approach and the perceived impact this education may have for the theirs’ and the learners’ empowerment.

The results show that the teachers have the willingness to teach about life skills and topics related to sexuality. The teachers are also a trust-worthy source of information and advice for the learners. However, lack of material-, human-, and social resources and resistance from the community is slowing the implementation and changes in norms regarding life skills and sexuality education. The results also show positive impacts for the teachers’ and learners’ empowerment through the knowledge in life skills and topics related to sexuality, which strengthen earlier research.

Key words: formal sexuality education, life skills, empowerment, norm changing, Zanzibar, teachers

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
COSTECH	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
ICERD	International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
UNCAT	United Nations Covenant against Torture
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation

1. Introduction

This chapter first gives an introduction, background and problem orientation regarding the research chosen. Furthermore, this chapter states the aim of the study and presents the questions that will be answered throughout the study. Finally, the chapter also presents the study's relevance, delimitations and disposition.

Fundamental human rights were first documented in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The UDHR is nowadays a common standard for all nations and even though the document is not legally binding, it is regarded as part of customary international law. Furthermore, seven legally binding covenants have been ratified, which together constitutes a universal legal framework for human rights¹ (Freeman, 2011, p.23-40).

The right to education is an important human right within many of the covenants and the UDHR mentioned above (UNESCO, n.d). It is stated in for example ICESCR article 13:2a that 'Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all' and 13:2b 'Secondary education in its different forms [...] shall be made generally available and accessible to all'. The right to education is furthermore emphasised in article 26 in the UDHR and in article 17 in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) from 1981. Despite this, the UNDP (2015) estimates that 774 million people in the world are not able to write and read. That is why the right to free and compulsory education with good quality, among other indicators relating to education, is one of the seventeen sustainable development goals that should be achieved globally before the year of 2030 according to the Agenda 2030.

Education is a large area with a lot of components and levels. In this thesis I focus on formal life skills education, including topics related to sexuality, in public secondary schools. The technique and concept of life skills is in this study seen as a key to convert human rights theoretically described in international, regional and national covenants and declarations into a practise in the everyday life of individuals. As stated in the general comment No. 1 to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), human rights education is

¹ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).

designed to provide the child with **life skills**, to strengthen the child's capacity to enjoy the full range of human rights and to promote a culture which is infused by appropriate human rights values (CRC/GC/2001/1, paragraph 2).

Hence, education in this study goes beyond reading and writing, and is rather seen as a means and competence of taking human rights into use. Life skills is the enabling factor and is evidently regarded as a deciding factor on individuals' ability and preparation to choose the choices they want to make in life (UNESCO et al., 2018, p.12).

Life skills education as a technique and concept was developed in the early 1990s as a strategy to prevent and handle HIV/AIDS as well as a method to strengthen 'good' behaviours and attitudes among children, adolescence and adults. Life skills as part of the formal education system is today emphasised in several international legal binding covenants and in customary international law (MSWYWCD, p.20).

According to the WHO, life skills refers to any psychosocial skill and ability you may need to positively face and respond to challenges and demands in the everyday life. There is therefore no complete list of life skills needed, but WHO have identified five basic areas of ability, which are useful to be taught in schools worldwide - regardless of context, norms and ways of thinking. These are (i) decision-making and problem solving, (ii) creative and critical thinking, (iii) communication and interpersonal skills, (iv) self-awareness and empathy, and (v) coping with emotions and stress. By access to life skills in these five areas, the WHO argues that children and youths can be empowered to stand up for their rights and face challenges in life. I see life skills as an extension and adaption of human rights values, and that is how the technique and concept of life skills is seen in this study (WHO, 1999). Unsurprisingly, receiving education in topics related to sexuality is one part of the life skills education since lack of knowledge about sexuality equals lack of skills to face challenges and demands in life. The main actors of providing knowledge about life skills and sexuality education to stakeholders is international UN-organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO and UNFPA (MSWYWCD, 2010, p.20).

1.1 Background

Zanzibar, a partially self-governing archipelago in union with Tanzania, has internal autonomy with its own constitution, parliament, government and president. In Zanzibar about 99% of the population are Muslims, while the mainland population mainly consists of Christians. Based on figures from 2012, only 1,3 million habitants live in

Zanzibar out of the total population approximately around 45 million in the union of Tanzania (Globalis, 2017). In Zanzibar, different traditions, ethics and norms are perceived as important among the majority of habitants and is often defined by a strong religious belief and belief in the importance of a common language (MOEVT, 2006, p.37). One of the main incomes for the archipelago Zanzibar is international tourism and the population in Zanzibar is therefore continuously exposed to and affected by external cultural beliefs, traditions and norms (MoEVT, 2012, p.17).

Education in Zanzibar is, according to the Education Policy of Zanzibar, ‘a basic human right and the prerequisite for a full enjoyment of all other human rights’ (MoEVT, 2006, p.58). More than 93 percent of all children in Zanzibar are enrolled in primary school and the government annually allocates about 21 percent of the national budget to education. Although the government has made efforts to increase the budget for education, challenges remain for the quality of education. The pressure is heavy, and teachers, classrooms and textbooks are not nearly enough (Sweden Abroad, 2018). The education systems must, according to the Education Policy for Zanzibar

develop strategies and capacities to respond to risks and threats faced by children and young people efficiently and rapidly (MoEVT, 2006, p.54).

In Zanzibar, life skills education, including topics related to sexuality, has been taking place for the past 15 years and the policy support from the government has been strong. Life skills is not yet a single-standing subject in the Education Curriculum but rather integrated in several subjects in school as a technique of thinking and overcome challenges in life. Life skills education interventions have in Zanzibar duplicated in recent years, both in formal education settings (schools) and informal education settings (for example through health clubs) (MSWYWCD, 2010, p.10-20).

One important part of life skills, as this thesis will focus specifically on, is topics related to sexuality. The concept of sexuality will in this study be used as Sylvia Tamale defines it, as:

socially constructed, in profound and troubling engagement with the biological, and therefore as heavily influenced by, and implicated within, social, cultural, political and economic forces (2011, p.2-3; p.608).

Tamale thereby goes beyond the often-common understanding of sexuality as only a biological process, referring to sexual intercourse, and instead states that sexuality is embedded in major parts of all human life.

According to the Ministry of Health of Zanzibar, it is still difficult to discuss sexuality as socially constructed rather than just a biological process, but open discussions within the government of Zanzibar and within communities have increased (MoEVT, 2012, p.17). This shift and improved climate for dialogue about sexuality and sexual and reproductive health is common in Africa and is boosted by continent-wide efforts and policies about sexuality, gender and reproductive healthcare. However, now these policies need to be applied theoretically and practically among states and non-state stakeholders, which is the most difficult but at the same time fundamental step for a successful implementation (Tamale, 2011, p.2-3).

Even though the norm in Zanzibar in theory is to not have sexual intercourse before marriage, a study conducted by the Ministry of Health in Zanzibar states that many youths in practise do have sexual intercourse before marriage. According to the same study, the use of condom is often associated with taboo and shame in Zanzibar, which is why few of the youths are using condoms when practicing sex before marriage. This lead, undoubtable, to many unintended pregnancies, school drop-outs, early marriages and the risk of sexual transmitted diseases. Even substance abuse is common among youths according to the Ministry of Education. The same study shows low awareness for sexual and reproductive health among children/youths between the ages 10-15 in Zanzibar, but also that the main source of information for the youths are TV and radio. Only 32.3% of the participants in the study means that they get information regarding topics related to sexuality from either the school, magazines, books or journals. The above-mentioned risk behaviours among youths in Zanzibar is said to be a combination of curiosity and limited sexual reproductive health information – and services (MoEVT, 2012, p.10-11).

1.2 Problem orientation

Teachers play an important, yet difficult, role to deliver formal sexuality education, which perhaps needs to be strengthened and developed for a more successful implementation and to raise higher awareness among learners². Teachers face many challenges that can be reduced, if identified. Not only can the norms and ways of thinking in a context and/or community discourage life skills and sexuality education all in itself.

² Learners are in this study defined as a person who is learning life skills and topics related to sexuality during lectures of the participating teachers of this study

Other factors may also play a part, including the classroom dynamics, the relation between teacher and learners, the accessibility to learning materials as well as how comfortable the learners feel to actively participate during lectures determine how life skills and sexuality education is received among learners. To be able to discuss topics related to sexuality in the classroom, the teacher needs to create a somewhat open and friendly environment, which can be even more difficult within a community and/or context where topics related to sexuality is filled with shame and embarrassment (Prah, 2011, p.589-599).

Hence, many children and youths do not receive an adequate formal life skills and sexuality education. Children and youths therefore need to approach adulthood with confusion and lack of knowledge regarding life skills and topics related to sexuality, which often are worsened by shame and embarrassment as well as silence from the community, including themselves, parents and teachers. Dialogue about especially topics related to sexuality is in many communities' traditions and norms discouraged, which often is why harmful traditions such as early marriage, unintended pregnancies, gender-based violence and the shame of condom use, and family planning is perpetuated (UNESCO et al., 2018, p.12).

Earlier research on the impacts of life skills and sexuality education has been conducted in other countries and contexts, however not in Zanzibar (MSWYWCD, 2010, p.21). This thesis is therefore the first attempt to fill this research-gap by emphasising the important, yet difficult, role teachers play in providing formal life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar. This thesis is based on the assumption that teachers also have an important role, through life skills and sexuality education, to empower themselves and their learners.

1.3 Research aim and questions

The aim of this study is to better understand how teachers in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar, experience and perceive the life skills and specifically the sexuality education in Zanzibar and the perceived contribution this may have for the theirs' and the participating children's empowerment.

This thesis will be guided by the following research question:

- How do teachers describe their perceptions and experiences regarding the implementation of formal sexuality education in public secondary schools in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar?

The main question above is further broken down in the following questions:

- What, according to teachers, are the main challenges of teaching about life skills and topics related to sexuality and how do these challenges relate to the theory of norm changing?
- How do teachers describe their role and approach towards topics related to sexuality and teaching the subjects included?
- How do teachers describe the potential impact from formal life skills and sexuality education for theirs' and the learners' empowerment?

1.4 Relevance

This study provides knowledge on implementing life skills and sexuality education in practice. The study also provides a deeper understanding of teachers' experiences and perceptions of life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar and its impact for theirs' and the learners' empowerment. The results of this study may therefore be useful for organizations and different Ministries that aims to fund sexuality education in Zanzibar. The study is also relevant for those who seek to understand how public schools in Zanzibar work with life skills and sexuality education in practise as well as what kind of challenges the teachers experience.

This study is also relevant to fill a research-gap, since no one have conducted studies on the impacts of life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar before.

1.5 Delimitations

This study will only focus on the formal life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar through public teachers' perceptions and experiences and not on the informal life skills education through individuals in communities. It would be interesting to see how the learners themselves perceive that the education has contributed to their empowerment. However, the Researcher Permit from the Second Vice President's Office in Zanzibar, which will be discussed in detail below, did not allow me as a researcher to interview persons under the age of 18. Although the interviews with learners would have given more in-depth information for this thesis, it is still important to study the teachers' perceptions and experiences as a starting point in this research-gap regarding life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar.

The intention was to do a comparative study regarding life skills education between the mainland of Tanzania and the archipelago Zanzibar. This would have been interesting because of differences in religion, regulations and political attitudes towards gender equality among others. This was however not possible, since I was not able to get a researcher permit from Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COS-TECH). However, this provided the thesis with more in-depth information from Zanzibar since it would have been challenging to observe and adapt to two different contexts, communities and places in such a short period of time (8 weeks in total).

