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**LOCAL LEADERS AND DEVELOPMENT TRAINING
IN SWAZILAND: EVALUATION OF
TRADITIONAL SECTOR TRAINING**

Swaziland Manpower Development Project
USAID Project # 645-0218

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> (Graph pages not numbered) |
|--|--|
| EXECUTIVE SUMMARY | 1 |
| Part I. PROJECT BACKGROUND AND SURVEY METHODS | 5 |
| I.1. Project Background | 5 |
| I.1.a. Note on Community Structure and Local Leadership | 8 |
| I.2. Evaluation Survey Methods | 11 |
| Part II. SURVEY FINDINGS | 13 |
| II.1. Respondent Characteristics | 13 |
| II.2. Exposure to Workshops | 15 |
| II.3. Views on Training | 16 |
| II.4. Results of Workshops | 19 |
| II.5. Development in General | 20 |
| II.6. Development Indicators | 23 |
| II.7. The Development Role of the Chief and other Local Leaders | 28 |
| II.8. ANALYSIS | 36 |
| PART III: OTHER TRAINING IMPACT | 43 |
| III.1. Overview | 43 |
| PART IV: TRAINING ISSUES | 44 |
| IV.1. The Curriculum of Workshops | 44 |
| IV.2. Choice of Participants | 46 |
| IV.3. The Changing Role of Chiefs | 47 |
| IV.4. Note on Women in Development | 50 |

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| PART V. | LINKS BETWEEN SWAZI CULTURE, LOCAL LEADER TRAINING AND PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT | 53 |
| V.1. | The Mutual Relevance of Company and Community | 53 |
| V.2. | Swazi Culture and Large Companies | 54 |
| V.3. | The Importance of Company/Community Relations | 57 |
| V.4. | Proposed Topics for Local Leaders Workshops with Private Sector Emphasis | 58 |
| V.5. | Possible Influence of Workshops to Date on the Private Sector | 60 |
| V.6. | The Role of the Tinkhundla | 61 |
| V.6.a. | The Tinkhundla and the Private Sector | 62 |
| PART VI: | OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS | 63 |
| VI.1. | Local Leader Training and Development | 63 |
| VI.2. | Local Leader Training and the Private Sector | 65 |
| VI.3. | Future Funding of Local Leader Training | 66 |
| APPENDIX A: LOCAL LEADERS SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE | | |
| APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL POINTS FOR USAID'S CONSIDERATION | | |

EVALUATION OF TRADITIONAL SECTOR TRAINING

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Between 1986-1989 various types of local and traditional leaders were exposed to development training under the Swaziland Manpower Development Project (SWAMPD) project. Training participants included chiefs, chiefs' deputies (tindvuna), council members (bandlanthane), chiefs' delegates to Inkhundla centers (bucopho), chiefs' "runners" (bagijimi), elders concerned with resettlement (imisumphe), and governors (tindvuna) of Tinkhundla. Training content has covered a broad range of topics tailored to some extent to the needs of the different categories of participants. A survey based on a random selection of 188 local leaders from some 60 chiefs' areas nationwide yielded the following training impact evidence:

1. When comparing present findings with baseline data from two independent surveys conducted in 1983 (Green 1984, Tshabalala 1983), the number of development-related committees in rural communities appears to have doubled. Such committees are regarded as useful impact indicators because there is an association or committee connected with most development activities or projects, and because they are quantifiable. Over two-thirds of respondents attributed the increase in committees to the influence of training or workshops, by which they were in almost all cases referring to SWAMPD-sponsored training. The increase rate holds for seven communities researched for a 1983/4 baseline survey that were revisited for the present survey. Development-related committees also appear to be functioning better, according to spontaneous comments made by interviewees. It is noteworthy that part of the training curriculum has been how to form committees, how to elect appropriate members, how to raise funds and keep written records of expenses, etc.
2. Most interviewees could point to an actual development activity they were currently involved in as a direct result of a workshop (eg. building a school or a pit latrine, helping to establish a piped water system, or becoming involved in an income-generating activity viz. poultry raising or sewing).
3. Most local leaders now believe that it is the chief's responsibility to take an active part in development ("the

chief should lead...encourage...motivate his people...the chief should educate his subjects...he should work with his council and development committees to develop his areas..."). Chiefs and other leaders also believe that the government expects chiefs to take responsibility for developing their areas. In the 1984 baseline survey, only 9% of chiefs themselves believed they were responsible for development matters, while a plurality thought development to be government's responsibility. Most leaders in the present survey reported their chief is more active now than in the recent past, measured in such activities as raising money for development projects.

4. Development issues are usually discussed in the chief's council (bandlancane) more frequently now than in the past nowadays. The traditional functions of the chief's council were law and order, adjudication, and advising the chief; development was not considered part of the council's responsibility (although the government has been recommending this since the 1950's). Council members are one of the groups that have received training under the project.
5. People appear more willing now than in the past to contribute cash toward development projects. In the twelve months prior to the study, the communities surveyed did in fact contribute some E70 per homestead for various projects related to schools, agriculture, health, water systems, etc.
6. When asked which workshop topics participants found most useful, there was a rather wide variety of responses that included self-help and general development topics; subjects relating to health, water and sanitation (including the building of pit latrines); the establishment, functioning and duties of both development committees and the chief's council; the development of infrastructure; various subjects relating to agriculture; income generation; and even family planning and AIDS preventive education. A quick survey early in the SWAMDP project suggested that local leaders were primarily interested in agricultural topics. The present findings show that once leaders are exposed to a broad array of development-related topics, they find them both interesting and useful--and we see results in the form of participation in local projects.
7. Related to (6), when leaders were asked what the main obstacles to development were in their areas, there was a variety of answers that correspond quite closely to the very topics discussed at workshops. Identified obstacles include lack of funds available--including local contributions--for development; lack of infrastructure or facilities (markets, roads, etc.); lack of employment; problems relating to cooperation between people, motivation, jealousy, laziness,

alcoholism, etc.; lack of training, education and literacy among rural leaders; problems relating to water and agriculture; as well as disunity among chiefs, disputes over chieftaincies and other problems attributed to rural leaders.

No leader cited lack of government response as an obstacle, although this was the commonest response when the same question was asked in the 1984 baseline. Instead the responsibility for development appears now to be perceived as resting largely within the local community. Leaders were also much more likely to cite problems associated with motivation, cooperation, laziness, and alcohol abuse in the local community than those in 1984. This can be taken as further evidence of a new self-reliant attitude as well as of growing capacity for self-criticism.

8. The data and data-gathering methods do not easily lend themselves to statistical analysis (due, e.g. to relatively small sample size, skewing of responses to key questions, and the marginal relevance of respondent characteristics to presumed dependant variables). Nevertheless analysis shows that certain leadership variables such as whether or not the local chief initiates development activities, are significantly and positively associated with a key measure of local development, i.e. the number of community-based committees related to development that are present.

Statistical associations--as well as lack of associations--between various development measures and the four regions of Swaziland indicate that the beneficial effects of SWAMPDP training have been spread equally among the regions. Surveys from the early 1980s and earlier tend to show that income, education, and other correlates to development as well as more direct development indicators, tend to diminish as one proceeded from Hhohho eastward toward Lubombo.

9. There have been other indirect but potentially significant effects of local leader training, such as fostering a spirit of cooperation among chiefs, thereby paving the way for regional development. Local leaders themselves have identified disputes among chiefs as a significant constraint to development. There also appears to be growing awareness among leaders that local development-related efforts can improve the quality of rural life as well as enhance the prestige of leaders who are active in such efforts. Moreover, a number of ministries and PVOs are beginning to recognize the value of having a direct channel of communication to the chiefs and other local leaders through project-sponsored workshops. There is preliminary evidence that the private sector is starting to recognize this as well. Supporting evidence for the foregoing in the form of qualitative research findings is presented in Sect. III, IV and V.

10. Leadership training was found to be potentially relevant to the development of Swaziland's private sector (a current development goal of USAID/Swaziland). We found in the case of large, rural- or semi-rural-based companies (which characterizes most of Swaziland's large companies which are not based in industrial estates) that company/community relations can vary considerably in quality. When they are described as good, company productivity appears to go up (there is less absenteeism, less property loss, etc.)--and local people also benefit because the company is better able and more inclined to make donations to community projects or to contribute to area infrastructure. It appears to be a win/win situation for companies and communities. Conversely its a lose/lose situation when relations are poor. There was agreement on both sides that relations could be improved through better communications and that the latter could be achieved through private sector involvement in project-sponsored local leader workshops.

Part I. PROJECT BACKGROUND AND SURVEY METHODS

I.1. Project Background

The idea of leadership- or development-related education for Swazi chiefs¹ has been documented as early as the 1930's when anthropologist Hilda Kuper mentioned it as something that had been discussed but that probably would not work.² In the 1940's the Resident Commissioner discussed this with King Sobhuza II but nothing resulted, in part because the king was doubtful that leadership qualities could be cultivated or taught. Yet given the authority and prestige of chiefs--as well as their manageable number in Swaziland--the idea of somehow promoting development or at least removing obstacles to development through some sort of special training for chiefs had logical appeal at least to foreigners and therefore it never disappeared.³

Training for chiefs began to be discussed more seriously in the early 1960's, including by chiefs themselves who perhaps had begun to feel somewhat left out of the modernization/development process as well as several steps removed from colonial and other donor development assistance. In 1965 the newly-established Community Development section--then under the Ministry of Local Administration, later moved to the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and presently under the Tinkhundla quasi-ministry (see below, sect. V.6)--gave serious consideration to training chiefs. Two years later, a United Nations Community Development Advisor named Frost began to plan and seek permission for the introduction of development seminars for chiefs. Formal permission was delayed by members of the Swazi National Council (Libandla) who were unwilling to commit themselves; nevertheless due to the efforts and authority of two (British) District Commissioners, chiefs' seminars were held in Hhohho and Lubombo districts (now called regions) in

¹ Pre-1985 background information is derived from the SWAMDP Project Paper (645-0218), Annex G, written by Patrick Fine.

² Kuper, H., An African Aristocracy: Rank Among the Swazis. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947. With the passage of time and after the 1983/4 baseline survey documenting chiefs' own interest in development training, Kuper saw possibilities for success in this endeavor (personal correspondence, Oct. 1984) and in fact became an advisor to the SWAMDP project.

³ There appear to be some 169 chiefs--including vacant chief's positions--currently in Swaziland, according to Patrick, R., Traditional Leaders, Rural Development and Leadership Training in Swaziland, Mbabane: TransCentury Corp./SWAMDP, 1986 (revised 1988), p.169.

1967. By 1968, the year of Swaziland's independence, the Cabinet approved a plan to initiate development training for chiefs and in so doing, shifted responsibility for this endeavor from traditional to modern agencies of government, i.e. from the Libandla to the Cabinet.

At least 24 seminars or workshops for chiefs were conducted by Community Development between 1968-1981, sometimes with outside donor group sponsorship such as the British High Commission. Seminars may have been conducted by other organizations without leaving written records. The SEBENTA Institute, an adult literacy PVO, became involved in chiefs' training in 1971. After 1981 other GOS agencies such as Health Education/Ministry of Health, as well as PVOs such as the Family Life Association of Swaziland, began to conduct and/or sponsor seminars or workshops for chiefs in the belief that such efforts helped these organizations achieve their program goals, at least indirectly.

It should be noted that during this period and even into the first year of the Swaziland Manpower Development Project (hereafter SWAMDP), 1985-89, the GOS would occasionally cancel a chiefs' workshop (although never a SWAMDP workshop) without clear explanation, which can be taken as evidence of continued conservative/traditionalist opposition to chiefs' training among some in the traditional or modern GOS. It is also noteworthy that Community Development had not conducted any training for chiefs for several years prior to 1985.

Recognizing the importance of chiefs and other local leaders to the success of rural development projects, USAID decided to include a traditional sector component in the SWAMDP project, which otherwise focused on skill-enhancement within the (modern) public and private sectors. SWAMDP provided an anthropologist to serve as a technical adviser to the traditional sector component from 1985-1987. His job was to assist CD in designing and administering development orientation and training programs for local leaders, as well as to assist the Home Economics Section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives with a similar program for rural women's self-help organizations. The technical advisor's initial approach was to gain an understanding of the traditional sociopolitical system, establish trust relationships with CD and local leaders, understand CD objectives and leadership training efforts to date, help CD define its new training objectives and training approaches and do long-term planning. In late 1986, after a year of planning and other groundwork, SWAMDP-sponsored workshops for chiefs began. By the time the technical advisor's two-year term was up in 1987, well-designed local leader workshops were functioning and the CD staff proved capable of continuing such training without long-term technical assistance. CD's institutional capability to carry out leadership training and related activities was probably greatly enhanced by a certificate course in community development offered to CD staff at all levels by SWAMDP through the

University of Swaziland.

Workshop design and training content was based on two studies conducted in 1983 and 1984 to provide formative and baseline information for the SWAMDP project.⁴ The studies consisted of a largely qualitative "community mobilization" phase conducted in 1983 during which, among other things, an inventory of community-based development organizations or committees was taken. The second phase, carried out in 1984, consisted of a knowledge, attitudes and practices survey of a random sample of 53 chiefs (representing nearly a third of all Swazi chiefs). Information from the 1983/4 baseline study is cited throughout the present study for comparison purposes.

Between mid-1986 and March 31, 1989--just under three years--at least 48 local leader workshops were conducted by Community Development with SWAMDP sponsorship and technical assistance, and at least 1,880 local leaders were exposed to development training.⁵ It was deemed important to train a broad cross-section of local leaders, not just chiefs. Chiefs themselves advised this during the baseline study and provided plausible reasons such as the interdependence among local leaders and the shared nature of decision-making. Accordingly, a variety of local leaders were trained: chiefs, chiefs' deputies (tindvuna), council members (bandlancane), chiefs' delegates to Inkhundla centers (bucopho), chiefs' "runners" (bagijimi), elders concerned with resettlement (imisumphe), and governors of Tinkhundla (tindvuna teTinkhundla). For reasons discussed below, there has also been a broad range of workshop topics tailored to the needs of the different categories

⁴ The two studies were published together and are referred to in the present report as the 1983/4 baseline: Green, E. Traditional Leadership, Community Participation and Development Education. USAID/Swaziland. Mbabane: 1984.

⁵ We must say "at least" because SWAMDP sponsored additional workshops for womens' organizations and other target groups of Community Development that do not necessarily qualify as "local leaders." The term traditional leaders is used in much of the existing project documentation but we use the more inclusive "local leaders" because some of trainees under the project were officers of nontraditional development committees and in any case may not have occupied traditional (in the sense of existing in the pre-colonial period) leadership positions.

It may be noted that SWAMDP, under another sub-component of the "traditional sector training component," also exposed 4,091 female officers of womens' self-help (zenzele) organizations to development training during 121 workshops over the same 3-year period, as of 3/31/89. This sub-component has been evaluated separately.

of participants. A survey based on a random selection of 188 local leaders from some 60 chiefs areas nationwide was conducted during May 1989 in order to evaluate the training impact.⁶ Before turning to the survey, a description of social structure and leadership roles at the local level is provided for those unfamiliar with the rural sociology of Swaziland.

I.1.a. Note on Community Structure and Local Leadership⁷

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 (sigodzi). A community in this sense can best be defined as a group of homesteads that fall under the authority of a chief if he lives in the area, or under a chief's deputy (indvuna) if the chief is non-resident. Such communities are named, exhibit considerable 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, sigodzi sasikhulu) also has rather well-defined boundaries, a relatively standard internal organization, and it is recognized as a local governmental unit by the Swaziland government.⁸ Bearing in mind that a small chieftaincy may consist of a single local community, while a large chieftaincy may comprise 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 some 8 de jure

⁶ Although the author was involved in the pre-project baseline studies and the design of SWAMDP, he had nothing to do with project implementation. Therefore it was considered appropriate that he conduct the (sub-)project impact evaluation, especially in view of his familiarity with baseline data and Swazi culture in general.

⁷ This section is derived, with revisions, from Green 1984 op cit, p.3-5.

⁸ 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

inhabitants per homestead.

The foregoing is confounded by the fact that the generic term for a local community may differ both by region of Swaziland and by how large a chiefdom is (and therefore how many sub-divisions it has). The term sigodzi, meaning local area, can refer to either a chief's area, as in "the area of Chief X" (sigodzi saSikhulu X), or a local area when denoted as the area of an indvuna or other important person (sigodzi sa[whomever]). A large chiefdom may have several tibondza (sing. sibondza), meaning person in charge or person locally representing the chief. A sibondza may be an especially powerful indvuna or he may be a chief's runner (umqijimi). A generic way to refer to the person in charge of a local area--whatever office he may hold--is mphatsi sigodzi ("person in charge of the area").

Formal leadership at the local 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 serve as checks and balances to 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 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."⁹ 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 liqoqo 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.

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 can 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 genealogical 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 occupying formal but non-traditional leadership roles include chiefs' delegates (bucopho) to the local assembly of chiefs, or inkhundla (see Section V) and counsellors of the inkhundla. People in non-formal, non-traditional roles of influence may include members of local development committees, church leaders, headmasters, civil servants, and businessmen, especially if they were born in the local area.

I.2. Evaluation Survey Methods

To obtain a sampling frame, a list of chiefs and chief's representatives who have attended development workshops was compiled along with the name of the chief's area. The chiefs' areas were then arranged by region. It happened that those trained in each region reflected quite accurately the proportionate population of the four regions of Swaziland. A table of random numbers was used to select 50 out of 85 areas for interviewing. However two attempts to randomly sample using random numbers resulted in underselection in the two least populous regions, which would have meant geographic imbalance by population. Therefore systematic sampling was carried out by eliminating every third area, resulting in 62 areas chosen out of 85: a desired 50 areas plus 12 alternate areas in case a chief was not present to give permission to interview in his area. In addition to just over 50 areas in which interviewing actually took place, seven areas from the baseline study were also re-visited for interviewing.

Since the sampling frame was taken only from chieftaincies where a chief or his representative had attended a workshop, there is bias inherent in the findings toward depicting somewhat more development activity (or at least knowledge and attitudes) than would be the case in a sample that disregarded training inputs. It should be noted that we encountered two chieftaincies with disputed leadership. Apparently as a result of this, very little development seemed to be occurring; moreover it proved infeasible to conduct interviews in these areas. Failure to interview in these areas means that there is a further--although slight--bias toward selecting more developed areas.

A control group based on interviews in areas where local leaders had not been exposed to training was considered but rejected because it would have been very difficult to designate chieftaincies in which it could be assured that no leaders had been exposed to SWAMDP (or other project) development training. It will be recalled that the sampling frame consisted of a list of chiefs who had attended a project-sponsored workshop, yet many other types of local leaders representing chieftaincies other than those in the sampling frame may have been trained. It would have been difficult-

-perhaps impossible given Community Development's record keeping--to find areas where it could be guaranteed that no local leader had been exposed to SWAMDP-sponsored training. There was also other ongoing, community-based development education at the same time as SWAMDP efforts, raising further difficulty in designating "uncontaminated" chieftaincies for a control group.

In the original sampling plan, four different types of local leaders were to be interviewed in each chief's area. However interviewers sometimes encountered difficulty finding four different types of leaders present or available for interviewing, therefore given severe time constraints, the rule was relaxed to try simply to achieve broad representation among leaders.

It was considered important to interview more than one leader per community because information about local development and leadership was found to differ somewhat between informants, as did attitudes and opinions of leaders. Moreover we wished to obtain accurate information on development-related organizations or committees since these were regarded as perhaps the most objective development measures or indicators in the survey (cf. Sect. II.3.g below). It was found during the "community organization" phase of the 1983/4 baseline study as well as in the present survey that complete inventories of development committees were difficult or impossible to obtain from a single community spokesperson, since one person in a dispersed-residence community may not be aware of all development activities in the area. Therefore the procedure followed in both 1983/4 and 1989 was to interview a cross-section of community leadership--aiming at four informants--and then to take the highest common denominator to establish the total number of committees.

Interviews took more time than expected to conduct because respondents, apparently interested in the subject matter, often expanded upon or strayed from the topic. Given severe time constraints--some three weeks allotted to fieldwork--we were only able to interview 188 respondents rather than the hoped-for sample of 200.

