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**ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION
FOR
RURAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS**

**An Evaluation of the "Traditional Sector"
Training Component of the
Swaziland Manpower Development Project
(1985-90)**

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TRAINING FOR ZENZELE WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Objectives

According to the Project Paper and the TCC contract, the broad objectives of the "traditional Sector" component are to:

- o Expand the capacity of traditional Swazi leaders and rural women's associations to plan and direct development activities;
- o Encourage an increased level of participation in development activities on the part of traditional leaders and rural women's associations;
- o Expand, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the institutional capacity of the Community Development Section (CD) and the Home Economics Section (HE) to conduct workshops and other kinds of training activities for traditional leaders and rural women's associations;

and

- o Improve communications between male extension workers and women's organizations.

These objectives were to be met through training activities either conducted by or supported from TCC. These activities were to result in:

- o At least 150 traditional leaders (chiefs, indvunas, and so on) will have participated in more than one development-oriented seminar, workshop, or observation visit within or outside Swaziland.
- o At least 150 members of rural women's associations will have attended more than one development-oriented seminar, course, or field demonstration.

The scope of work for the present evaluation is to focus on overall impact of traditional sector training, with most emphasis on training by the Home Economics (HE) section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC), since training impact of Community Development (CD) had recently benefitted from a three-month evaluation.¹

¹ Green, E., Local Leaders and Development Training in Swaziland: Evaluation of Traditional Sector Training, TransCentury Corp. and USAID/Swaziland. Aug. 15, 1989.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY TRADITIONAL SECTOR TRAINING:
ZENZELE WOMEN/HOME ECONOMICS

1. Training targets. Training targets under the Home Economics subcomponent have been greatly exceeded: 4,982 participants, or roughly 1,660 women (eliminating repeats) attended 143 workshop between 1987-1990. It must be acknowledged that quantitative training targets were very modest in the project documents due to changes in the scope of training, still the project's training record is impressive by any yardstick.
2. Institution building: HE has received training under the project which has expanded its capabilities far beyond the traditional home economics areas of cooking, childcare, hygiene, sanitation, etc. A cadre of Home Economics Officers (HEOs) and Ass't. HEOs (AHEOs) has been developed with (a) new technical skills in income-generation, small business development, commercial handicrafts and applied behavioral science; and (b) new participatory and experiential training skills which are being used to effectively transmit the new technical skills.

Training provided by Tototo Industries (Kenya) has in particular introduced to HE extension officers and assistants important and useful skills, training approaches and--in some cases--attitudes toward educating rural African women. The HEOs and AHEOs in turn have passed this training on to Zenzele and other organized Swazi women. Two years later, there is already evidence of training impact in the lives of organized Swazi women.

There is every reason to expect that training will continue after SWAMDP funding ends. HE's contribution to funding zenzele workshops has risen from nothing in the first two years of the project to E50,000 in 1990. HE has been allocated E100,000 for training in the next FY--the first post-SWAMDP year. Since TransCentury's funding declined to \$15,000 (c. E45,000) in 1990, there will actually be more training funds available in the first post-project year than in the last year of SWAMDP.

3. Small Business and Income Generation. There has been project impact in the important area of training rural women to become involved in the very activities they themselves reported they wanted to become involved in at project start-up, namely income-generation and small business enterprise. Some such projects are barely off the ground, while other zenzele groups have built a E10,000 roadside market or have raised nearly E6,000 toward the downpayment for a gas station. However

uneven the impact of training, it seems evident that an important process has begun (or significantly accelerated under the project): rural women are gaining the requisite self-confidence and business skills to generate income on a scale greater than has been possible from the sale of handicrafts.

The sheer range and scope of income-generating and business activities Swazi women are attempting is encouraging and shows that women are sufficiently motivated to try a second or third enterprise if the first fails.

4. Leadership Training. There is evidence of important impact resulting from Leadership training. Tototo's experience elsewhere in Africa has been that such training must precede any form of business training because rural African women usually lack the self-confidence and perhaps assertiveness to attempt new income-generating and business ventures. Although it is hard to measure, Swazi women have indeed gained self-confidence from leadership training, and this enhanced self-confidence has significant consequences in their lives generally. The human resource development attributable to Tototo training has: (1) provided women a measure of liberation from the constraints of traditionalism; (2) provided women enough self-confidence that they will attempt business ventures; (3) had unforeseen spill-over beneficial effects in women's lives, such as helping them solve family and community problems; (4) encouraged women to question information rather than passively accept it.

It is noteworthy that these results demonstrate that the basics of applied psychology and sociology (often regarded as advanced academic subjects) are at least as teachable and immediately useful and applicable in the lives of semi-literate rural African women as, for example, gardening, sewing or handicrafts. As noted in (5) below, women are even willing to pay for training in these subjects.

5. Multiplier Effect. There is evidence of genuine and very exciting TOT and multiplier effect in certain areas of the country, notably Shiselweni. In this region, trained Zenzele groups are training previously untrained groups in "leadership," and the recipient groups are paying for transportation, accommodation and subsistence. Recipient Zenzele groups are initiating requests for training and the local AHED is playing an increasingly inactive supervisory role. Enough has been learned from this model, as well as less successful ones, that the essential elements of a self-sustaining training model can be deduced (these are presented in the body of the report).

The fact that even some women's groups are initiating requests for training and are willing to pay the (modest) workshop expenses can be taken as compelling evidence both of the demand for training and of the usefulness of the type of training that has developed within HE over the last two years.

The TOT system of trained groups training other groups--and these groups training still other--has the potential to develop into a self-sustaining system requiring only minimal inputs from HE, and nothing from donors. But such inputs must be of the right kind: for example care must be taken not to create dependency on outside resources. And however encouraging the "Shiselweni TOT model," the system has not yet begun to develop in this way in most areas of Swaziland.

6. Savings Clubs. Savings clubs have been started on a pilot basis, one in each of Swaziland's four regions. All are in an early stage of development--about three months old at time of fieldwork. Motivation to participate in savings clubs relates more to security--"saving for a rainy day"--than to business investment, but this might change as accounts grow and experience with banks and smaller investments accumulate. Pilot savings clubs have demonstrated that women can and will save impressive amounts in joint bank accounts, but each of the pilot groups seems to have demonstrated this ability to some extent prior to specific SC training. Nevertheless there is considerable enthusiasm on the part of HE extension workers as well as Zenzele and other rural women to explore SCs further.

Home Economics and CARE (the new USAID contractor assisting HE in small business enterprise) should combine with the Africa Cooperative Action Trust, ACAT (or its sponsor, World Relief) to at least informally evaluate the experience of the 55 ACAT-assisted SCs that have developed in Swaziland since 1982.

PROBLEM AREAS

1. There is very uneven performance on the part of HE Officers and Assistants. Among a few we found negative attitudes, lack of commitment to rural extension, and reluctance to make field visits. Regarding the latter, some cited lack of vehicles, lack of "proper introductions" to the community, lack of buses or of busfare, as well as other excuses for not visiting their assigned zenzele groups. There are indeed real constraints to extension worker mobility, yet one can find HE extension

workers who find ways to overcome these constraints and regularly visit more than 10 zenzele groups. It appears that with commitment and motivation coupled with flexibility, improvisational ability and a measure of humility (i.e., one is not too proud to take public transportation), AHEDs and HEDs can meet their assigned groups on a regular basis. Indeed this is what HEDs did before donor-donated vehicles became more widely available, as older zenzele members themselves can testify.

2. Most zenzele groups seem to remain fairly dependent on extension worker contact. The relatively intense training effort sponsored by SWAMDP over the past five years may have perpetuated or even increased such dependency. This is to be expected in a period when a great deal of new learning has been absorbed, and this in turn has resulted in trained women venturing into new realms of income generation, small business and savings clubs.
3. Selection of workshop participants needs improvement in some areas. We found evidence of workshop planners mixing those previously trained with those never trained in the same workshop. This makes it impossible to properly gear training to either group.
4. Some possible negative effects may have resulted from the project (although such effects are by no means unique to SWAMDP). For example, the project may have fostered dependence on USAID funds and vehicles. In a few areas there may be somewhat fewer weekly visits to zenzele groups nowadays than in the recent past--judging solely by the comments of some zenzele women--even though the project should have eased transportation problems by workshop and other funding. Some AHEDs are now reluctant to make field visits unless a vehicle is made available.

Some CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS:

There has been very impressive project impact in a variety of areas, impact that in importance far outweighs the few problem areas identified. Most of the project impact, both on HE as an institution and on the ultimate beneficiaries of training, has resulted from training that has occurred since the mid-term, that is, within the past two years. It should be no surprise that impact on zenzele women has been uneven when viewed regionally and sub-regionally. This is to be expected, given the short time frame, the difficulty in reaching many

Zenzele groups, the importance of the local AHED, and the uneven performance of HE extension workers.

The accomplishments with Zenzele womens' organizations--impressive though they are--are still very fragile and need careful nurturing in order to flourish where they are presently found and to take root throughout Swaziland. Such nurturing is the responsibility of Home Economics, and SWAMDP-supported staff development of HE should make this possible. Yet the process can be assisted by the right kind of USAID technical assistant. The leadership and business training of organized rural Swazi women appears to be at the developmental stage where specialized technical assistance is needed more than money or vehicles (lamentations about lack of transportation notwithstanding). HE does not need what might be cynically termed a USAID "shot of morphine," creating more dependency on donor funding of workshops and vehicles.

TA should be provided by someone well-familiar with Swazi culture, nonformal education in rural Africa, and the issues associated with Women in Development including income-generation and small business development.

There needs to be better monitoring and supervision of HEOs and AHEDs. HE, with advice from the new USAID contractor, ought to develop and institute a system rewards and recognition that includes career advancement for HE extension workers who: (1) regularly meet their assigned zenzele groups; and (2) produce results such as those described in Shiselweni where Zenzele groups are training at no direct cost to HE or any donor.

CARE/Swaziland will be assisting HE in supporting small business enterprise development among women's organizations once SWAMDP ends; it is said to currently be involved in developing training materials for savings clubs. It appears that CARE will be unable to finance Zenzele workshops; this may not be a bad thing since turning over to the GOS the full responsibility of financing workshops should further promote the institutionalization of Zenzele training within Home Economics. It is expected that HE will continue workshops from their recurrent budget, which for the forthcoming FY is expected to include E100,000 for training.

Regarding savings clubs, before proceeding much further with SC training, HE and CARE should combine with ACAT to evaluate the experience of the 55 ACAT-assisted savings clubs that have developed since 1982.

The training of Zenzele women, like that provided for traditional leaders under Community Development, seems to have the potential for fundamental and far-reaching changes in

Swazi society. Social egalitarianism, the empowerment of women including their economic emancipation from their husbands, and democratic elections as practiced in many zenzele groups are all somewhat contrary to fundamental patterns of Swazi traditionalism such as subordination of women, passive acceptance of authority from above (especially on the part of women) and social stratification based on birthright. All parties involved in training should be aware of this.

SECTION 1: HOME ECONOMICS

QUANTITY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION TRAINED

Note on Zenzele Organizations

Zenzele ("do it yourself") groups are self-help rural women's organizations that have been described by R. Hitchcock and other consultants to SWAMDP, WID, and related womens' projects. Suffice it to say that there are more than 200 such groups in Swaziland (cf. Section "Number of Zenzele Groups below) and that they are multi-functional. Activities can be grouped under traditional home economics concerns (childcare, cooking, nutrition, homestead sanitation, personal hygiene, sewing, vegetable gardening, etc.); other development-related activities (adult literacy, construction of water storage tanks, etc.); and income-generation and small business enterprise (produce marketing, handicraft manufacture and sale, school uniform sale and production, pig raising, beekeeping, fish farming, brickmaking etc.). There has been marked development of income-generating activity in recent years, much of it attributable to the SWAMDP project, as documented in this report.

The shift in training emphasis is a direct result of needs expressed by women themselves early in the project. The expressed needs happened to coincide with a growing interest in assisting the informal or non-formal economic sector that began in the ILO in the mid-1970's, then spread to the World Bank and to USAID (with the PISCES studies and resulting projects in the early 1980's).

Zenzele groups average 20-30 members and they meet on a regular basis such as once a week or twice monthly. Members tend to be older women, in their 40's and 50's. A disproportionate number of widows and others who cannot rely on husbands to provide income, or sufficient income, appear to be attracted to Zenzele.

Zenzele organizations are not the only type of rural womens' groups concerned with development, but they are the most numerous and widespread, and they have served for years as a link between rural women and the branch of government with the largest cadre of female extension workers, namely the Home Economics (HE) section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC).

Numbers of Participants Trained

During the life of project,² 4,982 women were trained in 143 workshops sponsored by SWAMDP and conducted by HE. Some of these were trained more than once but as of this writing the number of individuals has not been disaggregated from the total number of trainees.

However, it is likely that most women who have attended at least one workshop have not exceeded three, therefore some 1,660 individuals have probably been trained under SWAMDP.

The training target of "at least 150 Zenzele women" being trained more than once has been greatly exceeded. It must be acknowledged that quantitative training targets were very modest in the project documents. This appears to be because the original traditional sector plan was to provide development education for chiefs alone. There are somewhat fewer than 200 chiefs in Swaziland, therefore training 150 chiefs during the Life of Project seemed reasonable. When the plan to train leaders of Zenzele womens' organization was included in the scope of work, the training goal of 150 leaders was retained, possibly because USAID wished to give equal emphasis to (male) "traditional leaders" and (female) Zenzele leaders. However a survey of chiefs in 1984³ strongly recommended that local leaders other than chiefs be included in training. This opened up the possibility of training far more than the original 150 chiefs yet somehow the original training targets were never revised upward.

HE Staff Upgrading

There are 42 employees in the Home Economics section of the MOAC: 7 at headquarters in Mbabane, 11 in Manzini region, 9 in Hhohho, 7 in Lubombo and 8 in Shislwani (See Appendix D for breakdown of job categories). Each field officer is responsible for visiting an average of 4-8 Zenzele groups depending on location and physical access to the groups. The introduction of centralized workshop training for Zenzele women under SWAMDP sponsorship required upgrading of HE staff in training methods as well as in several technical areas relating to income-generating and small business skills. It should be noted that the project served to significantly modify the role of the home economist. In 1985 Swaziland's home economists appear to have been concerned with the traditional HE areas of childcare, nutrition, hygiene and sanitation. By project end they were additionally skilled and involved in promoting a variety of income-generating and small business skills and

² Data for HE and CD are compiled through Sept. 1990. The final figures will be slightly higher.

³ Green, E. Traditional Leadership, Community Participation and Development Education. USAID/SWAZILAND. Mbabane, 1984.

activities.

Under SWAMDP sponsorship, the Principal Home Economics Officer completed a TOT course in Mombassa, Kenya taught by Tototo Home Industries during July-Aug. 1988. Six HE officers, selected for their interest and aptitude in small business concepts, were subsequently trained in Kenya. Further information on training is found in the following section.