Furthermore, it would have been interesting to do more of an evaluation on how and to what extent the National Life Skills Education Framework for Zanzibar (2010) is implemented and applicable according to public teachers in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar. But as I have been accompanied by a government official throughout all interviews as part of the requirements for my researcher permit, the teachers would have wanted to answer correct and look good in front of a government official. Therefore, one delimitation is of course that the presence of the government official still influenced and affected the answers from the teachers. However, the atmosphere was good, and the government official was an educated life skills teacher with passion for the subject and who also understood the teachers everyday working day.

1.6 Disposition

The following sections will highlight the theoretical framework of the study (Chapter 2), previous research (Chapter 3) and the methodology chosen for the study (Chapter 4). The results of the study will be presented and analysed through a thematic analysis (Chapter 5). The final chapter (Chapter 6) will discuss drawn conclusions from the results in this study and give suggestions for further research within this field.

2. Previous research

This chapter provides an overview of earlier research within the field of life skills and sexuality education. Firstly, youth's learning needs and parents' priorities in Tanzania regarding sexuality education is presented. Secondly, two empirical examples of positive impacts of life skills-based sexuality education is emphasised. Thirdly and lastly, teachers' role in providing sexuality education is discussed.

2.1 Youth's learning needs and parents' priorities in Tanzania

One interesting study conducted by Mkumbo (2010) aimed at identifying young people's own learning needs and priorities regarding sexuality education in Tanzania. The purpose of the study was to better understand what young people in Tanzania, themselves wanted and wished the education in school would include. To obtain the answers, Mkumbo distributed a questionnaire with the possibility for the students to fill out two questions they wanted to learn more about regarding topics related to sexuality. The answers were divided in the following categories; sexual decision-making (27%), sexual pleasure and enjoyment (20%), relationships (14%), safer sex and condom use (10%), sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (8%) and masturbation (7%). Sexuality education interventions in Tanzania were shown to a large extent only focus on HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. In fact, HIV/AIDS is the only category that is emphasised in the education curriculum in Tanzania, even though there have been national and international initiatives and pressure to better implement sexuality education (Mkumbo, 2010, p.405-410).

Although the focus on HIV/AIDS in the Tanzanian school curriculum, the same study also identifies a lack of basic knowledge about topics related to sexuality, including myths about HIV/AIDS and the use of condoms. This emphasises the crucial role of sexuality education in schools and specifically the youth's own wishes in Tanzania, and also highlights the need to broaden the sexuality education and not only focus on HIV/AIDS and sexual transmitted diseases.

Mkumbo & Ingham (2010) have in another study identified parents' attitudes towards sexuality education in Tanzania and what the parents want to include and exclude in the sexuality education in schools. The crucial role of teachers and formal sexuality education set aside, the authors argue that parents cannot work as a counterproductive force if the implementation shall be successful. This since the reaction of parents often

influence to what extent the sexuality education in schools are implemented and adopted. Mkumbo & Ingham's study show strong support (75%) for formal sexuality education among parents in Tanzania. The parents also believed that they themselves had a shared responsibility with the schools to provide knowledge about topics related to sexuality. Generally, the parents were open for different topics covered in the sexuality education such as substance abuse, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, unintended pregnancies and peer pressure. However, topics in relation to attitudes such as homosexuality, masturbation, condom use, and sexual pleasure and enjoyment were not as welcome as the others (Mkumbo & Ingham, 2010, p.67-78).

The studies conducted, Mkumbo (2010) and Mkumbo & Ingham (2010), are relevant for this thesis since they provide background information regarding students' learnings needs and parents' priorities regarding sexuality education. As mentioned earlier, I as an approved researcher according to the law in Zanzibar, was not allowed to interview students under 18. The study of Mkumbo (2010) will therefore serve as a complement to this thesis: to better understand to what extent the teachers in Zanzibar experience and perceive that they are covering some of the topics concerned in the study of Mkumbo. Mkumbo & Ingham's (2010) study will also work as a complement to the study I am conducting to understand the sometimes-problematic adaptation and implementation of sexuality education.

2.2 Impacts of life skills-based sexuality education

In a study from 2018, Lee & Lee investigates the effects of a life skills-based sexuality education programme. The study is based on a comparison between an experiment group who received a life skills-based sexuality education programme and one control group who received standard lectured-based sexuality education programme in two junior high school classes in Seoul, Korea. The authors states that sexuality education in Korea had not incorporated a life skills approach before this experiment, but rather have used standard lectured-based education. Therefore, the authors developed 17 teacher-led sessions, which was based on learning life skills capabilities such as self-esteem, problem-solving ability, interpersonal ability, decision-making ability and goal-setting in relation to topics about sexual and reproductive health (Lee & Lee, 2018, p.1-13).

The findings from this extensive study showed that the life skills-based sexuality programme had many positive results for the students compared to the control group. The

experimental group developed life-skills to a broader extent than the control group and they also improved their knowledge about sexual and reproductive health much better. Lee & Lee also found that the skills of self-management in relation to sexual and reproductive health increased for those students receiving a life skills-based sexuality education (2018, p.1-13).

Khademi and Khademi's (2013) study also showed the impacts of a life skills-based programme. The focus of that study was social competence (mental, motivational, behavioural and expressive) and academic achievements for high school students in Tehran, Iran. The experimental group in this study participated in 12 teacher-led sessions regarding life skills techniques such as for example self-awareness, decision making and problem solving. The findings, based on statistical analyses, showed results regarding improved social competence, although not noteworthy in academic achievement (Khademi & Khademi, 2013).

Both the study of Lee & Lee (2018) and the one of Khademi & Khademi (2013) highlight that life skills education have positive impacts. They also illustrate the importance of using specific learning strategies for a successful implementation and result. The results from Lee & Lee's (2018) study will be used for this thesis to investigate if the teachers agree with the specific learning methods regarding life skills.

2.3 Teachers' role in providing sexuality education

A study conducted by Kontula (2010) compared the progress and improvements of Finland's sexuality education and the students' sexual knowledge from 1996 and 2006. The results of the study are based on a national survey that was distributed among teachers and a quiz for students in Finland regarding sexual and health related knowledge. The study found improvements in the Finnish sexuality education 2006 such as more scheduled hours, more age-appropriate lectures and an inclusion of various topics relating to sexual and health related issues compared to 1996 (Kontula, 2010). Kontula also compared the teachers' responses with the level of knowledge among students and concluded that;

The level of students' sexual knowledge was promoted positively by teachers who wanted to teach attitudes of naturalness and tolerance towards sexuality, found sexual issues easy to talk about, told students of their own personal life, distributed free condoms samples and used classroom techniques including drama and role-play methods and presentations, and lectures given by students themselves (Kontula, 2010, p.373).

This comparison showed that the higher knowledge in sexual and health issues among students were strongly dependent on the quality of the education, which highlights the role of the teacher(s). However, the study did not find a correlation between, on the one hand, sexual experiences and on the other, knowledge. This study therefore highlights, besides more scheduled hours and divers' topics, the importance of stakeholders such as teachers to create an 'open and relaxed atmosphere during teaching' (Kontula, 2010, p.383).

Kontula's study is used in this thesis in order to emphasise the importance of teachers' role in providing and implementing sexuality education among children and youth. The most successful methods for teaching depend on context, norms and socio-economic prerequisites. That is why it is important to keep in mind that both Kontula's (2010) and Lee & Lee's (2018) studies only highlights the best learning methods for learners in a specific given context. Both studies do therefore not present a complete picture on how sexuality education best can be learned and taught. Rather do they provide examples that can or cannot be applicable to the case of teachers' perceptions of life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar, which is the focus of this thesis.

3. Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study. The first section presents the concept of empowerment and the latter the life cycle of norms.

3.1 Empowerment

In this thesis, *empowerment* is defined as the 'process by which individuals and groups gain power, access to resources and control over their own lives. In doing so, they gain the ability to achieve their highest personal and collective aspirations and goals' (Robbins, Chatterjee & Canda, 1998, p.91).

Kabeer's definition of the concept of empowerment is used as one of the two theories in this thesis. Kabeer describes empowerment as the change of individuals' perceptions of themselves, their abilities, opportunities and the possibility to make strategic life choices in a context where it before was denied. Empowerment thus derives from disempowerment and refers to 'the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability' (1999, p.435). This means that the central idea

of empowerment is interlinked and dependent on the idea of power and the ability to make choices (Kabeer, 1999, p.435-437).

Kabeer furthermore differentiate between two types of choices: first- and second-order choices. The first order choices refer to those strategic and important life choices individuals can make to live the life they choose. For example, if they want to get married and with whom, if they want to have children and/or where and how they want to live. The second order choices, less important if compared to the former, describes those choices that can be of importance to the quality of life. The ability to make life choices, become empowered and therefore create social change can be explained by three inter-related different dimensions: (i) resources, (ii) agency and (iii) achievements. As a pre-condition for empowerment is the access to those *resources* needed for empowerment (see figure below), which Kabeer means can both be material, but also human and social resources. These resources are acquired and distributed through institutional domains and various social relations such as the family, market and community in a society (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

resources	agency	achievements
(pre-conditions)	(process)	(outcomes)

(Kabeer, 1999, p.437)

The second stage, *agency*, is the process and ability for individuals to start defining goals and act upon them. Here exist both a positive meaning as well as one negative meaning of agency. The former refers to giving power to individuals in order for them to define their own goals, even though resistance may occur. The latter instead refers to the negative impact of power over someone, where stakeholders chose the goals for all people, even if someone has other goals as a wish (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

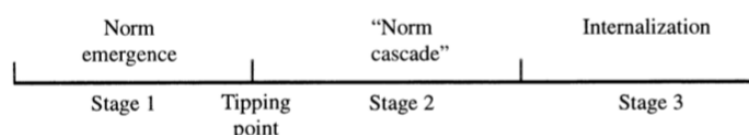
Both the first and second stage, *resources* and *agency*, are strongly dependent and inter-related to the norms, traditions and taken-for-granted rules within a society. Kabeer therefore means that these two steps of empowerment often challenge power relations since individuals start to question a certain reproduced social behaviour within a society when they realize their own value and ability to define goals. The last stage, defined by Kabeer as *achievements*, is the result and outcomes in the well-being of what resources and agency together hopefully have created; the opportunity for individuals to live the live they choose to live (Kabeer, 1999, p.460-462).

The concept of empowerment and its three inter-related dimensions will be used in this thesis as a way to understand the teachers' experiences and perceptions of sexuality education in Zanzibar. By defining both the teachers' as well as learners' needed *resources, agency* and *achievements* for a successful implementation of formal sexuality education, we may understand some of the challenges both groups are facing in this area. The starting point for this thesis is that the teachers are an important source for the empowerment for themselves and their learners, which is why the theory of empowerment will enable us to see the teachers' role and the perceived impacts for theirs' and the learners' life and possibility to make choices.

3.2 Norm changing

In 1998, Finnemore & Sikkink presented their theory of international norm dynamics and how this relates to political change. The process of how a norm emerges and later become internalized is presented by the authors as the *life cycle of norms* and will be used in this thesis to analyse the challenges the teachers may be facing regarding sexuality education.

A norm can be seen as 'a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity' (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.891). Social norms are therefore often understood as underlying rules, expectations as well as a pattern to why people think and act in a specific way in a given situation and/or context. Finnemore & Sikkink argue that norm influence is based on a three-stage process; (i) norm emergence, (ii) norm cascade and (iii) internalization as seen in the figure below.



(Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896)

The normative space in which new norms emerge are challenging and norms never emerge in a vacuum. A new norm therefore needs to compete with other perceptions, ideas and thoughts in the contested normative space. Norms can hence be said to emerge through the promotion by actors, referred to as *norm entrepreneurs*. These are persons who wish to see a change in behaviour within their community and/or social context through persuasion. The norm entrepreneurs are, as seen in the figure below,

most likely to be driven by *altruism* (actions based on humanity intended to help other people, even in violation of one's own well-being), *empathy* (the ability to care about other's feelings or thoughts) and *ideational commitment* (the belief in the norm and what it represents, even if the norm have no impact on one's own well-being). Norm entrepreneurs often work from and with an organization platform to create the best possible impact for the new norm. These organizational platforms vary in size, resources and influence; but almost always provide a feeling of partnership and solidarity among norm entrepreneurs and for them to have a structured base from which they can promote the norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-899).

	<i>Stage 1</i> <i>Norm emergence</i>	<i>Stage 2</i> <i>Norm cascade</i>	<i>Stage 3</i> <i>Internalization</i>
<i>Actors</i>	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
<i>Motives</i>	Altruism, empathy, ideational, commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
<i>Dominant mechanisms</i>	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

(Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.898)

If the norm entrepreneurs succeed to convince people, the norm reaches its *tipping point* - the stage between norm emergence and norm cascade. At this stage, actors begin to adopt the new norm and start question earlier norms and ways of thinking. However, research have not yet succeeded to find a universal answer why certain norms reaches its tipping point while others do not, as well as how many actors or which actors that needs to accept the norm before it is approved. When enough actors³ have approved the new norm, this norm develops to be the appropriate behaviour that actors ought to endorse (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.901). In this thesis, local actors and communities will be analysed instead of states in relation to international norm dynamics.

The second stage, referred to as the *norm cascade*, is characterized by 'socialization intended to induce norm breakers to become norm followers' (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.902). The most important actors in the second stage are therefore states and

³ Finnemore & Sikkink refer to states since their focus is on international norm dynamics and political change.

international organizations, who are trying to socialize one another to become norm followers. The motives for the norm cascade differ, but the authors highlight a combination of the following three; legitimacy, reputation and esteem (1998, p.895).

When a norm reaches *internalization*, the last and third step in the life cycle of norms, the norm is completely endorsed and therefore viewed as taken-for-granted. Professions, law and bureaucracy operate as the active means in the stage of internalization. The leading motive for the actors is conformity and is carried out through for example training to assist people to change behaviours and habits according to the newly internationalized norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.904-905).

Finnemore & Sikkink's (1998) theory of *life cycle of norms* is used to describe how a norm emerges and is endorsed as taken-for-granted. As this thesis aims to understand teachers' experiences and perceptions of sexuality education in Zanzibar, the theory of *life cycle of norms* is in this thesis used on a local level with teachers within their own community and social context. The theory will be used to analyse the challenges teachers may face on norms regarding sexuality education in relation to learners, parents and the community.

4. Methodology

The following chapter presents the methodology used for this thesis, including the material used and methods for data collection. Furthermore, ethical consideration and criticism of sources are also discussed as well as the use of thematic analysis to analyse the data.

4.1 Material and data collection

The empirical data used in this study was collected through in-depth interviews and one focus-group. In-depth interviews give the researcher a deeper understanding of a phenomenon and/or process compared to quantitative studies (Theorell & Svensson, 2007, p.89-91). As this thesis aims to better understand teachers' own perceptions and experiences of formal life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar, I aimed for the interviewees to describe their experiences and perceptions in their own words. The material was collected in Zanzibar during an eight-week period and interviewees were selected through contacts working in Zanzibar that was able to help me reach out to teachers in

public secondary schools. Furthermore, one interview with an officer at the Ministry of Education took place, to strengthen the already collected material.

4.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews with life skills teachers at three public Secondary Schools in the Western part of Zanzibar called Mjini Magharibi were conducted. The interviews were designed as semi-structured interviews, which is positioned in between (i) fully structured interviews with often closed questions and (ii) unstructured interviews with broad subjects for conversation rather than precise questions (Brown & Danaher, 2019, p.86). For interview guide, see appendix 1 and 2.

The interview guide for this study was designed with main focus questions and topics to discuss, as well as some additional questions to ask if necessary. The questions, as semi-structured interviews should be, were phrased to receive open responses from the interviewees and without expectations of what the answers would include and exclude (Brown & Danaher, 2009, s.77). Semi-structured interviews were chosen for this study to create an open dialogue and for the interviewee to be able to guide the interview in her/his own direction, without losing the focus from the main questions. Since questions regarding topics related to sexuality in its nature can be subtle to discuss, I wanted the interviewees to decide the level and intensity of the interview.

Interviews were conducted both individually and as a focus group. The focus group was chosen as an additional method for collecting data after the individual interviews with life skills teachers on the three different schools had taken place. This to be able to generate more in-depth knowledge about sensitive topics such as the teachers' experiences of gender equality and other topics related to sexuality, which can be difficult to discuss in an individual interview with an unknown interviewer (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, p.90). All ten life skills teachers interviewed for this study also participated in the focus group.

As a requirement for obtaining a research permit which will be further discussed in section 4.3, the life skills teachers participating in this study were chosen in collaboration with the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar. To minimize the large amount of paperwork and bureaucracy needed for the permission to perform research at each school, the choice fell naturally on the three schools that had the most educated life skills

teachers in a specific area close to Zanzibar Town. The selection of teachers was strategically chosen, see the full list of the participating teachers and schools in chapter 7 of this study (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, p.83-83).

4.2 Ethical considerations

Throughout the data collection, I have followed the research ethical principles outlined by Vetenskapsrådet: *information, consent, confidentiality, and use-requirement* (2002, p.7-11). This can be emphasised with the fact that a consent document was distributed prior to the interviews in this study; see appendix 3. The distributed consent form informed about the purpose of the study, that involvement was voluntary and that the interviewee had the right to decline to answer a specific question and withdraw her/his involvement at any time of the research process (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p.105-108). Before the interview, the same information was also given verbally to the interviewee.

This study focuses on questions regarding human rights, specifically topics related to sexuality. It is therefore important for me, as a researcher, to constantly take into consideration that human interests are equally important as scientific knowledge extraction. One of my major concerns prior to the interviews goes in line with the dilemma stated by Brinkmann & Kvale; that the interviewee would, on the one hand, feel offended or have revealed more information than what they had intended to do and on the other hand that I as a researcher would not have accessed the information required for my study. I have tried to reduce this by letting the interviewees guide the interviews in the level and intensity they felt comfortable with and therefore never pushed anyone to revealed too much information. As a researcher, I can only understand an interview situation by participating in one and thereafter learn and develop an intellectual ability for what is the best approach in a specific interview situation. I have throughout the gathering of data material always seen the situation through a perspective of honesty and righteousness (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p.97-111).

Since the interviewees and me as a researcher did not speak the same language, a translator was used during the interviews. The translator was an educated life skills teacher currently working at the Ministry of Education of Zanzibar, who I found through acquaintances at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and there through the Interfaith Center in Zanzibar. An ethical challenge during any

interview using a translator, is that the translator makes his/her own interpretation - consciously or unconsciously - of what is said. However, this can be reduced by clear guidelines (Reed & Ausra, 2012, p.15). Therefore, I informed the life skills teacher who operated as my translator, to translate word by word – without trying to add government official vocabulary nor translate in his own terms. Of course, at times this abruptly stopped the interview's flow, but the translator understood the importance of ethical challenges with research and wanted to help me reduce one aspect of it. When and if the translator was unsure about a specific word and/or sentence, he asked the other 1-2 teachers in the room for help to find a correct translation from Swahili to English. This created a friendly atmosphere in which all wanted to help.

Furthermore, translators can, in addition to translating, often act as a bridge between norms, traditions and ways of thinking. The life skills teacher working at the Ministry of Education came to take the role as 'bridge' for me: he assisted me on how to dress respectfully and we talked about our different ways of thinking regarding sexuality education and norms taken-for-granted in the specific context, which prepared me for the interviews. In addition, the interviews took place three weeks after I arrived in Zanzibar, which prepared me further. This since I got a sense of differences beforehand and could therefore minimize some misunderstandings, both regarding linguistic and non-verbal language. For example, homosexuality is according to me and my understanding as naturally to speak about as heterosexuality, but actions relating to homosexuality is a criminal act in Zanzibar and would, according to my translator and 'bridge', make the interviewees reserved and closed for further questions (Reed & Ausra, 2012, p.15; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p.184).

4.3 Critical review of sources

The main source of information in this study is qualitative semi-structured interviews and one focus-group with teachers in Zanzibar. The most important aspect in relation to criticizing interview data is the concept of tendency. Tendency means that interviewees and people in general will try to appear as advantageous as possible. It is therefore important to consider that interviewees may be filtering the reality and some events can be neglected while others are recognized to a disproportionate importance (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, p.106). In relation to tendency, the following section will highlight three important aspect of tendency as crucial review of sources conducted in this study;

(i) the research permit, (ii) the company of a government official and (iii) my role as a researcher.

To be able to collect material for this thesis, I had to apply for a Research Clearance from the Principal Secretary at the Second Vice President's Office in Zanzibar. The process was very time-consuming, expensive and stressful but gave positive results after 3 months of trying. After clearance, I was appointed one officer from the Research Department of the Second Vice President's office to introduce me to the teachers at the schools I had chosen to interview. After that, I was accompanied by a government official who was an educated life skills teacher. In relation to criticism of sources and the concept of tendency, it is important to note that official clearance in research both has pros and cons; especially for research relating to human rights. One positive aspect is that the research has got approval from the state and the suggested thesis has therefore gone through the correct and often bureaucratic process. This is important for both the researcher's personal security and as respect for the state. A negative factor when conducting research through official clearance from the country of research relating to human rights and often with a critical perspective may be that the interviewees do not want to risk being too honest for fear of the consequences of the research's results (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p.105-108). There is a risk, according to the concept of tendency, that the interviewees want to look good and therefore do not talk about challenges or difficult aspects. When appointed a government official, this was an aspect I was most afraid of as the respect for the state in Zanzibar weights high. Even though one may never be sure, the atmosphere was good as the government official accompanying me was an educated life skills teacher and connected well with the other teachers included in the study.

Although I as a researcher tried to minimize cultural clashes and misunderstandings, the authority and power perceived for me as a researcher was still present and goes hand in hand with the concept of tendency. Sweden is seen as a privileged country with gender equality and expertise in these subjects, why the interviewees at first had a hard time understanding why I was interested in their experiences of life skills. I soon understood that their uncertainty was based on the fact that they believed I was in Zanzibar with a government official to test their knowledge and conduct an evaluation of their performances as life skills teachers. When I informed the teachers that this was not the case and that I genuinely wanted to know more about how teachers in Zanzibar

perceived life skills education, they laughed and look relieved. After that discussion, the teachers were more active in the following interview. In relation to this, it is important to emphasise the researcher's power over the situation and research process. Sprague (2005) discusses the relationship between the researcher and the researched and argues that the researcher needs to understand her privileged status in the process. This because the researcher decides what is seen as a problem and what needs to be investigated and also how the findings for the gathering of material is used and presented. This problematic aspect has been reduced by using a thematic analysis method (see section 4.4) and by only posing questions which aimed to generate open and free answers (Sprague, 2005, p.54-58).

4.4 Thematic analysis

To analyse the collected data, a thematic analysis has been used which is a method that aims to identify different key themes and/or patterns of meaning in the data. The guidelines for what constitute a theme in a thematic analysis is flexible but can be seen as a category that the researcher find in the collected data and which relates both to the theoretical framework and the research questions the researcher has used for his/her study. The themes may occur both as repetitions in the collected interviews, but the researcher may also use his/hers theoretical framework to decide themes (Bryman, 2012, p.578-582). However, as Clarke and Braun pointes out; 'The key of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question' (2006, p.82).

