

THE STRING THAT BINDS:
AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER SYMBOLISM IN SWAZI INFANT DRESS

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Abstract

One function of gender-typed clothing is its role in facilitating gender differentiation. Swazi culture, however, has traditionally preferred androgynous dress for infants. According to this tradition, the Swazi infant has been dressed only in a string worn around the body until age three. Traditionally, the string was made out of natural beads, and more recently yarn has been used. For this study, interviews were conducted with 32 Swazi mothers from the urban and rural areas of Mbabane, the capital of Swaziland. The color of the yarn was not a gender-related issue in Swaziland; boys and girls wear any color. Mothers whose children did not wear the infant string dressed their children instead in clothing such as diapers and rompers. They indicated that sales assistants recommended white or yellow when the sex of the unborn child was not known. For mothers who knew the sex of the child, the “western” systems of pink for girls and blue for boys was recommended. This system diffuses to Swaziland through chain stores whose headquarters are based in South Africa. The study attempted to explore gender as a cultural category to the extent that it interests with the cultural category of age (early childhood – birth to three years). Along these lines it was revealed that the string produced more layers of meaning for the mothers than originally anticipated. The variability in meaning associated with the string points to the ambiguity of clothing symbols – even those that are considered traditional. The data showed that different families have different ways of explaining the meaning of the string. This meaning is part of a larger process – an ongoing attempt on the part of observers to make sense of everyday life.

Key words: Swazi, culture, traditions, gender symbolism, dress, infant

The study of clothing presents a number of opportunities for the study of culture. One such opportunity is what the paper has set out to examine regarding cultural practices in Swazi infant dress. As with most cultures, there tend to be subtle guidelines that determine how females and males should dress. In the process of understanding the possible presence of hidden layers of messages, cultural ideologies concerned with gender relations need to be explored. Clothing serves to express meanings associated with cultural categories (for example, gender and age) and

it is a valuable source of information in the study of cultural principles such as cultural differentiation. Culture allows us to make sense of the world around us and it is a valuable source of information (McCracken 1988). It also allows us to view dress as a window through which we might look into as it attests to the salient ideas, concepts and categories fundamental to that culture. Age and gender can help define a person's social location and are made visible when culture makes dress salient (Arthur, 1999).

Gender plays an important role in infant dress and is one of the “most fundamental social meanings expressed and shaped by clothes” (Kaiser 1990:13). The clothing worn by infants communicates how a culture categorizes gender and the principles on which this classification is based. The way an infant is dressed by his or her parents' ultimately communicates to perceivers about the culture as a whole and about his and her parents' value in particular.

Cultural context needs to play a part when explaining gender symbolism along with historical developments that led to present meanings (Rosaldo 1974). This idea certainly applies to Swazi culture the location of investigation for this study in which the goal is to examine the cultural and historical influences of gender coding between birth and three years of age. Virtually no research has been done on the day-to-day practices involved in infant dress in Swaziland. However, anthropologist Hilda Kuper (1947; 1986) conducted an extensive study of Swazi culture as a whole and her insights are drawn on throughout the paper. The paper aims to examine the gender symbolism associated with this practice, the social meanings to which this practice refers, and the extent to which it still occurs, the gender symbolism associated with this practice, the social meanings to which this practice refers, and the extent to which it still occurs.

The Kingdom of Swaziland is a landlocked country in the southern region of Africa. It is neighbored by Mozambique to the east and South Africa to the south, west, and north. The country covers a land area of only 17,364 square kilometers, roughly the size of the U.S. state of New Jersey. It contains four separate geographical and administrative regions, namely, Hhohho in the north, Shiselweni in the south, Lubombo in the east, and Manzini in the central west. (Swaziland Government, 2010). The country has a relatively homogenous population estimated

at 1,337,186 (The World Factbook, 2010). The capital city is Mbabane with an approximate population of 60,000 and is the largest city in the country. Siswati, the mother tongue, and English are both official languages. Siswati continues to foster the national culture and its traditions. English is used for government and business communication and as a medium of instruction at educational institutions.

