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TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP, COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION,
AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION:
RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF TWO SURVEYS IN SWAZILAND

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Edward C. Green, Ph.D.
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Personal Services Contractor
Anthropologist
U.S. AID
P.O. Box 750
Mbabane, Swaziland

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Community participation in development projects, including the planning of such projects, has come to be regarded as an essential ingredient for success. This may be particularly true in rural areas of less developed countries where project goals may be poorly understood by intended "project beneficiaries," and where such goals may even be perceived as detrimental to local interests.

This report presents findings from two surveys that relate to community participation in development efforts in Swaziland. The first, referred to as Community Mobilization for Health (CMH), was supported by the Swaziland Ministry of Health's Rural Water-Borne Disease Control Project. One aim of the research was to assess the feasibility of forming sanitation committees in rural areas. In order to put the question in context, all types of development-related indigenous organizations found in a representative sample of rural communities were identified. Information on the functions, composition, mode of recruitment, effectiveness, and problems of such organizations was also sought.

Another aim was to take the existence of indigenous development-related organizations as a general measure of community mobilization for development, and to see what other factors operating in the community (e.g. leadership, resettlement) seem to account for the existence and effectiveness of such organizations. The identification of such factors would mean that government or donor agencies would have a set of criteria by which to assess the mobilization potential (and by implication, the degree or organization) of a community. Since the success of projects in rural Swaziland depends greatly on the ability of communities to cooperate among

themselves and with outside agencies, and to raise money, mobilize labor, and sustain maintenance or monitoring costs or tasks; it is desirable for agencies initiating projects to have an idea of their chances for success before establishing priorities and making investments of scarce resources.

A third aim was to learn from the lessons that emerged in respondents' accounts of local development efforts in order to derive principles of both successful project implementation and the formation and maintenance of local organizations.

The second study, referred to as Traditional Leaders and Development Training Efforts, or simply "Traditional Leaders' Survey" followed from the findings of the CMH study, particularly those relating to the authoritative and influential role of chiefs within their chiefdoms. Specifically, it seemed that development-related training and orientation efforts directed toward traditional leaders might significantly increase the likelihood that a wide variety of health, agricultural, family planning, and other development projects would succeed. Accordingly, a sample of Swazi chiefs was interviewed in order to obtain information about: (1) local development issues and activities as viewed by chiefs; (2) the involvement of local leaders in development; (3) past experience of chiefs and other leaders in development training efforts sponsored by the Swaziland government; and (4) possible ways to expand and improve such training efforts. Such information was needed to plan, as well as help justify, an expanded training or "development orientation" program for Swazi traditional leaders.

The outline of this report is as follows. As a general contextual background to both studies, an outline of community structure and leadership patterns at the local level in Swaziland is presented. This information is derived from nearly three years of anthropological fieldwork related to health and nonformal education. Next, the methodologies, findings, and

conclusions of both studies are presented in turn, followed by an outline of recommendations made to the Governemnt of Swaziland in the form of a training program. The likelihood of program impact and success is discussed next, partially in the context of assessment of traditional leadership roles in neighboring, culturally-related societies. In a brief final section, the important findings and conclusions from both surveys are summarized. This section serves as an executive summary for the busy policymaker.

Community Structure and Local Leadership

Swaziland lacks villages in the usual sense of the term, yet there are clusters of dispersed, extended-family homesteads that have a clear sense of belonging together and coming under the authority of a recognized leader. The smallest significant unit of this sort may be called a ward (sifundza) or simply a local community. A community in this sense can best be defined as a group of homesteads that fall under the undisputed authority of a chief's deputy (indvuna). Such communities are named, have a degree of internal organization, and have more or less definite boundaries, although disputes over boundaries and leadership do periodically occur. Unless a chief's area is quite small, several local communities typically make up a chiefdom, that is, the total area and population that comes under the authority of a chief (sikhulu, shifu).

A chiefdom (sive) also has rather well-defined boundaries, a relatively standard internal organization, and it is recognized as a local governmental unit by the Swaziland government.¹

Bearing in mind that a small chieftaincy may consist of a single local community, while a large chieftaincy may comprise

1. cf. Hughes, A.J.B., Land Tenure, Land Rights and Land Communities on Swazi Nation Land: A Discussion of Some Interrelationships Between the Traditional Tenurial System and Problems of Agrarian Development, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1972, p. 102

seven or eight distinct, named communities, each with its own indvuna, it may be convenient to think of the "average" community as consisting of roughly 65 homesteads with 10 de jure inhabitants per homestead. There may be an average of four communities in each of the 219 chieftaincies in Swaziland.² Such estimates are consistent with impressions gained during fieldwork, including the average homestead size, which has been established more precisely by recent surveys. These estimates also yield a total population of 569,400, which approximates the total ethnic Swazi population of Swaziland established in the last census.

Formal leadership at the local, as opposed to national, level consists of chiefs, their deputies (tindvuna), members of the council (libandla) of both chief and deputy, and chief's runners (bagijimi). Chiefs have delegated authority deriving from the Regent, and they in turn delegate authority to deputies and runners. Chiefs are hereditary, although some choice exists in designating a chief if there are several eligible males in the same immediate family. Likewise, tindvuna may be hereditary in some areas, even though they are appointed by their chiefs. At least in some areas, the same families tend to produce the local deputy.

Chiefs exercise a great deal of authority in their areas of jurisdiction. They can impose fines, allocate or withhold land, demand labor services of their subjects, appoint people to councils and committees, confer local "citizenship," banish people in extreme cases, and allow or disallow development projects in their areas. Deputies may also exercise quite a bit of authority in their local communities, especially if they are situated far from the chief in a multi-ward chiefdom and if they are respected elders in their own right.

Both chiefs and tindvuna are expected to reach decisions and exercise authority with the advice and consent of their respective councils. These councils (emabandla) serve to check

2. The current (undated) list of chiefs from the Office of Indvuna YeTinkhundla provides the names of 219 chiefs.

and balance the exercise of executive power, especially when council membership reflects and represents the various sub-groups and interests of the wider community. The term great council (libandla lenkhulu) may refer either to the chiefs', as opposed to the indvuna's, council of advisors, or it may refer to "an open forum where every adult male in the chiefdom is entitled to air his views."³ The small council (libandla lencane) may refer either to the indvuna's council of advisors, or to the inner circle of the chief's advisors who meet privately to debate issues before they are presented to the great council for formal ratification. The inner council may be referred to as lusendvo or liqogo if comprised solely of members of the chief's clan.

The traditional kinship system also provides certain checks and balances to the chief's authority. For example, the first-born son of the first wife of a chief's father is called the lisokancanti and he may serve as a critic of, as well as an advisor to, the chief. The lisokancanti himself is by tradition ineligible to become chief.

Chiefs vary widely in the extent to which they oversee their councils and exercise authority in general. There may actually be differences in the amount of authority available to them. For example, a chief who is also a prince (umntfwanawenkhosi) tends to be more powerful than non-royal chiefs--at least in relation to the central monarchy. On the other hand, non-royal chiefs may be the heads of former "tribal" groups as well as clan heads of their areas, going back to the time before the Dlamini clan conquests. These chiefs may have great ritual and mystical significance to people within the local chiefdom. And chiefs who are governors of royal kraals have special authority and responsibility in solving regional problems that extend beyond individual chieftaincies, although in other respects they may be no more powerful than clan heads.

3. Hughes, op. cit., p. 103.

Turning to the chief's deputy, it should be noted that the term indvuna can be used in several different senses. There is the senior indvuna (indvuna lenkhulu) of the nation; there are those of royal villages whose status is equivalent to chiefs', those of the Tinkhundla or regional assemblies of chiefs; or those of the emabutfo or royal regiments. Even the tindvuna of chiefs seem to be of at least two kinds: the senior indvuna who stands in for the chief and has delegated authority over the whole chiefdom and, if the chiefdom comprises more than one local community, the indvuna whose delegated authority does not extend beyond the local community. The term indvuna is perhaps better translated as counselor or officer in some cases; chiefs' tindvuna are referred to as deputies in this report in order to avoid ambiguity. Deputies do most of the "hands on," daily administrative work of an area, while the chief provides overall direction and coordination.

The chief's runner (umgigimi) performs tasks for the chief such as collecting fines, enforcing the law, and relaying personal messages.

Non-formal yet traditional local leadership may include traditional healers and imisumphe. Traditional healers are themselves hierarchically arranged in some areas. They are influential in health and spiritual matters, and sometimes in political matters. The imisumpe (sing. umsumphe) of an area are also influential; they are the "native son" elders with deep geneological roots in a community and with wide knowledge of local history and customs. They can be contrasted with families who have lived in the area for less than a generation or two. Imisumphe have responsibility for determining the relocation of homesteads in parts of Swaziland designated as Rural Development Areas.

People in non-formal, non-traditional roles of influence may include local committee members, church leaders, headmasters, civil servants, and businessmen, especially if they were born in the local area.

Lastly, it can be noted that Swazi polity and society exhibits a curious blend of authoritarianism and egalitarianism. A chief may enjoy supreme executive powers within his chiefdom. But he may be reluctant to exercise power for fear of encountering resistance among his subjects, or of losing prestige or popularity.⁴ Many chiefs are known to seek treatment from traditional healers in order to mystically enhance their leadership qualities and their overall image or "presence" in the eyes of their subjects.

Traditional monarchies are characterized by centralized decision-making and general authoritarianism. The development of certain structures of a parliamentary democracy has done little to change the essentially authoritarian nature of the Swazi political system. What is more difficult to account for is the strongly egalitarian ethic that at times is clearly evident among Swazis. Perhaps decades of labor struggle on the part of Swazis working for South African mining companies and for foreign-owned companies in Swaziland has helped develop a questioning attitude toward authority as well as a keen sense of equity and fairness among at least Swazi men. Experience in the age-grade regiments (emabutfo) may also promote egalitarian values, since all men are said to become equal when with their regiment.

The Inkhundla System and its Significance for Development

The Inkhundla system was established by King Sobhuza II in the 1940's to mediate between the level of chiefs--for all practical purposes the lowest administrative level of government --and the Swazi National Council, the highest administrative

4. Chiefs in the Transkei have been killed by their subjects in recent times for acting excessively authoritarian. However the chief's position in Transkei has become largely co-opted by the South African government. See W.D. Hammond-Tooke, Command or Consensus: the Development of Transkeian Local Government, David Philip: Cape Town, 1975, p. 219.

body of the traditional government⁵ under the Regent. The nation was divided into 40 Tinkhundla (singular: Inkhundla, lit., "meeting place"), or regional assemblies of chiefs. In this way the central government could communicate with groups of chiefs without having to contact each chief separately. And chiefs could express their interests and needs on a common, regional basis without having to go directly and individually to the central government.

Following the October 1983 elections, but originating presumably in the Ligoqo, changes in the organization of the government began to be implemented. The Office of the Indvuna yeTinkhundla was given more responsibility in district or rural administration. It appears that this office will play a greater role in mediating between and coordinating the functions of the traditional and modern institutions of government.