I did not aim to find themes in the collected data but rather let the themes reveal themselves, as one should when choosing an inductive approach. In relation to this, it is important to emphasise this study's methodological approach; constructivism. This means that the answers from the interviews are seen as socially constructed and shall be seen in relation to the local context, structures and norms investigated. However, I am never neutral in my role; earlier experiences and ways of thinking will always influence the findings of the themes and decide which shall be included and/or excluded. I have tried to decrease this influence simply by being aware of this fact but most importantly, I have followed the right procedure when coding and analysing the collected material (Clarke & Braun, 2006, p.83-86).

The first step when coding the material was to transcribe the data from the audio records and thereafter get acquainted with the material by reading and re-reading the transcripts to create an overall view of the material. When reading, I focused on what was explicitly said in the interviews, called a sematic approach, and not the underlying messages. The second step when coding the material was to identify themes from the interviews that appeared relevant in relation to the research questions. I soon recognized that the identified themes could simply be divided under the three sub-research questions for this thesis, which furthermore created a clear structure for analysing the material and an understandable structure for the reader of this study. The third and last step in the thematic analysis of this study was to link the identified themes with the study's theoretical framework, which after solid work with the first and second step fell naturally. The themes identified now reflect the data material in its entirety and will be presented in the next chapter. Selected quotes from the interviews are referenced by T (teachers) and a number between 1-11 (the chronological order of the interviews and focus-group) (Clarke & Braun, 2006, p.87).

5. Results and Analysis

Based on the research questions outlined in the introduction, this chapter presents the results and analysis for this thesis. The chapter is divided into three sub-sections; (i) main challenges for teaching about topics related to sexuality, (ii) teachers' perceived role and approach towards teaching about topics related to sexuality and (iii) potential impacts from formal life skills and sexuality education for the teachers and learners. Each of these sub-sections include several sections where the results are presented and are followed by a short analysis.

In the beginning of the focus-group with all ten participating life skills teachers in this study, life skills as a technique and concept was discussed. One of the teachers explained life skills in a way that made the others nod in agreement, which is why his explanation will be used as a background on how life skills is perceived by the teachers and for the reader to better understand the following results and analysis.

I have my own definition of life skills, I don't know if it can be accepted by everybody but for me it's valid. *Life* is a sequence of challenges in any living things. *Skills* is a technique of how to live. *Life skills* is therefore to empower someone to have techniques on how to live and perform in his/her life. That can be literally anything: how to get a job or how to become a mechanics, pilot, religious person or farmer. Whatever you perform needs skills and that skill is needed for your life. In any kind of life, you will find challenges. If you run away from challenges, you run away from life. If you are scared of life, you need to face it. You need skills to overcome problems. (T1, 2019-03-16)

5.1 Main challenges of sexuality education

There are many challenges faced by teachers when teaching topics related to sexuality, the ones emphasised by the teachers in this study is presented in the following four sections. The results will be followed by an analysis in relation to earlier research and the theoretical framework of this study.

5.1.1 Lack of knowledge

For the teachers to be able to teach children about life skills and topics related to sexuality, more knowledge is needed. In 2018, all interviewees participating in this study attended a three days seminar by the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with Save the Children, regarding life skills, where they got information on life skills and how to teach it. According to the teachers, this seminar opened their' mindset and they began to understand the importance of teaching about life skills and topics related to sexuality. However, a majority of them agree that this seminar was not enough and that they need more knowledge. The below quote from one of the teachers states the importance of life skills:

Every teacher should be a life skills teacher. It is something that should not even be a subject, it should be so obvious and implemented in our mindset and schools.
(T1, 2019-03-07)

From this quote, it gets clear that life skills are not yet implemented enough in the schools in Zanzibar, as the teacher would wish for. This goes in line with earlier research insisting on a more up-to-speed approach and implementation by the government and the importance of raising awareness of life skills so that more teachers will be interested to learn and study specific courses in life skills.

Life skills as a technique is said to be known and implemented in schools in Zanzibar town but limited in schools elsewhere. The reason for this can be explained through the sometimes-non-adequate quality of courses related to life skills education and therefore lack of knowledge for teachers in Zanzibar. One teacher said that teachers sometimes study specific courses in life skills abroad, which often leads them to move to town when coming home. This because the city is considered the best place for self-realization.

Another problem is the lack of knowledge for pre-nursery, nursery and primary students in Zanzibar. According to the interviewees, life skills as a technique to overcome challenges in life, is only taught in secondary schools. The children need, according to the teachers, to be taught this from the beginning, so that when they are growing up and become teenagers, they will know how to take care of themselves and control their behaviour.

5.1.2 Limited access to resources

Another challenge for the teachers to deliver an adequate education in topics related to sexuality is the limited access to material-, human-, and social resources which can help the learners to learn and to study by hearing and seeing. The material resources are the lack of physical equipment such as brochures, documents and documentaries relating to life skills and sexuality education. Even a television, DVDs and projector were highlighted as important equipment for a better implementation. Regarding social- and human resources, the lack of knowledge among teachers was highlighted. Furthermore, the teachers stated that they are not merely enough teachers to be able to teach all learners about life skills and topics related to sexuality, which is emphasised in the quote below from one of the teachers:

In Zanzibar we have a small cake – too many people want to eat from the small cake. Too many students, small number of teachers. (T7, 2019-03-11)

In this statement, emphasising that the teachers are few in relation to the number of students, it is clear that not only do Zanzibar need more teachers. More life skills teachers are also needed to be able to promote and implement life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar. Since life skills is not a specific single-standing subject in school, there is no specific time designated for it either. The teachers are saying that they, in order to make time for it, are asking other teachers for some extra time, but sometimes they have to prioritize the single-standing subjects according to the education curriculum.

5.1.3 Silence and resistance from the community

Throughout the interviews, it became clear that the teachers have met a lot of resistance from other teachers, parents and the community, about teaching life skills and topics related to sexuality. Before they attended the seminar with Save the Children, they were even themselves a little confused as to why sexuality education was necessary. Some of the teachers experienced shame and questioned what the parents and community would think about them as persons who teach life skills. Their motivation to continue was the learners' willingness and positive response to/during the lectures.

When these educated life skills teachers told other teachers about the importance of life skills and sexuality education, there were a big collision between the ones supporting and the ones opposing it. The ones opposing it believed that life skills and sexuality education was against traditions and that teachers therefore were not allowed to teach children about those topics. Furthermore, the ones opposing believed that topics related to sexuality were too personal for a teacher to talk about and would also generate bad behaviour among learners.

Even parents and the community were scared and opposed it when the teachers introduced this subject as part of other subjects. They questioned what the children would be taught and also had an idea that knowledge about topics related to sexuality would lead the children to engage in sexual activities;

Parents believe that if we're going to talk about sexuality with children, we are teaching them to have sex. They thought in a negative way of how we talk about sexuality. They said: How can you talk about how you are having sex with our children? How to make a masturbation? Why? I think that it is the main challenge. But I think, if we talk to our

children in a positive way, I think we will just empower them. The parents now understand that we are not teaching the children to have sex. (T11, 2019-04-03)

The teachers then described the process of a better understanding for sexuality education as very slow. Especially two of the three chosen schools for this study continued the implementation of sexuality education, even if they were met with resistance almost everywhere. *Pole pole* (slowly on Swahili), the rejecters then came over to ‘the good side’. The reason for the change in norms and traditions, according to the teachers, was that the opposing teachers, parents and community realized the need of teach life skills. By taking the time to explain why the teachers were teaching learners about life skills and topics related to sexuality, they slowly understood the importance for the learners to be able to overcome challenges throughout life. The parents and the community now sometimes thank the teachers because the parents themselves cannot talk to their children about certain subjects. The ‘thank you’ is, according to the teachers, the most visible sign of change in norms and traditions regarding life skills and sexuality education.

To change traditions and norms is a long process according to the teachers. *Pole pole*, the teachers will, together with the community, organize to create change through information sharing. Now other teachers are volunteering to teach life skills, even though they know little about the subjects.

5.1.4 The influence from external norms and traditions

As stated in the introduction, one of the main incomes for Zanzibar is tourism and the population is therefore continuously exposed to and affected by external traditions and norms (MoEVT, 2012, p.17). The teachers highlighted these external traditions and norms deriving from international tourism as well as the influence from social media, as something that may be unhelpful for traditions and norms in Zanzibar. When international tourists integrate with children in Zanzibar, the children and even adults are trying to cope with the tourist’s lifestyle such as money, a good car and a fancy house, different public intimacy between couples, and different dress codes. The same applies to social media, where the learners have access to everything about anything – for better or worse. In Zanzibar, the teachers mean that the population cannot afford the same life style as the tourists and social media portrays.

According to one teacher, the external norms and ideas from tourists and social media have made many habitants confused about the meaning of life as well as having

difficulties to teach their children about traditions, norms and lifestyles in Zanzibar. This leads to young people not respecting traditions in Zanzibar; not because of disrespect but rather because of a lack of knowledge about their own heritage. Important traditional aspects the teachers referred to in this case are early marriage, sex before marriage and abortions:

Children should wait until they are married before they have sex. That is our culture. They should finish their plans before, and they should finish the studies. After they are married, they are free to have sex and have a child. (T1, 2019-03-07)

The respect for traditions, and norms, according to the teachers, goes hand in hand with life skills. That is if the children respected their own heritage, were informed about the negative aspects of internet use and influence from tourism and also have goals in life – the children would not be affected by international tourism and social media to the same extent.

5.1.5 Analysis of the main challenges

The following analysis will describe the teachers' main challenges of teaching life skills and topics related to sexuality and the process of slowly reducing the resistance from the community according to Finnemore & Sikkink's theory of *life cycle of a norm*, earlier research and the concept of empowerment.

The teachers referred to the process when they themselves understood the importance of life skills and sexuality education at the seminar arranged by Save the Children in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of Zanzibar. One can therefore interpret that the organizers of the seminar (Save the Children and the Ministry of Education), were the primarily *norm entrepreneurs* and the ones who wished to see a new behaviour in the community regarding life skills and sexuality education. Norm entrepreneurs are known to work from organizational platforms and since the main actors for providing life skills and sexuality education are international organizations, Save the Children is part of such an organizational platform. Through the seminar and the access to information (persuasion according to Finnemore & Sikkink), the teachers approved the new norm (providing formal life skills and sexuality education) and then became active norm entrepreneurs themselves for the implementation of life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-898).

The resistance from others that the teachers face can be described through the normative space in which new norms emerge; *norm emergence* (stage one in the life cycle of a norm). This space is, as the teachers experience, very challenging since the new norm competes with other more taken-for-granted perceptions, ideas and thoughts. The community's resistance derived, according to the teachers as well as Prah (2011) and UNESCO et al., (2018), from both lack of knowledge but most importantly, other ways of thinking regarding traditions and norms about life skills and sexuality education. Since no one according to the teachers in theory is supposed to openly discuss topics related to sexuality in the community, the norm regarding life skills and sexuality education in practise is to stay silent. There is also an idea, as mentioned above, that education in topics related to sexuality would lead the children to engage in sexual activities. To challenge such a taken-for-granted norm in a community takes courage, time and active actors who want to see a change in behaviour within the community and/or social context. The teachers have therefore continuously fought for this norm's emergence and by persuasion and, by giving access to information as the dominant mechanism, have tried to convince people in the community to also endorse the new norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-898).

By taking the time to explain why teachers should provide learners with life skills and sexuality education, many who first opposed it have come to endorse the new norm and all it stands for (referred to as the *tipping point* of a norm). Even though the resistance is not perceived as widespread and intense as in the beginning, the norm has not yet reached its *tipping-point* on a national level. This is evident since the resources needed (which will be further discussed in the following paragraph) are not allocated by laws and bureaucracy, which they would be if the norm was *internalized* (stage three in the life cycle of a norm) (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.904-905).