In addition to the foregoing, qualitative research was conducted prior to and concurrent with the local leader survey in order to gather information on (1) indirect or hard-to-measure project influence; and (2) the relevance, if any, of "traditional sector training" on the development of Swaziland's private sector (the latter being a major USAID/Swaziland program objective for the period 1990-95), especially the large-scale private sector. To accomplish this, the author assisted by an associate conducted systematic, open-ended, in-depth interviews with Community Development officers and assistants, local leaders in the vicinity of large companies, and various types of managers working in such companies. Interviewing was concentrated in rural-or semi-rural based companies, which accounts for most large companies in

Swaziland not based in industrial estates. Qualitative research findings are presented in Sections IV and V.

Part II. SURVEY FINDINGS

II.1. Respondent Characteristics

200 respondents were selected, but due to logistical problems and time constraints, 188 were actually interviewed. This represents a sample size nearly four times that of two previous surveys of Swazi chiefs.⁹ Respondents were interviewed in all four regions of Swaziland in proportions that reflect the relative population size: Hhohho (34.6%), Manzini (27.7%), Shiselweni (21.6%), and Lubombo (15.7%). Among the types of leaders interviewed were 53 members of various development-related organizations, 19 chiefs, 30 chiefs' deputies (tindvuna), 29 council members (bandlanthane), 14 chiefs' delegates to Inkhundla centers (bucopho), 19 chiefs' "runners" (bagijimi), and 24 elders concerned with resettlement (imisumphe) or governors of Tinkhundla (tindvuna teTinkhundla). This is depicted in Graphs 1 and 2.

Respondents' age breakdown is shown in Table 1 and Graph 3.

TABLE 1
RESPONDENT'S AGE

| <u>Age</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Less than 25 | 4 | 2.1 | 2.1 |
| 26-40 | 28 | 14.9 | 17.0 |
| 41-55 | 70 | 37.2 | 54.3 |
| More than 56 | <u>86</u> | <u>45.7</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 188 | 100.0 | |

There was a mean age of 51.9 with a standard deviation of 11.9. About half the leaders in our sample are over age 50, as might be expected in a society in which age is highly respected.

⁹ Patrick 1987 op cit; Green 1984 op cit.

As seen in Table 2 and Graph 4, a majority of respondents had only a primary level education or less.

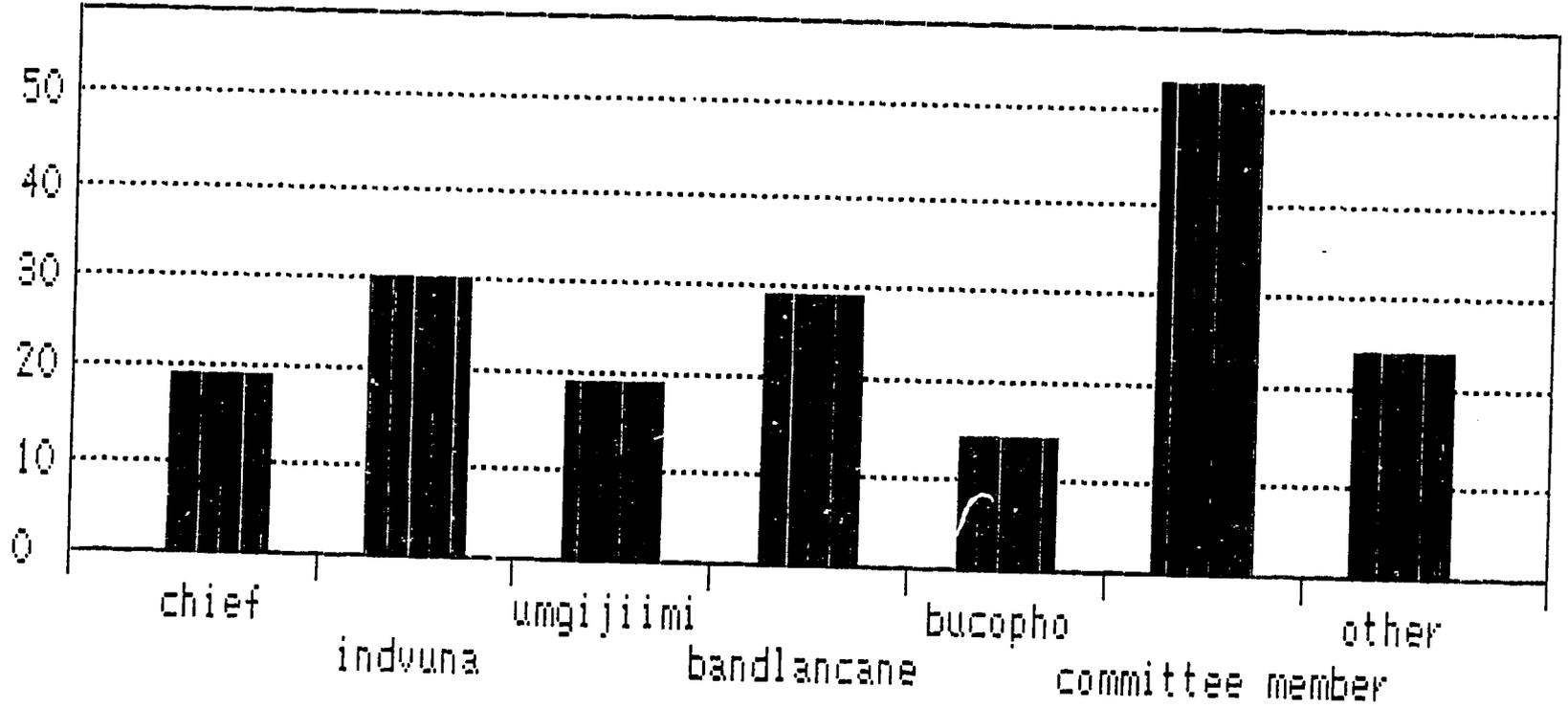
TABLE 2
RESPONDENT'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| None | 66 | 35.3 | 35.3 |
| Primary | 76 | 40.6 | 75.9 |
| Secondary | 26 | 13.9 | 89.8 |
| Post-secondary | <u>19</u> | <u>10.2</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 187 | 100.0 | |
| (Missing cases = 1) | | | |

Respondents were 84.6% male, reflecting the patriarchal character of traditional Swazi leadership. Breakdown by region is shown in Table 3 and is roughly proportional to the population of the four regions follows. While women were under-represented due to the nature of the survey, they were under-represented equally in all regions, as depicted in Graph 5, meaning that any variables that might be associated with region were not influenced by gender, or vice-versa.

Graph 1

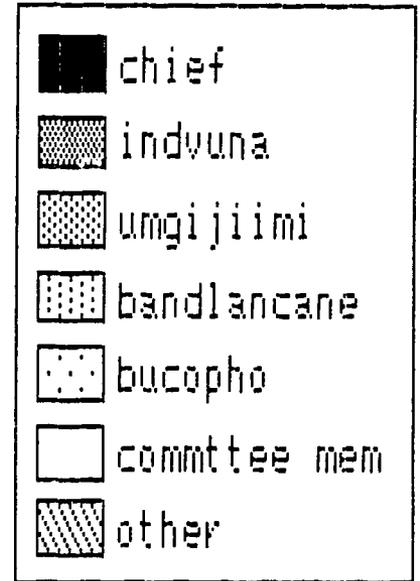
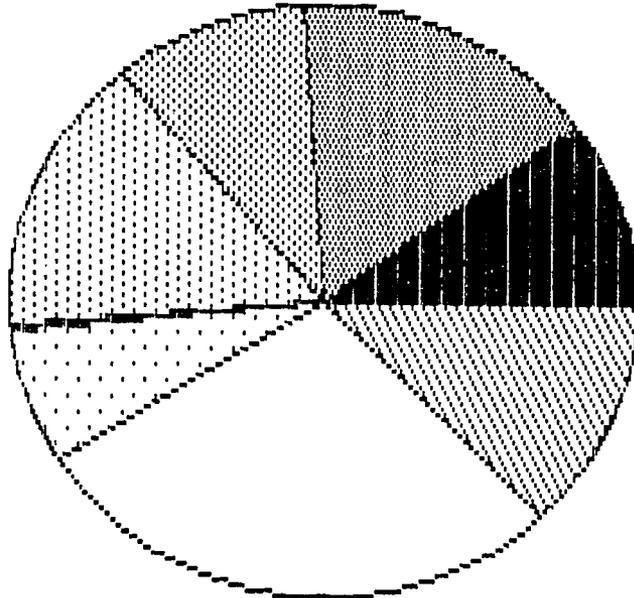
Type of leader



198

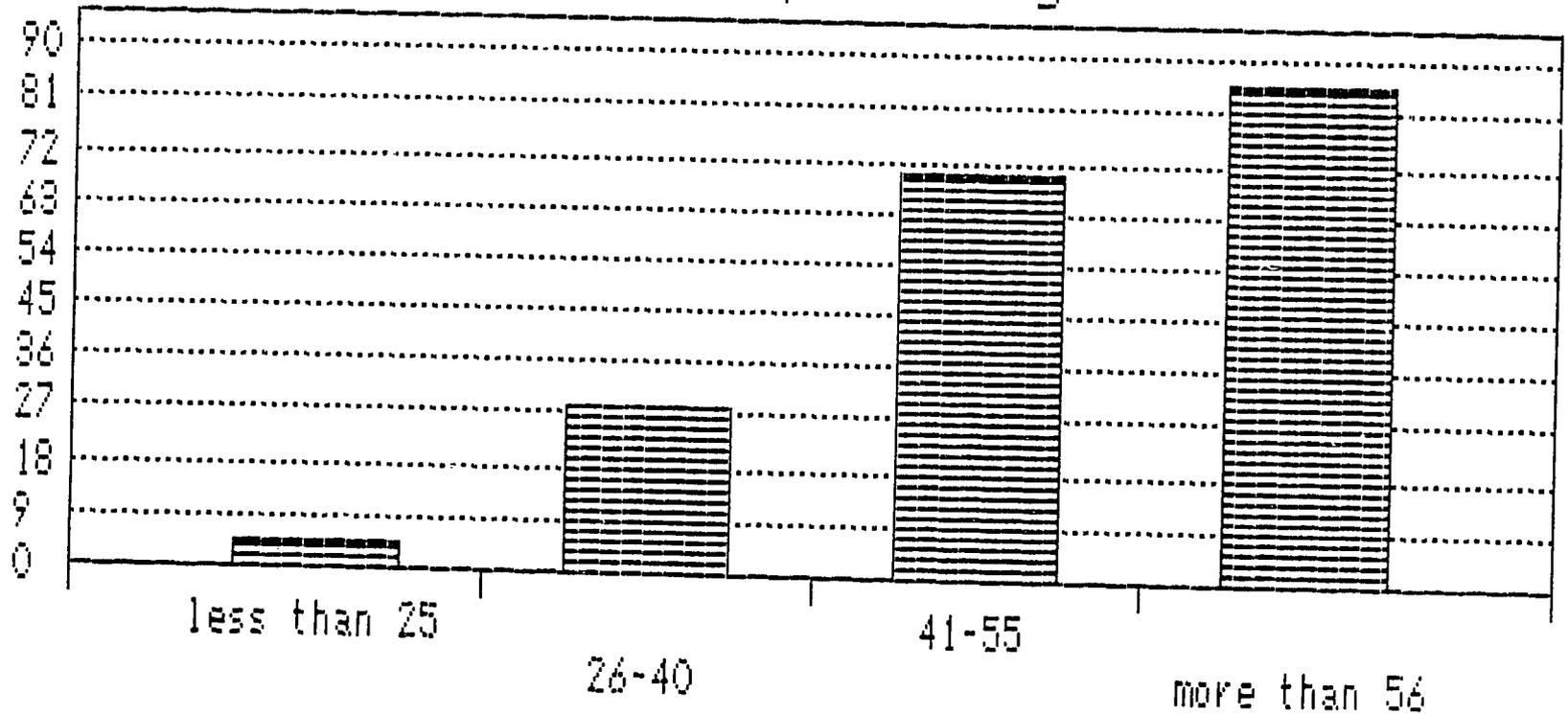
Graph 2

Type of leader



Graph 3

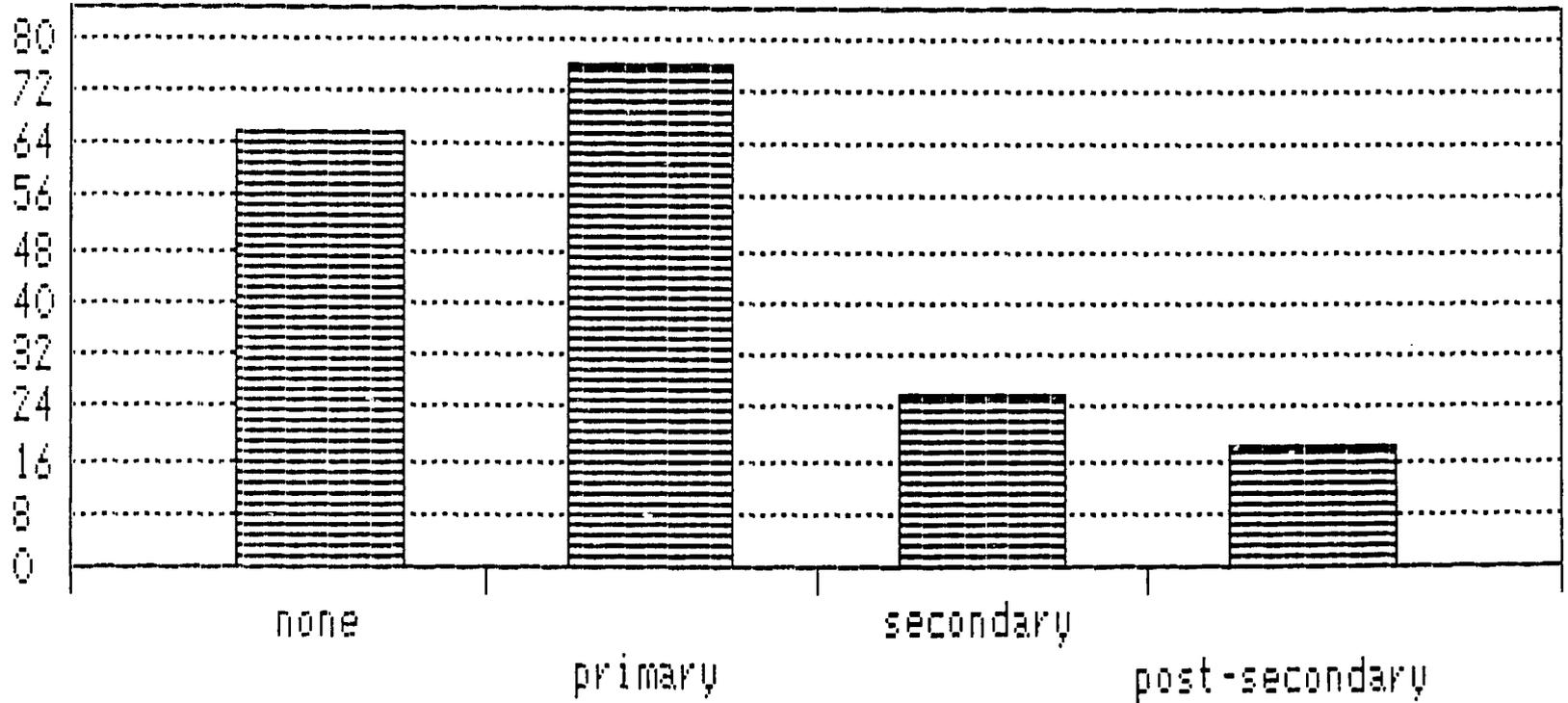
What is your age ?



146

Graph 4

What is your education ?



146.

TABLE 3

RESPONDENT'S REGION

| <u>Region</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Hhohho | 64 | 34.6 | 34.6 |
| Manzini | 52 | 28.1 | 62.7 |
| Shiselweni | 40 | 21.6 | 84.3 |
| Lubombo | <u>29</u> | <u>15.7</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 185 | 100.0 | |
| | (Missing cases = 3) | | |

II.2 Exposure to workshops

Although interviewing was only conducted in areas (chieftaincies) where at least some local leaders had been exposed to development education, not all respondents interviewed had necessarily attended a project-sponsored development workshop. In response to a question about the number of development workshops attended in the past four years (the period of SWAMP activity), 27.7% of respondents reported not having attended any.¹⁰ Respondents not trained under the project were included in the survey because we sought community-based rather than individual-based impact indicators, and those unexposed to workshops (where a certain amount of amenities were provided) might be less likely to give "courtesy" responses.

¹⁰ A question was also asked about the number of development workshops that respondents had attended in the last 10 years in order to factor in influence from pre-SWAMP chiefs training--or any other development education--that might effect responses. However the question seems to have been misinterpreted because the "none " response category was larger for this question than for the question regarding the past four years. By the time the problem was discovered during monitoring of incoming data, it was too late to develop a corrective interviewing strategy and findings from the latter question had to be discounted.

Graph 5

Sex and region of interviewe

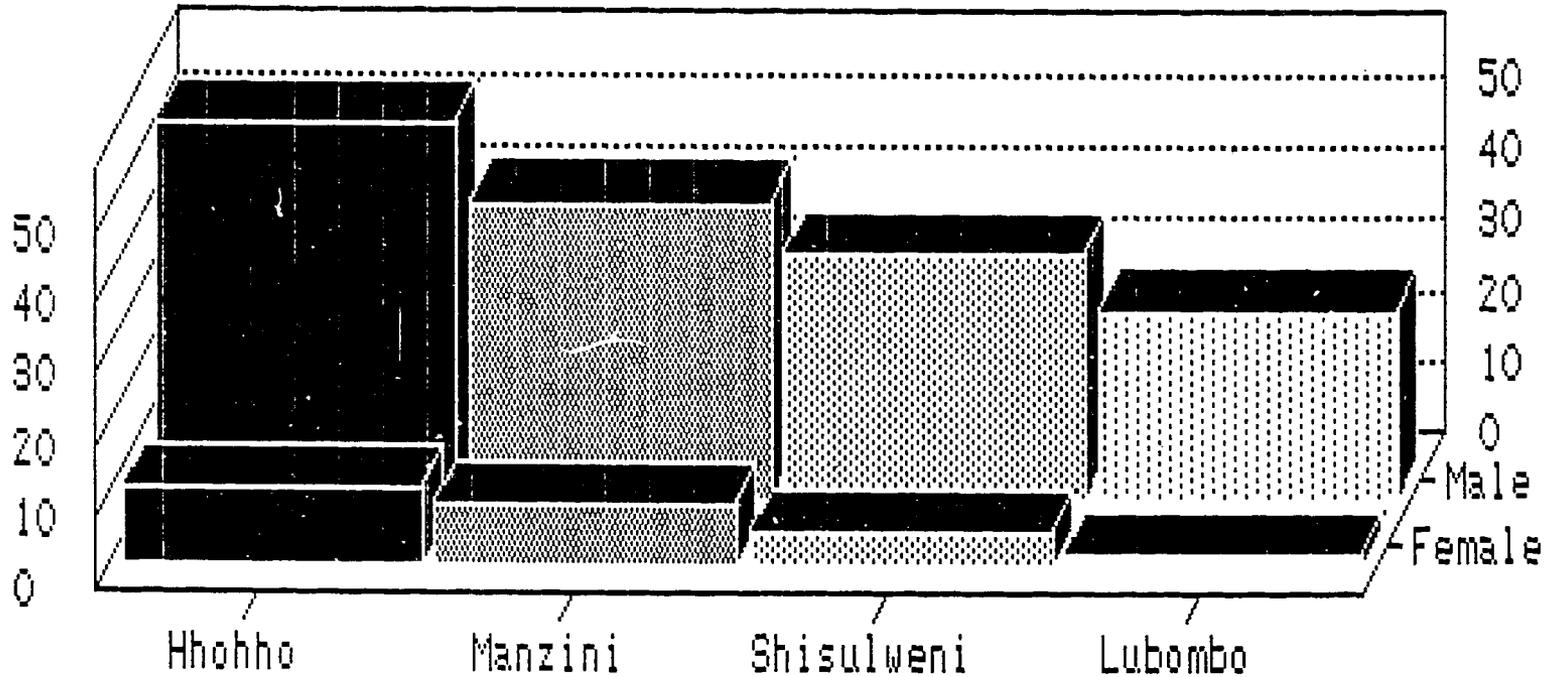


TABLE 4

WORKSHOPS ATTENDED DURING LAST FOUR YEARS

| <u>No. of Workshops</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| None | 52 | 27.8 | 27.8 |
| 1-2 | 97 | 51.9 | 79.7 |
| 3-4 | 20 | 10.7 | 90.4 |
| 5-6 | 11 | 5.9 | 96.3 |
| More than 7 | <u>7</u> | <u>3.7</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 187 | 100.0 | |
| | (Missing cases=1) | | |

II.3. Views on Training

When asked which workshop topics participants found most useful, there was a rather wide variety of responses that included self-help and general development topics; subjects relating to health, water and sanitation (including the building of pit latrines); the establishment, functioning and duties of both development committees and the chief's council; the development of infrastructure; various subjects relating to agriculture; income generation; and even family planning and AIDS preventive education. A quick survey early in the SWAMDP project suggested that local leaders were primarily and overwhelmingly interested in agricultural topics.¹¹ Yet the commonest response to the question about most useful topics was related to health, water and sanitation, followed by the formation and functions of development committees and the duties of committee members. Responses are shown in Table 5 and Graph 6.