The new responsibilities of Tinkhundla in rural or regional administration reflect current government policy of decentralization. A somewhat different approach to development activities has also been planned. In its simple and ideal form, a chief-in-council (i.e., in consultation with other notables in his chiefdom) will identify development needs at the local level. Proposals will be discussed among small groups of chiefs at the local Inkhundla, and will then be presented as an Inkhundla proposal to the regional assembly. There is one regional assembly per district, comprised of regional councillors and headed by a Regional Secretary and ultimately by a Regional Administrator. Regional councillors are elected officials; there are two from each Inkhundla, approximately

5. For practical or heuristic purposes, the Government of Swaziland may be thought of as consisting of traditional and modern institutions which interrelate in various ways. The Ligoqo (Supreme Council of State), the Swazi National Council, the Inkhundla system, the chiefs and their councils, and the monarchy in general comprise the traditional institutions. The parliament, cabinet and the various ministries comprise the major modern institutions.

20 per district, and a total of 80 in Swaziland. During national elections they serve as the electoral college for choosing members of Parliament.

Development proposals are forwarded from regional councils to the national Tinkhundla office by one of the four Regional Administrators. However, efforts will now be made to handle the problem or request at the regional level, or lower. Such decentralization seems to be intended to encourage greater self-reliance at local levels, thereby reducing demand for services on the national government. The system is also intended to encourage participatory planning in development, since proposals will be articulated upwards from local chiefdoms. In any case, chiefs should have increased power and responsibility in identifying development priorities and in guiding and coordinating development projects.

The Inkhundla structure is headed by a governor, or Indvuna yeTinkhundla, whose office is in Mbabane. The office has ministerial status--including a principal secretary--and it reports directly to the office of the Prime Minister. Several functions of the former Ministry of Home Affairs were transferred to the Tinkhundla office portfolio in 1983.

Swaziland's four districts have been renamed regions. The Regional Secretary will have most of the actual "hands-on" administrative duties of the region. Local project heads, extension worker supervisors, and others that comprised the former District Teams, will now advise the regional councils, but it seems as if "civil servants" will play a somewhat diminished role in their capacity as advisors to the locally-elected regional councillors.

It should be emphasized that these changes in administration are in the process of development at this time; therefore what has been described should not be regarded as necessarily fixed or established.

THE COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION FOR HEALTH SURVEY

Fieldwork was conducted between August 1982 and February 1983 in 10 rural Swazi communities: three in the Highveld, three in the Middleveld, and four in the Lowveld. Interviews were conducted in communities selected because they were reputed to be either particularly well or poorly mobilized for development, based on the success or failure of recent projects. Such attributions came from extension workers, teachers, and donor group representatives, and were said to be based on recent experience with projects.⁶ By looking for extreme examples, it was expected that the important determining factors relating to community mobilization would stand out more clearly than if "average" communities were examined.

A stratified sample of respondents was sought in each community. Since perspectives and opinion were found to vary greatly in the community where the informal interview schedule was pre-tested, the following respondents were sought (but not always found) in each community for interviewing: the chief or chief's deputy; a health or other extension worker with considerable knowledge of the community; one or more members of a health-related committee; one or more members of an agricultural, school, or other type of committee; an outside person of responsible position such as a local headmaster or church leader; and several ordinary members of homesteads (both male and female) who do not belong to any committees. The sample was biased toward those more active in community affairs or decision-making, but this was taken into account when interpreting survey results.

6. In some instances, a community said to be poorly mobilized on the basis of one project failure, was in fact found to be relatively well mobilized and there were special circumstances involved in the project failure. Thus, anecdotal evidence about community organization cannot be relied on.

An open-ended interview schedule consisting of 10 questions was developed and pre-tested. Questions regarding the leadership of the local chief or deputy sometimes elicited stereotyped answers in respondents who were reluctant to say anything critical to strangers. This was partly offset by the many ways through which subtle nuance of meaning can be conveyed in siSwati.

Pre-test interviews were conducted by the author; all others were carried out by two experienced Swazi interviewers who were trained in qualitative research methods. Ninety-six respondents representing as many homesteads in 10 communities were interviewed. Answers to all questions were recorded more or less verbatim by the two interviewers, then translated from siSwati to English by the interviewers within a few days of interviewing. The author summarized and analyzed the resulting information. The Swazi interviewers assisted in the interpretation of survey findings.

Lastly, it shou'd be noted that all opinions, attitudes, and accounts presented in this report originate from people in the communities surveyed. Corroborative evidence from outside agencies on the success of projects was not purposely sought.

Since this report deals with politically sensitive topics such as the quality of local leadership, the communities reported on remain anonymous.

Findings

Councils. All communities were found to have a traditional council (libandla), either a chief's or a deputy's depending on the location. The deputy's council dealt with problems affecting the local community, including the settlement of disputes and the adjudication of most criminal offences. The councils of both chiefs and deputies dealt with development-related matters such as new agricultural techniques,

planning the construction of a clinic, or discussing the need for a protected water system. Councils were typically involved in various types of preliminary planning. Once decisions have been made, council members may decide on the formation of a specialized committee to carry out functions such as purchasing and storing fertilizer, choosing the site for a clinic, or raising money for the construction of a water system. Council members may actually vote for the members of the new committee (see below).

Once several development-related committees are functioning, the chief's or deputy's council may oversee and coordinate the various activities of the committees. However, councils vary considerably in the degree to which they oversee such activities.

Extension workers, headmasters or other officials may address a council on specific topics, such as the need for a protected water system or the need to expand school facilities. However, such people do not ordinarily attend council meetings.

A council may take out a bank loan for a project involving the community, typically using cattle as collateral. The council may also decide how much money needs to be raised for a project and then oversee the collection of contributions from (ideally) each homestead in the community.

Councils were typically composed of the important elder men of the community. They may be appointed to the council by the chief or deputy or elected by popular vote. In addition to the men in formal roles of authority, those with royal blood, with several wives, with personal wealth, or with longstanding ties to the area (imisumphe) tend to be the men of local importance. Imisumpe, the "native sons" mentioned earlier, are thought to have more rights locally than men and their families who are only first or second generation inhabitants of an area. These rights may only become evident in the case of property disputes or resettlement.

The great council (libandla lenkhulu) was described in some areas as consisting of all male homestead heads (banumzane) of the area.

Women usually sit to one side of a council meeting and do not participate, even though they may listen and may be consulted by the council men on specific issues. Mourning widows must avoid public meetings altogether.

In addition to council meetings, there may be periodic community-wide meetings where everyone is invited to discuss matters of local interest. These may be informal and characterized by the drinking of traditional beer.

Development committees. In addition to the traditional council, all communities surveyed had committees that deal with development-related activities. An average of 6.6 (and a range of 4-8) committees per community were found to be functioning within two years of the time of interviewing. The number would have been lower had we counted only those committees actually functioning at the time of interviewing; however it was felt that the inclusion of recently defunct committees would yield a more comprehensive picture of trends in development activities. Committees discovered in the investigated communities included the following 15 types, in descending order of frequency. The number of communities in which they were found (a maximum of 10) is indicated in parentheses:

- School committee (10)
- Women's development or Zenzele committee (10)
- Farming or agricultural committee (8)
- Dip tank committee (7)
- Health or clinic committee (6)
- Market committee (6)
- Communal garden committee (3)
- Rural Development Area or resettlement committee (3)
- Water committee (3)
- Storage Shed committee (3)
- Rural Health Motivator committee (2)
- Roads committee (2)
- Telephone committee (1)
- Electricity committee (1)
- Red Cross committee (1)

The last three committees listed were found in the same rural community located in the commercially developed Ezulwini Valley.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above. One is that all communities were found to have a number of development-related committees. The very existence of these should dispel any idea of "complete traditionalism" or "arch-conservatism" in rural Swaziland.⁷

Another finding, quite unanticipated, was that women's associations were found in all communities surveyed. As discussed below, women's associations were found to be among the more effective and sustainable of committees. If the communities surveyed are at all representative of rural Swaziland (Swazi Nation Land), then the widespread existence of women's associations has important implications for development in general and for health development in particular. Two points should be mentioned in this connection. First, all but one of the women's associations surveyed had several health functions. Secondly, men in the community as well as male extension workers tended to know little about the functions--or perhaps even the existence--of women's associations.

7. A parallel study of eight rural communities conducted during the same year produced a comparable inventory of development-related committees found to be functioning at the time of interviewing (as opposed to within two years of interviewing). The major difference was that only three of the eight communities had a women's committee. See R. Tshabalala, "Community Participation in Water and Sanitation and Clinic Construction in Swaziland," Master of Science Thesis (Community Health), University of London, September 1983. Judging by the results of the Traditional Leaders Survey (see below), the mean number of local committees suggested by the CMH Survey may be regarded as a bit high, although it should be noted that chiefs often admitted that they may not have been aware of all the committees in their areas. For another inventory of development related committees (or "projects") see F. de Vletter et al, The Swazi Rural Homestead, University of Swaziland, Social Science Research Unit, Kwaluseni, Swaziland, p. 282, July 1983.

It was also found that few men or women could name all of the committees operating in a particular community. This would seem to reflect relatively poor communication within communities.

Formation of Committees

A recognized need by local people--at least the more active and involved ones--seems to be a necessary precondition for the formation of a committee. Furthermore, it has proven easier to mobilize interest and contributions if a committee has a finite and concrete goal, such as the construction of a building.

Although a specific question on development priorities was not posed, findings from the areas surveyed indicate that highest priority goals were having a primary school, a clinic, and a piped water system. The desire for a water system seems to have grown stronger recently due to government educational efforts relating to the causes of cholera and other water-related diseases, as well as to developing interest in vegetable gardening. The 1983 drought also seemed to be a motivating factor.

Committees whose goals do not relate to locally recognized needs require varying amounts of outside stimulation. The same is true for those with less tangible outputs and with on-going rather than ad hoc functions. For example, it is relatively easy to mobilize labor and cash contributions for the construction of a clinic. This can often be accomplished without effort on the part of extension workers. However, the active encouragement and guidance of an extension worker or other outside authority is probably necessary to sustain interest in a health committee that pursues the more general goal of preventing diseases and promoting health--at least in the earlier stages of the committee's existence.

Committee members may be chosen by appointment or by some sort of voting process. Headmasters appoint the members of a school committee in some areas; likewise the chief or deputy may appoint the members of various other committees. However, most committees described by respondents in all 10 communities recruited members through popular election. This finding was contrary to expectation, since a good deal of anecdotal information exists on the supposed absolute authority of Swazi chiefs.

Respondents listed the following qualifications that were sought in prospective committee members, in general order of importance: honesty, involvement in community affairs, being hard-working, being capable, being well-known, working well with the chief, and being a good speaker. The ability to work with chiefs may seem to be accorded a surprisingly low priority, but this is consistent with findings in the Traditional Leaders' Survey that chiefs usually have little direct involvement with development committees.