Brief History of Training Under Home Economics

Training for rural Swazis began sooner under the Home Economics (HE) division of the MOAC than under the Community Development (CD) division of Tinkhundla. This is due to several reasons, among them: (1) training of traditional leaders had less precedent in Swaziland (or elsewhere in Africa); (2) the political situation in Swaziland in 1985 was such that traditional leader workshops were delayed; (3) CD training staff was not as well-educated or experienced in training as their counterparts in HE.

HE practiced adult education prior to project support, however training methods appear to have been narrow and somewhat invariable and inflexible. Training content focused on traditional areas of home economics such as childcare, nutrition, hygiene, sanitation, and cooking. There was little emphasis on imparting income-generating or small business skills. A shift in emphasis toward the latter was to develop during the first year or two of the project, primarily in response to the needs of zenzele women as ascertained by the Traditional Sector Specialist (TSS) and consultants hired by the project to advise on this project component. The developing business emphasis also happened to be in accord with USAID/S and indeed AID/Washington's shift in focus during the 1980's.

Early training under HE (1986-7) was in organizational skills (how to form and administer a Zenzele group; how to maintain records, handle finances, etc). Another focus was on imparting certain technical skills such as blockmaking (after cyclone Demoina much rebuilding and repair was needed), water jar making, beekeeping, and sisal basketmaking. No business or marketing skills were taught at this stage, and the didactic, lecture mode of training predominated. Only local resources were used in training.

Zenzele women themselves expressed interest in income-generation as a topic and an activity, and in learning-by-doing as well as demonstration as training methods. At this point the Traditional Sector Specialist requested help tailoring HE training more to the expressed needs of Zenzele women. An assessment was conducted by Gala Cook in June, 1986. HE expressed and interest in general skill upgrading, leadership and business skills, skill upgrading in agriculture and nutrition (reflecting the mandate of their division within the MOAC). With the help of HE senior staff, Cook developed

a plan for upgrading and augmenting the training skills of HE staff at various levels. It may be noted that SWAMDP employed 14 short-term consultants, including local-hires, during the 2-year tenure of the TSS (July 1985-July 1987).

There developed out of the work and recommendations of the TSS and his consultants a plan to upgrade both grassroots-level and HE staff training, employing a training strategy culturally suited to the needs and educational levels of rural Swazi women. World Education contributed to the needs-assessment and later recommended Kenya-based Tototo Home Industries to conduct training-of-trainers (TOT) with HE staff.

Kenyan trainers from Tototo Home Industries subsequently came to Swaziland, worked out a training plan with HE staff, then conducted the first of a series of TOT workshop on Nov. 1987. In addition to TOT, Tototo trainers served as supervisors during the period when newly-trained HED's taught leadership skills to Zenzele groups nationwide.

Tototo's approach to teaching business skills to non- or semi-literate African women is to first teach them "leadership skills" as a foundation for starting and operating a business. The training content consists essentially of applied behavioral science, including group dynamics, human relations, understanding and recognizing character and personality traits, and selecting group leaders who exhibit effective leadership traits. Such an approach to teaching basic business skills grew out of experience in Kenya and HE staff in Swaziland have come to endorse it. An important ingredient in the success of this approach in Swaziland, as evidence below documents, is the extent to which it has been developed and modified for Africans by Africans, including the use of examples familiar to Swazis.

In November 1988 a World Education consultant was in Swaziland while Tototo held a two-week workshop known as Business Skills I. Following this, from February 1989 to November 1989, HE extension workers conducted workshops for Zenzele women in the business skills they themselves had learned in November. Note that some leadership training was still on-going and that neither leadership nor business skills training reached all groups at the same time. Indeed, at this writing, leadership is still being taught to groups who have not had the course or who need refresher training before embarking upon Business Skills I or II. It may be useful to think of training as preceding in waves that swept over Swaziland reaching the most accessible groups first and the least accessible last or perhaps never.

Just as Tototo found in Kenya, business skills proved harder to teach in Swaziland than leadership skills. Not all HE extension workers were able to grasp the concepts equally well. In November

1989, exactly a year after Business Skills I, training in the more advanced Business Skills II commenced. Again, after a week of planning with HE staff, there was a two-week TOT workshop for HE extension workers. An ILO consultant, Kevin Cane, was in country to assist, as was Alvina Matua of Tototo. Matua found that some Zenzele groups in Hhohho had failed to understand some of the important concepts taught under leadership training, therefore she had repeat workshops in leadership training for these groups before Tototo would proceed to business skills training.

It was Tototo's basic educational aim to develop women's self-confidence, group self-reliance and a sense of responsibility. The teaching method was very participatory and quite unlike HE's didactic approach to training prior to Tototo's TOT. Zenzele women responded enthusiastically to participatory training, as documented elsewhere in the present report.

By Business Skills II, Tototo recommended developing a core staff of HE extension workers able to teach business skills to other HE staff and to Zenzele women directly. The first step was to identify HE staff that could easily grasp business concepts and who showed potential as business trainers. Tototo staff, the principal HE officer, and other HE staff were able to easily identify 6 HEOs of this sort. They were sent to Mombasa, Kenya in April 1990 for a two-week exposure tour, followed by one week in Nairobi. The "Kenya Six" were further exposed to "savings clubs" that had been started by women in Kenya. They also learned about strategies Kenyan women had used to elicit support from local chiefs for the savings clubs.

Upon returning to Swaziland, the Kenya Six redesigned "how-to-do-it" savings club materials from Kenya, and adapted them to Swaziland. Then in the first week of October 1990, nearly all HEOs were trained in savings club operation and how to train Zenzele women in their formation. The Kenya Six trained their fellow HE officers, who in turn helped redesign Kenya savings club materials further--to better tailor them to rural Swazi needs.

Tototo's training in Kenya is considered by all (HE, SWAMDP, USAID, the trainees themselves and Zenzele women who benefitted directly or indirectly from training from the Kenya Six) to have been a very worthwhile experience.

Following USAID's suggestion, the current evaluation focuses more in impact since the mid-term evaluation (1987) than prior to it; therefore much of the evaluation is concerned with the Tototo and Tototo-style training that began in late 1987.

IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL SECTOR TRAINING

Approach

Evaluation of the Home Economics (HE) training impact is based on

(1) a survey of 120 Zenzele women; (2) group interviews, in siSwati, with Zenzele organizations, employing focus group methods; and (3) in-depth interviews with HE officers and especially extension workers, as well as with other GOS and donor group representatives. It may be of methodological interest to note that given time constraints and the existing knowledge base regarding Zenzele women, the second method produced by far the most useful findings.

It should be noted that rural women are organized in groups other than those known as Zenzele. They may belong to named or ad hoc, un-named collectives or cooperatives engaged in some single-purpose economic activity such as commercial gardening. These are usually formed in response to opportunities provided by an extension branch of the MOAC or other ministry. Some woman in southern Shilelweni claimed they had never heard of Zenzele yet some belonged to a women's gardening cooperative, and others to a Savings Club that was started by HE training. Some women participate in revolving funds (cf. section on Savings Clubs); indeed a number of Zenzele groups evolved out of these. It seems that the extent of organization of rural Swazi women has not been adequately researched. In any case, HE has trained women both in and out of Zenzele. An full evaluation of HE training impact ought to look beyond Zenzeles, although we lacked time to do this.

METHODS

Survey of women

In spite of severe time limitations, a pre-coded questionnaire was employed as an interview schedule in order to quantify the responses of women in Zenzele groups throughout Swaziland. An opportunistic, representative but non-random sample of 120 women was achieved in the time allotted. This "survey" ran concurrently with the in-depth, focus-group type of interviewing conducted by the MSI consultant. Survey interviewers consisted of two experienced enumerators trained briefly and supervised by the consultant. Interviews were in SiSwati. The questionnaire can be found in Annex A.

A random selection process was considered, using HE's most current list of trained Zenzele groups as a sampling frame. However, Zenzele groups often only meet only on certain days and time constraints did not allow delaying interviews until a pre-selected group happened to meet--let alone searching out individual group members in their homesteads. Therefore we opportunistically chose groups that were reachable on certain days, with a view toward regional and ecological zone representativeness. There was more of the latter than the former, which is as it should be since regions represent arbitrary political boundaries while ecological zone has

been found to be a significant independent variable in various surveys conducted in Swaziland.

We attempted to interview only those who had received training under HE in order to assess impact of such training. Of course this introduced a bias. In particular, information on Zenzele groups cannot be taken as representative of all such groups in Swaziland, including those whose members are untrained by HE and which may be remotely situated and not easily reached.

On the other hand, we avoided the pitfall of allowing Home Economics Officers (HEOs) chose which groups to interview, as was the "random selection" process followed in the 1988 mid-term evaluation followup.⁴ We also used interpreters, when necessary, who had no connection with Home Economics.

Field interviews were conducted with 111 women belonging to 37 Zenzele groups: 34 (31%) in Hhohho, 23 (21%) in Manzini, 37 (33%) in Lubombo, and 17 (15%) in Shisulweni. (Breakdown by ecological zone unavailable at present).

In-Depth Group Interviews

The consultant employed a highly-experienced interpreter/interviewer--one that he had worked with successfully on previous occasions--rather than let HEOs filter incoming information to the evaluator, as also happened in the 1988 survey of Zenzele women. In the present effort, HEOs were totally absent during group interviews.

Group discussions were led by the interpreter/interviewer, with guidance and inputs from the consultant, with 13 Zenzele groups in all regions and ecological zones of Swaziland. Focus group discussion methods were to some extent used, such as guiding discussion around general topics and encouraging diversity of opinion in order to explore more than one dimension of an issue. Discussions lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours. We found that it often required at least an hour before sufficient rapport and trust were established that women were willing to become candid and discuss problem areas.

Interviews with GOS and Donor Representatives

On a six-week consultancy, GOS and donor (or private sector)

⁴ TransCentury Corp., Zenzele and Bolomakhaya: the Impact of Training Investments, Mbabane, July 13, 1988, p. 2.

representatives are usually the only source of information for the visiting consultant. Since it was important to obtain information directly from trained Zenzele women, and since empirical behavioral and attitudinal data is time-consuming to collect, we had to sacrifice time spent with GOS and donor representatives. Some of these were managed, especially with AHEOs, but there had to be a trade-off in order to obtain field-based data.

In the sections that follow, findings from all three sources are presented together under appropriate topic headings.

FINDINGS

Number of Zenzele Groups.

Several consultant reports since 1984 have suggested that there are, or were, 200 Zenzele groups nationwide. That was the rough estimate given by HE in 1984, in response to a request from USAID. In 1987 Hitchcock and Dlodlu conducted a field census and discovered 187 extant Zenzele groups.⁹ The present consultant was given a supposedly complete list of Zenzele groups in 1990, compiled by HE headquarters. The list contained 116 groups.

We suspected that the list did not in fact represent a complete inventory of functioning Zenzele groups so we sought the lists compiled and maintained by the Handicrafts section of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. Lists were obtainable for three of Swaziland's four regions. Even these were acknowledged to be incomplete and not up-to-date. In perhaps the most complete record, that of Hhohho, there appear to be 71 functioning Zenzele groups if one draws from the lists of both HE and Handicrafts (HE had listed only 32 groups.) Similar procedures yield 32 names for Shiselweni (20 listed by HE) and 68 for Manzini (43 listed by HE).

With this producing 171 groups for three regions, and knowing that neither list drawn upon was up-to-date, there must be more Zenzele groups at present than there were in 1987 (a year after HE training began), although we cannot provide an exact figure. Another factor to consider is that some groups have consolidated to form a single, larger group in order to enhance their resource base and better ensure contact with HE and inclusion in HE's workshops. For example a group we encountered in Lomahasha (Lubumbo region) was the product of six small groups that consolidated in 1987 to form a

⁹ Hitchcock, R.K. and F.S. Dlodlu, Rural Swazi Women in Development: A Report on the Zenzele Women's Project Survey. USAID/Swaziland and MDAC/Economics, October 1987, p.15.

single group with 89 members. Therefore more rural women could be involved today in Zenzele groups even if the overall number of groups did not exceed the 187 found in 1987--which it doubtless does.

A note on Zenzele names is in order for anyone counting groups. Judging by lists of groups from both HE and Commerce/Handicrafts, Zenzele groups are named after the community they are from. But we found that every Zenzele group has a descriptive, "action-term" name like "Making a Living," "Rise Up Women!" or "Begin a little at a time." Referring to Zenzele groups by place names appears just to be for the convenience of HE and other non-local people.

Related to the number and the growth of Zenzele groups, in the 1987 survey of Zenzele groups Hitchcock and Dlundu report that 44% of groups surveyed reported being formed since 1981, or within six years of the survey, and this is taken as evidence of the recent growth and proliferation of Zenzele groups.* This may be true but we would inject a cautionary note. We also found many Zenzele groups that reported they "began" in the past five or so years. Since many of these groups had accomplished more things than one would expect for groups so young, we probed the origins of these organizations. In virtually all cases, the groups had grown out of earlier Zenzele groups. As activities and membership change over the years, Zenzele names often change as well. When we asked when a Zenzele group was first started, women often gave us the year the group took on its most recent name and activity focus. When we probed further we found the group may in fact be the most recent incarnation of a group that goes back 10,15 or 20 years.

We found an mean average of 27 members per Zenzele group.

Functioning of Zenzele groups.

We asked two questions in our survey because they were asked in the 1987 survey of Zenzele groups,⁷ which can serve as a partial baseline for measuring changes which might be attributable to project impact. The first concerned how often the respondent's Zenzele group meets. In the present survey, 17% reported meeting once a week, 13% met twice monthly, and 70% met less often than once a month. In 1987 it was reported that meetings were "usually weekly," although no data was presented.

The second repeat question called for a subjective assessment of attendance at their Zenzele meetings. In our survey, 98% described attendance as "satisfactory," with the remaining 2% calling them

* Hitchcock and Dlundu op cit. 1987: 15

⁷ Hitchcock and Dlundu. op cit.

"poor." In 1987, 32% said high; 49% said satisfactory; and 15% said poor.*

It is hard to know what to make of these differences. It may be that the use of Home Economics extension workers as interviewers in 1987 biased responses positively. On the other hand, it may be that there are some problems in the functioning of Zenzele groups. In fact there is evidence of the latter from our group interviews. It should be noted that the functioning of Zenzele and other women's groups is by no means wholly dependent on HE or other extension workers. As rural women themselves told us, there are endogenous factors such as (1) local disputes that lead to factionalism and disharmony within the group; (2) community or husband demands on women's time such that Zenzele participation is limited; (3) local women may be "lazy" (a term often used by Zenzele women) or at least not willing to devote much time to Zenzele activities until participation can be shown to result in tangible and quickly-achieved rewards.

There is also some evidence of HE extension workers meeting less regularly with their assigned Zenzele groups. This problem is discussed in the next section.