¹¹ Hitchcock, R. Human Resource Development in the Traditional Sector of Swaziland. Mbabane: SWAMDP Project, 1987.

TABLE 5
MOST USEFUL WORKSHOP TOPICS

| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|--|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Health, water and sanitation | 42 | 25.9 | 25.9 |
| Formation & functioning of committees, duties of members | 33 | 20.4 | 46.3 |
| Agriculture-related topics | 25 | 15.4 | 61.7 |
| Education-related | 24 | 14.8 | 76.5 |
| Self-help, general development | 14 | 8.6 | 85.1 |
| General income generation | 6 | 3.7 | 88.8 |
| Infrastructural & facilities deve ^l . | 1 | .6 | 89.4 |
| N/A (Total) | <u>17</u> 162 | <u>10.5</u> 100 | 100 |

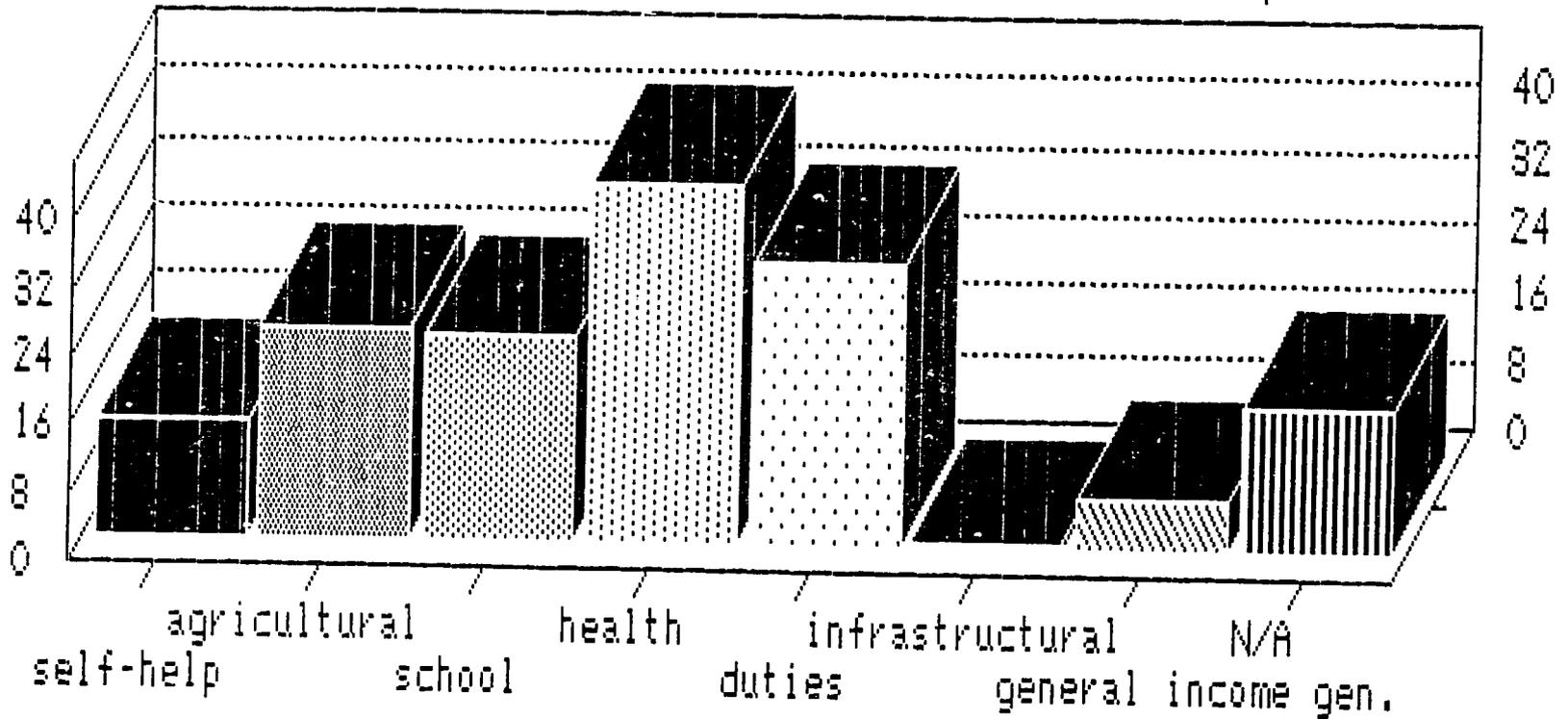
(Missing cases=26)

These findings suggest that relatively uneducated rural people--or at least those relatively unexposed to development ideas--may not be able to articulate their "training needs" and that once they are exposed to a broad array of development-related topics, they find them both interesting and useful.

Respondents were next asked if development workshops could be improved: 83.5% said yes, 6.4% said no and the remaining 10.1% were not sure or did not answer. When asked how workshops could be improved 155 leaders gave answers, three of which stood out and occurred with nearly equal frequency, as seen in Table 6 and even more conspicuously in Graph 7.

Graph 6

Most useful in workshops



17A

TABLE 6:

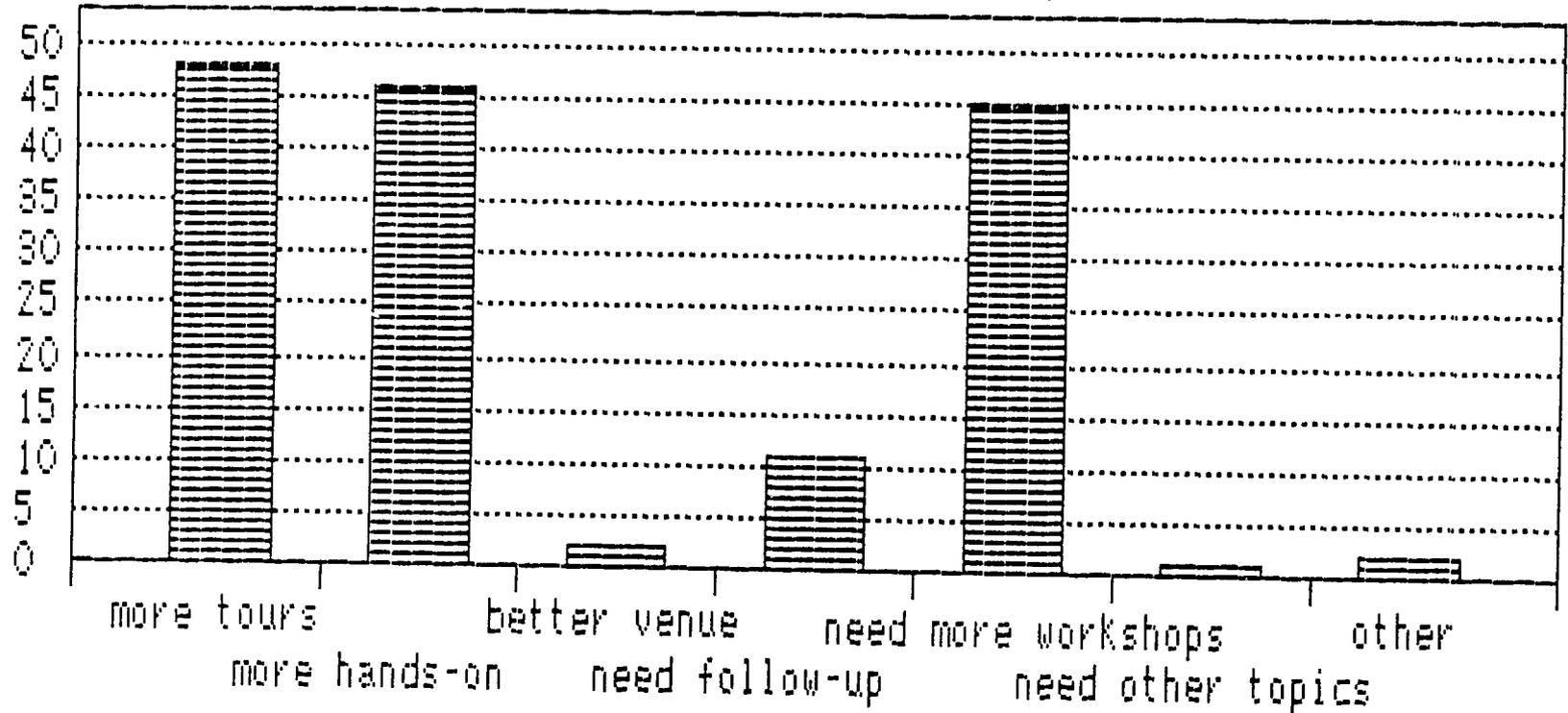
WAYS WORKSHOPS COULD BE IMPROVED

| <u>Improvements</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| More tours/visits | 48 | 31.1 | 31.1 |
| More hands-on experience | 46 | 29.7 | 60.8 |
| More workshops needed | 45 | 29.0 | 89.8 |
| Need more follow-up | 11 | 7.1 | 96.9 |
| Better venue | 2 | 1.3 | 98.2 |
| Need other topics | 1 | 0.6 | 98.8 |
| Other | <u>2</u> | <u>1.3</u> | 100 |
| (Total) | 155 | 100 | |
| | (Missing cases=33) | | |

In addition to spontaneous respondent comments there is considerable qualitative and anecdotal evidence apart from the survey that indicates local leaders are pleased with project-sponsored training overall. Their willingness to suggest training improvements may reflect influence of what might be called instant evaluations in which participants have been encouraged to participate at the end of every project-sponsored workshop.

Graph 7

How could workshops be improved ?



187

II.4. Results of Workshops

Next we asked whether respondents had become involved in any activity as a direct result of anything learned in a development workshop. Surprisingly, 139 or 73.9% said they had, yet according to the earlier question only 136 of the total had ever attended a development workshop in the past four years. It appears that virtually everyone who had been exposed to training claimed to have become involved in some sort of activity, as did a couple of other local leaders that either attended a workshop earlier than four years previously or that were influenced by another leader in their area who had been exposed to training. In any case, the most common activity respondents became involved with, as seen in Table 7, related to schools, education and creches (day care centers), followed by health, water and sanitation. (cf. also Graph 8).

TABLE 7:

ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE RESULTED FROM WORKSHOPS

| <u>Activities</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Schools, education | 40 | 27.4 | 27.4 |
| Health, water, sanitation | 32 | 21.9 | 49.3 |
| Agriculture | 26 | 17.8 | 67.1 |
| Income generation | 16 | 11.0 | 78.1 |
| Roads, bridges, other infrastructure | 4 | 2.7 | 80.8 |
| Committee formation | 7 | 4.8 | 85.6 |
| Resettlement | 2 | 1.4 | 87.0 |
| N/A | <u>19</u> | <u>13.0</u> | 100 |
| (Total) | 146 | 100 | |
| | (Missing cases=42) | | |

II.5. Development in General

Respondents were asked their views on the main obstacles to development in their areas. Responses seem to reflect the influence of training content, specifically the range and nature of topics discussed at project-sponsored workshops. (cf. also Graph 9).

TABLE 8
MAIN OBSTACLES TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

| <u>Obstacles</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Lack of funds | 46 | 24.6 | 24.6 |
| Lack of motivation & cooperation, laziness, alcohol | 44 | 23.5 | 48.1 |
| Lack of infrastructure or facilities | 30 | 16.0 | 64.1 |
| Problems, relating to water & agriculture | 27 | 14.4 | 78.5 |
| Chiefs' disputes, problems with leaders | 21 | 11.2 | 89.7 |
| Lack of training, education of local leaders | 12 | 6.4 | 96.1 |
| Health problems | 2 | 1.1 | 97.2 |
| Don't know, misc. | <u>5</u> | <u>2.7</u> | 100 |
| (Total) | 187 | 100.0 | |

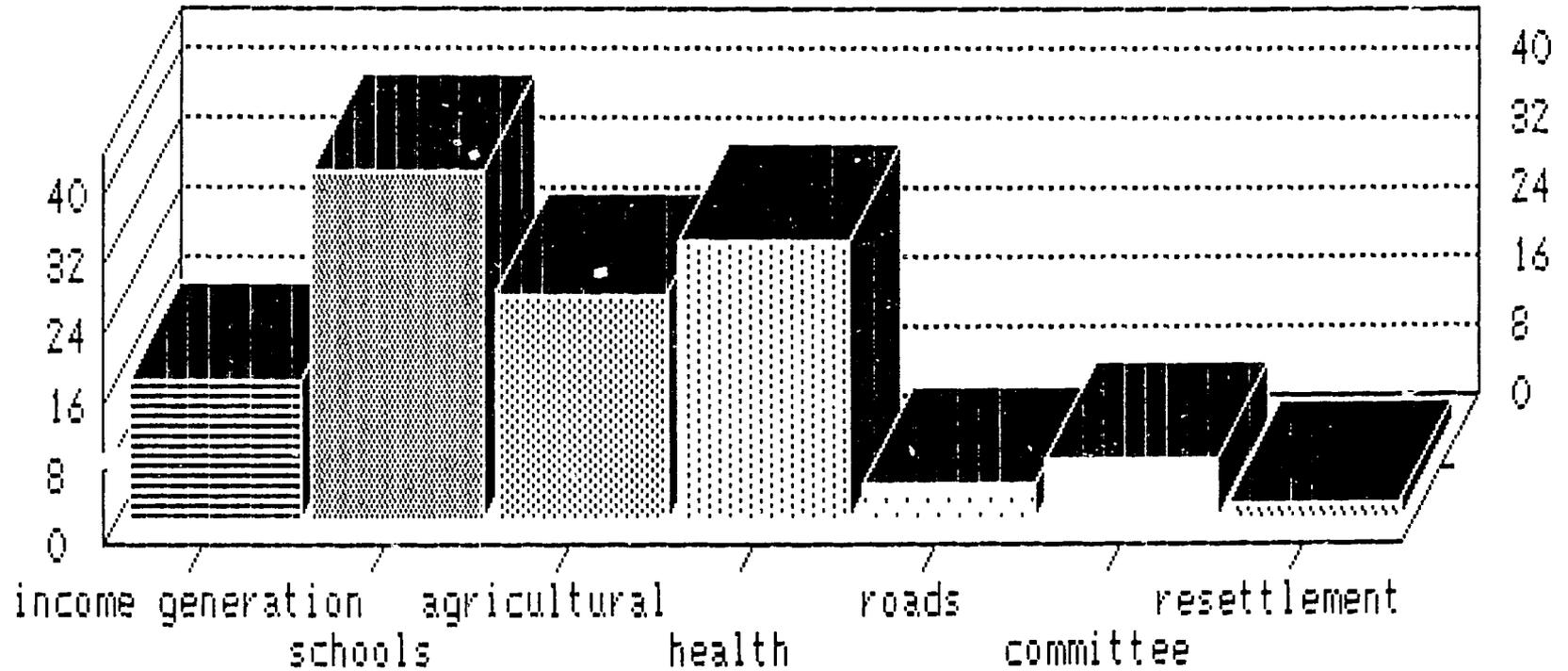
(Missing cases = 1)

Fifty-three chiefs were asked the same question in the baseline chiefs survey.¹² The commonest obstacle to development cited (by 26% of chiefs) in 1984 was lack of, or delays in, government response to local requests for development assistance. Comparison of responses to this question between the two surveys provides

¹² Green 1984 op cit, p. 39.

Graph 8

In what kind of activity have you become involved as a result of workshop?



2011

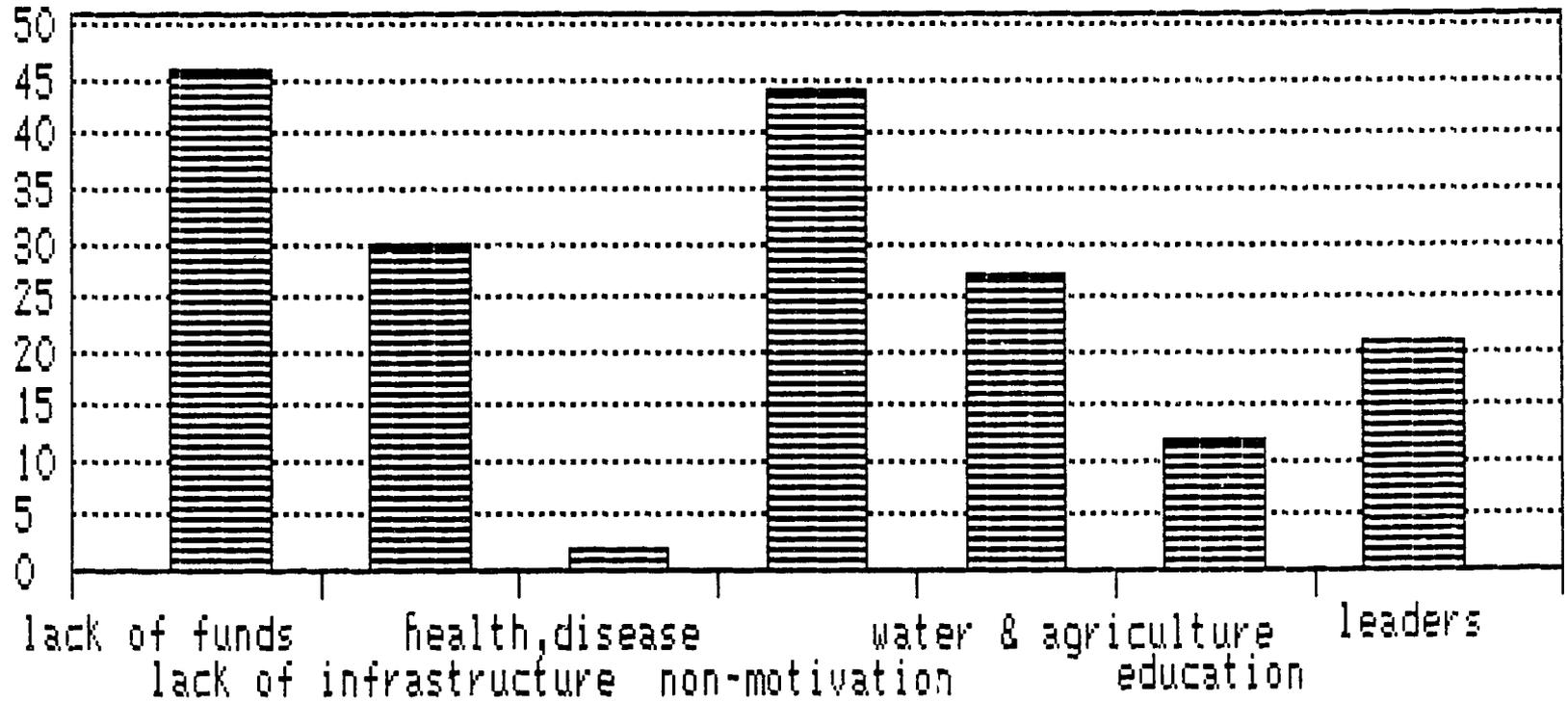
convincing evidence of the impact of the self-help/self-reliance theme of project-supported workshops since 1986. From being the commonest response in 1984, not one of 187 respondents (there being one non-respondent) in 1989 cited lack of government response. Instead the responsibility for development appears now to be perceived as resting solely within the local community. Respondents in 1989 were also much more likely to cite problems associated with motivation, cooperation, laziness, and alcohol abuse in the local community than those in 1984 (24% in 1989 compared with 9% who cited this plus lack of training in 1984). This can be taken as further evidence of a new self-reliant attitude as well as of growing capacity for self-criticism.