Resources are said to be distributed through institutional domains and various social relations such as the family, market and community. However, if parts of the community in a society makes resistance, there are few institutional domains and social relations that will distribute the necessary resources. The teachers argued that one of the main challenges for teachers to teach about life skills and topics related to sexuality is the lack of knowledge and limited access to resources needed. This can be understood through Kabeer's (1999) concept of empowerment, the process for individuals to gain ability to achieve goals and aspiration, and more specifically, the pre-conditions to

become empowered; *resources*. Resources can be material, but also human and social, which is linked to the answers by the teachers participating in this study. The perceived limited access to resources, such as DVDs, brochures and documents, for the teachers to teach about life skills and topics related to sexuality can therefore hinder the process of empowerment. The same can be understood for the human- and social resources such as the teachers' lack of knowledge, the lack of designated time for the subjects in the education curriculum and the uneven distribution and level of knowledge between Zanzibar town and elsewhere. This lack of resources means that the process of agency cannot properly start, and the learners may therefore be hindered to define goals and act upon them. This since the learners do not know how; either they haven't got the possibility to receive education regarding life skills and topics related to sexuality at all or not in the best possible way with the resources needed (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

However, sufficient resources or not, we can see through the results from the interviews in this study, that the teachers are making progress and that the resistance is declining. They are persistently making the most of what they got, despite limited access to resources and knowledge. According to Kabeer (1999), empowerment derives from disempowerment and the process to obtain the ability to make choices, which is truly accurate for the teachers and their fight for implementing life skills and sexuality education.

Mkumbo & Ingham (2010) emphasise the crucial role of parents' acceptance and positive response for the implementation of sexuality education to become successful. The results from my interviews strengthen this assumption and goes even further, since several participants expressed the importance of having not only the parents but the entire community on their side, and in line with the new norm regarding implementing life skills and sexuality education. However, a contradiction between the research by Mkumbo & Ingham (2010) and my study is that the teachers who participated in this study did see parents as a counterproductive force for a successful implementation of life skills and sexuality education. Even though it may be a big difference between the mainland Tanzania and the archipelago Zanzibar, Mkumbo & Ingham (2010) argue that 75% of parents in the union of Tanzania show support for formal sexuality education. I argue that the teachers would not highlight the parents as an obstacle if 75% of them were positive. On basis of the results from my study, even though I did not interview

the parents in question, such a generalization as Mkumbo & Ingham have done can therefore create an incorrect beautification of a question.

A coherent message from the community becomes even more important if the community is exposed to external values, norms and traditions by international tourism and social media and rather want to preserve specific traditions. The teachers believe that external cultural traditions and beliefs may be unhelpful to achieve this, but different messages from the different individuals included in the community may have the same consequences, if not worse. This relates to the aspect of implementing life skills and sexuality education in earlier ages than secondary school. If young children in pre-nursery, nursery and primary school receive the same message about life skills and topics related to sexuality, the children would be sure of their own heritage. The risks, as the teachers refers to, of being exposed to external values and norms will not decline in the near future. This because social media will increase, especially in younger ages with the advancement and accessibility of technology. Nevertheless, the *influence* of this exposure can still decline since a coherent message can create less confusion for the learners and their life-choices (UNESCO et al., 2018).

5.2 Teachers' approach on topics related to sexuality

This sub-section presents the second research question, namely how teachers describe their own role and approach towards teaching about life skills and topics related to sexuality. The answers from the collected data is divided in the sections below and are followed by a short analysis.

5.2.1 Feelings associated with life skills and topics related to sexuality

A majority of the teachers interviewed explained that they, before the seminar with Save the Children and the Ministry of Education, felt ashamed and were scared to talk about life skills and topics related to sexuality in front of the learners. They were also scared of what the community would think about them. They believed that topics related to sexuality was a private issue and should not be taught by teachers or talked about in a public space as schools:

Before, I was really feeling shy to talk anything before people about life skills and its components. 'How can we talk about HIV, sexual interaction and about sexuality in front of people?' For me, it was full of shame. But now, I am able to talk about anything about life skills and its components for anybody. I want to save children through more education about life skills. (T4, 2019-03-11)

After the seminar in 2018, all teachers felt more comfortable in their role and understood the importance of teaching about life skills and topics related to sexuality. Now, the teachers believe that all learners should be given this education. Shame has been replaced by an openness to speak about topics related to sexuality and life skills, in relation to age and traditions, to be able to give the learners' better knowledge. Now, many learners are the ones feeling embarrassed, by for example hiding their faces, and sometimes they stay silent during lectures because they are not used to teachers being so honest about sensitive subjects. Nevertheless, the teachers, particularly at one of the participating schools, are trying to encourage learners through different learning methods such as drama, role play, songs and debates to create a more open atmosphere in the classroom and prevent silence and shame.

Most of the teachers also express pride, especially when the learners open their minds and understand that they have a place where they can receive knowledge of life and the skills needed. Many learners also come to the teachers for consultation about issues they are facing, which strengthens the positive feelings associated with life skills and sexuality education for the teachers. This was stated by one of the teachers participating in this study:

They tell me because they trust me. They want me to guide them about challenges they may be facing in life. A girl was suspecting she was pregnant and later told me that she did an abortion. (T2, 2019-03-11)

The teachers therefore act as a trustworthy source of information, even regarding issues such as abortion, which is in practise legal but in theory viewed as unacceptable according to traditions and norms in Zanzibar. However, the teachers sometimes feel that the learners are too open with them and instead of consulting the teachers, they want to confess about situations and/or problems that have happened. At times, this create an overwhelming feeling for the teachers, since they do not know what to do with the information that the learners have shared with them. The teachers described that their loyalty and confidentiality lie with the learners, as long as the problems and/or situation do not affect the learner's security or may be harmful for oneself or others: then other teachers and parents will be involved. Moreover, teachers sometimes experience the feeling of not being supportive enough, since learners often forget to give feedback and information of how the situation and/or problem was solved.

As stated in the beginning of this section, all teachers felt a sense of pride to be able to teach children about life skills and topics related to sexuality. They also feel that they are needed:

The community needs us. The children need us. The country needs us. To teach this young people for their better life and for the better of the community and country and for the world at large. Commitment is needed. (T9, 2019-03-16)

The teachers perceive their role as important and that they, as their responsibility in life, need to commit for the children's' safety and better life. At one of the participating secondary schools in particular, the commitment and workload is in practise divided between 'women's issues' and 'men's issues'. In practise, this means that the boys' problems are discussed and solved solely between the male teachers and vice versa for the girls. However, if there is a reoccurring problem that needs to be solved on a bigger scale, all the life skills teacher in the school get together to find a solution to overcome the challenge and then inform the learner that asked for advice. According to the teachers, it is their responsibility – even if there are no resources allocated from the government;

It does not matter if the government doesn't have any money. We have, with confidence and commitment, to teach the children about life skills. They believe us and they will love us for it. (T9, 2019-03-16)

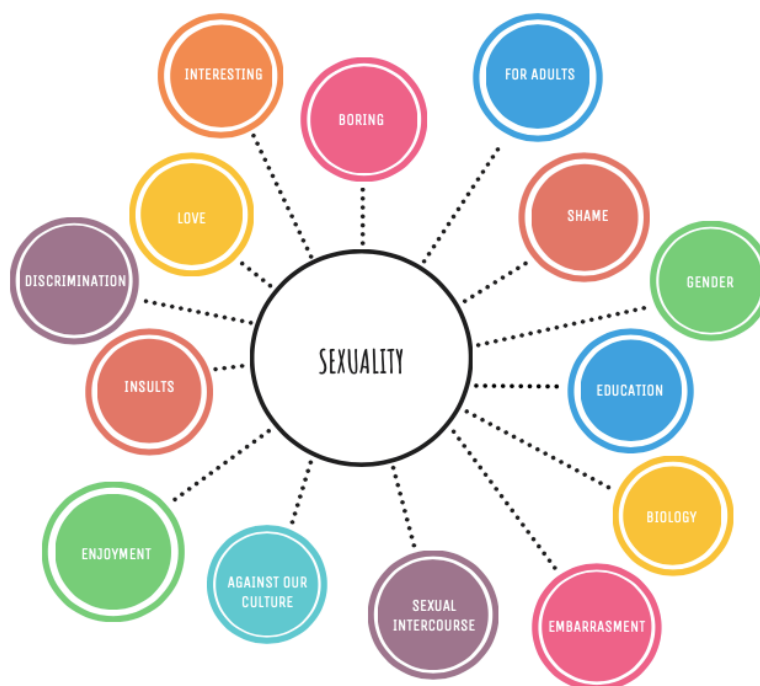
The teachers argued that the work as life skills teachers is a never-ending job. It starts when they are at home, both to educate their children and their partners, and then continues through-out the workday as teachers, and then restarts again at home with their family and in the community. The few teachers that are usually not teaching life skills, especially teachers in mathematics and Swahili, meant that they still feel needed and are doing it to help the children from early marriages and unintended pregnancies. They also stated that they cannot solve everything, but instead need to focus on what they have achieved and be proud of that.

5.2.2 The complexity of sexuality

Topics related to sexuality education that were emphasised as present during lectures by the teachers throughout the interviews for this study were: sexual intercourse; sexual reproductive health; HIV/AIDS; sexuality; poverty; group-pressure and group psychology; gender-based violence; under-aged pregnancies; harmful practises such as substance abuse and fast speeding; puberty (changes in the body) and sexual transmitted diseases. Some teachers, especially in mathematics and Swahili, meant that there are

no specific subjects related to sexuality, but that they still try to create some time for life skills and sexuality education during the lectures.

During the focus-group that I arranged with all ten secondary school teachers, the teachers were asked to create a mind-map with words and topics they related to sexuality, as a way for them to describe the complexity of sexuality. As shown in the figure below, the following aspects were emphasised:



As the mind-map illustrates, sexuality for the teachers is limited to specific subjects and feelings, such as shame and embarrassment. Some of the teachers also underlined that they only speak about the effects of the subjects with the learners, most often the negative impacts. To talk about the positive impacts of sexual intercourse would, according to the teachers, be against traditions and norms in Zanzibar, and could be interpreted as encouragement to engage in sexual activities.

During the same focus-group, the teachers were also asked to write down subjects that they felt uncomfortable to teach out on post-it notes, and then put them in a box. The subjects were HIV, condom use, personality, sexual intercourse, puberty, sexual disease, adolescence, relations, reproduction, temptation, feelings relating to sex, and sexual health and gender. After this exercise, we jointly discussed what was scary about the subjects. It did not take long until we ended up on the subject of the use of condom.

As stated in the introduction, the use of condom is against norms in Zanzibar. This was highlighted by one of the teachers:

We are not allowed to talk about the use of condoms, especially for the students. (T9, 2019-04-03)

When I interviewed an officer at the Ministry of Education, other topics were highlighted as non-shameful and normalized to discuss in the classroom: the effects of abortions and homosexuality, as well as the importance of menstruation hygiene. Since none of the teachers themselves mentioned these subjects, they will not be discussed further.

5.2.3 Teachers own empowerment by life skills

The teachers emphasised that they were also beginners of life skills education before the seminar provided by Save the Children and the Ministry of Education. Afterwards, they have themselves noticed a development regarding how they think and react in certain situations in life.

One teacher gave an example from when her daughter was hospitalised, and the doctors would not give her any information. With help from life skills techniques, she decided with confidence, to talk to the doctor about scientific procedures. Due to the commitment she showed that she had learned from her training in life skills, the doctor gave her information the same day.

Thanks to the knowledge about life skills, the teachers are more comfortable to discuss sensitive topics. Even though they were met with resistance from the community in the beginning, they knew what they wanted to achieve. They had created a common goal: to provide more learners with the knowledge about life skills and topics related to sexuality.