As noted in an earlier section, Zenzele women tend to be in their 40's and 50's. Women in focus groups commented that it is difficult recruiting younger women because they tend to be "under the thumbs" of their husbands and, presumably, mothers-in-law. Groups closer to towns say that younger women might hold jobs and therefore not be interested in the income-generating appeal of Zenzele. Regarding the former comment, it should be recognized that "liberating" as Zenzele membership may be, a rural woman must be sufficiently emancipated from the control of her husband and affinal family to even join and participate in Zenzele activities, which may well require time spent away from home and some measure of economic independence. Several groups observed that they would eventually "die out" if they could not recruit younger members. One group (Ngogola) tried to lower joining fees to attract younger members, but to no avail. They then held a sewing course--for a fee--in their Zenzele workshop. Again, no new members. Said one group officer, "They will come if we hold a sewing course. They just don't like our other activities."

Zenzele members mentioned problems of attracting women of any age to Zenzele in some areas. Since virtually all groups began with what we have termed traditional home economics concerns (childcare, sanitation, hygiene) it would appear that the first to join Zenzele are the more responsible women, that is those with a greater sense of group and family responsibility. Groups often have to demonstrate economic success in order to attract other women in the

* Hitchcock and Bludis, op cit 1987, p. 17

community. Some groups actually lose membership while struggling through the economic growing pains of finding a viable income-generating niche. One such group, the Enjabuleni Womens' Pigs Project in Maphalaleni, saw their membership decline from 22 to 10 members between 1985-90 while the pig project suffered various setbacks in getting started. For example, the first pig pen was made using traditional mud and stick materials. The pigs quickly tore this down and ran loose, causing much confusion and disappointment among Zenzeles and neighbors alike.

Some Zenzele women speak with bitterness about women in their communities whom they describe as constitutionally incapable of hard work, cooperation and delaying gratification. "They wait until we do the hard work, then they want to reap the rewards." The topic of attracting women to Zenzele--and keeping them--deserves further exploration through qualitative research. A number of women observed that the Tototo-style training of the past two years has been so popular and useful (see below) as to keep women in Zenzele who otherwise would have dropped out. Indeed it has attracted new women to Zenzele.

Contact with Extension Workers

Information on this topic proved very difficult to ascertain by survey methods. Zenzele women were very reluctant to say anything critical about their assigned Assistant Home Economics officer (AHED), apparently because; (1) rural Swazi women--at least before the experience of "leadership training"--tend to be non-assertive, passive in the face of authority and obedient; (2) rural women fear losing their AHED and a poor AHED may be regarded as better than no AHED; and (3) alienation of one's AHED may threaten inclusion in training workshop. In addition there is the "African Courtesy Response" phenomenon of interviewees telling interviewers what they think they want to hear; this bedevils reliability and validity in all surveys.

We found evidence of the above, especially in one of the two groups covered by both the questionnaire and the in-depth, focus-group discussions. It was only during the end of the second hour of discussion that anything at all critical began to emerge. By the end of the session, it emerged that the AHED almost never visits the group any more (this was later confirmed by other means). Prior to this discovery, members of this group had been interviewed individually and all of them reported that their AHED visited "frequently." The same survey results were obtained in a second community. Again, late in the discussion group session it emerged that the AHED almost never visits professionally, but she had knopla-ed (sworn allegiance to the local chief) there, and the women were loathe to criticize a new neighbor and a potential link to government largesse.

Thus we should be most skeptical of the survey finding that

97% of women reported "frequent" visits from their AHEO, with only 3% reporting "infrequent" visits. Related survey questions may be more reliable since there was more diversity in answers. For example when asked about contact with male extension workers, 28% said "frequent;" 2% said "occasional;" and 71% said "never." This is in line with qualitative findings in 1984 that Zenzele women have very little contact with male extension workers.* It may also be evidence of improvement in this regard during the past six years because 30% reported contact with male extension workers, most of these on a frequent basis.

The survey also sought information on the type of extension worker with which Zenzele women had most frequent contact. Most, but not all zenzele women seemed able to distinguish between several types of extension workers. Not surprisingly, 64% said bolomakhaya or AHEOs; 14% said other (male) extension workers from the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives; and 2% said "other" (one mentioned a woman from the private family planning association FLAS.)

Impact of Workshops

To begin with survey findings, results were perhaps predictably positive. For example, 92% of respondents claimed they learned something of importance in an HE-sponsored workshop; 5% said they did not and 3% were not sure. Most of the non-positive respondents were in fact at their first HE workshop.

When asked what of importance was learned, there was some range and variation of response, as seen in Table 1. It is significant that a plurality of women mentioned traditional home economics subjects such as childcare, nutrition, sanitation and the like. This shows that in spite of Zenzele women's oft-repeated need to earn income, not to mention HE's emphasis in income-generation in its training since 1987, rural women still find topics related to health and basic quality of life both interesting and useful.

TABLE 1

* Green, E., Traditional Leadership, Community

Participation and Development Education.
USAID/Swaziland,
Mbabane:
1984.

MOST USEFUL THINGS LEARNED IN WORKSHOP

(Multiple responses recorded)

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>
Childcare, hygiene, sanitation, traditional home economics topics	49	35%
Working together, group dynamics, leadership	44	31%
Cooking	19	13%
Business and marketing	7	5%
Handicrafts	5	4%
Sewing, knitting	5	4%
Jam making	5	4%
Misc. (sum)	<u>8</u> 142	<u>6%</u> 100% (rounded)

In the next survey question we asked women if they had become involved in any activity, project or group as a result of anything learned in a workshop. Fully 95% reported they had and most or all of the remaining 5% happened to be at their first workshop when interviewed. We then asked what activity they had become involved in. Responses are grouped in Table 2.

Data from a survey of Zenzele women in 1987 are available for purposes of comparison.¹⁰ Where comparable data from 1987 are available they are included in Table 2. It should be noted that sampling in the present survey is biased in favor of women who had received training and who were not too remotely situated to be found easily. Sampling methods were not made clear in the 1987 survey report, the closest description being that "Data were collected among a large proportion of the Zenzele associations in

¹⁰ Hitchcock, R.H. and F.S. Dlodlu, Rural Swazi Women in Development: A Report on the Zenzele Women's Project Survey. USAID/Swaziland and MOAG/Economics, October 1987. (Two versions of this report exist, one dated and the other undated yet containing many tables not available in the first. The data used in table 2 come from Table 1 in the undated report.)

the country."¹¹ Therefore, this survey must have been based on a larger sample than the present one, although the authors commented that their interviewers were unable to reach some of the more remote Zenzele groups. It seems likely that the populations surveyed may not be too different except for the training factor.

It should also be noted that the table from the 1987 report shows a wider range of activity, which also affects percentages from that report. The wider range of income-generating reflects the larger sample of Zenzele groups from the 1987 survey and the fact that certain activities are concentrated by geographic area. Indeed, we encountered activities such as hog raising and soapmaking in the interviews with Zenzele women who were not covered in the survey phase of our research.

¹¹ Hitchcock and Djudju op. cit. 1987:17

TABLE 2

ACTIVITY DIRECTLY RESULTING FROM TRAINING
Comparison between 1990 and 1987

Activity	(Multiple responses recorded)		1987 Comparison
	Frequency	Valid %	
Sewing, knitting	53	26%	18%
Handicrafts	50	25%	16%
Commercial gardening	24	12%	5%*
Poultry	18	9%	7%
Beekeeping	18	9%	.001%
Cooking	14	7%	(NA)
Water tanks	13	6%	(NA)
Brickmaking	6	3%	.08%
Candlemaking	3	1%	(NA)
Carpentry	2	<u>1%</u>	(NA)
Misc.	2		
(sum)	203	100% (rounded)	

* The comparable 1987 survey category under income-generating activity was "vegetables." Rural Swazi women tend to think of commercial gardening as vegetable gardening as distinct from fruit tree cultivation or such larger-scale commercial agricultural activities as cotton farming.

** "NA" = not available

We see that there is a wide range of activities that Zenzile women have become involved in, and that in all cases there has been an increase in activity since 1987 where comparable data exist. Here and elsewhere it is impossible to factor out the influence of other organizations that train rural women, except in areas where it is known that ME is the only trainer. However evidence in this case

is compelling because the question asks women what activity (income-generating or not) they may have become involved in as a result of something learned in a Home Economics workshop. Virtually everyone not attending their first workshop reported being engaged in something within a range of income-generating activities. The "African courtesy response" could not account for the range of activities specified nor could it account for the distribution of responses.

We can conclude that there has been project impact in the important area of training rural women to become involved in the very activities they themselves reported they wanted to become involved in at project start-up, namely income-generation.

Leadership Training

Turning next to qualitative research findings, there is evidence of considerable impact of both "leadership" and business training. Leadership, as noted above, is an introduction to applied behavioral science which includes group dynamics, human relations, understanding and recognizing character and personality traits, and selecting group leaders who exhibit effective leadership traits.

Tototo Industries seems to have introduced a method of training that has proven effective and popular with both HE officers and with Zenzele women themselves. First of all, it is participatory, meaning that those in "student" roles contribute and participate in various ways including role-playing and dramatic demonstrations. Secondly it relies on games, parables, puzzles, caricatures of human traits using animal examples, other forms of humor, etc. This approach appears uniquely well-suited to rural Africans who lack formal education. Zenzele women attempting to pass along their knowledge to other women have found that they themselves must use these methods, otherwise they risk boring their audience, or--and this is significant--alienating women who don't like to see their peers "acting as if they now know more than us just because they've had a week of training," as some women put it.

Before leaving the training methods, we were struck by the ease with which women could recall details of stories, games, etc. used in the Tototo-style training--in one extreme case from women whose last and only training had been two years previously. Clearly the examples used in HE workshops made a lasting impression. We believe this is because the sound training methodology developed over the years by World Education was tailored to African audiences by Tototo/Kenya.

The primary purpose of leadership training appears to have been to provide Zenzele women with enough organizational skills and self-confidence to venture into group or individual business or income-generating ventures. Evidence presented in the next section shows

that this purpose has been sufficiently realized. Of perhaps more interest is the effect beyond the primary purpose that we found ample evidence of. Many women from all areas of Swaziland told us that leadership training has helped them overcome "fear." Previously, they lacked self-confidence; they could not be "direct" with people; and they felt constrained to say anything critical even when this was called for. They say they had little insight into basic human relations, into what motivates people, into why people behave as they do. They did not really understand factors that lead to cooperation in groups, or to group discord and dissolution.

Leadership training has given women enhanced self-confidence and while this may be difficult to measure, it is nevertheless--by women's own accounts--a powerful change for the better. Woman commented that they had internalized ("ritualized") the lessons they have learned and that this has given them new tools with which to deal with family and community problems. Women mentioned they are now able to communicate more effectively with husbands and teen-age children. Problems better dealt with nowadays included handling money within the family, family alcohol problems, and teen-age pregnancy. Women commented that some behaviors are functional while others are decidedly dysfunctional and even counter-productive.

A note on the leadership training approach is in order. The topic of personality dynamics was introduced using familiar animals to burlesque certain character types. For example, giraffes illustrate supercilious or condescending people who look down on others; tortoises are slow and lazy and only pop out of their shells when its harvest time and they wish to reap the rewards of others; and rabbits are unreliable, flighty and for some reason known to be gossips. A number of women commented that when they heard undesirable traits held up for public ridicule--and saw illustrative dramas enacted--they began to reflect on their own character traits. This was followed by attempts to improve their own characters.

Women of one group observed that since leadership training, there is less pride and pretense evident among Zenzele members. In the words of one, "We realize that we're all equal and I notice we're now more open with each other."

Women also gave evidence that leadership training has helped them select positive leadership qualities in their candidates for Zenzele leadership positions ("We don't want giraffes!"). It has also helped institute democratic elections for Zenzele office.

We may observe at this juncture that social egalitarianism, democratic elections, and the greater empowerment of women are all somewhat contrary to fundamental patterns of Swazi traditionalism such as subordination of women, passive acceptance of authority

from above (especially on the part of women) and social stratification based on birthright. In other words the training of Zenzele women, like that provided for traditional leaders under Community Development, seems to have the potential for fundamental and far-reaching changes in Swazi society.

Several women commented that they would like to become more self-sufficient and less economically dependent on their husbands. Since this is contrary to traditional patterns, a measure of self-confidence is prerequisite, and this is provided by leadership training. On the subject of husbands, one woman commented that nowadays when a problem arises she doesn't simply complain or direct accusations at her husband. She can now look at the problem more objectively and propose rational solutions, as she learned to do in HE workshops. This approach has earned the respect of her husband, since he is subjected to less "nagging," he benefits from his wife's practical solutions to family problems, and even his financial burdens are mitigated when his wife contributes Zenzele-earned cash to the family budget.

Women went on to say that increased self-confidence from training has inclined them toward offering constructive advice in their communities. Previously they would have kept quite.

In sum, "leadership" training has not only provided rural women the prerequisite skills for venturing into business, it has also helped develop their human potential in a very general and fundamental way.

Business Training

There has been project impact in the area of training rural women to become involved in the very activities they themselves reported they wanted to become involved in at project start-up, namely income-generation and small business enterprise. Progress in this area has been uneven, as would be expected.

There are some promising "success stories" that appear largely attributable to project-supported training. For example the Zenzele group at Mhlaleni (Manzini) raised E10,000 over a seven year period in order to build a market along the tar road near Matsapha. They negotiated with a donor (the EEC) to provide a corrugated tin roof, but they paid for all other materials and did the construction themselves. The new market has 64 stalls, and with only 42 Zenzele members this group is in a position to rent out stalls to non-member women, which can add to the income they will earn from the sale of vegetables and fruits.

Another group, the Embili Mpela Bomake group in Malindza (Lubombo), has raised nearly E5,000 (E3,000 through the Zenzele group and

E2,715 through the savings club whose membership largely overlaps with the Zenzele group) for the downpayment on a Shell gas station franchise. The means by which E10,00 and E6,000 were raised are described in the Savings Club section, below. At the time of interviewing, letters from the EEC, the Lubombo Regional Officer and others endorsing the solvency and viability of the zenzele group had been sent to Shell Oil. The Regional Handicrafts Officer had drawn up an initial feasibility study,¹² and Shell was to conduct an on-site feasibility inspection within the week. The Zenzele group plans to begin by selling diesel oil (which is cheaper) until they have earned enough money to sell petrol. They plan to become the sole owners and operators of the franchise.

An enterprise of such scale of course is no longer in the "non-formal sector" realm of much of the income-generating activities of Zenzele groups. It is a taxable, formal-sector business.

Another group, the Asibemunye Ngogola Zenzele Market Association, is perhaps less outstanding but more typical in the success women have achieved. Like many Zenzele groups, their first savings project was to build what is generally called a workshed. This group decided to build their workshed along the Manzini-Siteki Road. Members of this association live on homesteads some distance from the road and they have to commute to reach their workshed. But they recognized the advantage of the roadside.

The workshed has several income-generating functions: part of it rents out as a preschool, part as an adult literacy class, part as a sewing classroom. The workshop also serves as a wholesaler market for handicrafts the women make themselves. A roadside restaurant is currently being developed. The first three activities, in addition to earning money for the Zenzele group, qualify as human resource development activities that help emancipate women in particular from what might be termed economic and power marginality.