Respondents were asked another question also asked in the baseline survey of chiefs, namely, "Which local people have responsibility for development?"¹³ It should be remembered that only chiefs were interviewed in the baseline whereas a variety of local leaders including chiefs were interviewed for the present survey. Still the apparent change in attitudes regarding the locus of development responsibility is striking, as shown in Table 9 and Graphs 10a-c. Graphs 10b and 10c provide second and third answers to the question in 1989 (respondents were twice asked, "What other person?" after their first response).

¹³ Green 1984 op cit, p.41. The table in the cited reference differs from Table 9 in that the former presents data based on multiple responses. These data were re-calculated in order to yield first responses only, thereby making them comparable to the 1989 data.

Graph 9

What are main obstacles to development in this area ?



2/17

TABLE 9

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

| <u>Local person*</u> | <u>1984 Freq.</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>1989 Freq.</u> | <u>%</u> |
|--|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| Chief | 5 | 9 | 88 | 47 |
| Chief's deputy | 5 | 9 | 26 | 14 |
| Committee members | 12 | 23 | 23 | 12 |
| Government or extension worker | 2 | 4 | 13 | 7 |
| RDA, resettlement committee members | | | 12 | 6 |
| Inkhundla officials or rep's | | | 10 | 5 |
| No one | 6 | 11 | 1 | 0 |
| Misc. | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | 14 | 8 |
| (Total) | 53 | 100% | 187 | 100% |

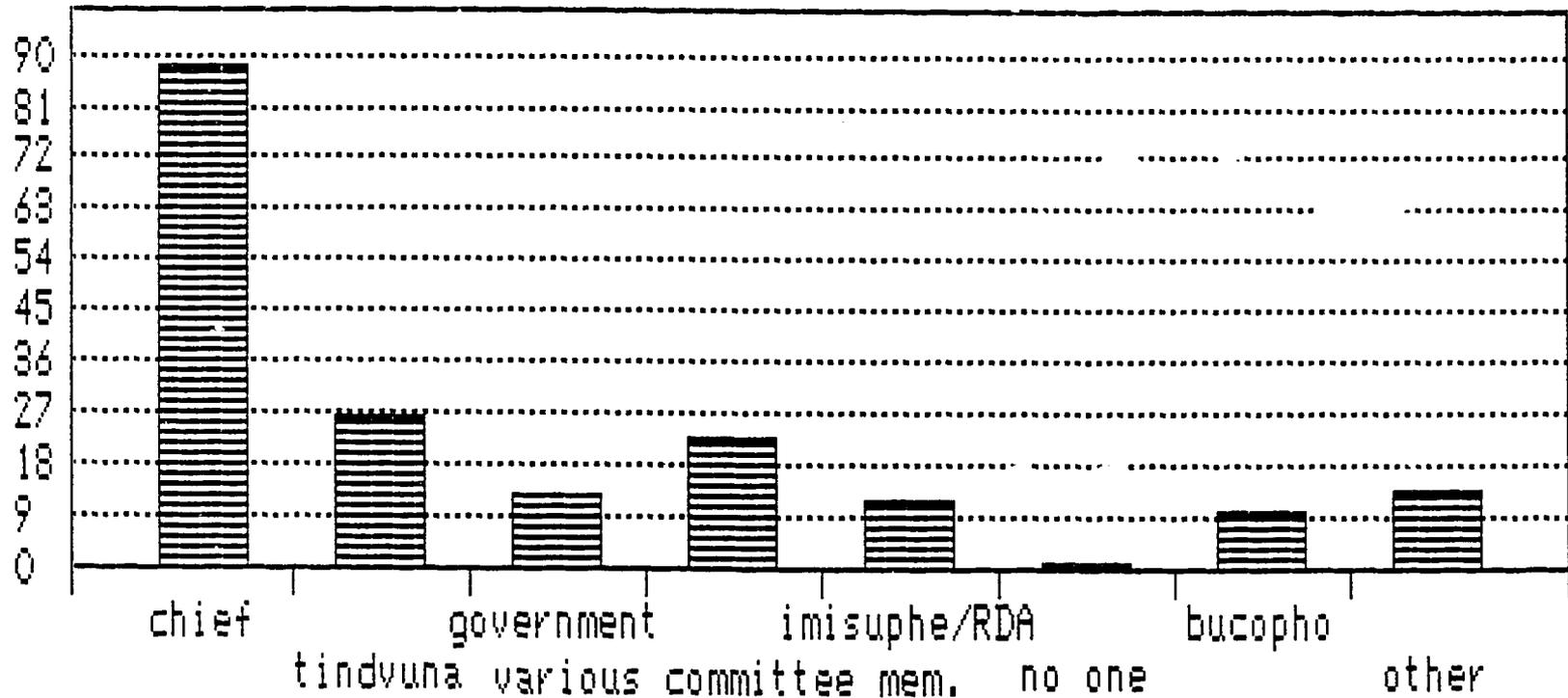
* Response categories are slightly different between 1984 and 1989 because in 1984 we asked open-ended questions, then coded them later, while in 1989 response categories were fixed after they were empirically-derived from a pretest.

Applying the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test in comparing the ratios found in Table 9 of those who designated "chief" versus (any) "other" for the two years (ratios of 5/38 and 88/89, if we eliminate "no one" and "misc."), we find the difference highly significant (Dmn= 0.395; Dmn alpha= 0.25, with significance established at >.01).

In simpler language, the proportion of respondents identifying the local chief rose significantly from 9% in 1984 to 47% in 1989, while those denying there was anyone with local responsibility declined from 11% to less than 1% (1 of 187 respondents). Even allowing for multiple responses in 1984, the proportion designating the chief increases to only 15%, still well below the 47% who designated the chief as the first response in 1989. These findings

Graph 10a

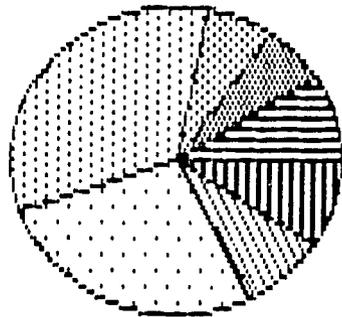
Which local people have responsibility for dealing with development problems?



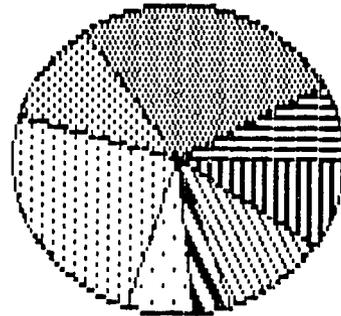
20A

Graph 10b

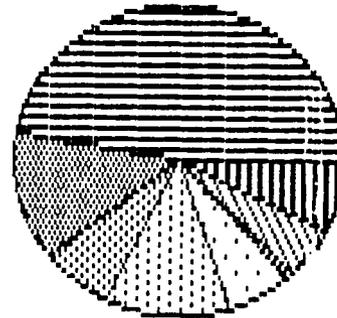
Which local people have responsibility for dealing with development problems?



third



second
answer



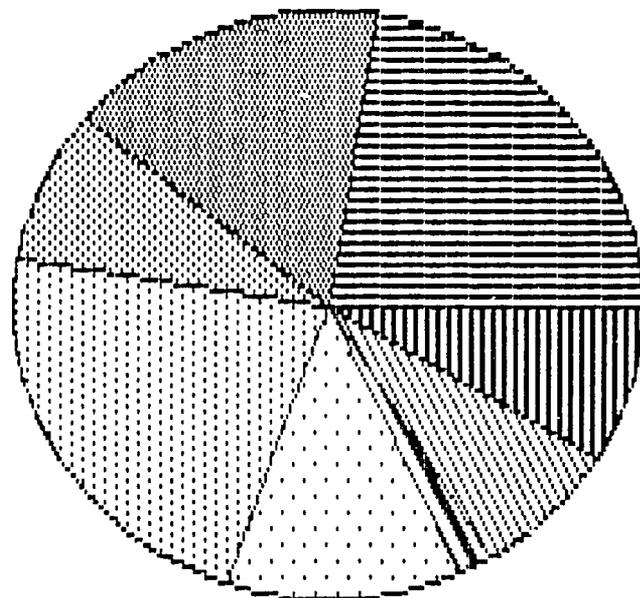
first



10b

Graph 10c

Which local people have responsibility for dealing with development problems?



total
(sum of first, second, third answers)

2007

seem to reflect impact of part of the content of SWAMD^P-sponsored workshops, namely that chiefs themselves should take responsibility for local development and not simply rely on government agencies or extension workers.

We next asked whether or not people were willing to contribute money toward local development projects or activities; 88.3% said yes. Although we have no quantitative baseline data for comparison purposes, during the qualitative Community Mobilization phase of the baseline study, problems associated with local fund-raising for development purposes were cited regularly and the belief that funds have been lost or misused was the most common reason offered for the failure of development-related local organizations.¹⁴

II.6. Development Indicators

Before the present survey was conducted it was agreed among relevant USAID/Swaziland and Community Development officers that the number of development-related committees found in local communities could be regarded as an objective measure or indicator of development. It has been found in Swaziland--and confirmed in the present survey (see below, this section)--that there are local organizations known as committees associated with most development activities in rural communities. In addition to this appearing logical and the quantifiability of these indicators, it was found in the baseline survey¹⁶ that the number of such committees in a chief's (immediate) area was positively associated with whether or not the chief had ever attended a development workshop ($p = .02$). This suggests that development committees may be regarded as something that results from development education.

In the 1983/4 baseline, an average of 6.6 committees per community were found to be functioning within two years of the time of interviewing (the question was asked this way because we were more interested in the type than the number of committees encountered). The number of currently functioning committees at the time was approximately 5.5. These results were corroborated by a survey of eight rural communities conducted later in 1983.¹⁷ In the present

¹⁴ Green 1984 op cit p. 23. (Related information on development fund-raising is found in Sect. II.3.h., The Development Role of the Chief and other Local Leaders).

¹⁶ Green, E, 1984 op. cit. p. 49)

¹⁷ Tshabalala, R., "Community Participation in Water and Sanitation and Clinic Construction in Swaziland." MSc. Thesis (Community Health), Univ. of London, 1983.

survey we asked respondents to try and recall how many development committees existed in their local communities in 1985, the year before SWAMPD-sponsored local leader training began.¹⁸ Bearing in mind methodological difficulties inherent in posing a question based on 5-year recall, we found a (mean) average of 7.3 and a mode of 5 committees reported in 1985, with a standard deviation of 4.08 and a range of 18.4. Grouped answers are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10
NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES IN 1985

| <u>No. of Committees</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1-4 | 44 | 23.9 | 23.9 |
| 5-8 | 85 | 46.2 | 70.1 |
| 9-12 | 46 | 25.0 | 95.1 |
| 13-16 | 8 | 4.3 | 99.5 |
| More than 17 | .1 | .5 | <u>100.0</u> |
| (Total) | <u>184</u> | <u>100.0</u> | |
| (Missing cases = 4) | | | |

When we asked how many (and which type of) development committees were found in the respondent's local community currently (1989), we found a (mean) average of 11.5 and a mode of 10 committees, with a standard deviation of 4.34 and a range of 19.0. Grouped answers are presented in Table 11 and Graph 11. The type of development committee was not computer-tabulated or analyzed, but school committees seemed to predominate, followed by women's (zenzele), dip-tank (for cattle), health and water committees.

¹⁸ We attempted to ameliorate difficulty in answering this by first asking for a complete inventory (number and type) of development committees to be found currently, i.e., in 1989, then asking which of these were present five years earlier or which of these were formed since 1985, whichever way of remembering seemed easier to the respondent. This procedure was developed during the survey pretest when it was discovered (as anticipated) that respondents exhibited recall difficulty when simply asked how many development committees existed in their areas in 1985.

TABLE 11
NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES IN 1989

| <u>No. of Committees</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1-4 | 6 | 3.2 | 3.2 |
| 5-8 | 49 | 26.1 | 29.3 |
| 9-12 | 72 | 38.3 | 67.6 |
| 13-16 | 30 | 16.0 | 83.5 |
| More than 17 | <u>31</u> | <u>16.5</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 188 | 100 | |

The increase in number of development committees holds for seven communities from the baseline survey that were revisited for the present survey (original, disaggregated information from the eighth community appears to have been lost). A mean of 12.1 committees were found to be functioning in the re-visited communities of Ezulwini, Nkambeni, Sithobela, Siphofaneni, Ntsintsa, Magubheleni and Mawhalala. Leaders from the chieftaincies of which these local communities are part were trained under the SWAMPD project.

In addition to growth in numbers, development-related committees appear to be functioning better throughout Swaziland, according to spontaneous comments made by interviewees. It is noteworthy that one workshop topic has been how to form committees, elect appropriate members, raise funds and keep written records of committee expenses.

In order to ensure completeness in our inventory of development committees, a question was asked in the present survey that was not asked previously, namely whether there were development projects or activities in the local area that were not associated with committees or other local associations. The question might refer to activities sponsored by a non-local agency or organization for which there is no local committee, such as a United Nations-sponsored WID project. Or it might refer to a local development activity whose local committee was for some reason moribund at the time of interviewing (something found fairly frequently during interviewing for the 1984 baseline survey). In any case, some 30% said yes and reported a mean of 2.6 additional projects or activities. Thus there may be more than a mean of 11.5 development

activities in an average community (where development training has occurred) in rural Swaziland in 1989, but we will use the figure 11.5 because it can be compared with baseline data.

To summarize committee growth findings: in spite of methodological difficulties in obtaining valid information of this sort, two surveys yield the following data on the progressive growth of development committees over a six year period:

TABLE 12
GROWTH IN AVERAGE NUMBER OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES
1983-1989

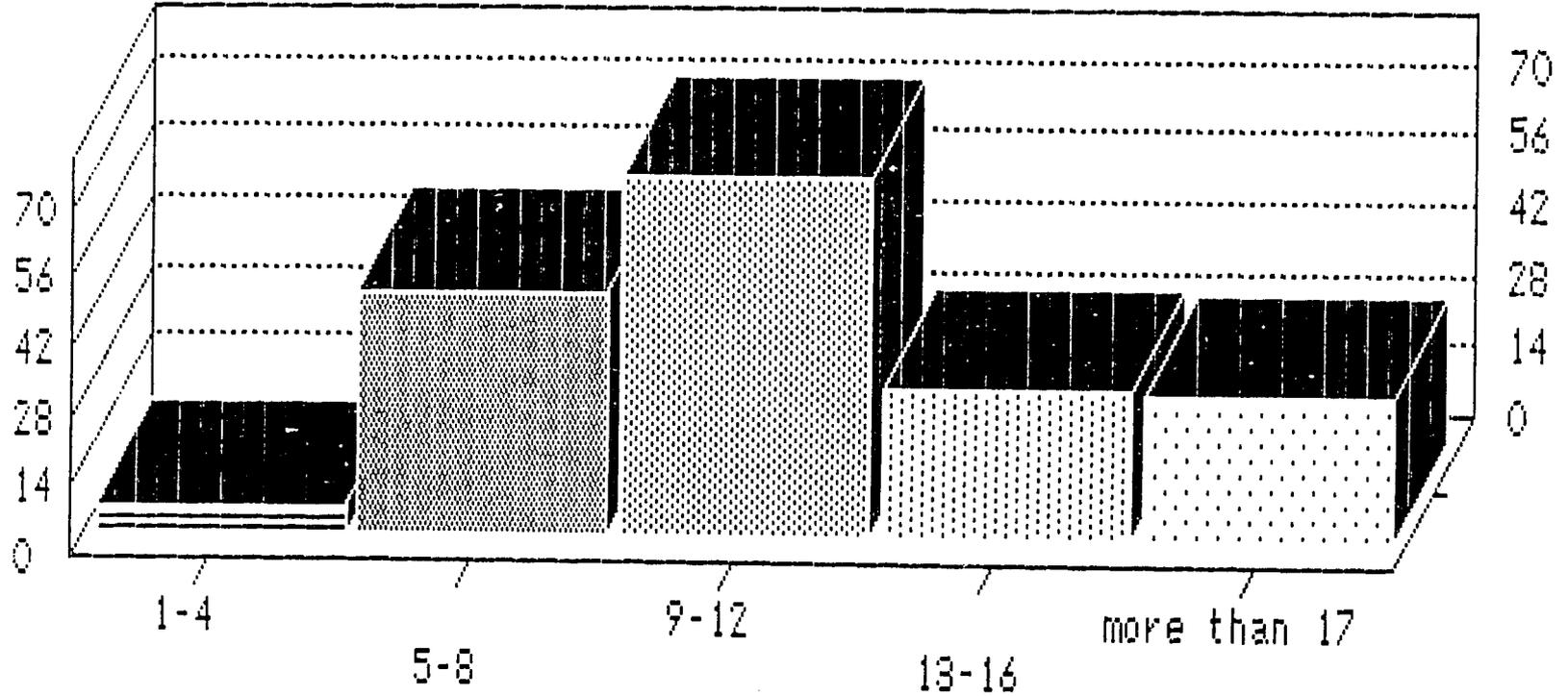
| | <u>1983</u> | <u>1985</u> | <u>1989</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <u>Number of committees</u> | 5.5 | 7.3 | 11.5 |
| <u>Annual growth rate</u> | ? | 0.9 | 1.05 |

We see that the rate of committee growth increased from 0.9 committees per year during the pre-SWAMDP period 1983-85 to 1.05 committees per year during the SWAMDP training period 1985-89. If the 1985 average has credence the increase in growth rate does not appear significant. However the 1985 data were obtained by respondents' four-year recall and the method of prompting recall (taking inventory of committees in 1989, then subtracting those that developed after 1985) might result in over-representation of committees in 1985. Discounting the validity if the 1985 figure, we are left with a 1983-89 doubling of the number of development committees, during most of which period there was project-sponsored training. There is the additional consideration that without SWAMDP training the two-year 1983-5 growth rate might not have been sustained for the ensuing four years, let alone increased, and that logically there is a limit to the number of development activities and related committees that can occur in communities, especially small ones.

The problem in interpreting these findings, of course, is to be able to attribute any increase to project impact. Since there had been (irregular) development training for local leaders prior to SWAMDP, such earlier influence cannot be discounted. Moreover there are obviously other factors that influence development such as mass media (there was a Development Communications component of SWAMDP--seperately contracted--that promoted development via radio) and contact with other extension workers that must be reckoned with, but these represent variables beyond the scope or control of the

Graph 11

Number of development committees now



1971

present survey. The best we can do is look for other, indirect evidence in this survey that project training has influenced the establishment, growth and functioning of development committees. For example after establishing that in 88.6% of cases, there were thought to be more committees now (1989) than in 1985, we asked respondents the reasons for such increase. Only about half of all respondents had opinions (16 reported in the previous question that there were currently less committees in the area than in 1985). Answers are summarized in Table 13 and Graph 12.

TABLE 13
REASONS FOR MORE COMMITTEES NOW

| <u>Reasons</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Training/workshops | 63 | 69.2 | 69.2 |
| Attitudes or actions of chief or LL | 9 | 9.9 | 79.1 |
| Influence of extension workers | 9 | 9.9 | 89.0 |
| Effects of education | 3 | 3.3 | 92.3 |
| Increased popular demand | 3 | 3.3 | 95.6 |
| Influence of radio | 3 | 3.3 | 98.9 |
| Increased capital available | 1 | 1.1 | 100 |
| | --- | --- | |
| (Total) | 91 | 100.0 | |
| | (Missing cases = 97) | | |

The striking finding is that over two-thirds of respondents attributed the increase to the influence of training or workshops, by which they were in almost all cases referring to SWAMPD-sponsored training. Even allowing for "politeness responses" (telling interviewers what respondents thought they wanted to

hear),¹⁹ the finding is still impressive and can be taken as indirect evidence of training influence.²⁰ Further indirect evidence of workshop impact on number of development committees can be found in the previous section II.3.c, Views on Training, in which virtually all respondents who had attended a project-sponsored workshop could point to a development activity they had engaged in that they themselves attributed to workshop influence.