Another important qualification emerged when respondents described the kind of people not selected for committees: members must have been born in the area. In the words of one respondent:

We do not select people working for the government like headmasters or teachers because they can leave or be transferred at any time. What if they left with our money? We don't choose church leaders for the same reason.

This sentiment was expressed by many respondents. It is not known whether church or school authorities are especially influential if they happen to be serving in their home communities.

Voting for committee members is usually accomplished by a show of hands at public meetings. The local council may propose

committee candidates and/or vote for candidates. Or those with an interest in the activities of a proposed or existing committee may attend a meeting to vote for committee members. Unanimous votes are sought in some communities, but a simple majority vote suffices to ensure election.

Committees consisting entirely of women, such as women's associations and market committees, were always found to consist of members who were popularly elected by women of the community. Health committees also tended to have some female members, although most other committees consisted exclusively or primarily of men.

School committees were the organizations most often cited as having appointed members. In these cases the headmaster or chief made the appointments.

Functions of Committees

A brief summary is presented here of the functions of the more important committees, as derived from the descriptions of respondents. Committees were considered important if they were found in at least three communities. Our research approach did not yield information on the relative power or importance of the various committees.

School committees are initially concerned with mobilizing labor, cash, and/or materials for building a primary and perhaps later a secondary school. Once the school is built, the committee deals with matters such as school fees, student discipline, the purchase of uniforms, class scheduling, and the size of classes. School committees sometimes discuss preventive health care as well as agriculture, especially if the school has a student-tended garden. They seem to operate more autonomously

than other committees, related to which is the practice of headmasters appointing the members of school committees.

Women's associations are usually associated with Zenzele, a voluntary association of mainly rural women that is coordinated at the district level by home economics officers. Typically, a Domestic Science Demonstrator (DSD or lomakhaya), who is a female home economics extension worker, initially explains the functions of the organization, teaches certain requisite skills, and helps form the organization. The organization then continues by itself or with the periodic guidance of a DSD. A Rural Health Motivator may also work with the women's association, but male extension workers including Health Assistants appeared to have little or no contact with these associations.

Women's associations are multi-functional: they are concerned with income-generating activities such as sewing, marketing vegetables, selling handicrafts, weaving, dying cloth, etc. They are also concerned with homestead sanitation, gardening, nutrition, personal hygiene, disease prevention, family planning and child care. These may only be discussion topics, but knowledge and attitudes can be thereby influenced--and actions sometimes follow.

Farmers' or agricultural committees may be concerned with improved farming methods such as use of fertilizers or a new variety of seed, or with the best time for planting. The cultivation of cash crops such as cotton or tobacco may be a focus. Bank loans for activities such as seed or fertilizer purchase may be taken out collectively, with cattle used as collateral. Health-related matters may be occasionally discussed.

Dip-tank committees ensure that cattle are washed in chemical baths intended to remove disease-carrying parasites.

The committee may help in the building of the dip tank, see to the mixing of chemicals, see that cows are innoculated, and deal with lost cattle. Costs may be met by a committee-controlled fund.

Clinic or health committees mobilize labor, cash and/or materials for the construction of a clinic. If the committee survives the completion of the clinic, it may deal with matters such as latrine construction, the supervision of Rural Health Motivators, and the teaching of nutrition, gardening, hygiene, sanitation and the importance of safe water.

Market committees tend to be comprised of women, since it is they who are involved in selling through markets. The committees mobilize necessary labor and funds in order to build a local market; often the women do much of the labor themselves. Once a market is built, the committee may or may not continue to oversee market activities. Women are motivated to serve on and assist these committees by the perceived opportunity to earn money.

Communal garden committees may be initially stimulated by either agriculture or health extension workers. Both men and women may serve on the committees; or a women's association may establish its own gardening project. The committees disseminate information on gardening and nutrition, mobilize interest and labor, raise money for fertilizer or fencing, and devise ways to water gardens.

Some gardening projects are carried out at the homestead level. Committees may not be required in the case of small gardens that do not require mobilization of labor beyond the homestead, unless they are needed to raise money for fencing, fertilizer, or the like.

RDA or resettlement committees may function as agricultural committees (see above) or they may be concerned with guiding resettlement if this has not been completed. If the latter function is paramount, the imisumpe decide as a body on locations and details of resettlement. These committees may also serve as general development committees, in which case they might coordinate the activities of several other committees.

Water committees may be formed in response to construction projects introduced by health or agricultural extension workers, or by the Rural Water Supply Board, or by special private or governmental donor groups. The purpose of the committees is usually to mobilize cash, materials, and or labor (such as trenching or carrying sand from a river) for the construction of a water system. Few water committees seem to continue after completion of the system, even though there may well be a continuing need to regulate the use of water, disinfect periodically, see to repairs, raise money for pump fuel, and the like.

Storage shed committees are formed for the collective purchase of farming essentials such as seed and fertilizer. Cash and labor are also mobilized for the construction of a storage shed. These committees may at times be referred to as farmers' committees, or they may form a part of such committees.

Effectiveness of Committees

Even though various problems were raised by respondents in connection with development-related committees, this must not obscure the fact that an average of 6.6 such committees were found in the communities surveyed. The rise of these organizations is a recent and significant phenomenon, suggesting an accelerated pace of change and development.

Judging by the collective experience of the communities surveyed, an outside stimulus such as an extension worker is usually required in order to form any sort of committee. Depending on the type of committee, continued supervision or at least contact on the part of the outside agent may or may not be required--but it almost always helps.

As mentioned above, ad hoc committees with specific, short-term goals were found to be easier to sustain than those that deal with recurrent, on-going problems such as preventive health care. One reason is that rural people worry a good deal about how their money is being used, and often with good reason. Respondents told a surprising number of stories about funds collected by committee representatives disappearing. In some cases, the money had in fact not been misappropriated; there were simply delays in making a purchase because the money collected fell short of what was needed. But once people's suspicions are aroused they may refuse to contribute further.

Although it might seem that popularly elected committees would be more effective than those consisting of appointed members, it was difficult to find a clear relationship between committee effectiveness and the mode of recruitment of committee members. Still it can be noted that Zenzele women's committees were always popularly elected (by other women) and that these were among the more widespread and effective committees.⁸

At least tacit support from the local chief seems to be necessary if a committee is to exist. However, the active support and encouragement of the chief and deputy can make the difference between an effective and an ineffective committee. Communities that were reasonably well mobilized for development

8. Women's associations other than Zenzele may be initially stimulated by the Ministry of Interior or the Baphalali Red Cross. A national, coordinating women's association called Lutsango exists, but was not mentioned by respondents.

had chiefs who took a personal hand in development activities and who showed encouragement in various ways, for example, by publicly praising committee members for completing a project. Poorly mobilized communities tended to have chiefs who were either indifferent to development, were indifferent or weak leaders, or perhaps were good leaders but were suspicious of development efforts.

Committees were described as effective in communities where the chief was strongly in favor of development and used his authority to compel people to follow certain measures or to donate money for a project. One community surveyed raised about E39,000 (E1=\$1 in 1982) to build a rural education center; the chief ordered each of the homesteads in his rather densely populated area to contribute E40. However, previous fieldwork by the author suggests that before a chief will exercise authority in such a way he has to already be a strong and respected leader in the eyes of his people; he has to believe that his people will comply with a given order; he has to be convinced that the order will be in the best interests of his people (and/or himself); and he must believe that any changes in his chieftom will enhance--or at least not diminish--his status.

Several factors were found to limit the effectiveness of committees and to inhibit their formation in the first place. First there was ignorance or misunderstanding of development goals. Secondly, there was a lack of requisite technical knowledge to carry out a project on the part of local people--hence the need for competent technical advisors from outside the community. It is sometimes forgotten that such advisors must be competent in community motivation and organization as well as in technical skills; complaints about the sensitivity that extension workers exhibit toward local people were expressed by some respondents.

Another problem was that committees and their projects sometimes fail, which of course disinclines people to risk further effort and money when another project is proposed. Some projects failed because of faulty planning. For example, in one

community a market committee was formed and a vegetable market was eventually built--before any attempt to grow vegetables in the area. The area was found to have insufficient water to grow enough vegetables to justify a market. The recent drought has caused a number of garden projects and committees to fail even though they may have succeeded in years of more normal rainfall.

Some committees failed because of inability to raise sufficient amounts of money to meet committee objectives, or because committee funds went astray. The belief that funds have been lost or misused was the most commonly cited reason for committee failure.

A few committees were found to exist in name only; they seldom if ever convened meetings, but they had never been formally dissolved.

Communication within communities was found to be rather poor, due in part to the pattern of dispersed residence in rural areas. It would seem that development activities would attract more widespread participation and support if a greater number of people in a community became more aware of development committee activities. In this connection, several respondents active in committee affairs described a stubbornly uncooperative and uninvolved element in their communities, that is, people who consistently refuse to contribute labor, money, or effort to support community projects unless forced to do so. Additional research and discussion seem warranted to consider strategies to encourage such people to play more active roles in community affairs.

Factors Relating to Community Mobilization

Several factors emerged as seeming to account for the differences found in number of development committees, effectiveness of committees, and project success, although it is impossible to prove clear-cut cause and effect relationships.

For one thing, factors relating to community mobilization tend to interrelate and reinforce one another; it is difficult to isolate their independent effects. Furthermore, a sample of 10 communities is too small from which to draw more than tentative conclusions. The present research effort should be regarded as a pilot study.

As stated above, one purpose of identifying factors related to mobilization is to enable government and donor agencies to have a basis for predicting whether or not a particular community is likely to mobilize its resources in support of a development project. The basis for prediction can be a quick, informal research effort. A day or two of focused fieldwork is certainly justified if a project worth many thousands of emalangeni or dollars is being considered.

Another purpose is to understand how best to mobilize communities for development projects. The following community mobilization factors are therefore presented as a general guide to project planning.

1. Leadership. This is a complex factor relating to several attributes of a chief or deputy, including his age, general attitude toward development, level of education, literacy, leadership ability, and various personality factors. Literacy and education--both relatively objective measures--tend to make a leader more understanding and supportive of development efforts. More difficult to assess is a traditional leader's administrative/managerial skill, level of motivation, industriousness, and other leadership qualities. Discussions with a cross-section of a given community can however--if done properly--yield information of this kind.

In better mobilized communities, the following comments about the chief were recorded: "He supports any kind of development;" "Without the chief's encouragement, our community wouldn't look like it does today;" "He congratulates us on our success;" "He approves projects that his people decide they want."

2. Education and income levels of people in a community relate positively to attitudes toward development.¹⁰ It has been found in various studies in Swaziland that those who are educated and wealthier tend to be more interested in development activities and are willing to try new things and take risks.

The presence of schools in an area, especially secondary schools, may be an indicator of educational levels. The presence of tractors, trucks, tin roofs and grain tanks, bicycles, etc., as well as the number of cattle per homestead, may be used as objective wealth indicators.