Another example of empowerment described throughout the interviews was when one of the teachers lost her husband. Through the knowledge about life skills and the technique to overcome challenges in life, she continued her life - taking care of her children and went to work - even though it was hard. She believed that she was able to handle the grief better thanks to her education in life skills and the psychosocial skill she developed in coping with emotions, self-awareness and empathy.

One out of the three participating schools are now also involved in a lawsuit related to a child's safety. Whether the involvement is related to the knowledge about life skills

is unclear, but according to the teachers, the problem as to why the child's safety is in danger would not have been identified without the teachers' knowledge in life skills. This since the ability in critical thinking and empathy made one teacher realise that one child's difficulty to not bow down must depend on underlying factors. Thanks to the ability in decision-making and better skills in communication, the teacher had the courage to ask if the child had been and was being raped, which was true.

5.2.4 Analysis of the approach on life skills and topics related to sexuality

Firstly, the teachers' feelings associated with teaching life skills and topics related to sexuality can be explained through what Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) refer to as the *norm entrepreneurs'* driving motives for social change. In relation to the teachers answers, one may argue that they are driven by all three motives, altruism, empathy and ideational commitment, in different aspects and periods of time of the norm's emergence. Altruism and ideational commitment were the driving motives when the teachers had to disregard their own reputation and role in the community as well as their own shame and embarrassment of speaking about sensitive subjects; all for the belief in the outcomes of life skills and sexuality education. When the community understood the importance and the impacts the provided education may have for the learners, the main driving motive for the teachers shifted to empathy and the ability to care about others' feelings and/or thoughts. Before, the teachers could not take into account the community's feelings and ways of thinking in line with empathy, since they represented everything the teachers did not support - staying silent. The main motives can therefore be understood as changing from altruism and ideational commitment to empathy in line with the decline of the resistance (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-899).

The feelings of pride to educate the learners in life skills and topics related to sexuality despite resistance can also be understood through the concept of empowerment, and more specifically the second dimension *agency*. Through the seminar with Save the Children and the Ministry of Education, the teachers themselves got empowered to start defining goals (the importance of life skills and sexuality education) and act upon them (provide life skills and sexuality education). Hence, the teachers themselves got the theoretical knowledge about life skills and converted this knowledge into practical actions to stand up for the learners' right to education in life skills, including topics related to sexuality. The teachers may therefore be seen as the enabling provider of this education. As stated earlier, *agency* according to the concept of empowerment and *a norm's*

emergence according to the life cycle of a norm, are strongly dependent and inter-related with other norms, traditions and taken-for-granted rules within a community. In relation to this, one important aspect to highlight relating to the teachers' feelings associated with teaching about life skills and topics related to sexuality is that it challenges power relations, especially the ones between the teacher and the learners (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

As emphasised by Prah (2011), the implementation is dependent on several factors including classroom dynamics, the relation between teacher and learners and how comfortable the learners feel to actively participate during lectures. This assumption is strengthened by the results of this study, since the teachers themselves also highlighted the learners' sometimes embarrassment and silence during lectures, and that they as teachers have become comfortable speaking about sensitive topics. However, other important aspects such as the teachers' feelings - for example overwhelmed or not feeling supportive enough - associated with the fact that the learners are sometimes are too open with the teachers about challenges they are facing in life. This can be understood through what Khademi & Khademi (2013) describe as the development of the learners' social competence. Likewise, Kabeer (1999) describes this as *achievements*, which is an outcome of life skills education and empowerment and will be discussed in the next sub-section. The contradiction between the two sayings, that the learners' sometimes feel embarrassed during lectures while they also are perceived as speaking too openly with teachers, can describe the complexity of challenges teachers face when providing life skills and sexuality education, since all learners and situations require different approaches and methods.

To cite the teachers, *pole pole*; they cannot change everything at once. Most of the teachers participating in this study are, according to themselves, talking about life skills and topics related to sexuality in a natural and easy way and are furthermore using classroom techniques such as drama, songs and role-play to create an open atmosphere during teaching. This is, according to Kontula (2010), some of the most important aspects and learning methods for a successful implementation.

Secondly, this analysis focuses on the complexity of topics related to sexuality; the understanding of sexuality as more than a biological process. Even though several subjects

related to sexuality⁴ were highlighted in the individual interviews as present during the teachers' lectures, the results from the focus-group and the creation of the mind-map as well as the post-it-notes can be understood as a contradiction. For example, in the focus group embarrassment, shame and that certain topics are against the norms were highlighted to a larger extent than during the individual interviews. As such, having a focus-group as an additional method of collecting data for this study generated more in-depth knowledge and aspects of sexuality were problematized. Basic knowledge regarding topics related to sexuality, such as sexual intercourse, reproduction and HIV, were presented as uncomfortable to teach about in the focus-group. The feelings associated with pride and the openness discussed before can therefore be questioned; either have the teachers tried to beautify the reality in the individual interviews or most likely did the focus group fulfilled its goal: to create such an open environment where the teachers dared to put words on something that one might not even thought for themselves. Either way do the contradiction describe the complexity of teaching life skills well and highlights the need for more open discussions and further research on the subject (Tamale, 2011, p.608).

The participating learners in Mkumbo's (2010) study wanted to learn specifically about the following subjects; sexual decision-making, sexual pleasure and enjoyment, relationship, safer sex and condom use, sexual transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, as well as masturbation. Many of these above-mentioned subjects are discussed by the teachers in this particular study as against norms in Zanzibar and is therefore subjects not allowed to talk about, especially in front of learners. Positive impacts of sexual intercourse such as pleasure and enjoyment and the use of condoms were specifically highlighted as two of them in the results previously presented. The learners in Mkumbo's (2010) study wanted to broaden the scope of topics covered in the formal sexuality education as well as learn some of the positive aspects of topics related to sexuality, but as illustrated by the results, the teachers participating in this study do not focus on these aspects of sexuality.

Thirdly and lastly, this analysis focuses on the teachers' own empowerment generated from knowledge in life skills and topics related to sexuality. The process of

⁴ Sexual intercourse, sexual reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, sexuality, poverty, group-pressure and group psychology, gender-based violence, under-aged pregnancy, harmful practises such as substance abuse and fast speeding, puberty and sexual transmitted diseases

empowerment through the three inter-linked dimensions: resources, agency and achievements for the teachers is well identified in the results for this study. The *resources* (the pre-condition for empowerment) are the knowledge in life skills, which they received from the seminar with Save the Children and the Ministry of Education. Through the knowledge they gained from the seminar, they started the process of *agency* (started defining goals and acted upon them) by knowing what they wanted; answers from a doctor, justice and safety for a child and to become more comfortable speaking about sensitive subjects. The *achievements* (the results from empowerment) are many and various; the teachers are able to face challenges better, have developed the way they think and react in certain situation and have furthermore fought for the implementation of life skills and sexuality education when seeing the positive outcomes. The teachers participating in this study have, through life skills and the enabling factor for empowerment receiving this knowledge have, started to practice human rights, in the sense that they better stand up for themselves, and protect violated human rights.

Through the empowerment in life skills, the teachers have developed the ability and life skills in all of WHO's (1999) five basic areas of life skills. The teachers developed their ability for *creative and critical thinking*, since they started to question certain taken-for-granted norms and structures in the community. The teachers also decided to stand up for the implementation of life skills and sexuality education while trying to reduce the resistance from the community, which goes in line with the competence of *decision-making and problem solving*. The resistance had to be met with good arguments, well-balanced *communication* and the ability to persuade, which requires good *interpersonal skills*. By understanding their own important role in providing life skills and sexuality education in relation to others' feelings and thoughts, the teachers developed *self-awareness and empathy*. Lastly, by strengthening the ability to *copy with emotions and stress*, the teachers converted shame to pride when teaching about sensitive subjects⁵ (Kabeer, 1999, p.437).

5.3 Potential impacts for the learners' empowerment

The last and third part of the results and analysis for this study is the potential impacts life skills and sexuality education may have for the learners' empowerment. The teachers participating in this study were unanimous; life skills and sexuality education have

⁵ This paragraph is not solely based on this sub-chapter but also the first third of this study's analysis.

huge impacts on the learners' empowerment. As earlier in this study, themes found in the interviews will first be presented, followed by an analysis including earlier research and the theoretical framework for this study.

5.3.1 Communication and critical thinking

The main theme found throughout the interviews regarding potential impacts for the learners' empowerment was the learners' ability to communicate better and the development of critical thinking. After attending lectures in life skills and topics related to sexuality, the learners have developed the way they communicate and express, with confidence, what they are doing and going to do in their everyday life and what kind of issues they, or their friends, are facing. The teachers claimed that the lectures provided have affected the way the learners are thinking and speaking, which can be understood from the quote below:

One impact of life skills is that children are now able to open their minds and mouths to be able to speak what kind of challenges they face both emotionally, psychologically and mentally for themselves and in the community. They don't trust the parents, but maybe because of lectures in life skills they are more open to teachers and tell them about challenges in life. (T3, 2019-03-08)

This kind of openness towards the teachers has already been emphasised earlier in this thesis. The teachers argued that the learners are asking for more lectures in life skills and topics related to sexuality since they enjoy it and can themselves see the difference in how they are thinking, feeling and acting. Moreover, the learners apologize to the teachers if they believe they have done something wrong. Hence, the teachers see a great impact on the learners' ability to reflect upon their actions and what they do, especially related to the relation between learner and teacher.

The learners also communicate with the teachers better now than before, to that extent that teachers sometimes feel that the students are too open and are discussing and opposing existing structures. This includes for example that one should not have a partner before marriage, not to sleep in the same bed with one of the opposite sex before marriage and why one should not have an abortion. According to a majority of the teachers, the teachers has:

Thanks to life skills, managed to build friendship between the children and us teachers. (T10, 2019-03-14)

5.3.2 Decision-making and problem solving

The participating teachers argued that the learners have, due to the education in life skills and topics related to sexuality, started to think about setting life goals and pursue them. The learners have therefore developed the ability to solve and overcome problems and challenges in life. For example, one boy realized he had problems at home related to sexuality after he had received knowledge about specific components and topics regarding sexuality in school. He then asked the teacher for advice on how to handle the problem and due to life skills and the teacher's advice, he was able to solve the problem at home through the knowledge obtained.

In a broad sense, the teachers meant that the learners, due to life skills, now understand the consequences their decisions may have; for example, what sexual intercourse may lead to and the dangers with speeding and substance abuse. However, a few teachers also experience difficulties to reach some learners;

Some of them, they do understand. But some, they understand in a minute but then forgets the information given equally as fast. Some students are not yet able to open up their minds and mouths. Maybe they want to, but they hide. They are scared. (T5, 2019-03-11)

5.3.3 Self-awareness and empathy

The participating teachers argued that empathy, to care about others' feeling and thoughts, is one important impact that the learners develop through lectures in life skills and topics related to sexuality. This is portrayed through the impact of positive peer-groups, which have in periods been established since the beginning of lectures in life skills and topics related to sexuality:

Some students were dropping out of school but those who have been studying life skills mobilized for the others to come back to school. This because of life skills. (T7, 2019-03-11)

The ability to form groups to help each other to take the right direction would not be possible if the learners themselves did not first learn how to take care of themselves physically, emotionally and mentally, as well as how to protect themselves from unnecessary challenges and obstacles such as unintended pregnancy and substance abuse in life. The teachers highlighted that the learners have become very pro-active and have gained high self-confidence since they began attending lectures in life skills and topics related to sexuality. The learners now understand the importance of education and that it is not worth to drop out of school.