In the three examples above, the women had saved money and established a joint bank account before HE training in savings clubs, and in this regard they are typical of Zenzele groups. However, these women and those in other groups who have made relatively large investments, usually report that it was the leadership and business training that gave them the confidence as

¹² Note the positive benefit of cooperation between HE and the Ministry of Commerce, Handicrafts division. The two HEOs who have been involved with this Zenzele group were not too proud to ask the Handicrafts officer for help in an area they suspected he had more competence (business feasibility analysis), and the Handicrafts Officer did not feel too competitive vis-a-vis HE to attempt help of this sort. Unfortunately examples of this sort of cooperation appear not to be widespread.

well as the technical and organizational skills to make the investments in the first place. Such testimony, along with the historical record of a spurt of income generation and small business start-up during and after 1988, can be taken as evidence--but not proof--of project impact.

Counterbalancing the above success stories are a greater number of Zenzele groups who are still struggling to find an income-generating activity that turns a profit. Such groups may have achieved a measure of success by other yardsticks, such as practicing sound infant nutrition and environmental sanitation. And not all Zenzele groups have been trained in the Tototo curriculum. Still, there are "trained" groups who whether due to inadequacies in training or to local infrastructural, economic or other constraints do not feel they have achieved success despite their efforts. Some women seem to need more training in assessing marketability of items for sale, competition from other sellers, optimal outlets for selling, placing realistic value to their own labor, and related areas of retail. All of these topics are covered in HE training, but not all women grasp the training easily, nor for that matter do all HE trainers understand the material or teach it equally well.

For example one Zenzele group in Ezulwini sews items suitable for sale to tourists. These women are well-situated for such retailing since their workshop is about 100 meters from the Ezulwini Valley road and very close to well-established tourist souvenir and handicraft stalls. Yet they do not sell sewn items along this road nor do they advertise. They appear to simply hope prospective customers will somehow learn of their existence, discover their workshop on a side road, and find how much lower their prices are than at the tourist stands. In fact, many of their items are priced too low to yield a profit.

Another example is taken from our fieldnotes and while edited, will be quoted at some length because several problems and constraints facing zenzele groups are illustrated. The group is from Mafucula (Lubombo Region) and the case study is presented as Annex F. We see from this case that:

- Regular contact with an HE extension worker remains important for several reasons:
- Endogenous factors such as community disorganization, factionalism or strife are also important in determining success or failure of Zenzele groups and zenzele income-generating efforts:
- Infrastructural and other constraints also help determine Zenzele economic success:
- Zenzeles may experiment with several different income-

generating activities before finding one that is profitable and sustainable;

- Training modules should follow one another without long delays if training is to have intended impact;
- It can be difficult to recruit women (at least beyond a core group of especially committed and "civic-minded" women) to Zenzele unless at least one income-generating project is actually showing a profit.

However uneven the impact of training, it seems evident that an important process has begun (or significantly accelerated under the project): rural women are gaining the requisite self-confidence and business skills to generate income on a scale greater than has been possible from the sale of handicrafts. The sheer range and scope of income-generating and business activities Swazi women are attempting is encouraging and shows that women are sufficiently motivated to try a second or third enterprise if the first fails. In Shiselweni, women sing a Zenzele song which reminds them of the full range of income-generating possibilities. For example, if fish farming fails, beekeeping might work. The song is said to combat discouragement.

Ways to Improve Workshops

When we asked survey respondents if workshops could be improved, every respondent said yes. When asked how, 83% asked for more hands-on experience, learning-by-doing or role playing; and 13% asked for more workshops or longer workshops. These findings should not be interpreted as criticism of training as HE is now carrying it out. It is rather an endorsement of participatory training and an expression of heightened "demand" for more training of this sort.

Qualitative research supports the finding that women much prefer what might be called participatory, experiential learning to the old lecture method. Furthermore HE trainers greatly prefer the former. The consultant and his assistant attended segments of three workshops and observed role-playing and other participatory learning methods. In conversation with two HEOs after one workshop, they spoke enthusiastically of the Toloto training they received. They said it gave HEOs a more effective method of training Zenzele women. They formerly relied on the "telling method" (formal lecture), but now they use role playing, story telling, games, etc. in order to elicit ideas, suggestions and general participation from trainees themselves. The HEOs recognized that trainees, whether HEOs or Zenzele women, should not passively accept whatever trainers tell them.

Multiplier Effect.

Two types of multiplier effect were hoped for in HE's training effort. One is that women who have attended a workshop will transmit their training to women in their home communities, beginning with--but not limited to--women in their own Zenzele group who did not participate in training. The other was that women trained in HE workshops can be developed as trainers themselves and will actually conduct workshops for groups of untrained women. There was evidence of both multiplier effects occurring.

To achieve the first effect, HEOs urged participants in workshops to rely not merely on verbal reporting, but to also use dramatization, games, role-playing, parables and other participatory methods taught in HE workshops since 1988. Several women spoke on this point at a workshop attended by the evaluator. It emerged that attending a HE workshop can cause resentment among Zenzele members back home who were not fortunate enough to attend. Non-attendees may accuse attendees of "thinking they're better or smarter" for having had some training. Trainers at this workshop emphasized that the leadership training these women have had provides strategies for overcoming recalcitrance of this sort. They urged, "Use what you have learned. Use games, role-playing and other things that the women will enjoy. Use creative and non-threatening ways to pass on what you have learned. There should be learning by doing, not telling."

The Zenzele women agreed that this is the best way to transmit learning, but not all felt they were sufficiently confident or competent to handle participatory training. We encountered this attitude among women in other groups as well. However, the first type of multiplier effect is still occurring according to the testimony of women we encountered who had not attended a workshop (at least an HE workshop since 1988), yet had learned some of the content of Tototo-type training. Tototo training is relatively easy to identify when distinctive content--such as use of African animals to burlesque human personality traits--is referred to.

The second type of multiplier effect should be more difficult to achieve since it involves groups training groups over a several-day period, requiring organization, commitment, financial and other resources, and sufficient demand on the part of the trainee group--not to mention sufficient skills and self-confidence on the part of the zenzele group providing the training.

At first we saw little evidence of group-to-group transmission. When we asked about this, Zenzele women brought up a number of constraints: they are isolated, there are no groups nearby, they lack transportation, untrained women--especially those not in zenzele groups--are not especially interested, etc. However we eventually found evidence of group-to-group transmission in Manzini

and particularly in Shiselweni regions.¹³ Sections from our fieldnotes of in-depth interviews with women from two groups involved in training other groups are excerpted here, in order to provide some interesting details of how the process can in fact work.

11/1/90, Multiplier Effect in Action

(Shiselweni)

Mrs. A. Twale, a Zenzele member from Nkoneni, is part of a group that has had handicraft and leadership training. After leadership training, certain members of her group were selected to teach other groups. The process has been initiated by untrained groups approaching the Nkoneni group or by a request coming from the local HEO. The bus transportation for the Zenzele trainers, along with their accommodation, food and tea, was at first paid for by the HE office in Nhlangano, but now the recipient group provides all this. (Note the clear evidence of the value untrained women are placing on Tototo-style training; they are "voting with their pocketbooks"). The recipient group accommodates the trainers in their homesteads in the community during the 5 day period in which workshops take place. The AHED provides them supervision and sleeps over in the community with the "emavolontea," the volunteer trainers.

It was noted that training sessions are kept uncomplicated, such as dispensing with the customary practice in Swaziland of a GOS official opening or closing the workshop. We asked how the workshops are going in general. Mrs. Twale said that the first day is always the best attended, in part because there's plenty of drama and role-playing. Overall, she feels the training is working. She and other trainers in her Zenzele group have even trained women do an evaluation for the training effectiveness, as occurs in HE-conducted workshops. Twale and her friends have "taught many groups ...at least five this year including Zombodze and faraway Lavumisa.

Another woman we spoke to is chairlady for the zenzele group from Nkunjuni. Her group has trained eight other groups in leadership and business. She and one other from her group are used as trainers. Workshop expenses such as busfare and food have been provided both by the AHED and by the recipient group directly. The way the process has worked is that a newly

¹³ Such evidence may well exist in other regions, but we lacked time for an exhaustive survey of examples of this type of multiplier effect. Still, our impression was that this most significant impact of SWAMP-supported training was most developed in Shiselweni.

formed Zenzele group requests training from the AHED, who then asks this chairlady's group to train the new group. The AHED opens the workshop, then sits back and plays a subdued supervisory role for most, but not all, of the workshop. She may stay over for a day or two, but in any case she usually returns on the last day to help close the workshop. This has been going on for two years.

(Details of the above were later confirmed by the Shiselweni AHED, Sibongile Dlamini, and the AHED that has been active with these groups, Ms. Matola).

We also learned of a group-to-group transmission in Manzini region. The information derives from separate interviews with the Zenzele women who did the training, the AHED assigned to this group, and the AHED formerly assigned to the region. The group is from the lowveld community of Ngogola and it is known as the "Asibemunye Ngogola Zenzele Market Association." All seven trained women from this group went to eLwandle once for a 5-day workshop to train a second Zenzele group known as "Kancanekancane" in leadership. Each of the seven took turns handling a day's training, and they all stayed at eLwandle for the 5 days. Busfare and possibly subsistence was provided by HE. (The AHEDs were not sure about the subsistence, though they probably would have been had the local community provided it). A local notable opened the workshop. The now-retired AHED Mrs. Simelane checked on the group twice during the workshop, but otherwise it was run by the first group. The workshop apparently occurred in 1988.

Unlike some of the Shiselweni cases, it was the AHED, not the recipient community, who initiated the request for training in our Manzini region example. The Ngogola women commented, "She invited us to train eLwandle." The workshop also required funding from HE. For whatever reasons, the Ngogola group has not trained other groups. Nevertheless the Ngogola women believed their effort successful because the eLwandle group "liked the training" and--far more tellingly--this group went on to train another new group known as "Calakanecane" (Begin Bit By Bit). All we could learn about this third group is that they had a 5-day workshop.

We also learned that a Zenzele group from Esikhaleni trained two other women's groups "about a year ago," but we lacked sufficient time to track the story down except to learn from the relevant AHED did the organizing and had costs reimbursed from SWAMP.

A note on motivation to train other groups: we asked members of one established and productive group whether they might be hesitant to pass on business-related training to another Zenzele group in their area that might later compete with them economically (this group was engaged in handicraft production.) The zenzele chairman said they did not fear potential competition: "Any challenge to us would

inspire us to work even harder and produce better things."

There is enough evidence from the above examples to outline the components of a successful group-to-group training model, one that appears from the evidence in at least Shiselweni to be self-sustaining.

Elements of a Self-Sustaining Training Model

1. The "recipient group" initiates the request for training
2. Training benefits are viewed as sufficiently desirable that the recipient group is willing to pay for the costs (busfare and subsistence) of the Zenzele trainers, and to accommodate them adequately in local homesteads.
3. Those serving as trainers from the "donor group" should be committed to Women in Development and the TOT process, and they should have the skills and self-confidence to use participatory, engaging methods of training.
4. Workshops are kept simple and uncomplicated. For example it is not necessary to go the organizational/logistical effort, and perhaps additional expense, to invite GOS officials to formally open and close a 5-day workshop held by Zenzele women for Zenzele women. A local chief or other notable may be invited to bestow approval and lend an added sense of importance to the occasion.

The examples examined suggest that the above model is fragile, that if one or more elements are not in place it might not work, at least in the sense of being self-sustaining. For example, the Asibemunye Ngogola Zenzele Market Association has not trained a group since the first attempt in 1988, possibly because the AHED played too active a role in initiating the training and taking care of the costs through SWAMDP resources. The Ngogola group appeared to be waiting for something to happen, to be initiated from outside the local community, to come from the government.

In our qualitative research we encountered a case in which two Zenzele groups attempted group-to-group training, only to have their efforts thwarted by the AHED. The case is worth describing because it illustrates principles of success and failure in achieving the multiplier effect in training, as well as some of the most serious management problems within HE.

To preserve anonymity we will refer to the Zenzeles involved as Group A and Group B. Group A was one of the early groups trained in Leadership and they were encouraged by an active AHED to share

their new knowledge with other Zenzele groups. (This AHED visited 11 groups on nearly a weekly basis, and was described as very effective by all women consulted on this case history). Group A happened to have Family Life Association (FLAS) volunteers among those trained, and therefore this group had some experience in motivating women in other Zenzele groups, including Group B.

Group B was sufficiently interested in from what they heard of leadership training that they offered to pay bus fares, provide lunch and tea, and accommodate women from Group A. At this point leaders from Group A presented the plan to their new AHED (the previous one was transferred to another region). The AHED proceeded to erect bureaucratic obstacles to implementation of the plan. She cautioned about transport problems. She asked why Group A was trying to train this particular Zenzele group (situated half an hour away by bus) when there were groups somewhat closer who had not been trained.

Group A told the AHED that Group B was willing to pay busfare, and in any case they had worked out an alternative arrangement whereby FLAS would provide transport with their vehicle, since Group A was interested in including child-spacing messages in the leadership training. (Group A commented to us that women cannot be active in income-generation nor even in Zenzele if they're having babies every year.) The AHED then asked if the women thought about how they would transport and arrange for government ministry officials to open and close the workshop. It seemed to women from both Zenzele groups that whatever they proposed, the AHED would present another obstacle. At time of interviewing, both groups had all but given up, and contact with the AHED had all but ceased. Actually the AHED had never visited Group B because, according to what she herself told us, "There is no transportation to the place;" "I have never been formally introduced to the community;" "They would need teaching aides and materials" and finally "(The Group B people) have no money, so it wouldn't work."

It may be noted that from the donor viewpoint, the women in both Zenzele groups were taking initiative and proceeding in exactly the right way, right down to the addition of child-spacing motivation in the leadership training. Yet their efforts were apparently frustrated by an AHED who seemed unwilling to keep the training effort simple and uncomplicated. The importance of the AHED--the lowest-salaried extension worker at the periphery of HE--in fostering group-to-group Zenzele training only underscores

the fragility of the model and the need for just the right type of guidance and supervision from above.

Savings Clubs

Training relating to savings clubs (SCs) has occurred only recently, and SCs are new in Swaziland with an exception noted below. Following the initial training, four pilot savings clubs were started, one in each region. They appear to have all started in July 1990 or a few weeks later, therefore only three months have elapsed at the time of evaluation (October 1990.) This is insufficient time for much impact to have occurred, but some description of the early developmental stage is possible.

There are precedents in Swazi culture for women to pool their savings and then to have the group pay for funerals, weddings, birthdays and more recently, school fees. Burial associations, for example, are known as masingcwabiane. So the SC idea is not too alien. However established revolving funds only pay for a few specified ritual occasions; individual members are not able to take out personal loans or indeed even handle the money used for their direct benefit e.g., for a funeral. Nor probably is there careful accounting of how much money each woman puts in.

In addition to revolving funds, we found that a local NGO, Africa Cooperative Action Trust (ACAT) has established a number of savings clubs in Swaziland since seven SCs were started in kaPhunga in 1982.¹⁴ An ACAT-assisted SC is "...a constitutionally organized group of people who meet regularly to save money, receive training and organize development projects." According to ACAT, there are presently 55 such clubs in 13 different communities in Swaziland.