3. Natural endowment or infrastructure of an area, especially access to water, roads, or markets, tends to set limits on what a community feels it can accomplish, and therefore affects motivation.

4. The recent history of successful or unsuccessful committees and projects in the community. If one or more projects have failed, and especially if money has been lost in the process, people are less willing than before to risk further investments of any sort. Informal interviews with a cross-section of people can usually yield information on recent project or committee success or failure. Indeed, people are proud when they can point to a building or a successful project that was made possible through their own efforts. In communities where several such accomplishments could be pointed to, people spoke with pride about being progressive (inchubekelaphambili) and expressed willingness to contribute to new development projects.

5. Extension worker coverage, Extension workers, including Rural Health Motivators, Red Cross volunteers, etc.,

10. See Gary Theisen, "Education, Individual Modernity, and National Development: A Critical Appraisal." The Journal of Developing Areas (11) April 1977, pp. 315-334.

can provide leadership as well as technical and organizational guidance. Development projects are often initiated by extension workers whose supervision may be necessary during at least the early stages. Community members themselves made comments such as the following: "For people to cooperate we need to be led and supervised at all times. We can't do anything without someone to drive us." However, extension workers must make sure that responsibility and supervision quickly become rooted in the local community, otherwise activities may cease as soon as they leave.

6. Resettlement. Some people postpone taking action because they expect to be resettled. At the homestead level this may prevent people from building a latrine, and at the community level members of a health or water committee may postpone implementing a spring protection project until they know where their homesteads will ultimately be situated.

Resettlement had not been completed in any of the communities surveyed.¹¹

7. Other factors. Several other factors may relate to community organization and mobilization potential, but they were not investigated in the present study. Among these are whether or not the community is part of a Rural Development Area, and the degree of male absenteeism in an area due to wage laboring.¹²

11. Tshabalala (1983, op. cit., p. 51) found a significantly greater number of development-related committees in Rural Development Areas compared to non-RDA areas. The former tend to be more resettled than the latter, although again it is impossible to isolate the independent efforts of a single factor.

12. For a discussion of the latter factor, see R. Isely, et al, "Community Organization as an Approach to Health Education in Rural Africa," International Journal of Health Education, XXII-3, 1979.

Conclusions and Recommendations

No committees dealing exclusively with sanitation were found, which is not surprising given the low priority of sanitation as a concern among Swazis.¹³ It seems more feasible to promote sanitation through existing health-related committees, than to try to establish separate sanitation committees.

Several different types of committees were found to have health functions. It is particularly noteworthy that Zenzele women's associations were found to be so widespread and to have multiple health functions. There is evidence that male extension workers such as health assistants have little or no contact with Zenzele groups. It was recommended that women's associations be publicly recognized for the health-related work that they undertake, and that they be officially encouraged and promoted to a greater extent. Male as well as female extension workers concerned with health should be directed to work with and through women's associations. There should also be greater emphasis on community organization skills in the training of health-related extension workers.

Extension work that makes use of existing community-based groups and that integrates programs and services from several sectors has been found to be especially effective in developing countries.¹⁴ The fact that Zenzele associations are already

13. See E. Green, A Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Survey of Water and Sanitation in Swaziland. Swaziland Ministry of Health and Academy for Educational Development, Washington, D.C., 1982.

14. For a review of evidence, see Chris Garforth, "Reaching the Rural Poor: A Review of Extension Strategies and Methods" in Jones, G.E. and M.J. Rolfs, Progress in Rural Extension and Community Development, Vol. I, London: John Wiley and Sons, 1982, pp. 43-70.

multi-purpose and that they work with both health and agriculture extension workers, should facilitate the development of an integrated program that includes handicrafts, marketing, nutrition, gardening, sanitation, family planning, maternal and child health, and similar activities of relevance to Swazi women.

It was further recommended that health committees be encouraged to allow greater participation of women. As mentioned earlier, male-dominated clinic or health committees often lose their sense of purpose once a clinic has been built or expanded. Since most matters related to health are regarded as women's activities, it would seem necessary to involve women in health committees.

In one Lowveld community surveyed, a surcharge of 10c was added to the normal clinic fee collected for an initial visit. This went to a committee-controlled fund used to aid handicapped people. This practice apparently began in clinics in the southern part of Swaziland, where possession of an operating budget helped motivate clinic committee members and made accomplishments possible. It was recommended that the potential benefits and implications of such a practice should be looked into more carefully by the Ministry of Health. Budgets resulting from a clinic surcharge could be used to compensate Rural Health Motivators, build latrines, and protect springs, to mention only a few areas of potential health impact.

Arguments that people cannot afford a 10c or somewhat higher clinic surcharge are belied by the ability of traditional healers to charge considerably more for the most basic diagnostic or curative services.¹⁵ And traditional healers have no difficulty attracting clients from among the poorest of rural Swazis.

15. Green, E. and L. Makhubu, "Traditional Healers in Swaziland and the Development of Government Policies." Paper presented to Annual International Health Conference, National Council for International Health, Washington, D.C., June 14, 1983.

It was also recommended that informal community research be routinely undertaken in advance of committing scarce resources to community-based projects, in order to predict the likelihood of project success. A great deal of time, effort, and money has gone into projects in communities where there has been nothing in the end but a reinforced sense of discouragement on the part of both local people and outside agencies. Yet the same inputs in a neighboring community may have produced desired results. An informal, open-ended questionnaire such as was used in the present survey could be employed by extension workers such as health assistants, who could be given a few days' training in qualitative research methods. The research could be supervised and the results interpreted by a social scientist, health educator, or other government resource person with experience in social research.

Although community mobilization factors should not be ignored by anyone planning local activities, these factors should not be regarded as "given" or unalterable. Each of the conditions identified may change of their own accord or through efforts on the part of government.

It was further recommended that government consider new ways to motivate and train chiefs in ways that would promote health and development in general. Health and agriculture workshops for such leaders were already underway in 1983 although it was not known if the approaches used in development training were the most effective. Survey findings suggested that training in general administration or development-related management could benefit other community leaders as well as chiefs, especially given the recent proliferation of development committees and the growing complexities of government and donor agency projects and programs. It was suggested that any indigenous leader training program be planned on the basis of expressed needs and interests of the leaders themselves. This could be ascertained by a research approach similar to that of the CMH study.

A SURVEY OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS
AND DEVELOPMENT TRAINING EFFORTS IN SWAZILAND

The second survey grew partly out of the findings and recommendations of the CMH Study, but more directly out of the planning requirements for USAID's Swaziland Manpower Development Project. By the end of 1983, it was felt that enough was known about development training needs in the traditional sector to extend U.S. assistance to two groups in that sector: Zenzele women's associations and traditional leaders. However, it was felt that not enough was known about training approaches and methods for traditional leaders, including how they themselves felt about development training. (The term training is used here in its broadest sense to include motivation and orientation as well as education.)

An archival search was undertaken to review past efforts of training traditional leaders which have gone on in Swaziland formally (i.e., with Cabinet approval) since 1968. In addition, officials who were, or had been, involved in training traditional leaders were interviewed. Without going into such past efforts in any detail here,¹⁶ it can be said that such training efforts enjoyed adequate support from the Swaziland Government and from chiefs, and that officials closely involved in training traditional leaders were enthusiastic about the accomplishments and potential of the program.

Between February-March, 1984 a survey was conducted among Swazi chiefs in order to obtain information needed to plan, as well as help justify, an expanded training or development orientation program for Swazi chiefs.

^{16.} For a summary of the archives-based history of traditional leader training, see Swaziland Manpower Development Project Paper (Project 645-0218), Annex G, 1984.

The survey team consisted of five interviewers (three Swazis and two Americans) and five Sebenta National Literacy Institute field officers, the latter serving as drivers, interpreters when necessary, and introducers to the various chiefs. The team was lead by the author, who also served as an interviewer.

A flexible, open-ended questionnaire in siSwati was developed by the survey team and pretested between January 23-24, 1984. The survey itself lasted four weeks instead of the anticipated two, due to Cyclone Domoina, which struck on January 28 and made many roads and bridges unpassable. The cyclone also necessitated the substitution of 20 chiefs from those chosen in the original sample.

The original sample was derived by officials at Sebenta. Working with available information, attempts were made to achieve equal representation in region (subdistrict) of Swaziland, age of chief, and a chief's "willingness to cooperate with government programs"--the last admittedly a subjective evaluation. The number of chiefs found in Swaziland has been a topic of discussion over the years. The Government Accountant General's 1974 List of Chiefs provides 175 names, yet a more recent but undated list from the Tinkhundla office provides a figure of 219.¹⁷

It was also recognized that a number of chief's positions are unfilled at any given time, due to the death of incumbents

17. In a complete inventory of chiefs published in 1952, Kuper lists 171 chiefs positions, of which 19 were described as vacant due to death of the incumbent, and one was filled by an acting chief. It would seem that the number of chiefs has grown, probably because more princes have been granted land and the status of chief. H. Kuper, The Swazi, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Southern Africa, Part I, London: International African Institute, 1952, pp. 59-81. However, the 1966 census lists only 154 chiefs (Hughes, op. cit., p. 185), therefore some allowance must be made for variance in the counting, classification, and perhaps even definition of chiefs.

and delays in selecting or installing new chiefs. Thus it seems unlikely that there would be more than 200 permanent chiefs holding office at any time. In the end, 53 chiefs were interviewed, or at least 27% of the total number of chiefs. What the sample may have lost in representativeness by the inclusion of 20 substitute chiefs out of a total of 53--and by inexact sampling procedures to begin with--was compensated for in part by the relatively large size of the sample.

It should be noted that Big Bend and Sidvokodvo subdistricts were underrepresented due to their inaccessibility after the cyclone.

Patrick Fine assisted in the tabulation and interpretation of data, and Neal Cohen assisted in analysis of data.

Characteristics of Chiefs

As discussed briefly in an earlier section (p. 5), there are several distinct types of leaders under the Monarch that are referred to commonly as "chiefs" in English, or tikhulu (sing. sikhulu) in siSwati. The term tikhulu seems to have been borrowed from the Zulu language by British administrators in the early colonial period, presumably for their own convenience in dealing with local authorities. The generic term is still in use, but it glosses over important distinctions recognized by Swazis themselves.

Of the 53 chiefs interviewed, 25 were princes (or at least of the royal Dlamini clan), 27 were patrilineal clan heads, and one was governor of a royal kraal. Four were additionally members of the Liqogo (Supreme Council of State). One respondent was a senior indvuna speaking on behalf of his chief. The proportion of the sample that were clan heads may be

a slight over-representation of this chief type compared to the total population of chiefs in Swaziland.¹⁸

Information on the level of formal education achieved by each chief in the sample was to be provided from records held at District Commissioner's offices. However, with the 38% substitution rate within the original sample, the additional information required could not be provided by the time of report writing. Nevertheless, information on literacy in both English and siSwati provides a measure of educational background, although when based on self-reporting respondents may exaggerate their degree of literacy. Taking this into account, 42% of chiefs reported they could read and write in English to some extent; 58% could not. 91% claimed the same ability in siSwati; 9% claimed otherwise.