Methodology

The data resulted from a convenience sample of 32 Swazi mothers from the urban and rural areas of Mbabane, the capital of Swaziland. Mbabane is a diverse city with urban and semi-urban areas that lend itself to a combination of modern and traditional homes near the city and on the outskirts. The sample included four equally represented groups with eight mothers from each of the following groups (a) younger urban, (b) younger rural, (c) older urban, and (d) older rural. The younger mothers' mean age was 24, while the older mothers' mean age was 34. Mothers only were selected because of the limited role a father has in clothing the child as well as the passing of traditions in present everyday life in the home. The age group difference was chosen based on the time that had elapsed since the country gained independence from the British in 1968 hence the modernizing of society in dress and traditional practices of the culture. In addition, it has been the expectation of an urban population that traditions are sustained in the rural areas. Social location was thus anticipated to play a role in the study.

The interviews were transcribed and then compiled for data analysis. Observations were conducted at nurseries and pre-schools and infant clothing retailers in Mbabane in order to determine how children were dressed. Teachers and sales associates were solicited for additional information not available through observation. Applicable historical data from the National Museum and Swazi archives was also collected.

The observations conducted at infant clothing retailers had three objectives: (1) the range of choice in and availability of infant wear, (2) typical purchases by parents, and (3) potential influences on parents' purchases such as sales associates, flyers and visual merchandising. At the

nurseries and pre-schools, observations were made of clothing worn by the children. The local museum and archives were the prime sources providing data about traditional infant dress to provide cultural and historical context.

Interview Protocol:

Information was collected about the following:

- (1). The mothers' social background, including age, marital status, education, occupation and residential location (i.e. rural or urban);
- (2) The ages and sex of the children in the family, including degree of emphasis placed on traditional wear during infancy for each child in the family;
- (3) How the children were dressed from birth to three years, choices and practices related to infant wear, and whether or not the clothes were kept, and if so why;
- (4) Clothing purchases and shopping habits: what, where, why, and how often; feedback about the infant's clothing and additional appearance factors such as hair grooming and ear piercing or earlobe slitting practices were included as well;
- (5) the end use of children's clothing, focusing in what was done with the children's clothing once it had been outgrown and whether it was kept for other siblings to use; if traditional clothing was worn by the child, if so, for how long, and whether color and manner of clothing differed between the sexes;
- (6) Tradition and culture with respect to Swazi dress, including the education/teaching involved in dressing a child" who taught the mother, what she was taught, and whether or not (if so, why) it is important to pass on traditional dress and knowledge thereof. (Note: not all of these questions are covered in this paper, in order to keep the focus on gendered dress and the string).

The interviews were conducted in both English and Siswati. When the questions were translated into Siswati, care was taken that the question for each respondent (urban or rural) had the same meaning. The order of questions was the same for both groups.

Contextual Approach

In an attempt to explore the meanings of Swazi infant dress, the paper utilizes a contextual perspective. Focus was on Swaziland because of limited comparable information from other cultures. The study aimed to understand both existing beliefs and those related complicated ambiguities about the string that traditionally was formed from beads connected by a length of woven grass. The length depended on the child's waist size. The author's interest in Swazi culture stems from her own background in this culture, coupled with an interest in understanding the Swazi tradition of dressing infants in a string of beads until the third year of life. It is also the intent of the author to understand the gender symbolism (or lack thereof) associated with this practice, the social meanings to which this practice refers, and the extent to which it still occurs in contemporary Swazi culture. More generally however, the study sought to compare Swazi infant dress, from birth to three years of age, with current ideology and practice. Thorne (2003) notes that research on children and gender often neglects the importance of social context and states that "the topic of children and gender should be considered in close connections with social class, race, ethnicity... and not artificially stripped from these other contexts" (p. 9).