If some local Zenzele women knew about SCs from ACAT, it appears to have been Tototo that first introduced SCs to Home Economics. SCs fostered by HE work this way. First of all, participating women do not have to be members of Zenzele; they only have to want to be in the SC. There is a joining fee and thereafter a monthly subscription fee. These amounts vary from one SC to another, depending on the local availability of cash (cf. Table 3). These funds go into a business account at a bank, and the account can be used as collateral for a group loan. Individuals or groups within the SC can take out loans for start-up funds or other business related needs on an as-needed basis. The amount of a loan is equivalent to the amount the individual or group has contributed up to that point. A treasurer keeps careful account of individual contributions. If too many women or groups want to withdraw funds at the same time, the SC committee prioritizes the need and those

¹⁴ ACAT, Food, Faith and Work for Africa: an Overview, Mbabane

of lesser priority must wait until the first group(s) has borrowed and actually repaid the loan. Note the mechanism of peer pressure on women to repay their loans so that others in their group may have their turn.

At least in the early stage of SC development, loans are expected to be used for personal reasons such as special purchases or emergencies--not for business investment. One woman told us her savings club is "like the National Provident Fund" in that it provides security in times of need such as when a woman--or more accurately, her family--needs money for school fees, funeral expenses, or health care.

SC members are more inclined to put money in the SC account than in a revolving fund precisely because they are able to withdraw it for personal emergencies. (NB. that if nothing else, SCs are encouraging rural women to put more money in Swaziland's banks, which in itself is a stimulus to economic development.) The money that goes into SCs from members' monthly contributions seems to be money that individual women had trouble saving in the past. It is money, as more than one woman put it, their husbands might have used for buying beer.

According to focus groups, rural women had little previous experience with banks. In the past they often hid around their homesteads any money they had earned. In interviews, SC members noted some advantages of opening a group as distinct from individual bank account. One is that with group contributions one has a larger deposit. Another is that formalities of opening an individual account such as needing a passport or other ID are waived when one is part of a group. Furthermore individual women don't have to keep travelling back and forth to the nearest town to make deposits.

Some Zenzele groups had previous experience with banking, but even they said that before the Tototo training banking and savings were "a nightmare." Note that Swazi law and custom has prevented individual women from being able to take out bank loans without the written consent of their husband.

According to our interviews, SC members expected they might use collective funds for commercial investment for the group after sufficient accumulation of money. But often there was no mention of this purpose until we asked. Future investment ideas included starting a poultry project, a roadside restaurant, and a gas station. But all groups noted that they are "still young" and the immediate appeal of SCs appears to be that they provide a place for Swazi women to keep their hard-earned money, where the money will grow and enable women to buy things they need or simply want--larger items which have to be saved for. It shouldn't be surprising if self-interest (family interest, that is) proves a stronger motivation for individual women than group interest when it comes

to saving money. There is less risk-taking with individual investments than with group business. For one thing, there is less individual control with the latter.

In any case, the pilot SCs prove that it is possible for rural women to save considerable amounts in short periods of time. For example, the SC at Malindza (Lubombo region), had saved E2,715 (\$1,068) in the first three months. There are 46 members of this SC, meaning that each member contributed an average of E59.02 in three months, considerably more than the E100 per year that women are required to contribute as a minimal subscription (cf. Table 3).

Thirty members of this SC also belong to the Zenzele group that provided the foundation of the SC. Since 1988, the Zenzele group has saved E3,000 (\$1,181), also an impressive figure considering the fund is non-refundable and amounts to venture capital.

How are "unemployed" rural women able to save such amounts? According to interviews with this SC as well as other Zenzele and SC groups, members' husbands rarely contribute their own earnings to womens' activities. Women make contributions from money they themselves earn. For example, many or most husbands of the women from Malindza (in the lowveld) are engaged in commercial cotton farming. These men have come to recognize the value of their wives belonging to Zenzele, so they have allocated part of their cotton fields to their wives from which they can earn their own money. These women earn additional money from making and selling bricks, making mealie storage jars, and organizing food bazaars in which they sell their baked goods.

Similar accounts were given by other SC groups. All SCs had experience earning and saving money in existing Zenzele groups--indeed the Zenzeles were chosen as bases for the pilot SCs precisely because they were successful in this regard (according to SC women themselves). These Zenzeles had found various ways to generate income. One group invested in a multi-purpose workshop. It now rents out space used for a pre-school, an adult literacy classroom, and a sewing classroom. The workshop also serves as a wholesaler market for handicrafts. The Hhohho group earns money by sewing and selling both school uniforms and tidziya, the traditional aprons traditionally worn by married women. The SC in Manzini is divided into four subgroups, each of which invests E10 of group funds in a commercial venture (usually marketing vegetables) and pays E12 back to the Zenzele fund within two months. This is the group already noted that raised E10,000 to build a roadside market.

Women in this group commented that they would much rather the interest they pay on their "loans" go to themselves than to a bank. Fear of bank interest rates (and consequences if loans and interest are not repaid) was cited by other SC groups as reasons why there had as yet been no serious discussion of taking out bank loans.

TABLE 3
PILOT SAVINGS CLUBS

Region	Name	Joining tion	Minimal Subscrip- tion	Membership Fee
Lubombo	Tibekela Make	E10	E8.33 per mo.	46
Hhohho	Khutsalani Bomake	E5	E2 per mo. (50c fine for non- payment)	18
Shiselweni	Zombodze S.C.	E20	E8 per mo.	55
Manzini	Umkuthendele Logoba Women's Savings Assn.	E17	(NA)	42

In theory, Swazi men can join savings clubs. Indeed, each of the four pilot groups had one male member. Since this number was unvarying, one suspects they are "token" males. Indeed, women made comments to us such as, "We don't want men in our groups;" "Men would bully us;" "Women work harder;" "We don't discriminate against men, but women are encouraged to join;" "Men beat their chests and are bossy." One woman in Shiselweni put it bluntly that "men would destroy the savings club."

Still, this could change in the future. Some individual men recognize an avenue for economic advancement when they see one. Men who belong to the pilot SCs were unemployed yet motivated rural men who saw opportunities in enterprises such as basketmaking and vegetable marketing, and they claimed not to care that these are usually regarded as women's activities.

After observing the experience of the pilot savings clubs, HE plans to promote savings clubs throughout Swaziland by training Zenzele women in their formation and operation, through workshops nationwide. Although SCs may not develop into vehicles by means of which rural women accumulate capital for group or collective

business enterprise--at least to the extent envisioned--they show promise as mechanisms for saving funds for routine and special family needs, and for individual/family business investment. Meanwhile, at least some Zenzele groups have in fact become vehicles for collective business enterprise. As noted, all pilot SCs were grafted onto Zenzele groups that had already demonstrated success in saving if not investing money. SCs cannot be expected to develop as easily with groups or individual women who have less experience of this sort.

Before proceeding too much further with SC training, HE and the new USAID contractor should combine with ACAT (or its sponsor, World Relief) to at least informally evaluate the experience of the 55 ACAT-assisted SCs that have developed since 1982.

It should be noted that most Zenzele and SC groups seem to remain quite dependent on extension worker contact. The relatively intense training effort sponsored by SWAMDP over the past five years may have perpetuated or even increased such dependency. This is to be expected during and soon after a period of teaching new skills. Groups involved in business ventures in particular seem to want regular contact with extension workers who can advise them. In the words of one SC member, "We are young and we need more guidance. Our training was good but we could use a part-time advisor to help and encourage us."

General Discussion

It is useful to look at the experience SWAMDP has had in training rural women in the broader context of women's issues and development. We might well ask, "Are these efforts really helping women?" "What do all these elements such as training in 'leadership,' handicrafts and business skills actually add up to?"

There is a critical feminist development literature that suggests that a concentration on handicrafts on the part of Third World women's organizations only reinforces their economic and power marginality.¹⁹ A recent study of women's self-help groups in KwaZulu suggests that to overcome such marginality, "...it becomes imperative to transmit group management skills along with specifically technical skills..." so that groups are "...better placed not only to produce, but also to initiate other activities which are seen as important (whether these be savings clubs,

¹⁹ e.g., Karl, M., "Women and Rural Development." In ISIS. Women in Development: a Resource Guide for Organization and Action. Geneva.

consumer co-ops, or creches)."¹⁶ Apparently, SWAMDP and Tctoto share this view because management and other human resource skills were directly taught to Zenzele groups and this indeed had the effect of stimulating savings clubs and creches (day-care centers or pre-schools).

There is also a development literature critical of donors assisting the informal sector at all. Such assistance is dismissed by critics as romantic, escapist, "evangelistic," and "a panacea for unemployment and poverty."¹⁷ The argument appears to be that donors would do better to address the structural inequities inherent in capitalist economies than to throw a few crumbs of encouragement to handicraft producers or street vendors. While raising a number of interesting considerations, the literature is written largely by men and it fails to adequately recognize the importance of small-scale income generation projects in the gradual emancipation of the rural African woman from traditional constraints including total economic dependence on husbands. We suggest that such constraints alone--quite apart from those facing men--are sufficient to prevent most women from being able to, say, commute daily to their gas station franchise had there not been a period when husbands, mothers-in-law, traditional leaders, and others in rural society could gradually become used to the idea of women earning a bit of income outside the homestead, and controlling that income.

MANAGEMENT OF TRAINING

Institution Building

It is not clear what would happen to development training for Zenzele women if all donor assistance were to end tomorrow. But there is every reason to expect that it would continue. The first consideration of course is the availability of training funds. From no training funds allocated during the first two years of the project, the GOS allocation for the first post-SWAMDP year is E100,000, as shown in Table 4. It is noteworthy that the project contribution to direct training costs has declined as the GOS contribution has increased. SWAMDP contributed \$15,000 (E38,100) in the last project year, 1990. This means that HE had a total of

¹⁶ McIntosh, A. & M. Friedman, "Women's producer groups in rural KwaZulu: Limits and Possibilities," Development Southern Africa, Vol. 6, No. 4, Nov. 1989, p. 451.

¹⁷ See e.g., Kavuluvulu, K., "The Informal Sector: Panacea, Malaise or Cul-de-Sac?" Southern Africa, Vol. 3, No. 11, 1990, pp 3-8.

E88,100 during 1990 (project funds plus E50,000 from the GOS), therefore its training budget will increase by nearly E20,000 for the first year after the project.

TABLE 4
GOS ALLOCATION OF TRAINING FUNDS TO HOME ECONOMICS

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	Allocation (in emalangen)
1986	0
1987	0
1988	50,000*
1989	50,000
1990	50,000
1991	100,000

*E25,000 of this should have gone to Community Development but for a bureaucratic error.

More important ultimately than funds is the human resource capability of HE. Home Economics has been developed under SWAMDP as a section of government that can to a far greater extent than previously, plan and implement development training for organized women in rural Swaziland. Specifically, HE staff has been trained in areas beyond traditional home economics, namely in income generation and small business enterprise, in response to needs and priorities expressed by rural women themselves. Judging by impact on rural women, HE staff was also well-trained in effective methods of participatory training.

As discussed in the next section and elsewhere in this report, there is a continuing need for a certain amount of the right kind of technical assistance in training, TA which should be available through the CARE project.

Management

In spite of impressive gains in HE staff development and in impact of training on organized rural women, problems persist in certain areas, notably:

- the monitoring and supervision of HE staff;
- career mobility and an incentive system for HEDs/AHEDs to carry out their assignments properly in the face of considerable constraints;
- the morale of some staff members.

Transportation is presented as the number one constraint to HE extension work, according to almost anyone one talks to in HE. A plea for donor assistance in the form of vehicles usually finds its way into most consultant reports related to HE. Virtually all extension departments in Swaziland and elsewhere in Africa face similar constraints.

Let us examine transportation constraints from the perspective of the AHED who is expected to regularly visit some 7-8 Zenzele groups on a regular basis, usually weekly. Regarding the AHED's difficulty in reaching "Group B" in the previous section, separate interviews with both Zenzele groups and with the AHED showed that the AHED is barely visiting 5 groups irregularly, yet her predecessor, as noted, managed to visit the same 5 as well as 6 other groups in the region on a weekly basis. Separate interviews with the predecessor AHED confirmed the observations of zenzele women that a motivated extension worker can overcome obstacles that others would find daunting. This AHED (and she is not alone among HE extension workers) takes public transportation, arranges rides on the back of motorcycles assigned to male extension workers, and walks many miles when necessary. We also saw the example of an AHED staying in local communities in Shiselweni for 4-5 days while trained zenzele women pass on training to other women, again showing that some extensions workers are willing to put up with inconvenience if not hardship.

Clearly certain personal qualities on the part of the AHED are called for here, including motivation and commitment to rural women and to extension work; flexibility and adaptability; and perhaps a measure of humility. Obviously not all extension workers in HE or elsewhere possess these qualities, and it is difficult to select for these when recruiting AHEDs, but if inadequate transportation is a given for the time being, it would appear that such personal qualities on the part of the extension worker are the primary means for overcoming transportation constraints.

There needs to be better monitoring and supervision of HEDs and AHEDs. HE, with advice from the new USAID contractor, ought to develop and institute a system rewards and recognition that includes career advancement for HE extension workers who: (1) regularly meet their assigned Zenzele groups; and (2) produce results such as those described in Shiselweni where Zenzele groups are training at no direct cost to HE or any donor. It is recognized that there are always problems when trying to quantify output, and

(2) admittedly involves certain variables beyond the control of extension workers. Moreover, we lacked the time to investigate which promotional criteria are currently operating in HE. Still we believe that a reward system more closely tied to performance, however that is measured, would improve both extension worker efficiency and morale--and this would have considerable impact on the leadership and small business development of Zenzele women.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE LOCAL LEADER
TRAINING/COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMPONENT

1. Magnitude of training. 2,980 participants, or at least 1,000 individual traditional and local leaders were trained under the project. This far exceeds the original training targets.

2. Institutional developemnt. Most of staff of Community Developemnt (CD), or at least 25 junior officers and 19 senior officers, were trained in community development, leadership, applied behavioral science, and appropriate methods for training rural adults in developing countries. The junior staff completed a "certificate course" in community developemnt held at the Dept. of Extramural Services at the University of Swaziland. Two senior staff, the Principal CD Officer and the Women in Developemnt Coordinator, participated in short-term project-supported training in the USA.

3. A brief but carefully sampled follow-up survey of 50 local leaders who had been exposed to project-sponsored training showed that the positive trends found some 18 months earlier in an impact evaluation of such training are still continuing. For example, it was agreed during the design of SWAMDP (1984) that the (mean) average number of development-related organizations per randomly-selected community would be used as a general, objective, quantifiable measure of development activity on Swazi Nation Land. This would also serve as a general impact indicator for the project. The average number of such organizations rose from 5.5 in 1983 to 11.5 in April 1989, to--as we found in the evaluation survey--17 in Oct. 1990. The apparent significant growth during the last 18 months of project support may be partly a statistical irregularity due to our relatively small sample, but the growth trend can said with confidence to be continuing.

4. There are convincing empirical findings that show continuation of positive trends resulting from SWAMDP-suported training, even since an evaluation survey 18 months prior to the present evaluation. In addition to an increase in the number of development-related local organizations, we found the chief's council playing a more prominent development role, and an increased sense of local--as distinct from government--responsibility for rural development.