Chiefs ranged in age from 26 to 74, with a mean age of 51. Age had to be estimated in many cases, in deference to local politeness norms.

As might be expected of hereditary chiefs in a country undergoing rapid changes in education and in other spheres, they vary a great deal with respect to education, attitudes toward development programs, and general outlook as well as leadership qualities, interests, and other personal characteristics to which can be added age and state of physical health.

18. Kuper, *ibid*, lists the following chief types among the 171 positions of chief in 1952: 80 princes, 54 clan heads or "ordinary" chiefs, 34 *tindvuna* or governors of royal cattle kraals, villages, gardens or graves; two ritual specialists and one acting chief of indeterminate status. Hughes (*op. cit.*, p. 186) has noted that "although Royals (princes) outnumber the clan chieftains, the latter have approximately the same number of people under their control as the former" (paren. mine).

Identification of Problems

Chiefs were asked to identify priority problems in the areas of health, agriculture, and education. The health findings are summarized in Table 1. Multiple answers were permitted here and throughout the survey, therefore number of citations rather than number of respondents are listed.

TABLE 1
WHAT ARE THE MAIN HEALTH PROBLEMS IN YOUR AREA?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Response</u>
Lack of safe drinking water	40	76%
Lack of clinic	27	51%
Transportation or access to clinic	19	36%
Cholera, diarrheal diseases	12	23%
Coughing, Tuberculosis	10	19%
Need extension workers (Incl. RHM's)	9	17%
Need doctor or nurse	7	13%
Need medicines	5	9%
Headaches, fever, malaria	4	8%
Mosquitoes	4	8%
Various physical ailments	9	17%
Other/miscellaneous	25	47%

Miscellaneous answers included bilharzia, needing additional clinic/hospital facilities, needing more health education, lack of nurse housing, and need for vegetable gardens. Two chiefs expressed dissatisfaction with clinic staff in their areas and two others expressed dissatisfaction with government services in general. Two chiefs said there were no health problems in their areas. By this they probably meant no significant problems of the sort typically dealt with by clinics, bearing in mind that traditional healers handle health problems in even the smallest chiefdoms.

Perhaps the most significant finding is the widespread awareness of the relationship between safe drinking water and

health. Awareness when expressed in the context of interviewing does not necessarily imply belief or behavior change, but it can be taken as an indication that health education messages are being received and understood.

Findings pertaining to agriculture are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2
WHAT ARE THE MAIN AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS IN YOUR AREA?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Response</u>
Need manure, fertilizer, or fertilizer storage facilities	25	47%
Need tractor or access to tractor	22	42
Lack of extension services	14	26
Need irrigation	9	17
Need seed or seed storage facilities	9	17
Need resettlement or RDA program	4	8
Need roads, better roads	4	8
Miscellaneous	27	51

Miscellaneous answers included need for fencing, grazing land, orchards, veterinary medicine, and dip-tank chemicals; and problems related to rainfall, soil erosion, and land shortage. Two chiefs expressed dissatisfaction with government agriculture services.

From the type of answers provided, farming activities in the sampled chiefs' areas would appear to be rather modern by African standards. There may have been a lack of fertilizer or tractors, but chiefs (and presumably farmers in their areas) knew enough about these to recognize a need for them. Also of interest is the lack of specific mention of problems relating to marketing, although the four chiefs who spoke of a need for roads had marketing in mind.

Education findings are summarized in Table 3. Since the survey team represented Sebenta National Literacy Institute, this may have influenced respondents to emphasize adult education and literacy more than they would have done otherwise.

TABLE 3
WHAT ARE THE MAIN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN YOUR AREA?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Response</u>
Need for instituting or strengthening adult education or literacy programs	23	43%
Need for secondary or high school	13	25%
Need for pre-school	13	25%
Schools overcrowded, lack vacancies	11	21%
Need for a women's organization	10	19%
Need for teacher accommodations	8	15%
Lack of local interest in adult education or literacy	7	13%
Need primary school	5	9%
School fees too high	4	8%
Government is unresponsive	4	8%
No problems acknowledged	3	6%
Miscellaneous	10	9%

Miscellaneous answers included need for school furnishings, toilets, or potable water; poor quality of teachers; lack of community accountability of local teachers; and difficulty obtaining school uniforms.

While nearly half of the chiefs mentioned a need for adult education or literacy, it is significant that seven pointed to a lack of sufficient interest in such programs on the part of their followers. In the words of one chief, "Most people (here) are not interested in adult education. They think it is shameful for them. I think they must be forced to become educated because I see no reason why an adult shouldn't be able to write his own name as long as there is an opportunity to learn."

It is also of interest that a quarter of the chiefs mentioned a need for a pre-school. This was unanticipated since pre-schools are relatively new in Swaziland and other educational problems might be thought to be more pressing. And from all the complaints generally heard in Swaziland about

rising costs, it was expected that school fees would have received more mention. Perhaps chiefs, who tend to be relatively better off financially, do not accurately reflect the concerns of their subjects in this regard.

Dealing with Development Problems

The chiefs were asked how the various problems they identified (hereafter "development activities/problems") were dealt with. Results are summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4
BY WHAT MEANS DO YOU DEAL WITH DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS IN YOUR AREA?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Response</u>
Meeting and discussing issues with council	34	64%
Raising money in local area	16	30%
Seeking aid from government or extension workers	9	17%
Mobilizing labor	5	9%
Relying on local development committees	5	9%

It is perhaps surprising that the chief's council was identified by 64% of respondents as dealing with development problems, while only 9% mentioned local development committees. It appears that chiefs do not attribute as much importance to these committees as other people, including chiefs' deputies, are inclined to. This may be because chiefs have more direct

contact with councils than with development committees, but some were openly critical of committees. In the words of one, "They don't do a thing because they don't know how to motivate people and because they don't have anyone who is dynamic." Some councils (emabandla) were described as coordinating various local development activities as well as mediating between the chiefdom and the national government. Other councils seem to have little or nothing to do with development.

Chiefs were then asked about the types of committees found in their areas. Most commonly mentioned were school committees (38), followed by those relating to agriculture (15), general development, RDA or resettlement (14), women's activities (11), health or clinic (9), water (4), and cattle dipping (4). Some chiefs expressed uncertainty about the number, type and functions of committees in their areas. It should be noted that a number of chiefs--roughly 20% of the sample--were employed outside their areas, thus they may be out of touch with local activities. Other chiefs simply do not concern themselves directly with the activities of development-related committees in their areas.

There seemed to be a great deal of variation among chiefdoms in the amount of development activity occurring. One chief described eight committees in addition to the councils in his area. He noted, "We are trying to form (a single) committee that will combine members from other existing committees. This will be a central body which will report problems to the Inner Council, which will then report to the Great Council." Such committees already exist in some areas and are known as intfutuko or imisumphe committees. They seem to be commoner in RDA areas, where they have been actively promoted.

By contrast, another chief replied that there were no committees at all dealing with development problems in his area because there were no development problems. In fact there was no apparent development: this was an area with no schools, clinics, water systems, or extension workers.

When chiefs were asked if people in their areas were willing to cooperate and participate in projects that can benefit them, 31 (61%) said people were very willing or willing; 13 (25%) said people were somewhat willing, or willing depending on circumstances, and 7 (14%) said people were unwilling. Twenty-five chiefs specified that people in their areas would contribute, or had contributed, money for development projects; 27 similarly specified labor contributions.

Some of the chiefs' comments were noteworthy. One said, "People will cooperate, but reluctantly. They need constant supervision. Only women will...be productive on their own."

There were several variants of one chief's observation that "People don't cooperate because they look to the government to do all the work." Another said, "People won't contribute unless we force or threaten them...."

Chiefs were also asked what difficulties or obstacles get in the way of solving development problems. Fourteen replied that lack of, or delays in, government response, was the major obstacle. Four of these singled out the Ministry of Education. Some chiefs related stories of how a unit of government had failed to meet a promise to meet community members half-way after they had raised money and/or contributed labor for a project.

Other responses included lack of money (10), lack of cooperation locally (9), lack of training, knowledge, or motivation locally (5), disputes or rivalry between chiefs (4), poor soil or inadequate rainfall (3), and local committees moving slowly or being disorganized. Nine chiefs said they saw no obstacles to development in their area.

Responsibility and Human Resources

It is known that chiefs have many traditional duties and responsibilities in their chiefdoms. Their responsibilities in what we have defined as development activities has been less clear; therefore chiefs were asked to describe their roles in development. Answers to this question are summarized in Table 5.

TABLE 5
WHAT ARE THE CHIEF'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN SOLVING
DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Responses</u>
Calls meetings, works through council	20	38%
Directs, supervises, gives final approval	13	25
Liaises or makes requests to government	9	17
Advises or coordinates development committees	8	15
Solves problems	6	11
Raises money or mobilizes labor	6	11
Identifies problems, sets plans and priorities	5	9
Coordinates extension worker activities	4	8
Has no such responsibilities	4	8
Encourages, motivates his people	3	6
Miscellaneous	8	15%

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 CMH survey, tindvuna tend to preside over councils more often, and to generally have more direct, "hands-on" involvement in local activities, including development. This is especially true of chiefs who are employed away from their areas.

It may be recalled from the CMH Survey that the chief's role in motivating and encouraging people was stressed as a major factor contributing to community mobilization, at least in well

organized areas. Yet only three chiefs in the present survey described their responsibilities in these terms. Taken together these findings seem to indicate that a majority of chiefs do not play an active role in development, but when they chose to do so, their influence is very important.

Of course there are exceptional chiefs who play an active role in development by identifying problems initially, motivating people, raising money (sometimes ordering contributions on threat of fine), and seeing projects through to successful completion. In contrast, four chiefs indicated that they have no responsibility, or at least no specific responsibilities, for development matters. One referred such questions to his indvuna.

Chiefs were also asked to specify which other people in their communities have responsibility for development matters. Responses are summarized in Table 6. Those with responsibility thought to be most active and effective are identified in Table 7.

TABLE 6
WHICH COMMUNITY PEOPLE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING
WITH DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Responses</u>
Council members (<u>libandla</u>)	22	42%
Various committee members	20	38
Chief's deputies (<u>tindvuna</u>)	16	30
Government, or extension workers	13	25
The chief	8	15
Resettlement/general development committee members (<u>imisumphe</u>)	8	15
No one	5	9
Church leaders	2	4
Miscellaneous	3	6%

This question was phrased to exclude government workers, yet 25% of chiefs still identified the government as having responsibility for development. And only 15% of chiefs attributed such responsibility to themselves.