II.7. The Development Role of the Chief and Other Local Leaders

We asked whether the local chief is initiating or otherwise participating in development activities. It should be noted that in the baseline surveys pertaining both to community mobilization and chiefs, most chiefs appeared not to play an active role in development.²¹ In the present survey, 80.3% of respondents said yes and 19.7% said no (15 did not respond). A corresponding 81.9% of all respondents felt their chief was more active in development currently than in the recent past, defined as four years previously, or 1985, while 18.1% felt the local chief was less active (bearing in mind that 10% of the 1989 sample were themselves chiefs). And in another related question, 91.7% believed that the government expects chiefs to take an active role and lead their subjects in development, while only 4.2% thought government expected chiefs to delegate development responsibility to others.

Since the fund-raising role of the chief, actual or potential, emerged as important in the 1984 baseline, we asked in 1989 if the chief had collected money from local community members for development projects in the 12 months prior to interviewing; 85.2% said yes and 14.8% said no. We then asked those 161 answering yes how much money the chief had collected from each homestead during that period. Results are summarized in Table 14 and Graph 13.

TABLE 14

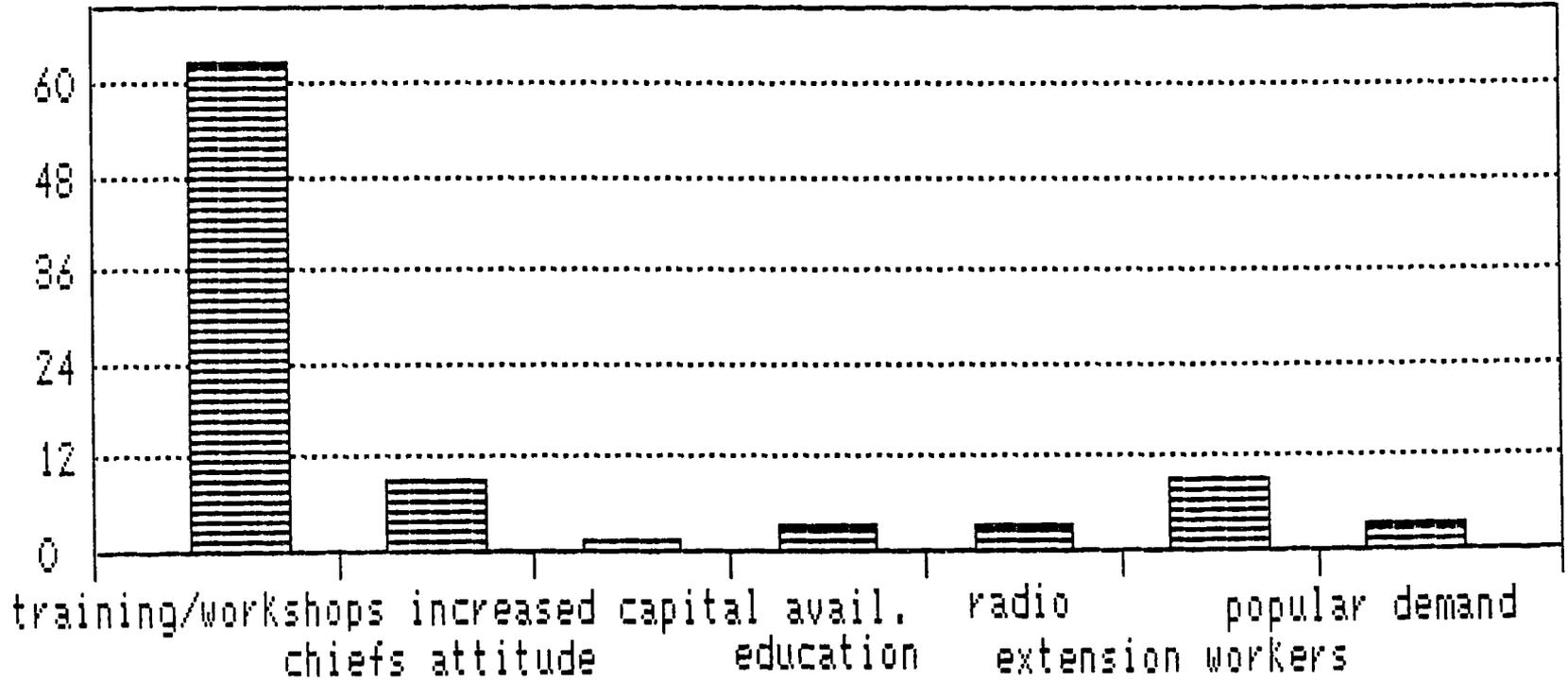
¹⁹ Interviewers did not represent themselves to respondents as connected with the training effort, nevertheless this may have been guessed or attributed by some respondents due to the nature of the questions.

²⁰ Only eight respondents gave reasons why there were fewer committees currently than in 1985. Reasons related primarily to money: difficulties in raising money, funds being misspent or disappearing, etc.

²¹ Green, E. 1984 op cit, P. 40-41.

Graph 12

Reason for more committees now



28/9

MONEY COLLECTED BY CHIEF IN LAST 12 MONTHS

| <u>Amount</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|----------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| E1-40* | 71 | 44.1 | 44.1 |
| E41-80 | 25 | 15.5 | 59.6 |
| E81-120 | 42 | 26.1 | 85.7 |
| E121-160 | 8 | 5.0 | 90.7 |
| More than E160 | <u>15</u> | <u>9.3</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 161 | 100.0 | |

(Missing cases = 27)

*E1 was equal to approx. US\$ 0.38 at the time of interviewing

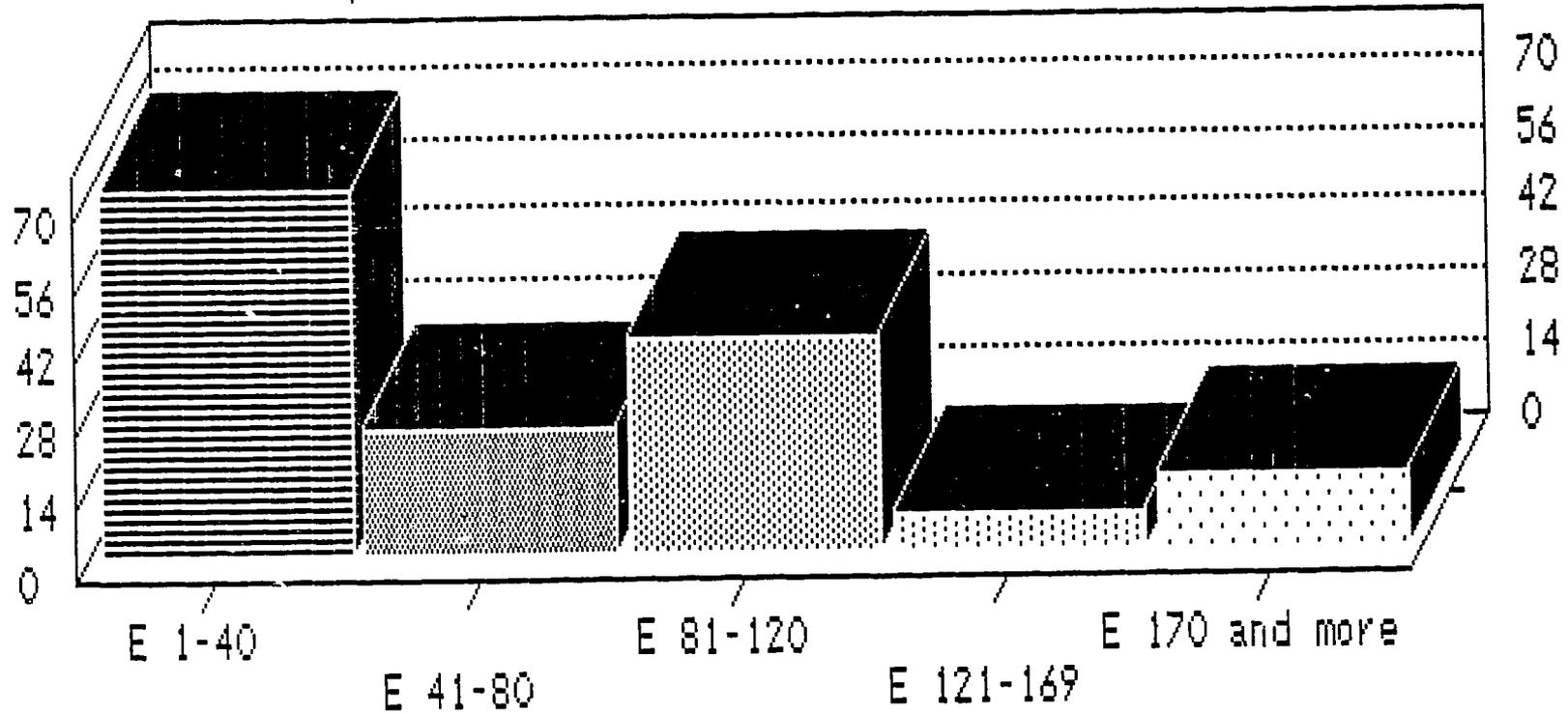
We calculate a mean average yearly collection of E68.45, with a standard deviation of 2.75, however this is probably somewhat lower than the actual amount collected.²² Furthermore it should not be assumed that this amount, or something a bit higher, is the only development-related expense for rural homesteads. Parents may also pay substantial school fees in order to educate their children, fees which increase with level of schooling. Most Swazis view education as fundamental to development, and school fees are regarded by even traditional rural Swazis as something equivalent to what Americans might call human resources development. Recent interviews by the author suggest it might cost parents E100 or more per Standard 4 student per year, which can be quite a financial burden, especially if parents are educating several children at once.

In order to gain insight into local development priorities we next asked what type of project(s) the chief collected money for. We see in Table 15a and Graph 14 that education tops the list. Money collected for "education" usually means constructing school buildings, beginning with primary schools. We see that water,

²² Since data were collected in aggregated form and we do not know the exact values found in "More than E160," we can only calculate measures of central tendency by an arbitrary procedure such as assigning the same interval to the highest category that we did to the others. Thus the mean value in the last category is taken to be midway between E160 and the artificial ceiling of E200, or E180. Of course this procedure may yield central tendencies that are lower than the actual number might be.

Graph 13

Money collected from each home



198

health and sanitation follow education in funding priorities, and that this priority order holds when allowing for multiple responses (Table 15b, Graph 15). These findings corroborate those cited above (Sect. II.3.c, Views on Training) that water, health and sanitation follow education as the commonest activities that have been motivated by project-sponsored training. The present findings might suggest further indirect evidence of project impact since, as noted, a pre-training needs assessment showed that local leaders were interested almost exclusively in agricultural topics.

TABLE 15a

TYPE OF PROJECT FOR WHICH MONEY WAS COLLECTED

| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| School/education | 46 | 29.3 | 29.3 |
| Water projects | 34 | 21.7 | 51.0 |
| Health, sanitation | 32 | 20.4 | 71.4 |
| Agricultural | 32 | 20.4 | 91.8 |
| Women's activities | 1 | 0.6 | 92.4 |
| Other | <u>12</u> | <u>7.6</u> | 100 |
| (Total) | 157 | 100.0 | |
| (Missing cases = 31) | | | |

TABLE 15b

TYPE OF PROJECT FOR WHICH MONEY WAS COLLECTED
(Multiple responses)

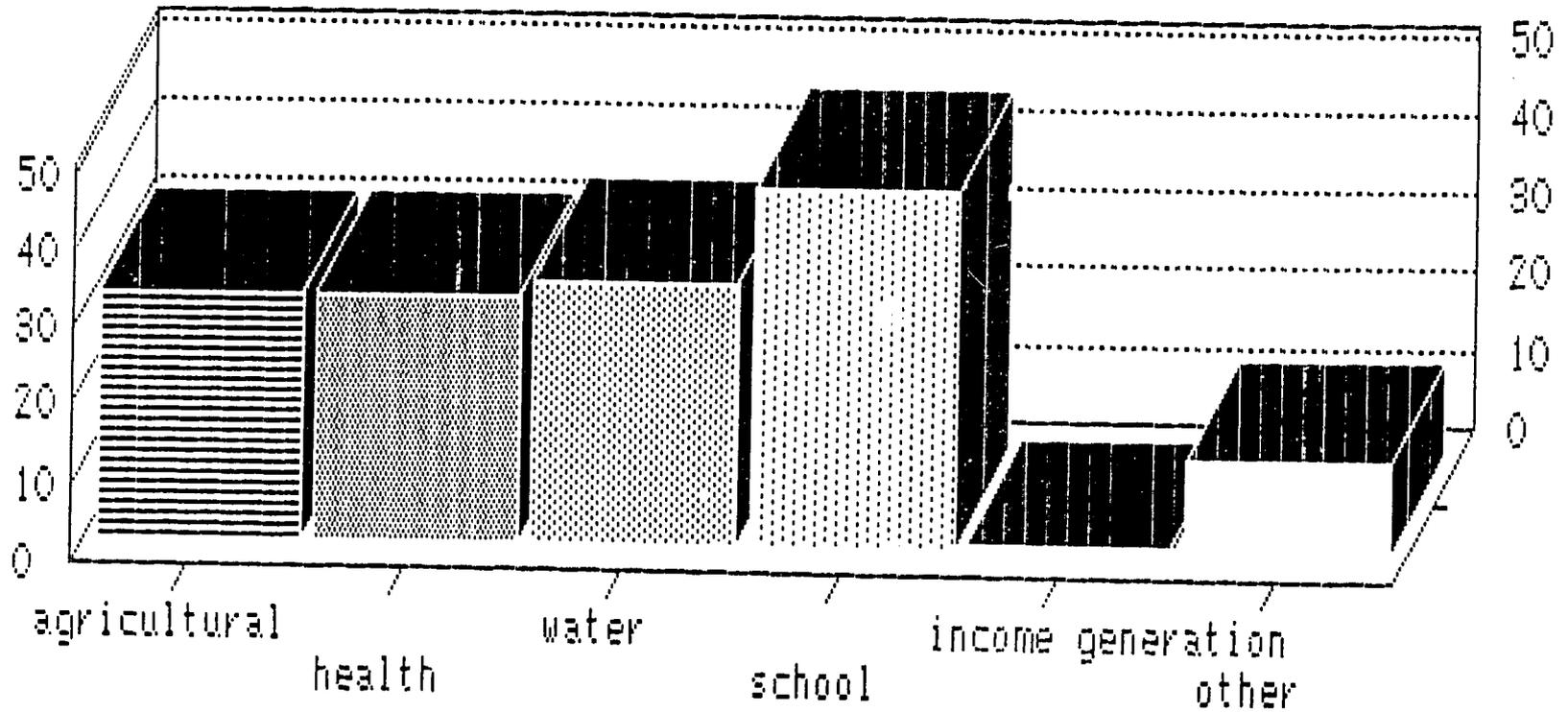
| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Valid percent</u> | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | <u>1st Response</u> | <u>2nd Response</u> | <u>3rd Response</u> |
| School/education | 29.3 | 27.3 | 23.9 |
| Water projects | 21.7 | 42.1 | 3.0 |
| Health, sanitation | 20.4 | 13.2 | 3.0 |
| Agricultural | 20.4 | 6.6 | 7.5 |
| Women's activities | 0.6 | 1.7 | 4.5 |
| Other | <u>7.6</u> | <u>9.1</u> | <u>14.9</u> |
| (Total) | 100.0 | 100 | 100 |

Before leaving the topic of money we asked if the local chief has raised money for purposes other than development. This was prompted by comments occasionally heard--and supported by a local newspaper article that appeared during questionnaire design--that chiefs sometimes raise funds from their subjects to, e.g., buy themselves a car. In our sample, 82.5% denied this while 17.5% (with 5 not answering) said yes. Those who said yes could have been referring to cash payments in lieu of labor tribute or to some other payment sanctioned by Swazi law and custom.

We asked if development topics are ever discussed in the chief's council (bandlanthane). The traditional functions of the chief's council are law and order, adjudication, and advising the chief, yet as part of project-sponsored training Community Development trainers have advised local leaders to either establish a special coordinating council under the chief to oversee all local development activities, or to have the existing bandlanthane take on this function. The latter course seems to have been adopted in most communities: 89.8% of respondents reported that development topics are now discussed in the local bandlanthane. We then asked which topics are discussed as well as how long such topics have been discussed. The latter was to establish better a causal relationship between training and the new function of bandlanthanes. Results are provided in Tables 16a and 16b, and in Graph 16.

Graph 14

For which type of projects was the money collected ?



3/11

Graph 15

For which type of development project the money was collected?