5. Since 1989 There has been a measurable rise in income-generating and in committee-formation activity, findings corroborated by the preceding section showing significant

growth in economic activity on the part of zenzele groups.

SECTION 2

LOCAL LEADER TRAINING/COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Training Under Community Development

Numbers of Participants trained

During the life of project,¹⁸ 2,980 local and traditional leaders were trained in 79 workshops sponsored by SWAMDP and conducted by CD. Some of these were trained more than once but as of this writing the number of individuals has not been disaggregated from the total number of trainees. It is probable that few participants have attended more than three workshops during the life of project,¹⁹ therefore it can be assumed with confidence that at least 1,000 leaders were trained under the project, far more than the original target.

Community Development: Institutional Analysis

A brief institutional analysis is in order to understand the impact of staff training, discussed in the next section.

The organization of Community Development (CD) is as follows: the highest administrative officer in CD--reporting directly to the Principal Secretary of the Tinkhundla Office--is the Principal Community Development Officer (PCDO). Under her there are two senior CDOs, one assigned full-time to the Women in Development project and the other assigned full-time to Peoples Participation Project (PPP). CD has four areas of concentration: WID, PPP, Traditional Leader Training, and Community Self-help. Next in the organizational chart we find the CD Training Officer who is in charge of all training, and under him there are four regional CDOs and one other CDO assigned to WID (assisting the Senior CDO in charge of WID). Each RCDO supervises four assistant CDOs (ACDOs), three CD assistants (CDAs), three artisans who provide technical

¹⁸ Data for HE and CD are compiled through Sept. 1990. The final figures will be slightly higher.

¹⁹ We know from the earlier survey that 72% of a sample of local leaders who had attended at least one CD workshop had only attended 1-2 workshops; 14% had attended 3-4; and 14% had attended more than 4. Green op cit, 1989:16.

advice on things such as constructing a shed or other building related to a development project, and one driver. There are also several cleaners, gardeners and laborers in each region.

The positions supervised by Regional CDOs should be multiplied by four to arrive at the total who work under CD, since Swaziland has four regions. Parallel to the four Assistant CDOs is a fifth ACDO assigned full-time to broadcasting development information through Swaziland Broadcasting and Information Services (SBIS).

The WID project has several other officers and assistants in addition to the senior CDO and CDO already mentioned: one Project Manager (senior CDO); one class-one Handicrafts Officer (CDO); one Accountant; two Home Industry officers (CDOs); four class-two Handicraft Officers; seven class-three Handicraft Officers; and three Drivers as well as miscellaneous laborers, cleaners, etc.

Since 1985, FAO has trained and provided salaries for eight "Group Promoters" who have been assigned full-time to the PPP project in CDA capacity. The eight have also participated in the certificate training course for CDAs sponsored by SWAMDP, which means that in addition to functioning like CDAs, they have--or will have by the end of SWAMDP--equivalent training to CDAs. According to the current plan, the eight Group Promoters will become classified as CDAs and draw their salaries from Community Development. This means that the overall CD staff will increase by eight CDAs in 1990. It is planned that all CD staff with exception of those working under the WID project will be fully interchangeable between the other three CD projects. In other words, all staff will rotate between Traditional Leader Training, PPP, and Community Self-help.

The principal CDO sees no prospects for increasing the size of her staff during the STRIDE project (SWAMDP's successor); however the CD certificate course training has upgraded her staff and has resulted in more trainers becoming available for traditional leader training. Prior to this course, only CDOs--and in practice this has usually meant only the four Regional CDOs--were thought to be qualified to conduct training for traditional leaders. With the certificate training, upgraded CDAs are considered qualified to do this. In other words, more training can be accomplished with essentially the same staff--augmented by eight CDAs "graduating" from the FAO project.

CD Staff Development

The following CD staff development took place under SWAMDP sponsorship:

- A Training-of-Trainers workshop for 18 senior CD staff, conducted by Lon Muffet in early 1986. The objective was to

develop CD staff as better trainers, with emphasis on participatory training methods.

-A "Certificate" course²⁰ in community development whose objective was to upgrade the extension and training skills of junior CD officers brought on staff in 1985, many of whom had inadequate educational backgrounds for their jobs. 25 CD Assistants covered three training modules of one month each. Training consisted of three months residential at the University of Swaziland, with periods of guided fieldwork in between. The Department of Extramural Services (DEMS) conducted the training.

TCC proposed the certificate training course in 1987 but due to an apparent disagreement over where the training should take place, training did not begin until March, 1989.

In addition, participant training in support of CD included:

-Jane Dlamini, Principal CD Officer, participated in a USDA Trainer-of-Trainers course in Washington, D.C. Aug. 8 to Sept. 16, 1988. Course content consisted of principles of adult education, preparing and delivering training sessions, training methods and communication skills, and management skills.

-Colin Tshabalala, Women in Development Coordinator for CD, took a course in economic analysis and production at Ferris State college, Michigan from Jan. 20 to May 27, 1987. This specially-designed course of study was intended to help the participant determine which types of WID income-generating projects would likely be most successful.

Some further comments on the primary training effort in CD, the certificate course, are in order. The present consultant interviewed several CDAs individually in May 1989 while they were in the field phase of the ongoing course. They were all enthusiastic about the course, particularly mentioning how sociology, psychology and communications has given them the self-confidence to interact with--and even provide training--chiefs and other local leaders (note that it goes against Swazi tradition for the "common-born" to presume to train chiefs).

²⁰ The Principal CD Officer points out that use of the term certificate is, strictly speaking, a misnomer because a certificate--as in a "junior certificate," which is a locally recognized high school diploma--was not actually awarded. However, the name for the course undertaken by junior CD officers has stuck, and so we will follow the usage found in other SWAMP and USAID reports.

During the present evaluation, the Principal CD Officer reported that the certificate course training had 2 unforeseen results:

(1) the experience motivated virtually the entire junior CD staff to take and a new adult education course DEMS (the university's adult education department) offered subsequent to the CD course. CD staff paid for the course themselves; and

(2) newly-trained CDAs have been hired by other ministries such as Agriculture and Education, because their recent training is so relevant to motivating rural Swazis and therefore so transferrable and so much in demand.

While the principal CD officer regrets losing several of her best young CDAs, she admits she has no trouble recruiting replacements because the position of CDA has become known in rural extension circles to include useful in-service training and contact with chiefs and other traditional leaders. (It seems further staff training under the STRIDE project is assumed).

Follow-up Impact Assessment

Since a detailed impact assessment of the traditional leader component was conducted in 1989, the present evaluation scope of work called essentially for an up-date and validation of the earlier impact findings. Accordingly, the earlier questionnaire was shortened to about half its original length, while still retaining the most important impact-related questions. Three interviewers experienced in interviewing local and traditional leaders worked for eight days during Oct.- Nov. 1990, working week-ends, since all were employed by a GOS ministry. They interviewed a random sample of local leaders who had been exposed to SWAMPD-supported training workshops.

The sample was derived thusly. A list containing the names and home communities (chieftaincies) of 79 chiefs was used as a sampling frame (see Annex C). Due to time and transportation constraints, we set what seemed to be a realistic goal of interviewing six trained local leaders per local community, with the target of reaching two local communities per chieftaincy per day for eight days. Random selection was achieved by using a deck of cards and assigning a suit to each of Swaziland's four regions. Using the numbers arbitrarily assigned to each chieftaincy in the sampling frame, the interviewers under the supervision of the evaluator then drew cards from the deck until eight chieftaincies were selected, the first two that happened to be drawn from each suit or region. For example a six of clubs meant the sixth chieftaincy listed for Manzini region.

Based on this random selection procedure, 50 interviews were

conducted in 16 communities. All interviewees were local leaders of various types who had participated in project-sponsored training. Those interviewed were those who happened to be present and available at the time of interviewing. The types of leaders actually interviewed are as follows: member of development committee (56%); member of chief's council (14%); elder involved in resettlement, or other "native son" [umsumphe] (14%); chief's deputy (6%); chief's runner (6%); chief (2%); and Inkhundla representative (2%).

FINDINGS

Results of Workshops

We asked whether respondents had become involved in any activity as a direct result of anything learned in a development workshop. Fully 96% said yes, up from 73.9% in 1989.²¹ The lower figure in 1989 is primarily due to the fact that not all interviewees in the earlier survey had personally attended a CD workshop (it was only necessary that they reside in an area where some of the local leadership had been exposed to training). Therefore it appears again that virtually everyone who had been exposed to training claimed to have become involved in some sort of activity.

The most common activity respondents became involved with, as seen in Table 5, related income-generation and involvement in development-related organizations, including zenzele womens' groups. This is followed by agriculture-related activities; then health, water and sanitation, family planning, and schools and education. The most significant development since April 1989 has been the rise in income-generating and "committee" activity, findings corroborated by the preceding section showing significant growth in economic activity on the part of zenzele groups. The increase presumably relates to the intense level of SWAMDF-supported training provided to both traditional leaders and leaders of zenzele womens' groups.

There has also been significant growth in agricultural activity. The most noticeable decline in activity since 1989 has been in schools, which in the earlier survey generally referred to school building construction. Apparently such construction has leveled off, which makes sense since there has been a great deal of construction in the past 10 years.

²¹ This and subsequent references to comparative data from 1989 actually represent a time difference of 18 months, or 1.5 years, compared to the present survey. Cf. Green, 1989 op.cit., p. 18.

TABLE 5:

ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE RESULTED FROM WORKSHOPS
AN 18-MONTH COMPARISON

<u>Activities</u>	<u>1989 frequency</u>	<u>1990 frequency</u>
Schools, education	27.4%	16%
Health, water, sanitation	21.9	17
Agriculture	17.8	27
Income generation & committee formation	15.8	33
Roads, bridges, other infrastructure	2.7	6%
Resettlement	1.4	
N/A	<u>13.0</u>	
(Total)	100%	
(Missing cases=42)		

Development Indicators

Before the 1989 survey was conducted--in fact at the time of project design--it was agreed between USAID/Swaziland and Community Development officers that the number of development-related committees found in local communities could be regarded as an objective measure or indicator of development, and of project impact in particular. It has been found in Swaziland that there are local organizations known as committees associated with most development activities in rural communities. It was found in the 1984 baseline survey²² that the number of such committees in a chief's (immediate) area was positively associated with whether or

²² Green, E. Traditional Leadership, Community

Participation, and
Development
Education.

USAID/Swaziland, 1984, p. 49.

not the chief had ever attended one of the development workshop held irregularly prior to SWAMDP ($p = .02$). This suggests that development committees may be regarded as something that results from development education.

In the 1983/4 baseline, an average of 5.5 committees per community were found. These results were corroborated by a separate survey of eight rural communities also conducted in 1983.²²

In the 1989 survey, an average of 11.5 development-related organizations were found, with a mode of 10, a standard deviation of 4.34 and a range of 19.0.

In the present evaluation survey, an average of 17.1 such organizations were reported. The apparent significant growth during the last 18 months of SWAMDP support may be partly a statistical irregularity due to our relatively small sample, but the growth trend can be said with confidence to be continuing.

TABLE 6
GROWTH IN AVERAGE NUMBER OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES
1983-1990

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1985*</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>
<u>Number of committees</u>	5.5	7.3	11.5	17.1
<u>Annual growth rate</u>	?	0.9	1.05	3.7

*1985 data are based on 4-year recall of respondents in the 1989 survey. Figures for all other years were collected at the time represented.

We see that the rate of committee growth increased from 0.9 committees per year during the pre-SWAMDP period 1983-85 to 1.05 committees per year during the SWAMDP training period 1985-89, and to 3.7 in the last 18 months of the project. The increase in growth rate is clearly significant. The problem in interpreting these findings, of course, is to be able to attribute any increase to project impact. There are obviously other factors that influence

²² Tshabalala, R., "Community Participation in Water and Sanitation and Clinic Construction in Swaziland." MSc. Thesis (Community Health), Univ. of London, 1983.

development such as contact with GOS and NGO extension workers, mass media, other types of training, etc. that must be reckoned with, but these represent variables beyond the scope or control of the present survey. The best we can do is look for other, indirect evidence in our survey that project training has influenced the establishment and growth of development committees.

In spite of the apparent burgeoning of development committees, 26% of respondents thought there were fewer such organizations now than five years ago. Reasons given for this (multiple responses were encouraged) were, in order of frequency: money is difficult to raise or people are poor; lack of water sources or rainfall or roads or other infrastructure; problems related to extension workers (laziness or lack of cooperation); problems with the chief (he is not active or supportive, or he drinks too much); or the chief's council is not supportive. One telling comment about extension workers was that "They don't know how to work with someone who knows nothing."

However most respondents believed there were more development committees now than five years ago. Reasons are grouped and presented in Table 7, as are comparisons with 1989 findings. When "training" or "workshops" were mentioned the reference was usually to CD workshops for local leaders, but "the Chinese" and a church NGO organization were also specified. There were fewer mentions of workshops in 1990 than in 1989, but in the earlier survey just over half did not answer the question for some reason, therefore the findings may have been skewed toward "politeness responses," as suggested at the time.²⁴ Whatever the reason, a plurality among 1990 respondents mentioned the influence of workshops, and there were significant increases in the 1990 proportions mentioning the attitudes or actions of the chief and the influence of radio. Spontaneous comments related to the former include, "He forms the (development) committees;" and "He is marvelous." Comments related to radio include, "The radio motivates people;" "We hear what has occurred elsewhere--how far others have gone--and we want to catch up;" and "We hear clearly."²⁵ These comments may reflect the influence of improved radio-transmitted development communications, which was the aim of another component of SWAMDP.

²⁴ Green, E., *op cit*, 1989, P. 27-8.

²⁵ It is not clear whether this last comment refers to understanding the message or to improved reception. SBIS has recently improved transmission coverage to virtually all of Swaziland.

TABLE 7

REASONS THERE ARE MORE COMMITTEES NOW

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>1989 Frequency</u>	<u>1990 Frequency</u>
Training/workshops	69.2%	30%
Attitudes or actions of chief or LL	9.9	24
Influence of extension workers	9.9	7
Effects of education	3.3	1
Increased popular demand	3.3	2
Influence of radio	3.3	18
Increased capital available	1.1	8
Misc.	---	10
(Total)	100%	100%

(Missing cases = 97)

We next asked which local people have responsibility for development. Since the same question was asked in 1984 and 1989, we grouped answers from all three surveys together in Table 8 for comparison purposes.

TABLE B

"WHICH LOCAL PEOPLE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT?"
A comparison between 1984, 1989 and 1990

<u>Local person*</u>	<u>1984 Freq.</u>	<u>1989 Freq.</u>	<u>1990 Freq.</u>
Chief	9%	47%	22%
Chief's deputy	9	14	16
Committee members	23	12	18
Government or extension worker	4	7	4
RDA or resettlement committee members (<u>imisumphe</u>)	0	0	19
Inkhundla officials or rep's	0	5	6
No one	11	0	0
Chief's council	**	**	14%
Misc.	2	8	14
(Total)	100%	100%	100%

* Response categories are slightly different between 1984 and 1989-90 because in 1984 open-ended questions were asked and then coded later, while in 1989 response categories were fixed after they were empirically-derived from a pre-test.