A contextual approach enables an examination of the day-to-day practices people use to manage and perceive appearances within a larger cultural and historical context (Kaiser, 1997). A contextual perspective draws heavily on basic tenets of symbolic interaction, social cognition, and appearance perception, which support the conceptual framework for the study. Two-way interaction between people plays a major role in this perspective, which focuses on how meanings of appearance are constructed and reconstructed in everyday life. We live in a world of signs and signs about signs. The study of semiotics lends itself to cultural categories. These are made visible through artifacts such as dress and affect how people respond to one another (Workman & Freeburg, 2009). For example, the string is generally understood to signify and function as a health-related structural context. However, in the present paper, the string appears to represent layers of meaning for each mother according to more idiosyncratic, family-based systems.

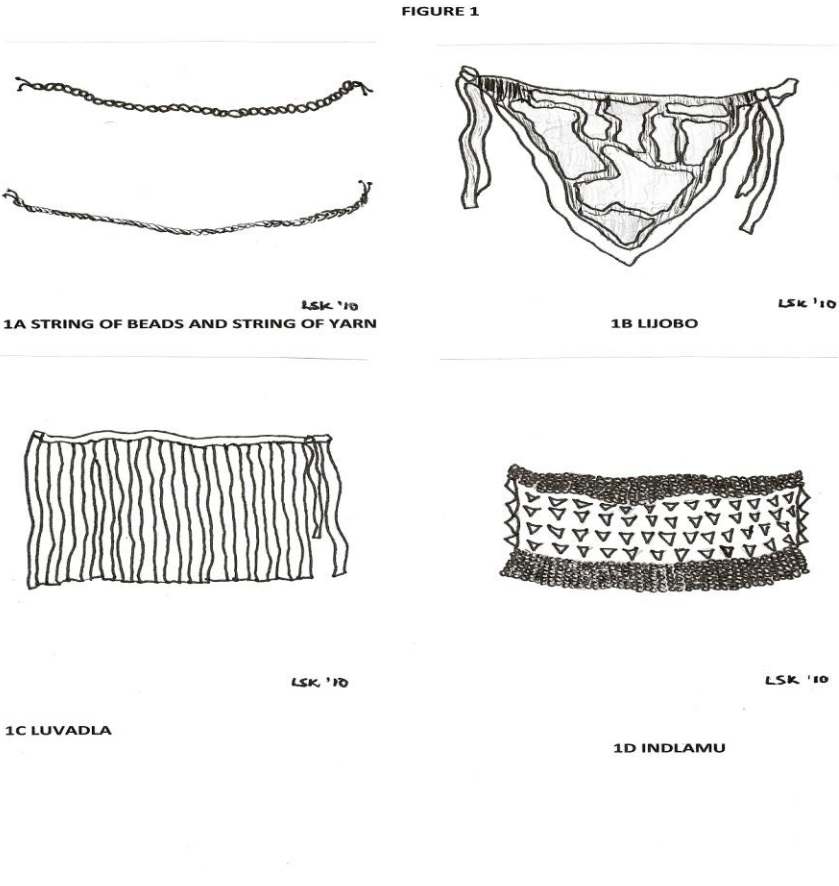


Figure 1 Traditional children’s dress in Swaziland. Illustration by Lombuso S. Khoza



Figure 2. Two girls in *luvadla* (forefront) and *indlamu* (rear). Courtesy of Phephisa Khoza.

Traditional dress in Swaziland continues to be valued by the culture for both ritual and every day dress. Beads, skins, yarns and textiles are all used. Age and gender are key categories that dictate what styles of dress are to be worn, and by whom. See Figures 2 and 3 for boys and girls' traditional Swazi dress. .



Figure 3. Boys in their *emajobo*. Courtesy of Phephisa Khoza.

Swazi Cultural Context

To understand the basis for Swazi contemporary life, it is important to examine the practice of acculturation, or the process of “learning a new culture” p. 36 (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2008). It is a process of continuity and change – a process that has occurred historically

and continues to modern times. Forney (1987) notes in her study about “how ideologies change in native dress” and that “changes in native dress seemed to be most evident in those cultures, i.e. African and Polynesian, where clothing was minimal and adornment and body markings more prevalent”(p. 129).