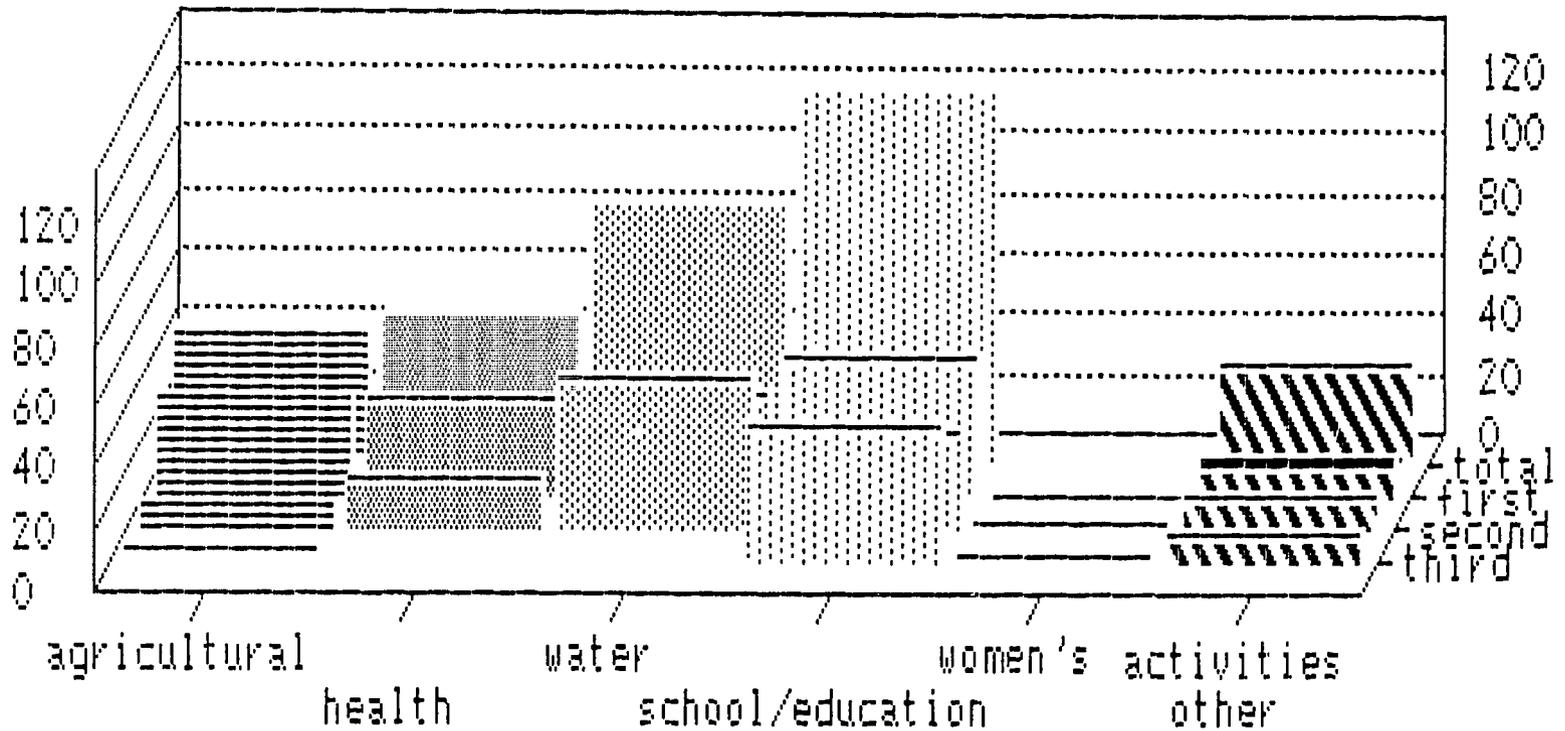


TABLE 16a
TOPICS DISCUSSED IN CHIEF'S COUNCIL

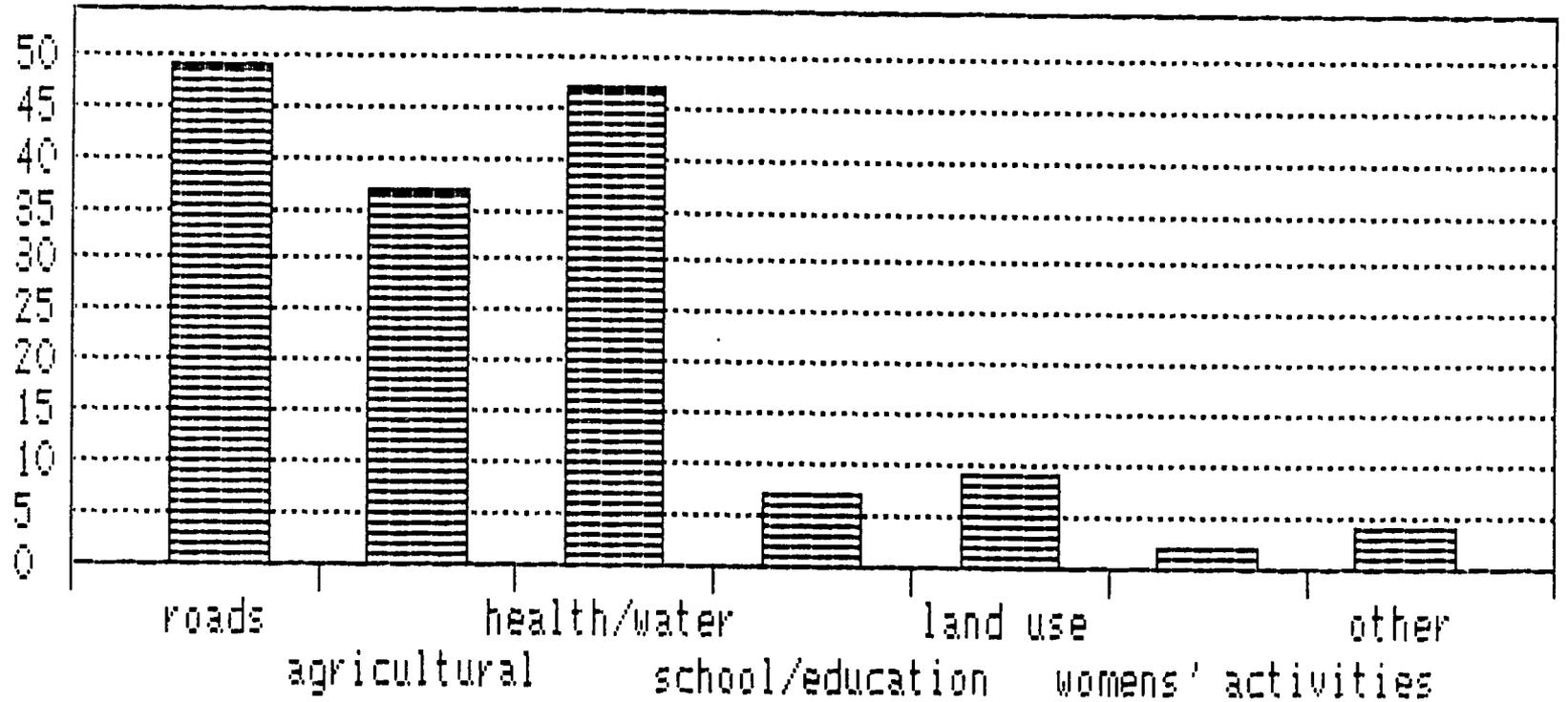
| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Roads, transportation | 49 | 31.6 | 31.6 |
| Health, water, sanitation | 47 | 30.3 | 61.9 |
| Agriculture | 37 | 23.9 | 85.8 |
| Land use, resettlement | 9 | 5.8 | 91.6 |
| School, education | 7 | 4.5 | 96.1 |
| Women's activities | 2 | 1.3 | 97.4 |
| Other | <u>4</u> | <u>2.6</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (Total) | 155 | 100.0 | |
| | (Missing cases = 33) | | |

TABLE 16b
LENGTH OF TIME DEVELOPMENT TOPICS HAVE BEEN
DISCUSSED IN CHIEF'S COUNCIL

| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum. Percent</u> |
|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1-2 years | 56 | 35.4 | 35.4 |
| 3-4 years | 57 | 36.1 | 71.5 |
| 5 years or more | <u>45</u> | <u>28.5</u> | 100.0 |
| (Total) | 158 | 100.0 | |
| | (Missing cases = 30) | | |

Graph 16

What development topics are discussed in the bandlancane ?



u.66

Table 16a differs somewhat from earlier findings relating to activities resulting from training influence and types of projects for which chiefs had recently collected money, in that schools and education are only mentioned by 4.5% rather than by a plurality of respondents as in the previous questions. Moreover we see roads and transportation mentioned prominently for the first time. It may be that school matters are for some reason left to the ubiquitous school committees rather than discussed in bandlancanes meetings. However education was mentioned by 25% as a second answer and by 29% as a third answer to the topics question so it seems more likely that school matters were simply not thought of immediately, perhaps because much/most responsibility in this domain rests with school committees.

Regarding length of time development topics have been discussed, we see that 28.5% reported such topics had been discussed five years or longer, which means that a fairly substantial proportion of bandlancanes began to assume a development-related function prior to training. This may well be due to the influence of the Rural Development Areas program, begun in the mid-1960's, or to other GOS efforts extending at least to the 1950's, to influence local leaders to include development discussions in bandlancanes. In any case, project-sponsored training would seem to have had considerable impact because 71.5% of respondents reported development topics being discussed only during the four previous years, i.e., since training began.

Before leaving the topic, we asked if those bandlancanes in which development topics are discussed have done so "regularly, sometimes or rarely." Results were that 69.2% said "regularly," 27.7% said "sometimes" and 3.1% said "rarely." This can be taken as further evidence that development agendas have become quite well established in the influential chief's council.

Having given ample opportunity in earlier questions for respondents to mention chiefs (or other leaders) in connection with development without prompting or other influence from the question, we then asked outright what the responsibility of the chief is in developing his area. We see from Table 17a and Graph 17 that some three-quarters of respondents described an active role, using action verbs such as lead, motivate, instruct, encourage and raise funds. Only 2.7% described a passive role ("Allows or permits development") and 4.9% felt their chief did little or nothing related to development.

The same question was asked in the 1983/4 baseline, the summary results of which are shown in Table 17b.

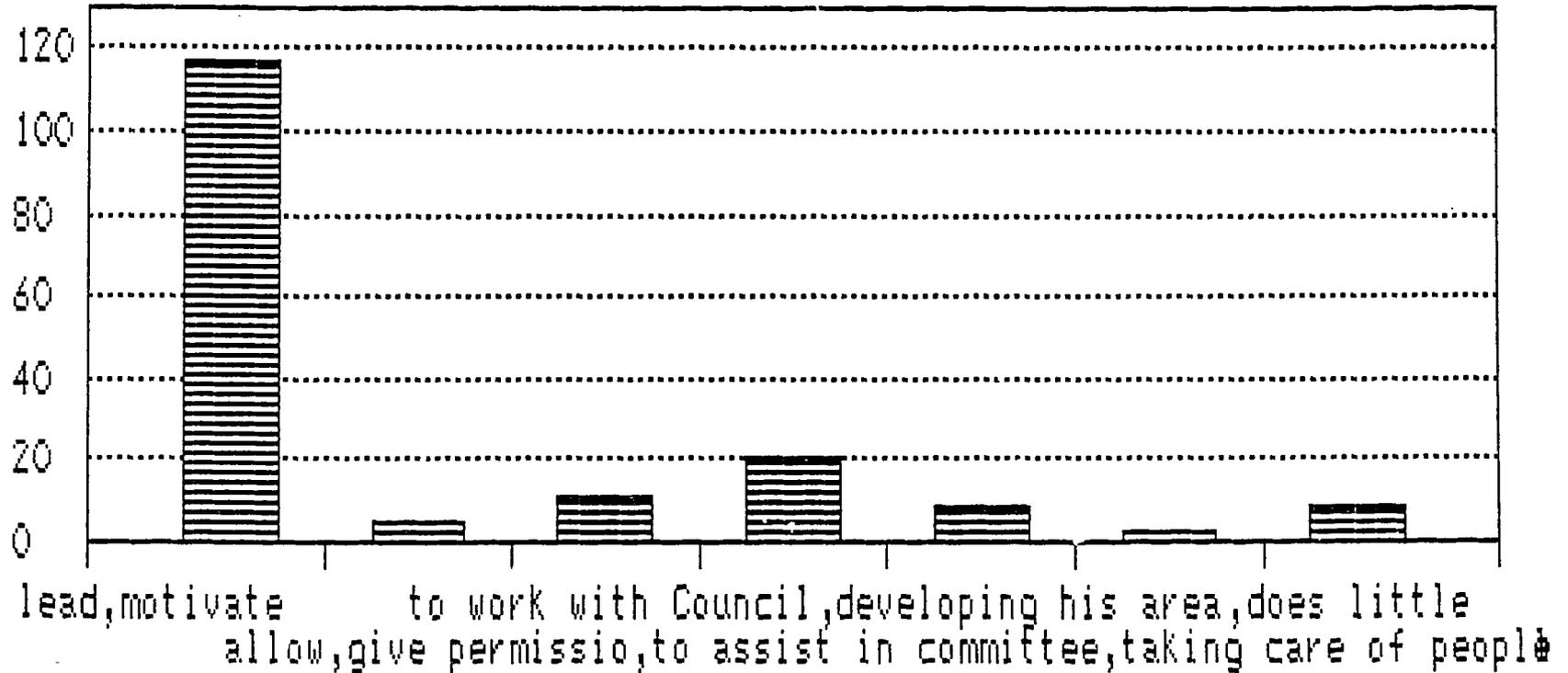
TABLE 17a

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHIEF IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT
(1989, 1st Response Only)

| <u>Responsibility</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|--|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Lead, motivate, instruct and encourage | 117 | 63.2 | 63.2 |
| Assist in committee formation and fund-raising | 21 | 11.4 | 74.6 |
| Work with his council in development matters | 11 | 5.9 | 80.5 |
| Chief does little or nothing | 9 | 4.9 | 85.4 |
| Developing his area, make area a showcase | 8 | 4.3 | 89.7 |
| Allow, permit development | 5 | 2.7 | 92.4 |
| Take care of his people | 3 | 1.6 | 94.0 |
| Misc. | <u>11</u> | <u>5.9</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (Total) | 185 | 100.0 | |
| (Missing cases = 3) | | | |

Graph 17

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



4/16

TABLE 17b

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHIEF IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT
(1984, Multiple Responses)

| <u>Responsibility</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Valid Percent</u> | <u>Cum.Percent</u> |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Calls meetings, works through council | 20 | 38 | 38 |
| Directs, supervises, gives final approval | 13 | 25 | 63 |
| Liaises or makes re-quests to government | 9 | 17 | 80 |
| Advises or coordinates development committees | 8 | 15 | 95 |
| Solves problems | 6 | 11 | 106 |
| Raises money or mobilizes labor | 6 | 11 | 117 |
| Identifies problems, sets plans and priorities | 5 | 9 | 126 |
| Coordinates extension worker activities | 4 | 8 | 134 |
| Has no such responsibilities | 4 | 8 | 142 |
| Encourages, motivates his people | 3 | 6 | 148 |
| Misc. | <u>8</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>163</u> |
| (Total) | 86 (from 53 chiefs) | 163 | 163 |

To quote from the 1984 baseline report comment to Table 17b,

From the responses, the chief seems to be a somewhat detached chief executive in most cases. He has final say in important matters but he does not concern himself directly with committee, or perhaps even council, matters. As suggested (by the community mobilization phase of the survey), tindvuna

(chiefs' deputies) tend to preside over councils more often, and generally to have more direct, "hands-on" involvement in local activities, including development. This is especially true of chiefs who are employed away from their areas. (paren. added).²³

In 1984 specific mention of action verbs such as "encourages, motivates" is relegated to the position of least frequent response (6% even allowing for multiple responses), whereas such responses were given by 63.2 % of 1989 respondents as a first response. It is true that in the 1984 responses, active-role descriptors such as "directs, supervises, mobilizes, raises money" are found in other answers--sometimes in a somewhat ambiguous response category that also includes a more passive description such as "gives final approval"--but the shift in 1989 toward expressing a clear, active responsibility for the chief in quite uniform language is still evident. As parallel evidence, there were no specific responses in 1989 relating to dependence on government assistance whereas 17% of 1984 responses were of this nature and another 8% described the chief's responsibility as "coordinating extension worker activity."

Statistical evidence for the association between some of the leadership variables discussed above and the number of development committees found in a chieftaincy is presented in the Analysis section immediately following.

II.8. ANALYSIS

Neither the data nor the methods of the study lend themselves to discovering easily any significant relationships between variables. For one thing impact information was sought at the community rather than individual level so that e.g., individual characteristics such as age, sex, and education level--even whether or not the respondent had undergone project-sponsored training--had little relevance to presumed dependent variables such as the number of local development committees or the leadership role of the local chief in development activities (this was both anticipated and confirmed in statistical analysis). Moreover standard tests of nominal bivariate association such as chi-square are strongly affected by sample size and cell size after cross-tabulation. Our sample size was of necessity comparatively small, and when there was skewing in frequency tabulations (e.g., 85% answered one way while the remaining 15% were spread throughout seven other answers), cell sizes after cross-tabulation were often too small to yield valid chi-square results. Thus Variable 8, whether or not the respondent

²³ Green 1984 op cit p. 40.

has become involved in a development activity as a result of a project-sponsored workshop, was a potentially significant dependent variable but virtually everyone who had attended a workshop answered yes to this, skewing the data in a way that makes tests of association difficult or impossible.

Related to the foregoing, while more detail in the form of response categories is desirable in presenting and interpreting frequency tabulations, reduction in response categories is desirable for statistical analysis in order to produce adequate cell values. Therefore several cross-tabulations were re-run using collapsed (reduced) response categories. Even this failed to yield many significant associations between our quantifiable impact indicators (number of development committees) and such potential independent variables as whether the chief is designated as the person with responsibility for local development ($p=.44$) or whether development topics are discussed in the chief's council ($p=.69$).²⁴

However one unambiguous leadership variable, i.e., whether or not the chief initiates or participates in development, was found to associate positively with the number of development committees in the chief's area. Results are shown in Table 18. There was also a significant, positive association between number of development committees and whether or not the chief is more active now than in the past four years ($p=.081$).

²⁴ Significance level (p) for the chi-square test is established at $<.10$.

TABLE 18

CROSS-TABULATION: NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES
BY WHETHER THE CHIEF INITIATES OR PARTICIPATES IN DEVELOPMENT

| <u>No. of Committees</u> | <u>Whether Chief Initiates, Participates</u> | | |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | |
| 1-8 | 34 (24%) | 15 (44%) | |
| 9-16 | 81 (58%) | 14 (41%) | |
| >16 | 24 (18%) | 5 (15%) | |
| Column Total | 139 80.3% | 34 19.7% | 173 100% |

Chi-square = 5.28 (D.F. = 2, p = .071)

As evident in the Table 19, an even stronger positive association was found with another, more action-related leadership variable, i.e., whether or not the chief has collected money for development.

TABLE 19

CROSS-TABULATION: NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES
BY WHETHER THE CHIEF HAS COLLECTED DEVELOPMENT FUNDS

| <u>No. of Committees</u> | <u>Whether Chief has Collected Funds</u> | | |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | |
| 1-8 | 39 (25%) | 15 (56%) | |
| 9-16 | 91 (58%) | 8 (30%) | |
| >16 | 26 (17%) | 4 (14%) | |
| Column Total | 156 85.2% | 27 14.8% | 183 100% |

Chi-square = 10.8 (D.F. = 2, p = .004)

Some of the presumed independent variables were found to be associated, as might be expected. For example the role of the chief in initiating development is associated with the role of the chief in raising development funds, as seen in Table 20. This simply confirms that a chief described as active in development is demonstrably active.

TABLE 20.

CROSS-TABULATION: WHETHER THE CHIEF INITIATES OR PARTICIPATES IN DEVELOPMENT BY WHETHER THE CHIEF RAISES MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

| <u>Whether chief has raised money</u> | <u>Whether Chief Initiates, Participates</u> | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | |
| yes | 124 (85%) | 13 (57%) | |
| no | 22 (15%) | 10 (43%) | |
| Column Total | 146 86.4% | 23 13.6% | 169 100% |

Chi-square = 8.68 (D.F. = 4, p = .003)

In a similar cross-tabulation, the chief's role in initiating development was found to be associated with how often development topics are discussed in the chief's council: regularly, sometimes or rarely (p= .019).

There were also some significant regional variations in responses, as seen in Tables 21 and 22. However it is difficult to reach conclusions from these. If we assume the variables cross-tabulated with region are significant development indicators, and if we compare row percentages to allow regional comparisons in the development indicator, Table 1 suggests that Hhohho is first in development while Lubombo is last. Yet Table 22 suggests that Lubombo is first while Hhohho ranks third. Cross-tabulation with a third development indicator, whether or not the chief has collected money for development, is also statistically significant (p=.047) and reinforces the findings from Table 22 insofar as Lubombo ranks first (93% "yes"), followed by Hhohho (90% "yes"), Shiselweni (85% "yes") and Manzini (73% "yes"). If there is significance in these somewhat contradictory findings it is that surveys from the early 1980's and earlier have shown that Hhohho tended to rank first in development indicators, whereas now the benefits from development efforts such as the SWAMPD project tend

to be spread equally around the country.²⁵ Such an interpretation is reinforced by our finding that there is no significant regional variation in the number of development committees present ($p=.42$). In addition to improved physical infrastructure, transportation, communication and mass media outreach, etc. that no doubt help account for development equity among the regions, the SWAMPD project has also made a deliberate effort to allocate project benefits (such as training-of-trainers inputs and responses to regional requests for development workshop funding) fairly and equally among the four regions.²⁶

TABLE 21

CROSS-TABULATION: WHETHER LEADER HAS BECOME INVOLVED
IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY AS A RESULT
OF WORKSHOP, BY REGION

| Region | Involvement in Workshop | | Row Total |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Hhohho | 53 (39%) (87%) | 8 (20%) (13%) | 61 34.5% |
| Manzini | 37 (27%) (73%) | 14 (34%) (27%) | 51 28.8% |
| Shiselweni | 30 (22%) (77%) | 9 (22%) (23%) | 39 22.0% |
| Lubombo | 16 (12%) (61%) | 10 (24%) (39%) | 26 14.7% |
| Column Total | 136 76.8% | 41 23.2% | 177 100% |

Chi-square = 7.40 (D.F. = 3, $p = .060$)

²⁵ e.g., Green, E. 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; de Vletter, F. et al., The Swazi Rural Homestead, Social Sciences Research Unit, Kwaluseni: Univ. of Swaziland, July 1983.

²⁶ Muffett, L. personal communication, Aug. 1989.