**If there were mentions of chief's council in 1984 or 1989, they were so few as to be listed under "miscellaneous."

The most frequent answer in the present survey was "the chief," even though there was a wide variety of answers and only 22% gave this answer. The proportion designating chief is down from 1989 but this is partly compensated by the rise in those mentioning the chief's council (libandla). The chief in fact makes decisions not as an individual but as a "chief-in-council." Our interest in the rise since 1984 of mention of the chief and his council is that prior to SWAMDP, neither chiefs nor their subjects for the most part believed that development was a responsibility of chiefs. From looking at the findings of the three successive surveys, we

perceive a gradual shift in responsibility toward the chief and his council and top advisors. This is in accord with what was taught at project-sponsored workshops, which included emphasis on the chief's council assuming development responsibilities.

In regard to the chief's council, we asked in a separate question if development matters are discussed in the council. 94% said yes, up from 89.9% in 1989. The traditional functions of the chief's council are law and order, adjudication, and advising the chief, yet as part of project-sponsored training Community Development trainers recommended that chiefs either establish a special coordinating committee under their authority to oversee all local development activities, or have the existing chief's council take on this function. The latter course seems to have been adopted in most communities; only one 1990 respondent specified that development was handled in a special committee under the chief.

We also tried to ascertain how regularly development topics are discussed in the chief's council. With 90% of respondents answering this question, 58% of these said often or regularly; 40% said sometimes; and only 2% said rarely.

After respondents were given several chances to mention the influence of the chief (or his council, etc.) spontaneously, we next asked outright if the local chief is initiating or otherwise participating in development in the respondent's area. Fully 85% said yes, providing comments such as "He gives us land to use for development" (the most common type of response); "He forms committees;" "He directs development;" and "He allows development."

Of the 15% who said no, comments related to chiefs' alcohol abuse or dispute over who is the rightful chief; or to there being no chief at the moment, or a chief who is brand new and hasn't had enough time to become involved in development.

Next we asked directly if the local chief's participation and development is currently more, or less, compared to five years earlier. With 92% answering, 78% of these said yes and 22% said no.

Then we asked the general, open-ended question, "What is the responsibility of a chief in developing his area?" 76% answered this by using action verbs such as leads, supervises, directs, motivates, encourages, teaches, forms committees, fines or punishes those who won't participate or comply, raises money, or calls meetings. Some 74% answered in this way in 1989, as did 33% in

1984.²⁶

The change in responses since the year before the project began can be taken as evidence in change in the perception of the chief's role, implying change in the expectations of chiefs' subjects. To quote from the 1984 baseline survey report,

From the responses, the chief seems to be a somewhat detached chief executive in most cases. He has final say in important matters but he does not concern himself directly with committee, or perhaps even council, matters. As suggested (by the community mobilization phase of the survey), tindvuna (chiefs' deputies) tend to preside over councils more often, and generally to have more direct, "hands-on" involvement in local activities, including development. This is especially true of chiefs who are employed away from their areas. (paren. added).²⁷

In 1984 specific mention of action verbs such as "encourages, motivates" is relegated to the position of least frequent response (3% even allowing for multiple responses). It is true that in the 1984 responses, active-role descriptors such as "directs, supervises, mobilizes, raises money" are found in other answers--sometimes in a somewhat ambiguous response category that also includes a more passive description such as "gives final approval"--but the shift in 1990 toward expressing a clear, active responsibility for the chief in quite uniform language is clear. Moreover, only 4% of the 1990 sample gave specific responses relating to dependence on government assistance whereas 11% of 1984 responses were of this nature.

Other 1990 responses to this question were spread more or less evenly over a variety of response categories such as: "The chief should take the advice of his council;" "The chief should be a good example for his people;" "The chief should allocate land for development;" "The chief should take care of land disputes, and boundaries;" "The chief should ask the private sector for sponsorship" (1 mention); and the chief should discuss matters with the king."

Since the fund-raising role of the chief, actual or potential, emerged as important in the 1984 baseline, we asked in 1989 and again in 1990 if the chief or other leader acting under the chief's authority had collected money from local community members for

²⁶ Green, E. op cit. 1989, p.34-6. Note that action verbs connoting direct leadership occur in two response categories in 1989 and four in 1984.

²⁷ Green 1984 op cit. p. 40.

development projects in the 12 months prior to interviewing: 58% said yes. This appears to be down from the 80% who said yes in 1989 (although 15/188 did not respond in 1989); however the (mean) average amount raised in 1990 was E94.34 compared with E68.45 in 1989.

Finally, respondents were asked their views on the main obstacles to development in their areas. Responses seem to reflect the influence of training content, specifically the range and nature of topics discussed at project-sponsored workshops.

TABLE 9
MAIN OBSTACLES TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Obstacles	<u>1989</u> <u>Frequency</u>	<u>1990</u> <u>Frequency</u>
Lack of funds, jobs	24.6	20
Lack of motivation & cooperation, laziness, alcohol	23.5	24
Lack of infrastructure, transportation or facilities	16.0	17
Problems, relating to water & agriculture	14.4	22
Chiefs' disputes, problems with leaders	11.2	5
Lack of training, education of local leaders	6.4	4
Health problems	1.1	
Don't know, misc.	2.7	3
Can't receive SBS (devel. radio)		2
Crime		3
(Total)	100%	100%

Fifty-three chiefs were asked the same question in the baseline

chiefs' survey.²⁶ The commonest obstacle to development cited (by 26% of chiefs) in 1984 was lack of, or delays in, government response to local requests for development assistance. No one gave this response in either 1989 or 1990. Comparison of responses to this question between the two surveys provides convincing evidence of the impact of the self-help/self-reliance theme of project-supported workshops since 1986. From being the commonest response in 1984, not one of 187 respondents (there being one non-respondent) in 1989 or 50 respondents in 1990 cited lack of government response, even with multiple responses encouraged. Instead the responsibility for development appears now to be perceived as resting solely within the local community. Respondents in 1989 and 1990 were also much more likely to cite problems associated with motivation, cooperation, laziness, and alcohol abuse in the local community than those in 1984 (24% in 1989 and 1990 [27% if we add crime in 1990] compared with 9% who cited this plus lack of training in 1984). This can be taken as further evidence of a new self-reliant attitude as well as of growing capacity for self-criticism.

CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

In summary, the positive trends found in the 1989 impact evaluation survey appear to be continuing in 1990, exactly 18 months after the earlier survey and representing the last year and a half of SWAMDP-supported training. There is a great deal of compelling indirect evidence that much or most of the positive impact is due to project-supported training provided by Community Development.

Having been involved in the baseline and evaluation surveys relating to the local leaders component of SWAMDP since 1983 (two years prior to project start-up) the author has the clear impression that the importance of working through local leaders to achieve development goals has become well-established among GOS, donor, and NGO groups. A variety of such agencies and groups now vie to participate in "chief's workshops" nowadays--including a few representatives of banks and private companies. As this report goes to print (11/21/90), the Principal Secretary of Health is quoted in the Times of Swaziland as saying the people who can be most influential in rural communities are the chiefs, their traditional leaders. "It is extremely important to involve community leaders if we are to achieve the desired results."

²⁶ Green 1984 op cit. p. 22.

ANNEX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
FOR ZENZELE WOMEN

DATE: _____

1) NAME OF REGION _____

(1) Hhohho (2) Manzini (3) Shiselweni (4) Lubombo

2) NAME OF LOCATION/COMMUNITY _____

3) NAME OF CHIEF (ACTING CHIEF) _____

4) NAME OF INTERVIEWEE: _____

5) Name of Zenzele Group: _____
(If there is more than one name, write both names)

(Ask lomakhaya):

(6) Zenzele member has received what level of Home Economics training? (You may check more than one ans.)

- (1) None
- (2) Organizational and/or technical
- (3) Leadership
- (4) Business skills
- (5) Savings club training

(7) What type of Zenzele member is the interviewee?

- (1) Chairman
- (2) Other officer
- (3) regular member

(8) How often did you attend Zenzele meetings during the past year?

- (1) none
- (2) weekly
- (3) twice monthly
- (4) monthly
- (5) less often than monthly (Write _____)

(9) In your opinion, how is attendance amongst the members of your zenzele group?

- (1) Very High
- (2) Satisfactory
- (3) poor

(10) How many members are there in your Zenzele group? (Approximate number is O.K.)

(11) How many development-related Zenzele workshops have you attended in the past 5 years?

- (1) none
- (2) 1-3
- (3) 4 or more
(write exact or approximate number) _____

(12) Who organized the last Zenzele workshop you attended?

- (1) Home Economics
- (2) Other Ministry of Agriculture person
- (3) Ministry of Commerce ("Handicrafts")
- (4) Other (specify) _____

(13) Have you learned anything of importance at a Home Economics (Bolonakhaya) workshop?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Don't know, can't say

(14) If yes to previous Q., what in the workshops of the last 5 years did you find most useful?

(15) Have you become involved in any activity or project or group as a result of anything you learned or heard about in a Home Economics workshop for zenzele women?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

(16) If Yes to previous Q., in what kind of activity or project or group?

(17) What is the main income-generating function of your Zenzele group?

- (1) sewing school uniforms or other sewing
- (2) pig raising
- (3) handicrafts
- (4) commercial gardening
- (5) poultry
- (6) other _____
- (7) no income-generating activity

(18) Have training workshops helped your group in this activity?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Not sure, can't say

(19) If yes to previous Q., how has training helped your group?

(20) Can you think of any ways the workshops could be improved?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Not Sure

(21) If yes to previous Q., How could workshops be improved?

- (1) More tours or visits
- (2) More hands-on, learning by doing or role playing
- (3) Better venue (Where? _____)
- (4) Need follow-up (how? _____)
- (5) Need more workshops, or more time for workshops or covering topics
- (6) Need other topics (Which? _____)
- (7) Other

(22) Has most of your training at Home Economics workshops been relevant to your needs?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Don't know, can't say

(23) If no to last Q., Please explain

(24) If you would like more government-sponsored workshops in the future, how

many would you like to attend in a year?

- (1) 1-3
- (2) 4-6
- (3) 7 or more ("as many as available")
- (4) Does not want to attend more; Present number O.k.

25) In the last Home Economics workshop you attended for Zenzele women, were the teaching materials useful?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) not used

26) Please explain, or elaborate on, answer to last question.

27) Have you contributed money to your Zenzele group during the past 12 months?

- (1) Yes _____
- (2) No _____

(28) If Yes to previous Q., about how much money did you contribute in the past 12 months? (Total, including joining fee, regular subscription, special fund-raising, etc.)

- (1) E1-10
- (2) E11-20
- (3) E21-30
- (4) more than E30
(write exact amount _____)

(29) Following from the previous question, for what purpose was the money collected? (You may check more than one)

- (1) income-generating project
- (2) Burial/funeral fund
- (3) child care
- (4) Meeting place, or costs directly associated with establishment or maintenance of Zenzele group
- (5) Other (Specify) _____

(30) If you have attended more than one home economics workshop, have you trained or passed on your knowledge to other women in your home area?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) not sure

(31) If yes to previous Q., how did you pass the knowledge on?

(32) If no to Q. 30, why did you not pass the knowledge on?

(33) What can you tell us about the support--or lack of support--of your chief for your tenzele group?

(34) What are the main obstacles to development in this area?

(35) Is contact between female extension workers and your tenzele organization (Interviewers: read response options)

- (1) Frequent, regular
- (2) Occasional
- (3) Infrequent, irregular
- (4) Never

(32) If no to Q. 30, why did you not pass the knowledge on?

(33) What can you tell us about the support--or lack of support--of your chief for your zenzele group?

(34) What are the main obstacles to development in this area?

(35) Is contact between female extension workers and your Zenzele organization
(Interviewers: read response options)

- (1) Frequent, regular
- (2) Occasional
- (3) Infrequent, irregular
- (4) Never

(36) What type of extension worker does your zenzele group have most frequent contact with?

- (1) Home Economics
- (2) Other Ministry of Agriculture person
- (3) Ministry of Commerce
- (4) Other (specify) _____

(37) Is contact between male extension workers and your Zenzele organization:

- (1) Frequent
- (2) Occasional
- (3) Infrequent
- (4) never

(38) What is your age?

- (1) Less than 25
- (2) 26-40
- (3) 41-55
- (4) more than 56

(39) What is your educational level? (how far did you go in school?)

- (1) none
- (2) Some primary, or completed primary
- (3) Some secondary, or completed secondary
- (4) post-secondary

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FOLLOWUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LOCAL LEADERS

NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

(Q1) NAME OF REGION _____

- (1) Hhahlu (2) Manzini (3) Shiselweni (4) Lubombo

NAME OF LOCATION/COMMUNITY _____

NAME OF CHIEF (ACTING CHIEF) _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE: _____

DATE: _____

(Q2) What type of leader is the interviewee?

- (1) chief
- (2) indvuna
- (3) umgijimi
- (4) bandlanane
- (5) bucopho
- (6) committee member
- (7) other

(Q3) Have you become involved in any activity or project or group as a result of anything you learned or heard about in a workshop?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

(Q4) If Yes to last question, in what kind of activity or project or group?

(Q5) Which local community people have responsibility for dealing with development problems? (More than one ans. possible)

- (1) the chief

FOLLOWUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LOCAL LEADERS

NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

(Q1) NAME OF REGION _____

- (1) Hhohho (2) Manzini (3) Shiselweni (4) Lubombo

NAME OF LOCATION/COMMUNITY _____

NAME OF CHIEF (ACTING CHIEF) _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE: _____

DATE: _____

(Q2) What type of leader is the interviewee?

- (1) chief
- (2) indvuna
- (3) umgijiimi
- (4) bandlancane
- (5) bucopho
- (6) committee member
- (7) other

(Q3) Have you become involved in any activity or project or group as a result of anything you learned or heard about in a workshop?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

(Q4) If Yes to last question, in what kind of activity or project or group?

(Q5) Which local community people have responsibility for dealing with development problems? (More than one ans. possible)

- (1) the chief

- (2) tindvuna
- (3) government or extension workers
- (4) various committee members
- (5) imisumphe/RDA/resettlement people
- (6) no one
- (7) bucopho or inkhundla representative
- (8) other (specify) _____

(Q6) List the number of development committees currently found in this chief's area (give).

(Interviewer: Give exact or estimated number _____)

(Q7) Do you think there are more, or less, development committees now than 5 years ago?

- (1) More
- (2) Less
- (3) Don't know

(Q8) If there are more devel. committees now, what is the reason?

1) training/workshops

(PROBE: _____)

2) attitude or actions of chiefs or other local leaders

(PROBE: _____)

3) increased capital available

(PROBE: _____)

4) effects of education, formal schooling

(PROBE: _____)

5) influence of radio

(PROBE: _____)

6) influence of extension workers

(PROBE: _____)

7) increased popular demand

(PROBE: _____)

8) other

(Specify) _____

(Q9) If there are fewer development committees now than in 1985, what is the reason?