TABLE 7
WHICH OF THE ABOVE (TABLE 5) ARE THE MOST ACTIVE OR EFFECTIVE?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Responses</u>
Council members	15	28%
Imisumphe	4	8
Unspecified committee members	4	8
School committee members	4	8
Informal leaders in community	3	6
Extension workers	3	6
Agriculture committee members	2	4
Development committee members	2	4
Chief's deputies	2	4
Health committee member	1	2
Cooperative committee member	1	2
Miscellaneous or no answer	10	19%

As can be seen, there were fewer answers about who are the most active or effective people working in development, suggesting that such activities progress slowly in many chiefdoms. Note that members of development-related committees were cited a total of 19 times, and that the three "informal leaders" may also have belonged to such committees.

No chiefs mentioned themselves among the most active community people. A few chiefs mentioned that church leaders, teachers, and headmasters do not ordinarily play active roles in development. This corroborates the CMH survey finding.

Need for Training, Skills, and Informations

Chiefs were next asked what kinds of programs would in general be helpful in solving local development problems. A number of chiefs misunderstood the question or found it too general to answer. Eight chiefs said gardens were needed, seven said water or irrigation, seven gave inappropriate answers to the question, five said schools, four said RDA programs and resettlement, four said workshops or training, three said a local market, and one said money-raising programs. The rest gave no answer.

Anticipating such answers from the pre-test, interviewers then asked the admittedly leading question, "Could leaders in your area benefit from more information, skills, or training pertaining to development?" Not surprisingly, all chiefs replied affirmatively, with three abstentions. However, some chiefs expressed genuine enthusiasm for, and even commitment to, the idea.

Following this, chiefs were asked who in their areas would benefit most from training, skills, or information relating to development. Responses are summarized in Table 8.

TABLE 8
WHO WOULD BENEFIT MOST FROM TRAINING, SKILLS, OR INFORMATION?

<u>Grouped Answers</u>	<u>Number of Citations</u>	<u>Frequency of Responses</u>
Chief's deputies	13	25%
Chiefs	11	21%
Various local women	11	21%
Non-officeholding local individuals	7	13%
Unspecified committee members	7	13%
Farmers or agriculture committee members	6	11%
Committee chairmen	5	9%
Council members	5	9%
<u>Imisumphe</u>	5	9%
School committee members	4	8%
Miscellaneous	6	11%

As can be seen, there is a fairly even spread of answers over a number of types of local people, indicating that chiefs felt that almost anyone would benefit from development-related training, skills or information. No chief said there was no one who would benefit. Twelve chiefs said they could not specify people at the time, but they would--perhaps in consultation with their councils--when a specific training or similar program is offered. Some observed that choice of local participants would depend on the nature of the training, skills, or information offered. For example, committee members could be trained in matters pertaining to their own area of concern.

Interviewers were expected to prompt an opinion from the chiefs as to the suitability of women as training participants, if women had not already been mentioned. Experience with previous surveys had shown that male leaders sometimes forget to mention women at all, unless prompted. Eighteen chiefs observed that Zenzele members or other unspecified women would make good candidates for training. One noted that women work together especially well. Another chief, in an area with no Zenzele group, said, "our women are very eager but they have no one to organize them." Several chiefs mentioned handicrafts or other income-generating skills as a good focus for women's training. One chief mentioned that he had two female tindvuna who were in charge of women during tribute labor "work parties;" he said these would benefit from training.

A few chiefs anticipated a question on training focus or content. One mentioned a need to teach public administration; another suggested a needs assessment related to development; another wanted to learn more about leadership in general, including how to motivate people. One articulate chief suggested that training should focus on the relationship between the chief, his tindvuna, and local extension workers. He felt there was a growing gap of understanding between government workers and local authorities. This chief also wanted to know his rights and responsibilities when he has to deal with lazy or troublesome extension workers. He went on to say he thought that a number of chiefs don't know what their responsibilities are in developing their areas.

In this regard, it should be pointed out that 16 chiefs, in various stages of answering questions, expressed the idea that "development activities" are the responsibility of the national government. These chiefs might have had varying ideas about balance of responsibility between themselves and the government in this area, but there was a clear feeling of dependence on the government. It would therefore seem that some sort of special orientation for chiefs--in addition to ongoing workshops--is necessary if the government wants to promote more local self-reliance and decentralization in development.

Experience with Workshops and Seminars

Chiefs were asked several questions about the workshops and seminars they may have attended.

Thirty-five chiefs (66% of the total number) had attended at least one workshop since these began in the mid-1960's. Nine of them specified they had only attended one, although the number might be slightly higher. Eighteen chiefs had never attended. Among the latter, some said they had never been invited, others said they were sick at the time(s) of the workshops, others said they were employed and therefore unable to attend (some of these sent their tindvuna instead), and two cited old age coupled with poor health as reasons they could not attend. One said he had no transportation to the workshops.

Workshop sponsors most commonly mentioned by those who had attended were the Ministry of Agriculture, followed by the Ministry of Health. The Red Cross and the Family Life Association (the local family planning organization) were also mentioned.

Twenty-six chiefs said they had learned about a variety of agriculture topics at the workshop(s) they had attended. Eleven mentioned health topics, followed by family planning (6), resettlement (2), adult literacy (1), development in general (1), and business/entrepreneurship (1).

Overall, chiefs were satisfied with the workshops they attended--although some had very limited experience upon which to draw. When asked if they remembered any poor or weak parts of the workshop, the great majority said they could remember no bad parts. Only three specified a topic they did not like or approve of (family planning in all cases); one mentioned the participation on the organizing staff of a prince he disliked; one said the purpose of one workshop was a bit unclear; and one said that the time for one workshop was too short.

On the other hand, when asked to mention the especially good parts of workshops attended, eight said "everything," followed by unspecified agricultural topics (5), child spacing or family planning (3), sanitation or latrine construction (3), water/irrigation (2), fencing of planting fields (2), workshop accommodations (2), vegetable gardening (2); resettlement (2), and one mention each for oral rehydration, health in general, forming committees, women's poultry farming, child rearing, "how to learn," self-help, nutrition, cholera prevention, hygiene, water and health, the importance of food, and cultivating fruit trees. It would seem from these answers that a wide variety of development topics have been taught and that with few exceptions they are well received by the chiefs. Even family planning, thought to be a volatile topic among traditional Swazi men, was cited favorably by five chiefs. In the words of one, "Many people misunderstood family planning. They think (the government) wants them to produce fewer people...(but) even in the old days there was family planning. It's not a new thing."

As a further guide to future workshop design, chiefs were asked if they could think of ways to improve on-going workshops. Most were unable to say, and others said they were satisfied with the way workshops are presently organized. A number of chiefs suggested that workshops be held more often, and a few suggested more emphasis on topics that were of particular interest to them. The question seemed to be one that most respondents had given little thought to. Some chiefs seemed additionally constrained by politeness to say anything critical to interviewers who appeared to represent the section of government involved in the workshops.

Several chiefs made useful comments such as the following:

There is a need for followup. Council and committee members must get a report from the (attending) chief on the workshop. Training should (also) be more practical than theoretical.

We should have lectures followed by demonstrations. If you see a demonstration, you become motivated.

We should have workshops to educate people to reduce or stop drinking.

Women need special training in health.

It would be helpful if they sent workshop programs to the chiefs in advance.

A few chiefs mentioned how often they felt workshops should be held annually. Three said four times, two said twice, and one said three times. Three chiefs suggested that workshops should last one week; another suggested three weeks. It had been anticipated that chiefs might complain that four- or five-day workshops were too long and that more than one workshop a year would be too much.

While generally satisfied with farmers training centers and the Luyengo campus of the University of Swaziland as venues for workshops, two chiefs recommended Rural Education Centres and Swaziland's 40 Tinkhundla centers as venues. The relative accessibility of Tinkhundla centers was mentioned, as well as the idea that "that is what they were set up for."

Transportation to the more distant training venues seemed not to be a priority issue among chiefs who have ever attended a workshop. One said that "transportation was at one time provided by the government but when this became too expensive chiefs began paying for their own busfare. This was no problem." Another commented, "money spent on transporting chiefs could better be spent on the workshops themselves." It should be remembered, however, that transportation costs or difficulties might be a constraint among some of the chiefs who have never attended a workshop.

Other Training Approaches

Lastly, chiefs were asked if they could think of ways to train local leaders other than by means of workshops or seminars. Again, chiefs had generally not thought much--or at all--about this, and most could give no answers unless suggestions were at some point made by the interviewer. The idea of educational visits to successful projects within and outside of Swaziland was occasionally brought up spontaneously by chiefs, but was more often raised by the interviewers. Nevertheless, most chiefs showed genuine enthusiasm for the idea, as evidenced by comments such as "...people learn easier by seeing than by being told;" "visiting developed areas would open our minds;" "that would be better than sitting in classrooms;" "visits would be the best (approach); they should be followed by workshop discussions of what the chiefs saw."

Although such tours or visits have not been part of chiefs' training programs in the past, one chief noted, "It would be the best way...I say that because it has helped me a great deal to visit other areas. (I got ideas like)...how to build a pond for breeding fish."

Only one chief had a negative reaction to the idea of domestic tours. He felt the tours might breed jealousy among chiefs if they saw areas more developed than their own.

Interviewers also prompted responses on a possible role for radio in training or motivating not only chiefs but other local people involved in development activities. Chiefs who commented were generally favorable about the development (including health) messages and programs currently aired on Swaziland Broadcasting Services, but most felt radio could not substitute for face-to-face training or educational visits. Chiefs emphasized the need for practical and experiential, rather than theoretical, training. In the words of one, "You can't ask a radio questions."

Analysis

Although our sample was relatively small, associations were sought between variables and a test of statistical significance (chi-square, or χ^2) was used when associations were found. The significance level (p) of chi-square was established at $<.10$ prior to analysis. Of course, answers derived from an open-ended questionnaire had to be categorized and coded following fieldwork.

Perhaps the most important finding was that chiefs who had attended a workshop even once were far likelier to have two or more development committees in their areas. Put another way--and clearly seen in Table 9--chiefs never trained in a workshop were far likelier to have only a single committee (a school committee in most cases) or no committee at all in their areas.

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES IN CHIEF'S AREA,
BY WHETHER OR NOT CHIEF HAS ATTENDED A WORKSHOP

	<u>Number of Committees</u>		
	<u>0 or 1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3 or more</u>
Attended	5 (9.8%)	18 (35.3%)	10 (19.6%)
Never attended	8 (15.7%)	3 (5.9%)	7 (13.7%)

$\chi^2 = 8.2, p = .02$

This finding provides perhaps the best objective evidence that workshop attendance has an effect on development activity, since number of development committees present in an area is probably the best measurement of development the survey provides.

It did not seem to make a significant difference whether the chief had attended two or more workshops, compared to only one, in terms of the number of committees present. This may well be due to insufficient data on the number of workshops chiefs had attended; only 22 chiefs specified the number.