TABLE 22

CROSS-TABULATION: WHETHER THE CHIEF INITIATES OR PARTICIPATES IN DEVELOPMENT, BY REGION

| <u>Region</u> | <u>Whether Chief Initiates, Participates</u> | | <u>Row</u> |
|-----------------|--|-------------------|--------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Total</u> |
| Hhohho | 49 (36%) (82%) | 11 (33%) (18%) | 60 35.3% |
| Manzini | 32 (23%) (65%) | 17 (52%) (35%) | 49 28.8% |
| Shiselweni | 28 (20%) (88%) | 4 (12%) (13%) | 32 18.8% |
| Lubombo | 28 (20%) (97%) | 1 (3%) (3%) | 29 17.1% |
| Column Total | 137 80.6% | 33 19.4% | 170 100% |

Chi-square = 13.06 (D.F. = 3, p = .005)

PART III: OTHER TRAINING IMPACT

III.1. Overview

There have been other indirect but potentially significant effects of local leader (LL) training. At a 1988 workshop in Shiselweni chiefs expressed the view that their influence has diminished in recent years (see Sect. V.3, The changing role of chiefs). The workshop discussion led to a group of chiefs requesting and actually holding a meeting with the king to discuss their role in modern Swaziland. This meeting occurred in late 1988.

A related effect has been to foster a spirit of cooperativeness among chiefs. Local leaders themselves have identified disputes among chiefs as a significant constraint to development, both in the present survey and during a March 1989 workshop at Bhunya Hall. Disputes might occur over who is the rightful chief of an area or over land and chieftaincy boundaries. In two areas selected for interviewing in the survey, the chieftaincy was in dispute, one result of which was that little development had occurred recently, according to community spokesmen. Another was that there appeared to be no one who had attended a workshop recently (in any case local leaders discouraged interviewing in these areas, perhaps fearing what leaders of rival factions might report). Failure to interview in these areas biased our sample slightly in favor of areas with more development activities, as measured e.g., by the number of development committees. The Times of Swaziland reported events in one of the selected areas (Logoba), noting that a rural water project could not get off the ground because one disputed chief forbade people of the area to dig trenches for piping since the project had been the idea of the other disputed chief.

Community Development (CD) officials and chiefs themselves have found that the workshops have a unifying effect, presumably because chiefs (and other leaders) discuss common problems and consider common solutions--solutions that sometimes require cooperation between more than one chief and his subjects. For example by the second SWAMPD-sponsored chiefs workshop in Lubombo region, the chiefs declared that they now wanted to be united and to develop the region by working in concert. They requested establishment of a community development training center specifically for chiefs which would be located in Siteki, and they expressed willingness to contribute money toward its construction. The chiefs also declared they want to meet more often. Furthermore they formed a regional chiefs committee, apparently the first such organization in Swaziland. First on the committee's agenda is to develop and improve lowveld life by introducing irrigation to Swazi Nation Land

on a large scale. They have asked Community Development (CD) to search government files for a lowveld irrigation feasibility study. The chiefs are said to be willing to sell cattle and raise cash by other means in order to finance large scale irrigation. They would like to grow maize in the lowveld, including winter maize, which is thought to be possible through irrigation. All of the foregoing developed during the course of three LL workshops.

A number of ministries and PVOs are beginning to recognize the value of having a direct channel of communication to the chiefs through LL workshops. The private sector is just starting to recognize this as well. One bank president recently contacted a Regional CD Officer to ask if he could address chiefs of the region about his bank's loan policy. This was apparently inspired by an increase in loan applications from rural people.

Another more general and even harder-to-measure impact of local leader training has been to develop closer links between traditional leaders, the government of Swaziland (GOS), the donor community and--very preliminarily--the private sector, bringing local leaders into greater participation in national development (through leaders' local and perhaps regional efforts). This should help broaden the sharing of development benefits beyond the modern/educated/urban sector and help avoid the all-too-common situation in Africa in which development efforts, however well-intentioned--exacerbate existing rich/poor differences in wealth and opportunities.

It may be noted that the workshops provide the GOS with a forum for defining what it believes to be appropriate roles for local leaders, not only in development matters but in local administration generally. Workshop impact related to leaders' development responsibilities has been discussed in earlier sections. Although it falls outside the scope of the present evaluation, it is probable that discussion of GOS expectations of how local leaders exercise their responsibilities in local government also has an effect on behavior because workshop participants seem particularly interested in this topic, as evidenced by the comments and group discussion that usually accompany the topic.

PART IV: TRAINING ISSUES

IV.1. The Curriculum of Workshops

The SWAMDP Mid-Term Evaluation raised the question of whether the training curriculum should become more narrowly focused in the future. Up to the current evaluation, the curriculum has been very broad, covering topics ranging from the philosophy of self-reliance to the need for infrastructure development, from hog raising to

family planning. As noted above, a 1986 survey of local leaders conducted by SWAMDP indicated an overwhelming preference for agricultural topics in the workshops. The community development section nevertheless chose to balance stated participant wishes with what development experts feel would be valuable information for local leaders, and the result has been the broad range of development topics that is currently presented at LL workshops. Survey evidence suggests that this has been a sound approach, since only a minority of participants mentioned agricultural topics as being among the most important things learned at a workshop and since a variety of non-agricultural issues were identified as primary constraints to development (see Section II). Moreover the evaluation survey shows that training has impacted even more in areas such as education, water systems and health than in agriculture.

It may also be noted that community development officers and assistants uniformly believe that development itself is a broad process and therefore a broad range of topics should continue to be presented to local leaders. In other words, Community Development has a philosophy of development and an approach to development training consistent with its ideology. Moreover whatever the reasoning of CD personnel or SWAMDP advisors, the workshops have become a popular vehicle for a variety of GOS ministries and private voluntary organizations through which to present their various development-related topics to rural leaders--and thereby to help achieve their broader objectives. Thus continuation of a broad-based curriculum seems inevitable as well as desirable.

It should not be assumed that training curriculum is the same for all categories of leaders. In fact, there is tailoring of subject matter to the particular participant group. For example topics for development committee members include how to organize a committee, record keeping, business management, preparing a constitution, the roles and duties of committee members, how to generate income, the role of the CD section, and the importance of communication skills and literacy. Chiefs on the other hand learn about the importance of self-reliant development and the need to coordinate development activities through the bandlanane or through a central coordinating committee under the chief. They are also taught leadership skills.

Further on the subject of curriculum, it is probable that traditional leaders would seldom if ever mention a topic such as family planning as high on their priority list of development concerns, yet there is direct and indirect evidence that family planning--which might be assumed to be unpopular with traditional Swazis--was in fact well received. Several leaders interviewed listed family planning or AIDS education (topics both presented by the Family Life Association of Swaziland-FLAS) as the single most useful information conveyed at a workshop they attended. In fact

a majority of respondents mentioned health in answer to the same question ("What did you find most useful...?") and it is probable that the topics of child spacing and AIDS would not be separated from topics such as malaria prevention and infant nutrition in the minds of traditional Swazis. Thus responses relating to FLAS topics are probably "buried" in answers that pertain to the broad category of health. (While on the subject of FLAS, both CD officers who run workshops and CD assistants who are in a position to get post-workshop feedback have commented that FLAS speakers are particularly effective, they know their subject matter well, they answer questions well, they behave in a culturally appropriate way--and they provide a very good film at night after the workshop day sessions.) This foregoing is mentioned as an example of how a "minority" development topic (one that would seldom be chosen by participants themselves) can be well-received and found useful by local leaders.

IV.2. Choice of Participants

Another question was raised by the Mid-Term Evaluation: which category of local leader seems to benefit most from training? Or--implicitly--which type of local leader should be trained in order to yield the most development impact for the resources invested by CD and USAID? This was not a question that could be easily answered by the survey of local leaders, given its scope and methods. However an informal survey of CD officers and

assistants, the Principal CD Officer, a Regional Administrator and others with interest in the project suggests that all categories of local leaders presently being trained are important to train. Reasons offered include the following. Chiefs must first of all allow development in their areas; and they can greatly assist the process if they take a more active role (as the survey shows they are in fact doing) by leading and motivating their subjects, as well as coordinating development activities.

As a matter of fact, whatever donors or planners think about including chiefs, chiefs themselves are likely to insist upon continued participation in workshops. Lubombo chiefs reproached "government" for holding development-related workshops for virtually every category of Swazi before remembering the chiefs; but they were glad to be included finally (recall that workshops for chiefs had been held prior to SWAMDP, but they were few and far between). The Principal CD Officer and others more closely involved with training have even suggested that many chiefs would complain directly to the king if workshops--or chiefs' participation in them--were to cease.

It is also demonstrable that chiefs venture and accomplish little

without their council (bandlanecane), moreover council members can play an essential coordinating role in development activities, therefore this group seems important to include. Chiefs' deputies (tindvuna) stand in for chiefs in many instances, from local administration and settling disputes to actually attending development workshops. Tindvuna also tend to be on the chiefs council and they may overlap with still other categories of trainees by serving in more than one capacity. Far below chiefs in status are the chairmen, secretaries and various committees; however their training, animation and encouragement are very important if development activities within their sphere are to occur. Similar arguments can be made for the continued inclusion of bucopho, tindvuna of local inkhundlas (see Sects. V.6. & V.6.a.), and other types of local leaders.

When CD and other development specialists were pressed to prioritize training groups, there was some consensus that chiefs and their council members (which usually include chiefs' deputies) were the most important to train, followed by officers of various development committees. A few made arguments for leaders associated with local inkhundlas. Perhaps the only type of leader no one made a specific case for were imisumphe (those with deep genealogical roots in the community who are involved in resettlement issues). But it should be remembered that most of those consulted argued for continuing to include all types of local leaders presently being trained in order to influence leadership at all levels, leadership characterized by complex interrelationships and inter-dependencies. CD believes this approach results in maximum development impact, and evidence from the evaluation survey would seem to support this.

IV.3. The changing Role of Chiefs

Judging by training experience, qualitative research and comments made during the present survey, many chiefs have come to feel left out and left behind in recent years, particularly in regard to the development/modernization process. They see new elites such as civil servants wielding political power. They feel their subjects have lost respect for them (this has been publicly stated at workshops). One indvuna of an Inkhundla told us that cabinet ministers never visit the Inkhundla, which local chiefs take as a sign of disrespect. This makes chiefs want to "sabotage" the inkhundla system.

It may be noted that chiefs often go to a great deal of trouble and expense procuring magical medicines alleged to make them more powerful and respected. Yet there seems now to be growing awareness among chiefs that respect and power can be achieved through taking a leadership role in development--through establishing schools, piped water systems, income generating projects and the like in their areas.

Does the GOS really want chiefs to play a role in local or national-level development? This of course is a very sensitive discussion topic but the best answer seems to be that the GOS does want chiefs to develop their areas, that is, to take responsibility for development at the local level. However some GOS officials may be somewhat apprehensive about chiefs becoming involved in national politics. They may also fear the rising expectations of chiefs--which may well be one of the results of LL workshops--expectations that might take the form of chiefs demanding services from the government ministries or exercising more political power at a national level.

There is in fact direct evidence that chiefs are trying to become more active in national affairs, and LL workshops appear to be at least a vehicle for this. For example at a recent (May 15-19, 1989) Hhohho chiefs workshop, the chiefs began to flex their political muscle by calling for the reform of the Parliamentary elections system. Both the Times of Swaziland and the Observer gave prominent coverage to the story during the entire week of the workshop, and even beyond. The Times of 5/16 noted, "This is the first time that the powerful block of traditional leaders has entered the debate for reform of the elections system, until now confined to the House of Parliament and the press." It further noted that some 40 chiefs attended the workshop and that "The chiefs said they want to elect members of Parliament themselves directly on election day."²⁷

A number of other issues arose at the Hhohho workshop. Chiefs expressed great frustration with the Tinkhundla system, complaining that only a small fraction of their resolutions and requests (1 out of 18, according to the Times of 5/15) were forwarded to Parliament by the national Tinkhundla office. A Regional CD Officer made a corroborative comment to the author and there is other evidence supporting the chiefs on this. In any case the controversies raised in the Hhohho workshop delighted the newspapers and provoked a spate of letters to editors. A number of issues raised at the workshop were expected to be resolved by the Indvuna yeTinkhundla on the workshop's closing day, but instead he sent his deputy, Prince Puhlaphi, who, as reported in the press, "lashed straying chiefs" for involving themselves in politics and departing from the development agenda of the seminar. "The Prince said by discussing the elections system, the chiefs had dabbled in politics and were out of order" (and he warned that donors might stop supporting workshops).²⁸

²⁷ Times of Swaziland, 5/16/89

²⁸ Times of Swaziland, 5/20/89

It should be noted that the press exaggerated events at the workshop somewhat, and inflamed the situation by using words like "lashed" in headlines. Still, tensions related to power rivalry between the modern government (Prime Minister, Cabinet, Parliament) and traditional government (chiefs, National Council, the presently defunct Liqoqo, etc.) became evident at this workshop.

There is further indirect evidence that the GOS (referring to modern governmental institutions and personnel) is somewhat apprehensive about the prospect of further empowerment (or re-empowerment) of chiefs. There were unexplained cancellations of workshops for chiefs in the mid-1980's that the Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health tried to organize; and at least one other organizing group had the same experience. SWAMDP also planned to sponsor a chiefs' tour of successful development projects in Botswana in late 1987. To date this has not received royal approval, in spite of enthusiasm on the part of chiefs and the Tinkhundla.

The apparent nervousness on the part of some in the GOS is doubtless unavoidable, as with any shift in balance of political power. The fact that chiefs' workshops have not been cancelled since the start of the SWAMDP project can be taken as evidence that the GOS has perhaps become less apprehensive about what some officials may have viewed as the Pandora's box of training local leaders. However the potential for conflict remains, as evidenced by the events of the recent Hhohho workshop.

One aspect of the inkhundla system is that it serves the interests of the GOS by filtering communication to and from chiefs through a branch of government. In theory, chiefs channel their requests and recommendations to the GOS through the inkhundla system; likewise no one communicates directly with the chiefs without going through the inkhundla. In this regard at least, the inkhundla system can be seen as a check on the power of chiefs. Nevertheless chiefs can and do circumvent government officials and go directly to the king with their complaints and suggestions--and the king's word is law. And some chiefs, evidently as a result of LL workshops, are circumventing the Tinkhundla quasi-ministry and directly contacting ministry officials encountered in workshops, from whom they seek assistance in local development activities.

Confounding the foregoing discussion somewhat is the fact that the distinction between the modern and traditional government is not clear-cut. Chiefs and princes serving as chiefs may also serve as cabinet, sub-cabinet or parliament members--not to mention as prime ministers. Its also the case that civil servants come and go while chiefs' tenure (as chiefs) is for life. Whatever the power of the modern government, chiefs are the backbone of Swaziland's monarchy; in fact they are regarded as the bobabe (fathers) of the king.

It is also not always clear where the Tinkhundla quasi-ministry

falls with regard to the traditional/modern distinction. At a meeting for all Swaziland's tindvuna teTinkhundla on 5/12/89, great frustration with the GOS was expressed, as reported on the front pages of both the Times of Swaziland and the Observer the following day. The Indvuna yeTinkhundla referred to "high government officials and parliamentarians" who wanted the Tinkhundla system abolished, and he accused the Prime Minister of frustrating the Tinkhundla system. (One of the reasons the Tinkhundla office is a quasi-ministry is that the Indvuna of the Tinkhundla is not considered a minister but instead reports directly to the Prime Minister.) Members of Parliament were said not even to understand how the system worked, according to the Observer. The various tindvuna teTinkhundla also complained, not only about the above, but about GOS "sitting on resolutions" and requests that come up through the Tinkhundla system. The Prime Minister was specifically accused of not taking requests to parliament. After airing their frustrations, Tinkhundla deputy Prince Mbilini and others vowed to take their grievances directly to the king, whom, they noted, has endorsed the Tinkhundla system on several recent occasions including his 21st birthday celebration.

IV.4. Note on Women In Development:

SWAMPD's support of local leader workshops appears to contribute to women in development (WID), quite apart from the assistance that the Home Economics Unit/ Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives has been provided under the SWAMPD "traditional sector" sub-component which has focused specifically on women's self-help (Zenzele) organizations. There is cooperation between CD/Tinkhundla and Home Economics/MOAC insofar as one of the four areas of CD concentration is a WID project. Specifically, CD motivates Zenzele women to build a "workshop" or meeting place. It also trains these women in marketing their products and in other business aspects of Zenzele activities. Furthermore Peoples Participation Project (PPP), another of CD's four areas of focus, takes the form of income-generating projects such as pig raising that are aimed primarily at women--in any case it is women who primarily participate. It may be noted that a small portion of SWAMPD's local leader (as distinct from Zenzele) training funds have gone to WID and PPP workshops, as a natural extension of SWAMPD's assistance to CD.

As noted above, part of the local leader workshop training curriculum relates to the formation of development committees. Some of the committees spawned by these workshops, such as blockmoulding or market construction, might have exclusively female membership. Others such as chairmaking have mixed gender membership, while still others tend to be male dominated or exclusively male. One CD officer commented that the more women constitute committee membership, the more active and effective the

committee. In fact there is a widely-held belief that goes beyond CD that women are generally more active than men in development. Prince Mbilini, speaking at a recent local leader workshop, observed that Swazi men tend to "...drag their feet when it comes to work. It has now become obvious that development is the duty of women."

It has also been observed that women are especially keen to become involved in income generation and entrepreneurship. The predominance of women in income-generating activities is especially interesting because individual women cannot take out bank loans; they are considered legal minors and non-taxpayers in Swaziland. (However women in groups can put up collateral and take out bank loans, as they are taught in LL workshops.)

Why are women active in development? Reasons include the fact that women constitute a de facto numerical majority in rural areas therefore they might predominate in any rural groups. Ambitious, industrious men tend to be absent working in the industrial areas of Swaziland or in the South African mines; adult men who remain in rural areas are sometimes characterized as old, lazy or excessively fond of alcohol. A number of other psychological or sociological reasons have been offered by Swazis involved in development. Women are said to be "keen and receptive," especially when it comes to receiving training; they are "more likely to take risks" and to try new things. It was further speculated that when rural Swazi men think of development or income generation, they think in terms of activities with which they are already familiar such as maize growing and cattle raising. Therefore men's ideas about development tend to be along the lines of mechanizing their farming, irrigating their fields and improving their livestock. Women, on the other hand, are willing to venture into non-traditional activities such as fish farming, hog raising or a variety of nonagricultural endeavors. It has also been said that Swazi women don't think only of themselves; they must be concerned with feeding their whole family. Men may earn money but their savings will go into paying Lobola (bride price) or buying a tractor.

Corroborative comments can be found in a recent comprehensive study of Swazi women by Dr. Thoko Ginindza, e.g., "Swazi women are known to have been more receptive to forces of social change," and "In community development projects, more women participate than men."²⁹ In addition to historical and anecdotal justification for these observations, reasons such as "women are eager to improve their quality of life and that of their children..." are offered. Still, all such generalizations about the character of Swazi women await

²⁹ Ginindza, Thoko. Swazi Women: Socio-cultural and Economic Considerations, March-May 1989, pp 8-9. Mbabane: USAID, 1989.

confirmation through empirical research.

PART V: LINKS BETWEEN SWAZI CULTURE, LOCAL LEADERS LEADERSHIP
TRAINING AND PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

V.1. The Mutual Relevance of Company and Community

This appears to be an area that has not been previously researched, in spite of a number of recent, useful studies and assessments of Swaziland's private sector. We have found that there are complex links between large, rural or semi-rural based companies and local communities including their traditional leaders. Moreover, such companies' productivity depends to some extent on maintaining good relationships with local leaders.

Examples:

-chiefs may assist companies in recruiting seasonal or permanent workers for the company;

-chiefs/tindvuna can do much to mitigate problems that have plagued companies such as destruction or theft of fencing, theft or vandalism of other company property, poaching game on company property, forest fires, cattle rustling, and excessive time off to attend traditional ceremonies or perform traditional duties.

For their part, local communities and local leaders may benefit greatly from the presence of private companies for reasons other than job opportunities.

Examples:

-Companies often provide amenities that benefit not only employees but surrounding communities as well, e.g., clinic services (curative and preventive), literacy education, primary and secondary schools, or electricity. Companies may also maintain local roads as well as contribute cash, materials, technical advice or equipment for building schools, clinics, piped water systems, etc. in communities bordering companies.