- (1) Chief not active/supportive
- (2) Bandlancane not active/supportive
- (3) Money difficult to raise, people are poor
- (4) Money collected for development has gone missing
- (5) Money not spent as intended
- (6) Reasons related to extension workers
(Specify) _____
- (7) Other (Specify) _____
- (8) Don't know

(Q10) Is the chief of this area initiating development activities (e.g., school or farm shed construction, health or water systems, raising crops for sale, etc.) or otherwise participating in development activities?

- (1) Yes How? Comment: _____

- (2) No How? Comment: _____

(Q11) If yes to last question, is chief's participation in development more, or less, compared to 5 years ago or earlier?

- (1) More
- (2) Less

(Q12) Has the chief or group acting under the chief's authority collected money for any development projects for the community during the past 12 months?

- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

(Q13) If Yes to last quest., about how much money was collected from each homestead?

(Approximate amount) _____

(Q14) Are development topics ever discussed in the bandlancane?

(1) Yes _____

(2) No _____

(3) There is a separate central development committee under the chief

(Q15) If Yes to last quest., are these topics discussed:

(1) regularly/often? _____

(2) sometimes? _____

(3) rarely? _____

(Q16) What is the responsibility of a chief in developing his area?

(Q17) What are the main obstacles to development in this area?

(18) (Respondent is:)

(1) Male

(2) Female
ANEX C

SAMPLE AND SAMPLING FRAME FOR LOCAL LEADERS SURVEY

(With abbreviations indicating regions,
and [++] indicating selected chiefdoms)

<u>CHIEF'S NAME</u>	<u>NAME OF CHIEFDOM</u>
1. Magcolo Mabuza	Mgomfelweni-mz
2. Sidlani Sacolo	Ntfungula-mz
3. Mayezi Maseko	Nsangwini-mz
4. Mcazeni Tsela	Kazulu-mz
5. Mngcandzane Dlamini*	Pholonjeni-mz
6. Mandia Ntjalintjali*	Bharwini-mz
7. Snacolo Mdluli*	Nciniselweni-mz
8. Luke Nhlabatsi*	Ludvondvolweni-mz
9. Samson Zwane**	Logoba-mz
10. Lomahasha Dlamini	++Mkhulamini-mz
11. Salayedwa Gwebu**	Bhudle-mz
12. Sipho Nkambule**	Timbutini-mz
13. Gwevamanzi Mhlanga**	++Kwaluseni-mz
14. Msongelwa Vilakati**	Mafutseni-mz
15. Mthawe Msibi**	Nkiliji-mz
16. Velamuva Mdlulu**	Ngwazini-mz
17. Mchutjwa Shongwe**	Mdayane-mz
18. Mandinda Bhembe	Timbutini-mz
19. Choboza Ginindza**	Ekukhanyeni-mz
20. Mkhunjulwa Dlamini	Timbutini-mz
21. Samuel Dlamini**	Mdayane-mz
22. Mbango Mavuso**	Logoba-mz
23. Madalambane Dlamini	Butfontweni-mz?
24. Gcokoma Dlamini	mbelebeleni-mz
25. Sozisa Dlamini	Gudwini-mz
26. Mfanyana Motsa**	Madiangempisi Nkhundla
	ctr-mz
27. Elias Kunene**	" "
	"-mz
28. Mathanane Kunene	++Esisingeni-sh
29. Mavandlakazi Dlamini	Kadiovunga-sh
30. Mvulo Dlamini	Mampondweni-sh
31. Ncandaniso Dlamini	Madulini-sh
32. Sonjane Dlamini	KaPhunga-sh
33. Mberwa Dlamini	Nsingizini-sh
34. Mbroke Mamba	Kardhoke-sh
35. Mdlwa Nsibandze	Mahlalini-sh
Simon Sineleane (with chief)	Mahlalini-sh
36. Nkani Ngacampalala*	Kholwane-sh
37. Ben Dlamini*	Ezikhotweni-sh
38. Ephraim Dlamini*	Ezikhotweni-sh
39. Diza Mkhonto*	Makwelela-sh
40. Myekelwa Ntshangwe*	++Enkunjwini-sh

41. Daniel Nsibandze*	Zombodze-sh
42. Naptal Mhlanga (with chief)	Mampondweni-sh
43. Mhlaber Hlaphwayo*	Gege-sh
Mabiti Hlaphwayo*	Gege-sh
44. Sicele Masilela	Mhlanguyavuko-sh
Sibanga Magagula	Mhlanguyavuko-sh
45. Milton Makhanva	Kupheleni-hh
46. Petros Dlamini	Maphalaleni-hh
Maphikalelo Dlamini	Maphalaleni-hh
47. Siyaluza Mabuza	Jubukweni-hh
48. Sobhiyoza Dlamini	Ekhupheleni-hh
49. Mfanziile Dlamini	Singweni-hh
50. Myengwa Nkhambule	Enfeni-hh
51. Sunduza Dlamini	Emvenbili-hh
52. Molwane Dlamini	++Nsangwini-hh
53. Mabola Ginindza	Emadidolo-hh
54. Ngcashula Nkhembule	Nsingweni-hh
55. Mfanyane Dlamini	Mshingishingini-hh
56. Mbilini Dlamini	Lobamba-hh
57. Mabiteleni Malinga Princess Simangele	Dlangeni-hh Dlangeni-hh
58. Lushawulo Dlamini Nkomonembana Dlamini*	Ezulwini-hh Ezulwini-hh
59. Mohola Ginindza	Madiolo-hh
60 Siyaluza Mabuza	Siyaluza/Jubukwani-hh
61. Maplinkelala Dlamini	Maplukelela/Maphalaleni-hh
62. Myengwa Nkhambwe	Myengwa/emfeka-hh
63. Molwane Dlamini	Mohwane/Nsangwini-hh
64. Sobhiyoza Dlamini	++Sobhuyoze/Kupheleni-hh
65. Cijo Zwane**	Ngonini-hh
66. Chief Siphige Myeni	-lu
67. Chief Sota Dlamini	-lu
68. Chief Maphilingo Shongwe	-lu
69. Chief Mhawu Ngcamphalala	-lu
70. Chief Sowonjane Dlamini	++kaPhunga -lu
71. Chief Loviwe Maziya (court pres./Siteki) Mapuwane-lu (Cristu Gamedze-Indvuna)	
72. Chief Gcobobo Gamedze (deceased)	
73. Chief Sisengwane Ndzimandze	Mpholongeni-lu
74. Chief Mhawu Dlamini (works in Piggs Peak) Erdumezulu-lu (Moonani Mkhabela-Indvuna)	
75. Chief Buvaka Dlamini	Mpholongeni-lu
(Meli Matfunjwa-indv.)	
76. Chief Macebo Dubs	++Mpholongeni-lu
77. Chief Mlimi Maziya	Kalanga-lu
(Ndzaleni Maziya-Acting Chief)	
78. Chief Maja Mamba	Ngudzeni-lu
(Coko Sibandze--Indvuna)	
79. Chief Madiemva Gamedze	Sipro+aneni-lu

ANNEX E
PERSONS CONTACTED

Topsile Baartjies--MOFC/HED
Thandi Kunene--Ministry of Commerce, handicrafts Div., Hhohho Coordinator
Nomakhosi Mlambo, Regional HED, Manzini
Mrs. Matsebula, A-HED, Manzini
Zodwa Baartjies--Asst. HED, Shiselweni
Sibongile Dlamini, Regional HED, Shiselweni
Ms. Matola, A-HED, Shiselweni
Ms. Mkhwanazi, A-HED, Shis.
Ms. Mitchel Mkhaliphi, HEA, Manzini
Ms. Dlamini, HEA, Manzini
Mr. Msibi, Regional Handicrafts Officer, Manzini
Ms. Nomakhosi Mlambo, R-HED, Manzini
Ms. Khanyisile Mabuza, HED, Hhohho
Ms. Janine Ward, Volunteer Community Devel. Worker, Mhlume
Mr Anton Kienle, Handicrafts Officer, Ministry of Commerce
Ms. Marilyn Richards, COP, SAWMP Project
Mr. Lon Muffit, In-Country Training Manager, SAWMP Project
(Representatives of twenty-two zenzele groups and four savings clubs throughout Swaziland)

ANNEX F

CASE HISTORY OF ZENZELE GROUP
ILLUSTRATING VARIOUS PROBLEMS IN TRAINING
AND TURNING A PROFIT IN INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES
(Excerpted from fieldnotes)

10/29/90

Matucula Lubombo Region

This zenzele group is called Ntamakuphila ("trying to make a living," loosely interpreted). It costs E10 to join the group and E100 a year for "shares." They are visited irregularly by an AED (see below), and the wife of a Mhume sugar official who serves as a kind of community development volunteer.

This group used to live some miles away on relatively large and wealthy homesteads before Mhume Sugar Estates expanded onto their traditional lands in 1983 and the community had to be relocated. A deal was worked out and the people were theoretically compensated, but as with every other relocated group the people were dissatisfied with the outcome. For one thing, they are not near a natural source of water, and for another their fields are much smaller than those they previously worked. The community is engaged in family-based commercial cotton farming.

This zenzele group existed before the relocation. It probably began 17 years ago. The original group had 30 or so members and they were involved in grass work, sewing, knitting, making girls' dresses and bead work. The first AED assigned to them imparted these skills.

The relocation disrupted not only the community but the zenzele group as well. Soon after the move, the group dwindled to 11 members (today there are 20 regular members). They are now engaged in cotton farming, sewing school uniforms, and candle making. (Grass work was dropped due to a lack of a market or indeed a way to easily get to a town).

The former HED (they're now on their 3rd) helped them market their products by personally taking them to town, selling them, and returning the cash. That has not been possible with the current HED, plus the procedure keeps local women dependent on outside resources. The "informal" community development volunteer is trying to re-direct womens' efforts toward activities that can generate income locally so that problems of transport and access to towns are mitigated. The women agree that there is a local market for both candles and school uniforms. They have an arrangement with local schools to sell uniforms to parents of students.

Around 1984, four women who were present today attended a week-long workshop run by HE. Those who attended--and who were elected by the group--said the training was useful. They learned about traditional HE topics such as hygiene and homestead cleanliness. They went on to mention a period when HE sponsored annual contests for having the cleanest homestead that possessed a toilet, a garden, etc. The contests inspired them to practice HE principles and they liked

receiving prizes. The income-generating activities they heard about at the workshop "were good," but afterwards they still didn't know how to sell their products. They improvised at this stage by persuading their A-ED to sell their products in town for them.

More than once the women mentioned problems associated with relocation. The new location was more remote, lacked water, was not accessible to transportation, had no clinic, etc. They say there were no business opportunities here. The effect on the zenzele group and on the community in general was said to be confusion and disorganization. Between 1983-86 the group was moribund. At this time there was no A-ED. It's not clear whether this was due to the group's new inaccessibility or to the group's disorganization and apathy. Some women commented that life was so difficult getting adjusted to a new area, clearing fields, etc., that there was no spare time to give to Zenzele.

In 1986 a new HED came and asked the women to revive their zenzele group (note this was Year 1 of SWAMP). Its revival was slow due to the problems of settling in the new area. For their first income-generating activity they attempted to grow and sell maize. They ended up with no profit after 2 years of this. Apparently the new A-ED initiated this idea and helped train the women (note lack of feasibility analysis for growing maize in an area with no water source). The zenzele women themselves asked the A-ED how they could grow maize so far from a river. The A-ED is said to have not really listened to this concern and was simply guided by directives from HE headquarters. She is alleged to have been told something like, "here is your seed allotment. You must use it or we'll have to give it to some other group.") The A-ED may have led the women on by hinting that the government might help build an irrigation pond.

Apparently there was no prioritization of local needs, using practical suggestions and inputs from local people.

In 1988, the group received project-supported leadership training from HE and they were seemingly promised business skill training. "Leadership" consisted of advantages of working together, how to organize themselves, the value of self-reliance, independence from A-EDs, how to reach collective decisions, etc., according to the women. When we got into this topic, the women spoke of the burning house exercise, the donkeys pulling in opposite directions, human personality traits as found in animals such as the giraffe, etc., as if they had just heard these other days. They said they liked learning by these parables and exercises, and they especially enjoyed role-playing. "hashulu!" They were excited by the insights they gained and the practical applications they found in promoting group solidarity.

But all this began to fall apart when the follow-up workshops on business skills never came and all the other problems and constraints persisted. Some positive impact apparently remains: the lessons learned about working together has resulted in lightening the workload during weeding season because women will take turns helping each other.

Other problems persist in the community and with the zenzele group. The women themselves say that many of them are lazy. They say they will call a meeting and only 2 or 3 will show up. It's also hard to get women to become committed to collective as opposed to individual enterprises. They say that traditionally the rule is every woman for herself.

We interrupted to ask if the A-ED has been able to advise on this. At this point we still didn't realize that the A-ED seldom visits the area, so we got an ambiguous answer about the A-ED trying but nothing resulting as yet.

At this point, two zenzele members approached us on their way to the local store.

but apparently when they saw us, they turned and began to slink off. Gama called them over and persuaded them to sit down. We tried to get them to tell us why they're not active in the group (the others told us that these two have paid their fees but have never attended a meeting, although they did attend the HE workshop a few years ago). They were very reluctant to say anything. Finally they agreed with others present that they were simply lazy. We asked them to join our two interviewers (who had been conducting one-on-one interviews privately and separately) for private interviews held out of earshot of our conversation.

The active zenzele women then told us that many women want quick results. They fail to understand how working together eventually pays off--although those explaining this admitted that their income-generating ventures have not really paid off. The 2-year maize experiment flopped. The next major economic venture was commercial cotton. This was attempted both through a collective cotton field worked by the group and by a number of husbands allocating a portion of their cotton fields to their wives for zenzele income generation. Cotton earned them about E1000 last year, but this year some heavy rains destroyed the crop and they ended up with nothing. Such investments followed by failure "have a way of not attracting new members to your group," a woman commented.

The women reiterated that people are used to individual business endeavors, therefore this inhibits cooperation in group endeavors.

In spite of all their hardships and setbacks, we asked if they had tried to share what they had learned in leadership training to other women. Some said they tried to pass along what they learned when meeting non-local women in church, but these women wanted to see results of how collective action can benefit them. They said, "First show us your success!"

Their main project at present has been saving money for a bus, using zenzele joining and subscription fees as well as the E1000 from last year's cotton earnings. They seem unsure about the exact price of a bus but they have saved E2300 so far. The bus is intended to overcome isolation and specifically to be able to transport their products to markets in town.

What do the husbands do? Some of the zenzele women are widows; most of the others are married to men who farm cotton. Several complained that their husbands overwork them and so they lack sufficient time to engage in zenzele activities. One woman said, "Husbands need these workshops too. It is they who need to learn about cooperation."

In answer to my question, it seemed that a few men in the area attended local leader workshops run by Community Development. The women said this was helpful but that old habits die hard; the local leaders need more workshops.

Another project led by Mrs. Ward is the building of a creche. The local women are supposed to contribute labor to this but apparently are not doing so.