Although traditional Swazi infant dress once consisted of nothing but a string, this practice eventually changed with the introduction of western clothing. These changes became evident after the colonization of Swaziland by Britain in the late 18th century. Kuper (1947) noted that colonization brought beads, clothes and “other wonders of the white man” to the Swazi people (p. 19). The result is a fusion of traditional and western materials in Swazi dress today. In particular, beads were rapidly accepted and incorporated into Swazi dress and remain important in children’s dress. The string continues, with modifications including the use of colored yarn. The adoption of Western notions of gender coding, including color-coding of infant dress (e.g. pink versus blue), has been part of the acculturation process and is now seen in Swazi dress for children.

However, acculturation has not been a linear process. Swazis continue to express pride in their history and cultural traditions. Part of this pride stems from the ability of the late king Sobhuza II to hold onto his tradition while also embracing social change. The late king was able to engage in a meticulous form of appearance management, delicately balancing cultural tradition with western notions of progress. In 1981, Swaziland celebrated Sobhuza’s Diamond Jubilee and to commemorate his eighty-second birthday, sixty years of rule, and thirteen years of independence. During the one-week celebration, Sobhuza wore both traditional and western styles of clothing (Kuper, 1986). This is a prime example of how a former king was able to manage his appearance so as to articulate the need for a balance between culture and the west, between past and present. This type of balance is precisely the type among cultural continuity and change, social relations, and everyday acts of dressing that a contextual perspective seeks to understand.

Kuper (1986) notes that in every society age is a social and relative, not an absolute concept, measured by artificial standards correlated more or less directly with the major physiological changes of infancy, pre-puberty, adolescence, maturity and menopause. Swazis distinguish, linguistically and ritually, eight periods of individual growth from birth to death to “almost an ancestor” (p. 52). The age-class system of the nation forms the age stages of childhood, maturity, and old age. The emphasis on age weakens as the society becomes more complex.

Traditionally, a Swazi baby is regarded as a “thing” until the third month of life (Kuper, 1986 p. 52). “Thing” in this instance represents something other than a western dictionary’s definition. The word represents something of special or precious significance. The baby does not have a name; and if it dies it cannot be mourned. The infant is seen as weak and vulnerable at this stage; consequently, parents perform various rituals to protect it from harm and danger. Do any involve dress? Describe rituals to develop this a bit as a transition to the next paragraph.

Swazi culture has traditionally preferred androgynous dress for infants. According to tradition the Swazi infant is dressed in a string of beads until the third year of life. Swazi children’s bodies have been traditionally exposed until the age of three. The infants are dressed in a string of beads around the hips or do not wear anything at all as such, they are seen as sexually innocent with nothing to hide. As the growth processes between infancy and parenthood differ from those in the past, it is the intention of this paper to explore the extent to which contemporary gender socialization meshes with traditional culture (Khoza, 1992).

Gender Coding: Birth to Three Years

Culture tends to provide a context for shared meaning and a way of socially organizing the way we think about gender categories through the use of clothing (Kaiser, 1997). A contextual framework should provide a basis to examine the connections among cultural ideology, the social organization of gender, and day-to-day practices involved in dressing infants. Investiture plays a major role in dressing infants. In other words, parents “invest” their

infants with clothed appearances (Stone, 1965). Investiture varies cross-culturally; however, factors such as where an infant is born, ethnicity, and family background influence how an infant is dressed. In other words, the social location of parents influences investiture (Kaiser, 1997). In this study, it was apparent that the Swazi mothers engaged in investiture. All of the mothers stated they dressed the infants from birth.

Rural and Urban Differences

The younger mothers' mean age was 24, while the older mothers' mean age was 34. Among the younger rural respondents, 37.5 percent used the string, while 50 percent of the older rural mothers used the string to dress their children. Twenty-five percent of the older urban mothers' infants and 37.5 percent of the younger urban mothers' infants wore the string. The children stopped wearing the string by age four in both rural and urban samples. The mothers dressed their children in the traditional string: (a) to measure the child's growth (i.e. weight loss or gain), (b) to give a "form" or shape to the child's waist, (c) to protect the child from illness or evil spirits, and (d) to carry on family and cultural traditions.