5.3.4 Analysis of potential impacts for the learners' empowerment

Based on the results presented above, the answers regarding the potential impacts for the learners' empowerment did not give as concrete and many explicit examples as previous parts in this thesis. When I asked questions related to this topic, I noticed that the participants had some difficulties to understand what I meant. It could be argued that the teachers viewed the impacts of life skills and sexuality education as so obvious and taken-for-granted but had never been questioned and problematized further. Nevertheless, the teachers were unanimous about the great impact of life skills and sexuality education. The following analysis will therefore derive from that statement and discuss the examples given above. As an inspiration for the analysis, WHO's (1999) five areas of life skills will be used: decision-making and problem solving, creative and critical thinking, communication and interpersonal skills, self-awareness and empathy and coping with emotions and stress.

As earlier research suggests, including Lee & Lee (2018), life skills-based sexuality education is said to contribute with many positive results such as better developed life skills than if given solely lecture-based sexuality education, improved decision-making and knowledge about sexual and reproductive health. This assumption is strengthened through the material collected for this study, since the participating teachers highlighted the same positive results as Lee & Lee (2018). The teachers never spoke about topics related to sexuality aside from life skills but rather always as one component of life skills, which further strengthens the results of Lee & Lee's (2018) study and provides support for their conclusion that life skills-based sexuality education is a good learning-method for successful impacts and results for the learners' knowledge and empowerment.

The impacts life skills and topics related to sexuality may have for learners may also be explained through the concept of empowerment. Many answers from the teachers goes in line with the three inter-related dimensions of empowerment; *resources*, *agency* and *achievements* and will be identified to better understand the teachers' perceptions and experiences of the process of empowerment for the learners. Throughout the answers, it becomes clear that the pre-conditions (*resources*) for empowerment is the education and knowledge provided in life skills and sexuality education by the teachers. It is through this education, and process (*agency*), the teachers themselves perceive and experience changes in how the learners think, feel and act. The learners start to define

goals, which is the very basis for empowerment. The outcomes and impacts (*achievements*) are therefore that the learners' attempts to pursue the goals they have defined in a self-confident manner. In relation to empowerment, one may also see the peer-groups as part of the *agency*; namely that the learners, through mobilization, want to give children that are dropping out of school the same power and choice to define their own goals and for them to solve and overcome the faced problems and challenges to be able to come back to school. However, the teachers also experienced that it can be difficult sometimes to reach all learners and for them to open their minds and mouths. This can be seen as a lack of pre-conditions (*resources*) for the process of empowerment to start. Perhaps these learners need other resources that are not provided such as more time to process the information given or other learning-methods. The resources can however not be identified without asking the learners in question, but one can conclude that some resources are missing for these specific learners since we all learn at different speeds and with different methods of learning (Kabeer, 1998, p.437).

The results in this study also strengthen the assumption that life skills are a key to convert human rights theoretically described into practice and the everyday life of individuals. The learners have learnt this through the process of empowerment discussed above. The mobilized peer-groups convert the right that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (UDHR, Article 1, 1948) and the teachers' perceptions that the learners sometimes are too open regarding sensitive subjects convert 'the right to freedom of expression' (ICCPR, Article 19:2, 1966). Through the knowledge in life skills and topics related to sexuality, learners are said to better reflect upon their actions and apologize when doing something wrong. This relates to obligations on an individual level, which are dependent and inter-related to human rights. Namely, to understand one own's obligations entail that the learners also have knowledge about their rights. Receiving the knowledge and education in itself is important. Still, as this and the paragraph above regarding the process of empowerment illustrates, it is even more important to be able to convert the knowledge into practice, which life skills enables.

Even the results of Khademi & Khademi (2013) can be applied to the impacts the teachers perceived that life skills and sexuality education have for their learners. This is because the teachers believed that the learners' social competence have developed, but never mention improvements in the learners' academic achievements, which is the same as the conclusions made by Khademi & Khademi. However, since life skills only

have been implemented as a learning-method for approximately a year in the schools participating in this study, it can still be difficult to measure and see specific improvements. Nevertheless, the learners' have developed their ability to reflect upon their action, can better express themselves and have better motivation to set goals and pursue them. This goes in line with the findings of Khademi & Khademi (2013), that better social competence (mental, motivation, behavioral and expressive) is gained when converting life skills into practice.

In relation to the ability to better express and communicate, the teachers perceive as mentioned above that the learners sometimes are too open. One may argue that it is one thing to theoretically and in a specific distanced manner talk about sensitive topics, but when the learners in practice then respond in their own way and language, it can perhaps become a little too real for the teachers. Relating to norm changing and Finnemore & Sikkink (1998), the learners feel safer in breaking and question taken-for-granted norms and traditions⁶ when developing their ability in life skills, especially in creative and critical thinking and skills in communication. We cannot draw any conclusions about whether the learners are trying to oppose and change norms and the ways of thinking without talking to the learners in question. However, according to the teachers one can at least argue that the learners are trying to create a more open and friendlier environment where one in practice can discuss more than what is acceptable according to traditions, norms and structures in Zanzibar today.

Several of the five areas in life skills according to the WHO (1999) has explicitly been emphasised in this analysis. Coping with stress and emotions is the one category in which the teachers have not explicitly referred to. However, the teachers mentioned that the learners experience a difference in how they feel thanks to knowledge in life skills, even though it is not specified further. The learners can, according to the WHO (1999), by developing the ability of life skills in these five areas become empowered to stand up for their rights and better face challenges in life. Based on this analysis of the teachers' perceptions and experiences, this assumption by WHO is strengthened.

⁶ relationship before marriage, why one should not have an abortion and why one cannot share the same bed as the opposite sex before marriage

6. Conclusions and discussion

In the following chapter, drawn conclusions from the results of this study will be presented. The chapter furthermore discuss this study in relation to the broader research field and the study's representativeness. The chapter ends with suggestions on remaining research problems.

6.1 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to better understand how public secondary school teachers in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar, experience and perceive the implementation of life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar and the perceived contribution this may have for the their and the learners' empowerment. Through the collected material for this study and by applying this study's theoretical framework, norm changing and empowerment, the aim of this study has been fulfilled and the main research-question been answered:

- How do teachers describe their perceptions and experiences regarding the implementation of formal life skills and sexuality education in public secondary schools in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar?

The teachers themselves never explicitly referred to education in life skills and topics related to sexuality as a human right nor did they refer to international covenants and declarations. Nevertheless, throughout the results it becomes clear that they indirectly relate to those values. Although this study does not investigate education in general, it is important to emphasise that all learners according to the teachers *should be given this education* and that the learners, through converting such an education into practise, *will be empowered*. This relates to international standards (ICESCR, article 13:2, 1967; UDHR, article 26, 1948; ACHPR, article 17, 1987; CRC/GC, paragraph 2, 2001), stating that education shall be made available, compulsory and accessible to all. The teachers also perceived that education in life skills and topics related to sexuality *is needed for a better life*, both for the learners themselves but also for the community as a whole. Without knowledge in life skills and topics related to sexuality, the teachers believed that the learners would not be able to face challenges in life as good as if they did gain the knowledge.

Life skills enable individuals to contribute to the community and for oneself with a greater impact. This because the learners, through education in life skills and topics related to sexuality, develop their ability for decision-making and problem solving, creative and critical thinking, communication and interpersonal skills, self-awareness and

empathy as well as coping with emotions and stress (WHO, 1999). The results in this study also strengthen the assumption that life skills automatically incorporate human rights values and are a key to convert theoretically described human rights into practise. This since the developed abilities will in turn enable the learners to truly understand their own value and rights, better identify risks and problem, and know when and/or if human rights are in the risk of being violated.

The results from this study also support previous research, such as the one by Kontula (2010) stating the crucial role of teachers to provide and implement life skills and sexuality education. As the study conducted by MoEVT (2012) illustrates, a minority of students get information on topics related to sexuality from schools. However, as this study shows, the willingness for teachers to teach about life skills and topics related to sexuality is strong as well as their role as a trustworthy source for information and advice for the learners. The teachers therefore play an important role to empower the learners to stand up for themselves, understand and ensure the protection of human rights and to better face challenges in life. Furthermore, specific learning methods and how the teachers teach are highlighted as vital for how the learners receive and understand the information. More active learning methods through for example song, dance and drama, are seen as a more natural ways of teaching and for learning, which strengthens the conclusions in Kontula's (2010) study. Many of the challenges the teachers face that were brought up in this study can be reduced through an open and friendly environment.

Previous research, this study included, highlight the positive effects of education in life skills and topics related to sexuality for the learners' empowerment and therefore life (cf. Lee & Lee, 2018; Kontula, 2010; Khademi & Khademi, 2013). However, results from this study also show support for Tamale's (2011) statement that policy support and efforts can be present, but difficulties and limitations arise when implementing this support into practise. The teachers stated that they need knowledge and resources to be able to teach about life skills and topics related to sexuality. The lack of human-, material-, and social resources is one of the most highlighted challenges for a successful implementation throughout this study and therefore need to be given priority when policy support is converted into the practical implementation. The teachers also highlighted that more educational material needs to be developed and distributed, and that the distribution needs to be comprehensive, and not only favour the schools located

close to Zanzibar Town. Finally, the teachers also highlighted that a better integration of life skills and topics related to sexuality in the education curriculum would contribute to designated time, which in turn would create an improved opportunity to teach.

As seen in this study, *pole pole* besides the meaning slowly also represent an aspect of patience and steadiness. Based on the results from this study, the process of a slow and steady implementation of formal life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar can be assimilated as a sustainable and permanent change. This since local ownership and national norms and traditions is taken into consideration regarding life skills and sexuality education.

One final conclusion based on the results from this study is the assumption that life skills and sexuality education enable individuals to start the process of empowerment and there through the willingness to change existing norms and structures in the community. This assumption can be strengthened through the process of empowerment for both the teachers and the learners. The teachers have, through their empowerment, been fighting for learners' right to life skills and sexuality education and there through changed pre-existing norms regarding silence about sensitive subjects. The learners themselves now speak openly about and are questioning topics that have always been taken-for-granted and/or silenced. Hence, through the process of empowerment and the enabling factor life skills have for this, actors have start to change norms and dominant structures within the community. The results from this study therefore strengthen the idea about the potential impacts empowerment contribute to and the impacts this have for the development of a community.

6.1.1 Reflection of conclusions

To discuss my study in a broader context than only human rights development aid and dependency, which entails the promotion of external norms and traditions, can be considered. There are numerous examples where the good will of aid development and interventions in practise have caused at least as much harm as good. One example is Massad's (2007) study regarding ideas and thoughts about homosexuality in the Arab world. Massad states that homosexuality was being practiced without problems until the Western world, through development aid and interventions, infiltrated Arab traditions and norms. Homosexuality became, through external norms, questioned. Based on the conclusions drawn from this study, one may argue that the government of Zanzibar needs to continue to take a strong responsibility and ownership over the

implementation of formal life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar. This to avoid the comparable rapid full-scale methods for change that international projects often use and instead continue to preserve local traditions and norms by changing the community slow but steady, *pole pole*, which is emphasised as truly important according to the participating teachers in this study.

To refer to this study's theoretical framework, the government of Zanzibar needs to *internalize* the norm of formal life skills and sexuality education. To make this norm completely endorsed on a national level, the norm first needs to reach its *norm cascade*. This is where the ones opposing formal life skills and sexuality education is convinced about the norm's benefits and there through become norm followers. This can be done through conformity as the leading motive and aims at institutionalizing the norm in laws and bureaucracy (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.898). This study has highlighted many important aspects to take into consideration when, and if, translating policy support into practical work of implementation. A few suggestions within the aim and scope of this study to better institutionalize the norm will be discussed below.