Those who attended one or more workshops were also significantly likelier to report that development was occurring in their areas ($p = .05$) and that people in their areas were willing to cooperate in projects that could benefit them ($p = .07$). Thus it would seem that workshops have the effect of stimulating development, which is surely their main purpose. However, the workshop goal of engendering a greater sense of self-reliance seems to remain unrealized. Workshop-trained chiefs were as likely as those who had never attended to identify the government as responsible for local development.

No associations were found with the age of a chief except that younger chiefs tended to be more literate in English ($p = .003$) and to have more development committees in their areas ($p = .04$). This is presumably because younger chiefs were more educated and therefore were more active in supporting development efforts.

No significant differences were found between royal clan chiefs and those of other clans.

The presence of a women's organization may relate to local development; chiefs in such areas were likelier to report that development was occurring ($p = .05$) and they were likelier to report two or more development committees in their areas, as shown in Table 10. Whether as a cause or an effect, women's organizations do seem to go along with development activities.

TABLE 10
 PRESENCE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS,
 BY NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES

<u>Number of Committees</u>	<u>Women's Organizations</u>	
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Not Present</u>
0 or 1	0 (0.0%)	13 (25.5%)
2	6 (11.8%)	15 (29.4%)
3 or more	8 (15.7%)	9 (17.6%)

$\chi^2 = 8.2, p = .02$

In sum, in spite of a relatively small sample and certain methodological problems (such as chiefs' inability to always name the development committees in their areas), the associations discovered between variables suggest that efforts directed at workshops for chiefs and encouraging women's organizations would both stimulate rural development.

Experience from the Training Side

Five officials currently or formerly involved in chiefs' training were interviewed in depth about their experience. All had an optimistic attitude toward the value of training or influencing the views of traditional leaders. All appeared to have more than a perfunctory commitment to promoting self-reliance among rural Swazis, as well as to participatory development and decentralized planning.

The original goal of the workshops and meetings for chiefs that began in the mid-1960's was to inform local leaders of post-independence policies, especially the need for greater self-reliance. It was hoped that some sort of meetings would promote better cooperation from chiefs in development projects, or would at least pre-empt chiefs' opposition.

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, Community Development Officers (CDOs) lived in homesteads of chiefs because government housing was not yet available. Some who underwent the experience spoke highly of their opportunities to learn about the exercise of power in rural areas, about local perceptions of development problems including which solutions may have already been tried, and about constraints to development not always apparent to outsiders, such as rivalries between chiefs. They felt that being accepted as a trusted member of the community greatly enhanced their effectiveness as CDOs; it was also personally enriching and satisfying. Chiefs apparently found advantages to the living arrangement as well, such as enhanced prestige at having a live-in civil servant as part of their entourage of advisors.

At least one district commissioner in the early 1970's was actively involved in chiefs' training or orientation. Tinkhundla meetings in Hhohho and Lubombo became occasions to discuss development plans such as the introduction of hybrid maize seed, irrigation for vegetable gardens, and bridges for improved transportation. There were also sub-district meetings between chiefs, the District Commissioner, and the District Team at the DC's office.

Workshops at centralized locations and development sessions at Tinkhundla centers were apparently well received by the chiefs from the beginning. Some chiefs slaughtered a beast to provide food for the meeting participants. Some chiefs still contribute cash nowadays toward the cost of food during workshops.

There has been discussion over the years of the relative merits of workshop or meeting venues, and of the inclusion of non-chiefs in training activities. The latter issue is somewhat academic: chiefs often bring advisors with them to workshops, or send their deputies (tindvuna) instead of attending themselves, so that some presence of non-chiefs seems unavoidable. Beyond this consideration, it has been recognized that local committee chairmen and other non-officeholding local leaders could benefit from training. Separate workshops have been developed for chiefs and deputies on the one hand, and other community leaders such as committee chairmen on the other. For the former, the focus has been on familiarizing leaders with the programs and possibilities of development. For the latter, the focus has been on forming and administering development-related committees, although this type of workshop has not been held in recent years.

Regarding training venue, centralized facilities with overnight accommodations, such as farmers training centers (FTCs) have been used more often than Tinkhundla centers. Yet although Tinkhundla usually lack facilities, they have certain advantages which were pointed out by some CDOs:

(1) Proximity. Chiefs can usually reach their local Inkhundla without much difficulty.

(2) Focus. Problems and projects can be discussed and planned on a regional basis, making the exercise more concrete and goal-oriented. Chiefs become more motivated to act.

(3) Familiarity. Tinkhundla are familiar and acceptable, as is the customary practice of meeting outside, under a tree--which often happens when the Inkhundla has no building. Some of the more traditional chiefs may feel ill at ease in a modern building with electric lights, flush toilets and other unfamiliar things. One CD officer observed that bringing chiefs to a "modern" venue may "convey a message to some that they are backward, that they should become more urban and 'civilized.'" A modern, somewhat fancy place may create a dependency on the government, and a feeling of inferiority or deprivation among chiefs.

(4) Better attendance, by avoiding major transportation difficulties.

(5) Economy of size. Smaller-scale training sessions can be more efficient and can provide more time for discussion and interaction.

On the positive side of FTCs and similar venues, it can be stimulating and enriching for chiefs to be exposed to chiefs from other areas. They may learn about what can be achieved through development by talking to one another. Furthermore, many chiefs like the relative comfort and good food provided at FTCs. Movies and other forms of entertainment are sometimes provided at night. Chiefs have a good opportunity to "be themselves" (not have to act chiefly) and fraternize with a group of peers in a convivial atmosphere.

Moreover, disputes or rivalries between chiefs may be less of a problem in a larger training group where there is less pressure for chiefs to cooperate in the planning or implementation of specific projects. Small, goal-oriented development planning between chiefs at Tinkhundla centers can be effective, but this may not work at all if there are boundary or other disputes between chiefs in the area. CD officers have sometimes had to talk at some length with chiefs outside of public meetings in order to overcome resistance to a development project, or even to attending a meeting on development.

The topics covered by workshops and similar meetings over the past 16 years have covered a broad range of agricultural, health, and other development-related topics. Since the early years, but especially nowadays, various units of government as well as a few private organizations have collaborated in training traditional leaders. This has the advantage of sharing workshop costs, promoting interministerial cooperation, and insuring wide coverage of development topics. Some question has been raised about an approach that seems to cover too many topics too briefly, but most trainers felt that the functions of workshops for chiefs and deputies should be to acquaint leaders with development topics and approaches, and to influence their attitudes; thus the multi-topic approach is suitable.

After an enthusiastic formative period of several years during which a number of new approaches were tried, momentum declined somewhat by the mid-1970's due to an apparent weakening of official and budgetary support. The British government provided a vehicle and other forms of support to the leadership training program of the Community Development Section, MOAC, in the late 1970's. Funds were apparently not managed well and support ended.

In 1983, the CD Section organized five centralized-location workshops for chiefs or their representatives. Other government units, such as Health Education, as well as NGO's such as the Family Life Association, participated in training as well.

Program Implications

There is evidence from the Traditional Leader Survey of attitude change and increased development activity resulting from the training/orientation program for chiefs and other leaders, even when only one training session was attended. This would seem to justify expansion of the Program. There is also a clear mandate from the chiefs surveyed to expand the program. The survey, along with interviews with officials who have been involved in training, provide guidelines for the organization and content of the program. These guidelines have been translated into a set of recommendations, presented here.

1. Type of Program and Venue

Local leadership training should consist of (a) workshops at Farmers Training Centers or other relatively central venues, for 30-45 participants; (b) training sessions for fewer participants at local Inkhundla centers; and (c) educational tours for chiefs to see successful projects or practical demonstrations or examples related to some aspect of development. The last may be in-country or, less frequently, in a neighboring country.

Workshops should last a week on the average, and care should be taken to schedule them at times that do not overlap with chiefs' or deputies' ceremonial or agricultural duties.

Inkhundla training sessions should normally last a single day, since overnight accommodations are seldom if ever available at Inkhundla centers. However these sessions can be held more frequently than workshops since they are easier to organize, less expensive, and require fewer training inputs. Training sessions can be initiated at all 40 Inkhundla centers throughout Swaziland; however priority for repeat sessions can be given to areas where interest and enthusiasm are evidenced. Attendance

should be a partial measure of this. Prioritization is recommended because chiefs in some areas have shown little interest either in cooperating with neighboring chiefs or in development matters.

Educational tours are intended primarily for chiefs and secondarily for deputies (see below concerning women). The purpose will be to "expand horizons," motivate, and convince traditional leaders of the value of certain approaches and programs. Examples of demonstration projects are Women in Development, latrine construction, dairy farming, and irrigation farming. Tours should last an average of five to seven days.

A few chiefs will be selected once a year for tours (normally by rented bus) of exemplary projects in neighboring countries. Selection should take into consideration a chief's enthusiasm and motivation.

For either type of tour, chiefs or deputies can be picked up at a FTC or other central training venue, and from there be bused to one or more demonstration project sites. At least one full day should be reserved for debriefing at the training site, following an educational tour.

2. Participants

Four categories of participants are recommended for various types of development training or orientation: chiefs and deputies, council (libandla) members, local committee chairmen or other selected committee members, and Zenzele or other women's association members. Training approach and content should be tailored to the particular group of trainees.

3. Training Content

As suggested elsewhere, training/orientation for chiefs should aim to generally acquaint them with new ideas, approaches

and programs in development and to motivate them. Formative evaluations and expressions of interest on the part of chiefs can determine the appropriateness of training in administration and management.

Chief's deputies are also executives in their own communities and thus could benefit from the awareness and motivational programs for chiefs. In any case, deputies may accompany, or be sent to represent, chiefs in whatever program may be intended for the latter.

As executives with greater direct, "hands-on" responsibilities than chiefs, deputies would benefit especially from training in administration and management. More active council (libandla) members would also benefit from such training, especially with emphasis on how traditional councils can coordinate community-wide activities related to development, raise money within the community, borrow money and keep it in a bank, mobilize labor, motivate people, and the like.

It should be remembered that there are more than 400 senior deputies and a far greater number of lesser deputies and council members in Swaziland. The more active, pivotal, and motivated deputies should be selected for training by their chiefs or by council nomination.

There is also a relatively large pool of potential trainees among committee members and chairmen, and their training needs would overlap to some extent with those of council members. They would further benefit from training in how to organize and maintain a committee. And, of course, specialized topics such as disease prevention, vegetable growing, resettlement, or handicraft marketing would be of special interest to members of the committees concerned with such topics. Again, committee members can be nominated for training by their chiefs and councils.