Generally, it has been an expectation of the Swazi urban population that rural areas are places where traditions have always been sustained, whether it is through dress or ritual occasions (Khoza, 1992). When it came to the wearing of the string by the infants, three out of eight of the younger rural respondents and half of the older rural parents used the string for their children. Two out of eight older urban mothers' infants and three of the eight younger urban mothers' infants wore the string. In both rural and urban samples the children stopped wearing the string by the age of four years.

Wool is now used instead of the traditional *emaputjutju* beads of the *liputjutju* tree, and readily available in the stores. Only one parent out of the 32 parents interviewed in this study used beads for the infant's string. She was a young rural mother who lived in an area where the former king, Sobhuza II had his traditional palace. She commented that she grew up in that area where it was tradition that infants wear beads

The deeper meanings of why the string was not used by many of the parents lie in the general expectations of the society at large. The responses of two urban mothers (one older, one younger) pointed to the ambiguity associated with the meaning or purpose of the string. The older urban mother indicated that none of her children wore it, and she never thought of using it since she had heard that it was used to gauge the loss of weight because there were no clinics then. The younger urban mother noted that her daughter had worn the string because her daughter's grandmother had put it on the granddaughter; however, her son never wore it because she never took it to be of any importance. In addition, she commented that she burned the string for two reasons: (1) its small size and, (2) beliefs associated with witchcraft (Khoza, 1992).

Protection or Witchcraft?

Sometimes, Swazi parents perform various rituals to protect children from dangers and illnesses caused by nature. Two of the 12 mothers who had used the string had responded that it had been treated to prevent minor illnesses and diarrhea. There are a number of beliefs associated with the use of treatments in Swazi society. Kuper explored these issues in her chapters "The Supernatural" (1986) and "Individual Variability and Ritual" (1947).

The herbalist has always been seen as one who can help an individual in protecting the home and personal life. He is relied upon to perform by giving enemas to infants to "protect them from attack by malignant animals" (Kuper, 1947 p. 166). Logically therefore, the concerned parent would ask the herbalist to protect the newborn from "dangers emanating from humans, animals, and from nature herself" (Kuper, 1986 p. 52). For each good will there tends to be evil, and for the medicine men and diviners, the evildoers are the *batsakatsi* or "witches" who "rely on poisons, conscious violence or other techniques for the deliberate destruction of property or person" (Kuper, 1986 p. 66). It appears then that the herbalist can help to do good, but admitting to using an herbalist could give out the impression of participating in the activities of *batsakatsi*. Consequently, it is not surprising then to find a parent who does not admit their child's string was treated. One would infer from this that the parent could be thought of as also being engaged in 'destructing other people's property or persons'.

Kuper (1986) states that Swazis “complain that *batsakatsi* are more common now than in the past...” (p. 69). Hence, parents may burn or bury children’s clothing they no longer have need for, because they may fear that it will be used for evil purposes against the children. The burning or burying process is performed for the protection of the individual who has worn the clothes, for clothing is considered to be a part of the person. The doctoring of the string brings to the surface some of the contradictions and contrasts between old beliefs and newly created ones. Additionally, it is impossible to make a single abstract statement about the cultural ideology associated with the string’s significance because of the diverse meanings that have been presented by the mothers (Khoza, 1992).

Today, the use of *batsakatsi* is believed to be widespread, as more and more people favor them to help them prevent enemies from destroying them. Consequently, the herbalist has become suspect rather than accepted as one who can help to heal an ill child or to prevent the home from natural disasters (Khoza, 1992).

Ancestral and Christian Beliefs

A majority of the Swazi’s belief lies within the ancestors. The culture provides a set of optimistic notions and positive stereotyped techniques that are especially expressed through the ancestral cult, the vital religion of the Swazi, and through an elaborate system of magic (Kuper, 1947p. 61).