One solution for a better implementation of life skills and sexuality education in the context of Zanzibar would be to tone down aspects related to sexuality. Even though the teachers participating in this study have contributed to a shift in the ways of thinking among individuals in the communities, the sensitivity regarding sexuality have throughout this study been strong. The resistance of implementing life skills education from the community derives from a worry that the learners will, if given the knowledge about topics related to sexuality, reject outdated traditions and norms. In order to reach a better and easier implementation, providing life skills education without emphasising topics related to sexuality would allow learners to make responsible decisions regarding themselves, their bodies, and therefore also topics related to sexuality. Life skills as a technique and concept provides the ability in WHO's five areas of life skills, which can be applied to topics related to sexuality by the learner him/herself. This approach may not be ideal in every context but can act as a 'bridge' to facilitate and adopt the implementation of life skills education more easily to the local context in Zanzibar. The government would therefore benefit from locally owned projects, where educated life skills teachers can lead seminars and hence spread their knowledge. This also strengthens one method of internationalize a norm, namely to assist people to change behaviours and habits (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.904-904).

Previous research as well as this study have emphasised the importance of a coherent message from all actors within a community for a successful implementation. (UNESCO et al., 2018). This is also accurate for the government and the ministries in Zanzibar; the teachers and the community need to know that the bureaucracy and the laws stand behind them in the sometimes-hard resistance. If the government would improve the development of the above-mentioned suggestions for a better implementation in the section of conclusions, the Education Policy for Zanzibar would, in practise, better meet its own requirement to ‘develop strategies and capacities to respond to risks and threats faced by children and young people efficiently and rapidly’ (MoEVT, 2006, p.54).

6.2 Discussion

All three schools chosen for this study had participated in a seminar with Save the Children in 2018. It can therefore be argued that the results from this study may only be generalized to teachers in secondary schools who also attended that seminar or any other specific course in life skills. Evidentially, the participating teachers constantly referenced the seminar and the knowledge obtained from participating, and the seminar obviously made a great impact on how they perceive themselves as teachers of life skills. To choose teachers from schools who did not attend the seminar with Save the Children would perhaps create more generalized results for other communities in Zanzibar, since the teachers not participating are a clear majority in Zanzibar in relation to the ones actually participating. However, the participating teachers in this study described a ‘before-after phase’ regarding norm changing within the community about life skills and sexuality education. Other teachers who have not received specific courses in life skills and sexuality education can therefore assumed to be in the so-called ‘before-phase’. In this phase, the teachers have no organizational platforms to derive from, may be undecided about teaching life skills, including topics related to sexuality, and is faced with great resistance, and perhaps not convinced of the benefits of life skills education.

Nevertheless, more in-depth knowledge and understanding about the resistance and the challenges teachers face regarding the implementation of life skills and sexuality education was conducted thanks to the sample of teachers who all had attended the seminar. Teachers who did not participate in the seminar would not have the same knowledge

about life skills and sexuality education and its implementation in relation to local norms and traditions. This study is therefore still only a first important step to fill the research-gap regarding sexuality education in Zanzibar.

This study relates to previous research that highlight the positive impact life skills and sexuality education have for the learners' and their empowerment (cf. Kontula, 2010; Lee & Lee, 2018; Khademi & Khademi, 2013). However, most studies focus on the concrete positive impacts after a successful implementation, rather than on problems and challenges related to the actual implementation of life skills and sexuality education. For example, Mkumbo & Ingham's (2010) study focuses on why 75% of parents in Tanzania support the existence of sexuality education, instead of why 25% of parents are against the subjects. As shown by the results of this study, more research is needed on the challenges of implementing life skills and sexuality education.

If this same study would be conducted again in two years, the study would probably not show the same results. This because more teachers would have overcome the worst resistance and challenges regarding the implementation of life skills and sexuality education. This study is therefore even more important, since it emphasises a crucial period of time and the challenges in a starting phase of implementation and can be used to understand other teachers' struggles and fights. It can therefore be presumed that the teachers at the chosen schools for this study have had positive outcomes from the interviews and the focus-group since the teachers have begun to speak more openly about problems the teachers are facing among themselves. Furthermore, the teachers were throughout the interviews and focus-group given time to reflect on different challenges and their role, which perhaps they had not thought about before.

To briefly reflect upon the actual working process for this study, the positive contribution the additional method of focus-group had for this study needs to be emphasized. If a focus-group truly succeeds, interviewees feel secure to share their thoughts about difficulties and other sensitive topics to a larger extent than they would have during an individual interview. This is exactly what the focus-group of this study generated, since more in-depth knowledge about difficulties and inconvenience related to the teachers' role and approach towards life skills and topics related to sexuality was generated. Without choosing this additional method for conducting data, the results in this study would not have been as sincere and there through as representative. The other aspect to

reflect upon is the research permit and the process and requirements that entailed. At first, I often hesitated if my study would be possible to conduct at all and/or to what extent because of the heavy bureaucratic process. Nevertheless, I do believe I was lucky since I had contacts in Zanzibar that spoke Swahili and could translate and could, through their work titles, accelerate the process of obtaining a research permit as I, as a student, would never been able to. Through my contacts in Zanzibar, I found ways to make rules positively beneficial for the study. For example, as one requirement; I had to be appointed by a government official during the interviews. Usually that is someone working at the Second Vice Principal Office and therefore with little formal competence about life skills specifically. Instead, my contacts and me convinced the Office that an educated life skills teacher working at the Ministry of Education would fulfil that requirement since he also should be classified as a government official.

As part of the requirement for obtaining a research permit, this study, including the focus-group interview, will be sent to the Second Vice President Office in Zanzibar and the Zanzibar Research Committee. I hope to be able to share the results conducted in this study, namely the importance of the teachers' possibility to provide life skills and sexuality education but also the lack of resources they are facing in their work.

6.3 Remaining research problems

This study has given some answers to how teachers in Zanzibar experience and perceive the implementation of life skills and sexuality education, including the challenges they face and their role in providing education. Even though this study was a first step to fill the research-gap on sexuality education in a non-researched context regarding this problem, more research is still needed. To get an overall picture of the challenges relating to formal sexuality education, all actors - parents, individuals in the community, and the learners - would need to be included in the interviews. For this rather small study, only a few teachers were the targeted group.

A more extensive study, with perhaps a change in methods to a quantitative approach and questionnaire, would identify challenges and views in a more comprehensive way that could also be generalized to a broader context (several communities in Zanzibar) than in this study. Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare one group of teachers that have received education in life skills and topics related to sexuality through the

government with one group of teachers that have not. This to see if the teachers are experiencing different types of challenges.

It would also be interesting to conduct a comparative study between Zanzibar and another African context (yet with similar economic status, aid dependency and norms/traditions) where formal life skills and sexuality education have been implemented for a longer period of time. This could identify differences but also similarities between two different, yet similar, situations and contexts. For such a comparative study, the focus would rather be on the government and responsible implementation actors to understand how they are working with the implementation and the last stage in norm changing - *internalization*. Hence, further research could explore the relationship between international organizations who fund the implementation of sexuality education in Zanzibar, for example UNESCO and Save the Children, to see if local ownership and context-based approaches is taken into consideration in the creation of educational material and the implementation in practice.

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Interviews

- T1: Arts and Culture officer for the Ministry of Education, Zanzibar 2019-03-07
- T2: Physics teacher, Mwanakwerekwe 'A' Secondary School, 2019-03-08
- T3: Chemistry teacher, Mwanakwerekwe 'A' Secondary School, 2019-03-08

- T4: Geography teacher, Mwanakwerekwe 'A' Secondary School, 2019-03-08
- T5: English teacher, Kianga Secondary School, 2019-03-11
- T6: Physics teacher, Kianga Secondary School, 2019-03-11
- T7: Mathematics teacher, Kianga Secondary School, 2019-03-11
- T8: Headmistress, Kianga Secondary School, 2019-03-11
- T8: Swahili teacher, Regeza Mwendo Secondary School, 2019-03-14
- T9: Biology, 60wahili and 60wahili teacher, Regeza Mwendo Secondary School, 2019-03-14
- T10: Physics teacher, Regeza Mwendo Secondary School, 2019-03-14
- Focus group with all aboved mentioned teachers, 2019-03-16
- T11: HIV, SRH and Substance Abuse Officer, Ministry of Education, 2019-04-03

Appendix

Appendix 1. Interview guide teachers in Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar

Gender:

Highest level of completed education:

1. Can you describe your perceptions and your role in life skills and sexuality education at the school you are working at and give examples of subjects during these lectures?
 - How do you feel teaching children about *life skills and sexuality education*?
 - According to you, what is the most rewarding as well as challenging aspects of this programme?
2. According to your knowledge and experiences, how do the children receive the information distributed throughout this programme? Are there any specific challenges during the lectures and/or specific sensitive subjects?
 - How, according to you, have the programme affected how the children feel in general/their everyday life/ how they act in different situations?
3. Have you heard about the *National Life Skills Education Framework for Zanzibar (ZNLSEF) from October 2010*?
4. Have you heard about the *International Technical Guidance on Comprehensive Sexuality Education (ITGSE) from UNESCO*?

Appendix 2. Interview guide for the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar

1. Can you **describe how** you are working with life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar?
2. What are the main **challenges** working with life skills and sexuality education in Zanzibar?
3. How can you **overcome these challenges**?
4. Through the material from my study, the teachers have the willingness to teach life skills, but does not have enough material and/or knowledge. How do you relate to this and how can the Ministry of Education overcome this?
5. The National Framework for Life Skills Education in Zanzibar was published in 2009, but the teachers didn't know about it. How do you relate to this and what kind of impacts does it have if the teachers themselves doesn't know the government's goal for life skills education?
6. What is the connection between UNESCO and the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar?
 - What are your plans for the International Technical Guidance on Comprehensive Sexuality Education? How will you spread this information to the teachers?
7. One of the wishes from the teachers were that life skills would be a single-standing subject in the curriculum, and it is also one of the long-term goals in the framework for life skills. Can you describe the on-going process?

Appendix 3. Informed consent document



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Jenny Fristrand
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Jenny's supervisor:
Mikela Lundhahl Hero,
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
mikela.lundahl@globalstudies.gu.se

Informed Consent to interview

regarding

'Teachers experiences and perceptions about Life Skills Education in Zanzibar'

Thank you for participating in an interview regarding the above-mentioned study. The aim of this study is to better understand Zanzibari teachers' perceptions about and experiences from Life Skills Education in Zanzibar in relation to UNESCO's technical guidance on comprehensive sexuality education and the National Life Skills Education Framework for Zanzibar.

Your participation in this interview is non-mandatory and you can, throughout the whole interview, decide to not answer a specific question and/or withdraw your participation at any time. All information shared throughout the interview, such as sound recordings, notes, transcriptions and personal information will be treated with confidentiality and will only be collected and used for research purpose only.

For questions, concerns and/or to receive a copy of the published results from this study, please e-mail me on fristrand@hotmail.com

Thank you,

Jenny Fristrand

Appendix 4. Research Permit

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF ZANZIBAR

SECRETARY
ZANZIBAR RESEARCH COMMITTEE
P. O Box 239
Tel: 2230806
FAX: 2233788





RESEARCH/FILMING PERMIT
(This Permit is only Applicable in Zanzibar for a duration specified)

SECTION

Name:	Jeeny Firstrand
Sex	Female
Date and Place of Birth	23/02/1993
Nationality:	SWEDISH
Passport Number:	90034986
Date and Place of Issue	26 June, 2015
Date of arrival in Zanzibar	19 February 2019
Expected date of departure	20 April 2019
Duration of study	Two Month

Research Tittles: Life Skills and Human Right: Implementation of UNESCO Technical Guidance on CSE

Full address of Sponsor: Valhallawgen 199, 10525 Stockholm

This is to endorse that I have received and duly considered applicant's request I am satisfied with the descriptions outlined above.

Name of the authorizing officer:	Mwansa A. Khamis
Signature and seal:	
Institution:	Office of Chief Government Statistician
Address:	P. O Box 2321 Zanzibar.

Date: 26/02/2019