Finally, women's association members need more of the sort of training they have received from Domestic Science Demonstrators (DSD's) from the Home Economics Section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives. But the existing program needs to be expanded and strengthened. Based on discussions with the Senior Home Economics Officer, as well as on survey findings, the following recommendations are presented

Five types of training activities for women should be considered:

(1) community-based training covering most of the subject areas of home economics and leading to the formation of a local Zenzele group;

(2) followup or on-going training, encouragement, and problem-solving for existing womens' groups which have no direct contact with a DSD. One-day training seminars of this sort should take place at Inkhundla centers;

(3) educational tours for selected participants to the Women in Development Project at Ntfontjeni and the tkree satellite WID projects in various parts of Swaziland. WID officers can assist in such training, as can trainers from other units of MOAC as well as other ministries;

(4) educational tours, both domestic and foreign, to view successful projects--as with chiefs, above;

(5) the inclusion of women participants in development training for local committee members at FTC's. Since women's associations often operate in relative isolation from male-dominated local committees, such joint training would help develop better cooperation between the various development groups.

Of the five training approaches, only the first is currently in operation, with occasional training for Zenzele members being available at Women in Development Project centers.

Current training content covers a broad range of appropriate topics, viz., nutrition, gardening, child-rearing, income-generation, disease prevention, homestead sanitation, poultry and fish production, leadership training and "community participation," budgeting and consumer education, how to mobilize money and labor, marketing of produce and handicrafts, and how to enroll in literacy programs.

Several additional training topics of interest and relevance to women (and men) are taught only at WID-Ntfontjeni, viz. shoemaking, candlemaking, soapmaking, beekeeping, vegetable canning and dehydration, and appropriate technology. Expansion of women's training will require a greater amount of training at WID-Ntfontjeni and further training of trainers within the home Economics Section of MOAC.

Radio and other mass media should be used to encourage and motivate women to carry out health and other development activities. Posters, leaflets, booklets, audio-cassettes, and filmstrips should be specially developed to support radio and face-to-face training efforts. Technical support in this area, perhaps from the Peace Corps, will be needed.

One DSD who was trained in an AID-sponsored workshop in development communications in October, 1982, has been broadcasting two weekly radio programs designed for Zenzele women. These programs should be evaluated with the listening audience with the goal of increasing development-related radio programs for Zenzele women.

Likelihood of Program Success and Impact

The Government of Swaziland has recognized a need for development training for traditional leaders and it has supported such training since independence in 1968. Furthermore, chiefs and other leaders have expressed a clear interest in development training--in fact they have provided a mandate as well as guidelines for expanding the current training program of the MOAC. Thus there should be little question of the sociocultural feasibility of conducting such training in Swaziland. Of course, cultural constraints could arise in connection with particular innovations espoused during the course of training, but these cannot be considered here.

A few of the most traditional chiefs and other leaders may choose not to participate in training activities because of suspicious or negative attitudes toward what we have referred to as development. Such attitudes may result from unfavorable past experiences with development projects, from perceived threats to the chiefs' authority from new programs or projects--including the presence of government officials or new committees in their chiefdoms--or from anticipated negative impacts of new programs.

However, it may be expected that attitudes of suspicious or recalcitrant chiefs will begin to change as schools, clinics, protected water systems, and irrigated gardens appear in neighboring chiefdoms. Demand for development training/orientation, already relatively high among chiefs, should increase as the program expands and becomes more effective in stimulating rural development.

The proposed expanded training program should be carefully monitored by a Steering Committee consisting of representatives of the various ministries and nongovernmental organizations interested or involved in the training. The Committee should also consist of one or more chiefs. External evaluations of the acceptability and effectiveness of the program should be conducted annually; these should demonstrate the value, including the cost-effectiveness, of training and orientation investments for traditional leaders.

Training inputs in the traditional sector, especially when directed toward those with traditionally-recognized authority, should increase the likelihood that a wide variety of health, agricultural, family planning, and other development projects will succeed. Success of such projects is likely to directly improve the quality of life of the rural poor.

It is worth noting that researchers who have recently examined the development role of chiefs among the culturally and geographically related Zulu and Xhosa offer overall negative assessments.¹⁹ For example, Haines and his associates conclude:

The chiefs as "development" administrators, their lack of administrative experience aside, are expected to work with people, building their confidence and self-reliance, an objective which contrasts strongly with their roles as policemen and judges. Instead of developing social awareness, responsibility, and independence, the practice of patronage and coercion ultimately undermines efforts to transform the rural areas of Transkei.

This contradiction arises because in their present form the objectives of the chiefs (consolidation of power and personal gain) are incompatible with the objectives of rural development in its broadest sense.²⁰

19. R.J. Haines, et al, "The Silence of Poverty: Networks of Control in Rural Transkei," Conference Paper No. 48, Second Carnegie inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Cape Town, 13-19 April 1984; Paul Zulu, "Socio-political Structures in Rural Areas, and their Potential Contribution to Community Development in Kwa Zulu," Conference Paper No. 229, Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Cape Town, 13-19 April 1984; P. Daphne, "Tribal Authority and Community Organization," Occasional Papers No. 3, Centre for Research and Documentation, University of Zululand, 1982; J.B. Peires, "Change and Continuity in Ciskei Chiefship," ICS Collected Seminar Papers: Societies of Southern Africa, 8, London, 1977.

20. Haines et al, op. cit., p. 23.

However, chiefs in independent Swaziland differ in important ways from chiefs in South Africa or its homelands. By various accounts, many chiefs in the latter areas have become primarily answerable to central South African authorities rather than to their own people; and they have grown more authoritarian and autocratic as they became salaried and were granted unprecedented powers by the South African government. For example, Proclamation 400 authorized detention without trial in Transkei for "treating chiefs with disrespect."²¹ Moreover, the process of chief co-option effectively transformed and curtailed the role of chiefs' councils as guarantors of the peoples rights.²²

Chiefs in Swaziland still operate within a system providing certain checks and balances to their power, perhaps the most important being the presence of a council with broad popular representation. Moreover, Swazi chiefs have not been used as control agents to maintain a system of structured inequality and disenfranchisement, as in areas of South Africa. Still, lessons learned from problems that have developed in neighboring societies can guide the development training program in Swaziland.

Furthermore, several critics of the role of Zulu and Xhosa chiefs cite the lack of skills or training in development administration on the part of chiefs as a major reason for their ineffectiveness as agents of development.²³ Again, the case is different in Swaziland where chiefs have been offered training in administrative and other aspects of development during the 16 years since independence. With the expansion of such training efforts, it can be expected that Swazi chiefs will become more active and effective in overcoming poverty in their areas through development projects and programs.

21. Haines et al, op. cit., p. 8.

22. Peires, cited in Haines et al, op. cit., p. 2-3.

23. Zulu, op. cit., p. 8; Haines et al, op. cit., p. 22. This point has also been made in earlier reference to Swazi chiefs, cf. W.B. Vosloo et al, Local Government in Southern Africa, Pretoria: Academica, 1974, p. 169.

Women, since they outnumber men in rural areas, will be among the primary indirect beneficiaries of an expanded training program for traditional leaders. However, women are more than passive beneficiaries. By all accounts, including those of many chiefs, women tend to be especially active and interested in programs or innovations that will improve their lives and those of their family. Moreover, Zenzele women's associations tend to be the most sustainable of rural organizations, even though they tend to have relatively little contact with extension workers. As noted above, Zenzele associations are multi-purpose, often covering a broad range of development activities such as sanitation, nutrition, gardening, family planning, income-generating activities, marketing, and the like. They are among the most widespread yet under-recognized local development groups in Swaziland.

The experience of home economists, as well as recent community-based research, has shown that women are generally eager to join Zenzele or other development groups. However, lack of female extension workers, combined with a certain amount of disinterest in "women's affairs" on the part of the more numerous male extension workers, has meant that women's organizations have had to struggle to achieve their goals largely on their own.

The expanded training and motivation program for women's organization members should result in greater participation of rural women in Zenzele organizations, based on their past record of participation, and in the greater effectiveness of the organizations.

Rural women and their children will directly benefit from the training and motivational inputs. Since they have major responsibility for most homestead activities, including agriculture in many cases, women better trained in development matters should have a far-reaching, beneficial effect on the overall quality of life in Swaziland. The combined training programs for traditional leaders and women should foster improved cooperation between womens' and other development-related organizations at the local level, thereby increasing the effectiveness of all such groups.

Finally, more enlightened mothers will pass their knowledge, practices and attitudes on to their children, thereby contributing to the education of a new generation of Swazis.

Overall Summary

A fair amount of development activity is occurring in Swaziland. One measure of this is the presence of local organizations or committees that deal with agriculture, health, women's activities, potable water, schools, resettlement and the like. Such committees often become established and sustained with the help of an extension worker. Less often, stimulation and leadership originates within the local community.

Constraints to committee effectiveness include weak leadership, lack of managerial skills and technical knowledge, poor motivation and weak or non-existent support outside the committees.

Women's organizations, especially Zenzele groups, were found to be widespread and multifunctional, yet they were under-supported and under-recognized.

In addition to committee members, chief's deputies and council members were described by chiefs as having responsibility for local development; few chiefs so designated themselves. Chiefs can be very influential in development matters, especially if they choose to exercise their considerable coercive authority and/or to actively encourage and motivate people in their areas. However, most chiefs play an indirect role at best in development matters; they tend to have little contact with committees in their areas and they are often poorly informed.

Chiefs were hard pressed to designate people in their communities, including themselves, who are active or effective.

in development. According to a cross-section of opinion, local church leaders, headmasters and teachers tend not to become very active in development matters, usually because they are regarded as outsiders and temporary residents who are answerable to their own sponsoring organizations. In some--perhaps many--communities there is a significant number of people who consistently resist involvement in development activities. It is not known whether poverty, traditionalism, lack of education, local rivalries, or other factors or combinations thereof account for this resistance (assuming development activities are genuinely in the people's interest).

About 30% of chiefs expressed the idea that government has the responsibility for development, in spite of accelerated government efforts since independence to foster a sense of self-reliance among chiefs. If anything, the greatest amount of self-reliance was found among the most traditional chiefs in areas least affected by development. But this was not necessarily self-reliance in development.

Virtually everyone in rural areas could benefit from training, skills, and information related to development, according to chiefs. Sixty-six percent of sampled chiefs had attended at least one development training session or workshop. Overall, those in this group were satisfied with training content, presentation, venue, and the amount of opportunity provided for discussion. Workshop-exposed chiefs were not particularly imaginative in suggesting new or better training approaches, or ways to improve existing workshops. However, ideas and recommendations emerged to help guide proposals for an expanded training program for traditional leaders, including members of women's organizations.

Analysis of data shows that development indicators such as number of development committees present and the chief's perception that development activity is occurring both relate positively and significantly to exposure of a chief to one or more development workshops and to the presence of a women's organization. This lends further support to the proposal to expand existing training and orientation programs for male and female local leaders.

In spite of doubts expressed by some researchers concerning the development role of Xhosa and Zulu chiefs, indications are that an expanded training program for traditional leaders in Swaziland will have a significant and positive impact on rural development.

Given the findings relating to community mobilization, including the importance of commitment on the part of local leaders, it is recommended that informal research be undertaken prior to commitment of scarce resources to projects in particular communities. For such research, an open-ended questionnaire is appropriate and care should be taken in interviewing to include a broadly representative sample of opinion.

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