In the ancestral cult, the world of the living is protected into a world of *emadloti* (spirits). Christianity as practiced by the Swazi has been influenced by existing tradition. This influence can be well explained by Sobhuza II’s goal of disentangling Christianity from education and recovering a sense of Swazi life. The former king lamented on how “mission-educated Africans adopted European customs of food, clothing, and marriage,” thereby “rejecting their own as inferior and undesirable.” He consequently observed the Swazi as losing their “own old culture” (Kuper, 1986 p. 150).

Christianity may present a dilemma for the parent who was socialized to “convert” or adopt the Christian faith as his or her own belief. Practicing Christianity in a country whose roots are traditionally and historically part of a belief of the ancestral cult fosters a sense of ambivalence. The ambivalence becomes evident in the everyday practice of clothing the infant. In a U.S. study focusing on the relationship between values and interest in clothing, Creekmore (1963) found a relationship between religious values and modesty (the religious values in question would have presumably been Christian in the ideological sense). Similarly, Arthur (1999) found that high level of embracement of Christianity led to more use of modest dress.

When Christian missionaries arrived in Swaziland, they are said to have condemned traditional clothing as immodestly revealing. Western clothing then, for some Swazis became synonymous with “western civilization” and a “just essential of Christianity” (Kuper, 1986 p. 61). It is understandable that this adoption of a different religion would cause an individual to opt for dressing a different way, for example, as one older urban mother expressed it “dressing British” (Khoza, 1992 p. 14).

Cultural Ambivalence

Ambivalence refers to the “conflicting or contradictory emotional and psychological attitudes that we experience in everyday life” (Kaiser, 1990 p. 457). In relation to clothing Davis (1992) states, “ambivalences have come over the course of centuries to be deeply etched into the culturally encoded identity formulas through which western men and women conceive of themselves” (p. 24). The dilemmas presented thus far suggest that some basic ambivalences pervade Swazi culture as well. In some cases the mothers are expressing the need to distinguish themselves from some belief systems (e.g. the use of an herbalist) at the same time they emphasize the need to identify with traditional Swazi culture and to respect its beliefs and practices. The Christian parent may be “torn” between emphasizing and passing on an appreciation for Swazi culture, and insisting that her children endorse Christianity (also linked to the notion of modernity) and adhere to its beliefs (Khoza, 1992).

Cross Cultural View

In traditional Swazi culture, unisex dress from birth to three years is typical, but in western culture, an infant's dress has largely become gender specific. In U.S. culture, Huun (1992) reveals that over the course of eighty years (1881-1962), the traditional wardrobe of the American infant has changed. Huun and Kaiser (2001) further explored infantwear and examined how gender and age boundaries were re-negotiated over time, and the mixed cultural sentiments regarding how children should be dressed. Huun and Kaiser's conclusion parallels findings in the current study. The Swazi mothers were constantly re-negotiating the importance and function of the string.

In contrast, the string worn by the Swazi baby does not necessarily identify a child's gender. In response to the question of whether the color of the string worn by either gender differed, all twelve of the mothers who used or had used the string answered "no." The parents responded that any color could be used for the string; consequently, the color was of no importance from the perspective of gender (Khoza, 1992). At this point it would appear that color, for the parents, is not significant. Firstly, the color of the string is not important, as any color can be used; second, when the mother buys clothing for her child the colors are already there, as noted previously. Huun and Kaiser (2001) found considerable ambiguity regarding the shifting gender symbolism of these colors in the first half of the twentieth century. The history of pink and blue in infant clothing according to Paoletti and Kregloh (1989) is a fascinating one; they noted that gender coding for infantwear had been taken for granted in the second half of the twentieth century as the norm.

Tradition and Culture

Tradition is something that is passed on from generation to generation. It is comprised of cultural elements and behavioral patterns that are transmitted socially within groups such as families. Evidently, a general Swazi ideology about the importance of cultural traditions does exist. The overall response is that tradition is indeed important and that it forms some type of

backbone to Swazi culture. The consensus is that cultural traditions are important. Knowing what it means to grow up in Swazi culture needs to be instilled in children. Kuper (1947) states “children are taught to follow the ways of their parents” (p. 114). In contemporary times however, mothers seem to vary in their views about how they will follow and pass on traditions to their children. For example, one older urban parent noted that it was not important for her to pass on the traditional ways of dress because her children would decide on their own whether to dress traditionally or not (Khoza, 1992).

There is some distinction between what the mothers say about the importance of tradition and what they actually do in terms of clothing practices as well as passing on the traditions. They believe it is important that the Swazi culture and its history be known, but in “reality” they do not practice it on an everyday basis. When questioned about the knowledge of the origin of the traditions, four older rural mothers state that it originated with the “grandparent” or “elders” or “started in the home” and was “found as is.” To the same degree that Kuper (1947) discovered there was a discrepancy between what was said and done due to the way things are remembered from days gone by: “The historical method is particularly difficult because of the approach of the Swazi to time, and the absence of written records” (p. 8).

The data from this study in Swaziland shows that urban mothers emphasize the importance of traditions. These sentiments seem to parallel Gans’ (1979) concept of symbolic ethnicity, which involves “love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior. The feelings can be directed as a generalized tradition or specific ones” (p. 9). The mothers in the study acknowledge the fact that it is important that culture and traditions be practiced so that children will know who they are and where they come from. This denotes a definite “pride in their traditions” which they may not practice in everyday life but still value (Khoza, 1992 pp. 27-28).

Where Do We Go From Here?

Gender, by definition, is socially created and constructed. Clothes are an integral part of these creations and reconstructions. They are used in everyday life through (a) “appearance management to project a masculine or feminine image” and (b) “appearance perception as a way of socially organizing our thoughts about gender categories” (Kaiser, 1990 p. 68). Gender uses a sensory system that is coded (such as a garment) by way of non-verbal communication that enables human interaction (Eicher, 1999).

Within a contextual perspective that integrates an understanding of cultural sign systems and messages, social interactions, and cognitive processes, we can focus in on particular dimensions of the present study. Clothing symbols have shared meanings for people; these meanings provide information on how to act appropriately in social situations. The ability to identify with other people allows social acceptance into the culture through and with other individuals. The need to express this ability explains the instances in which mothers dress their young children in the string and other traditional attire as well as teaching them about Swazi traditions as they grow.

Conforming to traditional, western or combined ways of dressing and interpreting dress needs to be understood in the context of social-psychological processes. A symbolic interactionist perspective approach to conformity and social control would lead us to consider the importance of self-control in this process. The dilemmas that Swazi parents face are multifaceted, based on competing sign systems to which they might conform, coupled with a desire in some cases to express unique personal tastes.

The contemporary Swazi mother has boldly taken a step to transform her own culture in a way that has not been done before. She has managed, alone, to produce what is best for her by combining traditional and Western styles of dress. At the same time the mothers in this study generally seem to have an ongoing appreciation for the importance of being connected to one’s history and culture:

And that essence, the umbilical cord that links us with the spirit of our forefathers, is culture. Culture to define it, is that which instinctively rules and governs our every action and is distinct from science and technology (Kuper, 1986 p. 149).

The study has sought to investigate the “umbilical cord” that connects children and their everyday dress with the “spirit of their foremothers,” revising and extending Kuper’s ideas. It is likely to be in the context of dynamics such as these that cultural ambivalences are played out and articulated in social everyday life.

It is hoped that this study will provide future students with a base for understanding Swazi culture. Moreover, I hope to have demonstrated that it is helpful to draw on social-psychological concepts in the study of culture. More work is needed in a variety of cultural contexts to expand the scope of material culture and how it is experienced in everyday life.

Further Implications

Further study into the symbolism associated with non-gendered clothing would benefit our understanding as to why a single article of clothing would contain many layers of meaning within a specific homogenous culture. Second, further inquiry into the cultural ambivalence that arises from colonialism and acculturation as it affects ancestral cult beliefs and religion.

Note: Although interviews were conducted in 1991, the information is still accurate today.

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