-Companies not only comply with government's request to allow employees time off for national/royal duties, but they often provide free transportation to such events as well as a cash stipend and/or food provisions. Some companies go beyond the 1984 National Council Circular (see below) and allow time off for tribute labor duties to employees' chiefs.

We found communication between local leaders and area companies tended to be rather poor. There was insufficient awareness on both sides of the nature of company/community mutual interdependence. Local leaders in particular were unaware--or took for granted if they were aware--of the benefits that flow from companies in their areas. It should also be noted that there may be "negative benefits" from both sides. For example, one indvuna of a local inkhundla has recently been asked by the chiefs of his inkhundla to investigate the degree to which company workers have attenuated their links to their chiefs and have lost their Swazi traditions. The area chiefs were upset over what they feared might be the de-Swazification of their subjects working in the private sector. They complained that not enough people respond nowadays to chiefs' calls for tribute labor--or when people show up, they come dressed like city dwellers and don't carry their shields and spears. The indvuna is supposed to discuss this matter with each area chief and then with the management of the companies in the area.

For their part, company management often complained that local leaders tend to regard a large company as an endless source of donations while not appreciating the company's need to show a profit, to be responsible to its shareholders, or to take care of the food, housing, health, recreational and other needs of thousands of employees and their families.³⁰

Still, local leaders and company management alike felt that problem areas can be mitigated through better communication and mutual efforts toward resolution. Both believed that LL workshops (which leaders and managers tended to be aware of even if they had not participated in them) would be an appropriate place for such communication.

V.2. Swazi Culture and Large Companies

The fear of some chiefs notwithstanding, we were impressed at the extent to which Swazi traditions and customs are maintained among employees of large rural companies. We were also intrigued at the extent to which the social organization of Swazi Nation Land is

³⁰ The list of responsibilities to employees not related directly to productivity that large companies tend to shoulder is a long one, from providing meals to sponsoring sports teams and sibhaca dancers. Some employees and managers find such a system paternalistic and dependency-fostering, yet when one large timber company recently proposed dropping some of these practices and doubling wages instead, employees are reported to have protested and insisted on continuance of amenities in favor of a wage increase.

replicated in the (partial) organization of at least the large, rural-based companies, as the following diagram which highlights positions that parallel or relate to the traditional sector attempts to show:

GENERAL MANAGER (Considered an honorary or de facto CHIEF)

MANAGEMENT

NDABAZABANTU (& HIS LIBANDLA)
[King's liaison officer & council]

BUCOPHO [Company's delegate to the local Inkhundla; equivalent to a chief's delegate]



As indicated, general managers of larger companies are regarded as chiefs in rural areas, by the GOS as well as by local Swazis. A royally-appointed ndabazabantu advises company management on matters pertaining to Swazi customs and traditional law, helping ensure that these and company policy do not conflict (this term is also used to designate the heads of national courts). The ndabazabantu may have a libandla (council) consisting of management personnel to help him in these matters as well as in liaising with area traditional leaders and settling conflicts among employees, especially those that arise during off-duty hours.

Employees often live in company villages, each of which may have an indvuna and an indvuna's council. Disputes are settled by the indvuna-in-council and appeals may be taken to the ndabazabantu-in-council, or to the General Manager/Honorary Chief if the matter cannot be resolved. This replicates the adjudication system on Swazi Nation Land.

One of the duties of the ndabazabantu appears to be ensuring that Swazi employees continue to carry out traditional royal/national duties such as attending the Incwala ceremony and weeding the king's fields, and that their daughters attend the Reed Dance. Companies typically send groups of employees--rather than all employees--to represent the entire company at such functions. Such groups need to be rotated annually in order that everyone have a chance to participate.

A large rural company is regarded as equivalent to a chieftaincy in some respects. For example the GM/Chief appoints one or more delegates (bucopho) to represent company interests at the local Inkhundla (Inkhundla centers are often built with assistance from local companies). GMs themselves may attend special Inkhundla meetings for chiefs.

In sum, there appears to be considerable cultural continuity between Swazi Nation Land and at least larger rural companies. This has not developed accidentally. King Sobhuza II appointed ndabazabantus to all large companies both before and after Independence precisely to ensure workers' participation in Swazi traditions, and to prevent a generation of workers' children growing up on company grounds stripped of Swazi culture. Companies such as Swazi Irrigated Schemes that do much to accommodate Swazi traditions and customs appear to function as useful transitional institutions between the traditional homestead and the Matsapha factory assembly line.

King Sobhuza II's social experiment with ndabazabantus--and indeed the Inkhundla system--can be seen as a deliberate attempt to ease the stress of rapid culture change, as well as to preserve a conservative sociopolitical system.³¹ The monarchy depends on continued allegiance to chief and king, expressed through such actions as tribute labor and participation with ones' regiment at Incwala, whether or not subjects are employed.

In fact the first ndabazabantu was appointed during the pre-independence period of "self-rule" and his job was liaison between the Swazi National Council (Libandla) and the apparatus of government borrowed from the British, according to a former District Commissioner interviewed. Presumably this ndabazabantu tried to ensure that Swazis working in the Cabinet and Parliament did not forget their traditions or customs or their loyalty to the monarchical system.

Additional research is needed to determine the extent to which

³¹ The persistence of a monarchical system of government, based as it is on a powerful ideology of allegiance and loyalty to hereditary rulers, may seem anachronistic in today's world, but Swazis like to point out that their country has enjoyed peace, stability and relative prosperity on a continent characterized by coups and civil wars.

The apparently effective "social engineering" on the part of the late king--considering the perseverance of the monarchy--may have been informed by the anthropological journals to which the king subscribed beginning in the 1930's, due to the influence of anthropologist Hilda Kuper.

small and medium-sized businesses, or those based in towns, conform to the pattern described. The indvuna of the Big Bend inkhundla expressed the view that in any business with more than 100 employees, the GM is considered a chief and the company should send a delegate to the Inkhundla. And so it is for that Inkhundla: there are nine chiefs, four traditional ones plus the general managers of Ubumbo Ranches, Matata Stores, Crooks Plantation, Big Bend Sugar Estates and Cargo Carriers. An interview with the indvuna of the Lavumisa Inkhundla showed that some small businesses in Lavumisa neither participate in the inkhundla nor release employees to take part in national duties. However, small/medium commercial farmers in the area were said to have contributed to the building of the Inkhundla center, and one white farmer in the area has pledged allegiance (khonta-ed) to the local chief and now attends Inkhundla meetings. A tentative conclusion is that community relations--that is, company relations with local leaders and others on Swazi Nation Land--are far more important for rural-based companies than for those based in towns or industrial estates. An interview at National Textiles suggests that companies based at Matsapha industrial estate are somewhat insulated from Swazi Nation Land, and that relations with local leaders and surrounding communities is minimal.

While size of a business may be a factor, the rural/urban factor seems to be more of a determinant of the degree to which (Swazi Nation) community relations are important or even relevant to a business. Another partially determining factor might be whether a business deals with manufacturing or raw materials. However, all this is little more than speculation; further research is warranted.

V.3. The Importance of Company/Community Relations

We found that company/community relations vary in quality. When they are described as good, company productivity appears to go up (there is less absenteeism, less property loss, etc.)--and local people also benefit because the company is better able and more inclined to make donations to community projects or to contribute to area infrastructure. It appears to be a win/win situation. Conversely its a lose/lose situation when relations are poor. Several businesses could point to periods in recent company history when little more than regular meetings with local chiefs to discuss issues of mutual concern led to benefits on both sides. In one company such meetings were discontinued by a new expatriate manager, soon after which old problems returned such as cattle wandering onto company property.

We further found that in all cases, community relations could be improved--according to both company and community spokesmen--and in all cases both companies and local leaders were interested in the prospect that local leader workshops could have at least some

private sector emphasis. Interviewees suggested this could take the form of company representatives addressing local leaders on topics of mutual concern, or local leaders making site visits to companies to get a better idea of what a company does, how irrigation works, the importance of preventing forest fires, etc. Company management, community development officers and local leaders alike saw real prospects for workshops that have a private sector component providing mutually beneficial results for companies, communities and local leaders alike.

V.4. Proposed Topics for Local Leaders Workshops with Private Sector Emphasis

Company spokesmen usually found no difficulty in proposing topics they would like to discuss at a leader workshop. To paraphrase some of their comments:

-We would like to tell neighboring traditional leaders what we're all about, that we're here to make a profit and not to dole out things like a charitable institution;

-We'd like to discuss how the company and the local community can help one another by communicating better and more regularly through their local leaders;

-We'd like to understand better the role of the Inkhundla, especially how the company should contribute or participate. This is something that's never been clear.

Other proposed topics include how to cooperate in ensuring protection of company property by avoiding forest fires, keeping cattle from straying on company land, and cracking down on theft; the issue of time off for traditional duties; the extent to which companies are financially able to contribute to community projects and what constraining factors might be. Regarding the last, a major constraining factor is that a large rural company like Ubombo Ranches might spend E10 million annually to provide housing, health care, education, food, sports teams, and the like for their own employees and their families.

One general manager feels that the position (and tacit GOS recognition) of GMs as honorary or nominal chiefs should be better defined. He complained that he is regarded as a chief when it suits certain people, e.g. when he is invited to the local Inkhundla to contribute money--but he is not a chief on other occasions when it might benefit himself. He pointed out that if a GM is an expatriate, it does not seem right that he be expected to appoint Inkhundla delegates (bucopho) who then participate in the political activities and administration of the nation, "especially if the GM

is fighting for his resident permit!" The GM is also regarded as a chief by the GOS when it asks area chiefs to collect funds for something like disaster relief. Examples were given of company employees being asked to contribute twice to Cyclone Demoina relief, because their traditional chief requested donations after they had already contributed through the honorary chief/GM. In sum, the position of the GM-as-chief needs clarification, after which his role could be discussed at workshops for local leaders.

On the local community side, some leaders wished to discuss job preference for those living close to the company, especially for the families of those whose homesteads were displaced by the establishment of the company. Other suggestions for discussion ranged from the possible eroding of employee allegiance to his chief to companies being asked to consult with local leaders before disposing of anything which might be put to local use. Some leaders associated with Tinkhundla wanted to discuss company participation in the Inkhundla as well as possible roles for themselves in job recruiting, both of which topics were also identified by company managers as useful.

It should be noted that ndabazabantus (the king's liaison officers in large companies) themselves are interested in participating in development workshops involving local leaders and the private sector. They feel they are in a unique position to liaise and mediate between local leaders and companies, yet they are often frustrated in their efforts to do so. Ndabazabantus are in fact uncertain about their role and specific job responsibilities--indeed we found ndabazabantus performing quite different functions from company to company. Most liaise with area chiefs (and perhaps the royal family) and ensure participation in national events and the discharge of royal duties on the part of employees but beyond that, ndabazabantus may supervise workers quarters, they may bring employee grievances to management (a role management might discourage), they may function as a kind of social welfare officer, they may advise on keeping company policy compatible with Swazi law and customs, and may perform a variety of other roles. They might also do very little if they find themselves caught between active conflicting interests of management, labor, and area chiefs, as we found in at least one company.

One topic that would be most useful for ndabazabantus as well as local leaders and company management would be discussion of a 1984 circular from the Swazi National Council. It spells out in detail SNC's policy regarding employee time off for national duties, requesting employee participation but leaving it up to management to determine what fair representation of each company should be at national events. The SNC recognizes that there must be a balance between company and royal/national interests here because it is not the intention of the GOS that Swaziland's economy suffer because employees perform traditional obligations. The circular also mentions that company management should "encourage an employee to

take time off at least once a year to see his chief" but does not specify anything about paid leave for this. We found that some companies are unaware of this circular, not to mention some ndabazabantus who were caught up in disputes involving chiefs who have fined employed subjects for not paying labor tribute to their chief--even though the SNC does not require companies to release workers for such duties.

The future of ndabazabantus is unclear. Incumbents were all appointed during the reign of King Sobhuza, and many are advanced in years. A few companies have vacant positions, their ndabazabantus having died and there having been no new appointments. It has been pointed out that the progressive localization of management positions in the private sector (no less than in the public sector) may have diminished the need for a specialist in Swazi customs and traditions, since a Swazi manager can presumably advise the company on such matters. However, some company and community spokesmen expect that King Mswati III will appoint new ndabazabantus since he has stated publicly that he will continue the policies and practices of his father. One senior Ministry of Labor officer interviewed said, "The future of ndabazabantus is uncertain because of their exclusion from the Industrial Relations Act, but I feel strongly there is a need for them, especially in big companies."

In any case, suggestions were advanced regarding ways to make ndabazabantus more effective. One would be to have their salaries drawn from the Swazi National Council, rather than from companies (even if salaries are donated by companies), so that they can be more objective and less manipulable by management. Another is that they receive some guidance and in-service training in order to better define their job responsibilities, and in order that they learn from each others' experiences and know where they can turn for advice outside of the companies where they work.

V.5. Possible Influence of Workshops to date on the Private Sector

There appears to be some very preliminary evidence of local leader workshop influence on some chiefs in areas where community relations are said to have recently improved. For example at Swaziland Irrigated Schemes the (Swazi) management told us that area chiefs seem to have recently come to understand what development is all about, including the role of the private sector--and they speculated this might be the result of "these development workshops for chiefs." Corroborative statements were offered at neighboring Mlhume Sugar Estates by members of the Head Indvuna's council: "The chiefs around here realize that sugar cane is money" and they can now appreciate the value of having the company as a neighbor... "Chiefs are now meeting us halfway."

There is also the evidence cited above of a bank official noting a recent increase in loan applications from rural people, leading to the official requesting an opportunity to address Lubombo chiefs at a LL workshop. Any influence of SWAMP training on the private sector has been largely serendipitous and inadvertent, as well as indirect.³² Impact could of course be much greater if LL workshops were to have some deliberate private sector emphasis in the future.

V.6. The Role of the Tinkhundla

Any discussion of the Tinkhundla system (begun in the 1940's, re-defined by legislation in 1978) must begin with the acknowledgement that the system is relatively new and complex, that it is multi-functional and that it is still evolving and therefore difficult to define or describe accurately. One of its functions relates to decentralized development.³³ In its simple and ideal form, a chief-in-council (i.e., chief in consultation with other leaders in his chiefdom) identifies development needs at the local level. Proposals are discussed among small groups of chiefs or buchopo at the local Inkhundla, and are then proposed to the regional assembly. There is one regional assembly per district, comprised of regional councillors (who serve as the electoral college for choosing members of Parliament) and headed by a Regional Secretary and ultimately by a Regional Administrator. Development proposals are forwarded from regional councils to the national Tinkhundla office by one of the four Regional Administrators. However, efforts are made to handle the problem or request at the regional level, or lower.

Such decentralization is intended to encourage greater self-reliance at the local level, thereby reducing demand for services on the central government. The system is also intended to encourage participatory or "bottom-up" planning in development on the part of chiefs and other local leaders. In any case, decentralized development through the Tinkhundla system gives increased power and responsibility to chiefs by encouraging them to identify development priorities as well as guide and coordinate development projects.

³² Influence has not been entirely inadvertent. Some regional CD Officers have taken the initiative to add some discussion about the role of the private sector in their workshops, in fact a tour of Big Bend Sugar Estates was provided for Lubombo chiefs. This is credited with stimulating their interest in large-scale irrigation.

³³ Green, E., 1984 op cit, p. 8-9.

SWAMDP's local leader workshops have, among other things, helped the GOS explain if not implement decentralized development through the Tinkhundla. The workshops also appear to have helped animate Tinkhundla officials to carry out the decentralized development policy of the GOS. Apparently a number of Regional Secretaries and Regional Administrators were somewhat hesitant at first about the notion of animating--and perhaps even involving--chiefs in development activities. Many of these officials are said to have become very enthusiastic about the LL workshops once they participated in them (this observation is based on an interview with one Regional Administrator and on comments and written workshop reports from CD officers).

V.6.a. The Tinkhundla and the Private Sector

In the course of the present research it became apparent that the local inkhundla has a number of functions: electing members of parliament; promoting local development; mediating between the modern and traditional government; serving as a means of communications between local people, chiefs, and the GOS or the private sector; and serving as a venue for GOS business such as registering births or issuing passports. In areas surrounded by private sector enterprise, tinkhundla have become involved in mediating labor disputes. It is not clear whether the designers of the Tinkhundla system had the private sector in mind at all but not only is there already a connection, it seems that the latter's influence on the former could increase in the future.

It has been mentioned that larger companies send delegates to participate and represent company interests at the local inkhundla and that companies contribute to the construction of inkhundla centers (not all of which have been built). Company influence may extend further. The indvuna of one Inkhundla feels that the company delegates and those from chiefs are different; company ones are "cleverer" and more persuasive. They also "like to rush things...they grasp things faster...Before you know it they have the rest of us agreeing with them." Company delegates were said to show up regularly, at least as often as chiefs' delegates (once a week).

As an example of the evolving interrelationship between tinkhundla and the private sector, another indvuna of an inkhundla claims he helps recruit workers for area companies by keeping a list of job-seekers and their skills, then sending applicants to companies when they are hiring.

Our private sector research suggests that if LL workshops were to add some emphasis on the private sector, they should assist the inkhundla system as well as rural companies and local leaders by fostering and deepening mutual understanding between companies and

local leaders. After USAID support for such workshops eventually ceases, there can be regular dialogue between the private sector and local leaders at the local inkhundla.

PART VI: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

(A summary of findings from all sections is provided in the Executive Summary)

VI.1. Local Leader Training and Development

The Swaziland Manpower Development Project's traditional sector training component was initiated as an experimental project. The concept of development training for chiefs was based on certain assumptions that were largely untested, in spite of some previous experience in development seminars for Swazi chiefs. The present evaluation results suggest that training has had impressive impact after only three years, and that further positive impact can be expected with continuation of such training.

According to survey results the pace of local-level rural development is accelerating. The problem is to be able to attribute development committee growth or any other measurable development indicators to project impact. Since there had been (irregular) development training for local leaders prior to SWAMDP, such earlier influence cannot be discounted. Moreover there are obviously a number of complementary and reinforcing factors that must be reckoned with, such as agricultural extension workers, rural health motivators, home economics assistants, and indeed community development assistants, in addition to formal education, development communications and general mass media. but these represent variables beyond the scope or control of the present survey. The best we can do is look for other, indirect evidence in the present research effort that project training has had an impact on development.

And such evidence is found. For example: (1) most survey respondents attributed an increase in the number of local development committees to the influence of training or workshops (by which they were in almost all cases referring to SWAMDP-sponsored training); (2) nearly all respondents were able to point to a specific development-related activity they were currently engaged in as a result of something they learned at a project-sponsored workshop; (3) comparison with the 1983/4 baseline shows a significant change in beliefs and attitudes regarding the development responsibility of the chief and the need for local self-reliance in development; (4) chiefs are reported as being more active in development in areas where leaders have been exposed to development education, and this is measured in actions such as

raising and spending money for development projects; and (5) development topics are now discussed in the chief's council, which has great authority locally and which previously left most development matters to the government.

Examination of the relationship between training content and evaluation survey findings provides further evidence that a good deal of impact can probably be attributed to project influence. For example it has been Community Development trainers in LL workshops that have urged that chiefs' councils begin to discuss development issues and coordinate local development activities. No other agency or organization is known to have promoted this idea. And when the proper development role for the chief was described by a majority of respondents using action verbs such as "lead, motivate, instruct and encourage," this reflects the language used in educating chiefs about what the government expects of them. Other examples can be found throughout this report, including several survey responses that show strong interest and activity in sectors not mentioned by leaders in their preliminary needs assessment, e.g. water, health and sanitation.

In view of the positive impact that the first three years of training have had, it may be concluded that the project's training approach as well as the basic underlying assumptions that guided this approach--and indeed the overall project--have been vindicated. These assumptions include that chiefs and other traditional leaders are motivated to participate in development training because they would like to become better leaders, and because they have come to feel less influential in recent years as well as increasingly left out of the development process; that leaders will benefit from a broad range of development topics; that a variety of traditional and local leaders--not simply chiefs--should be exposed to training if training is to have genuine impact; and that training local leaders in development will result in an increase in local development activities.

Thus the current approach of training a broad cross-section of local leaders and presenting a broad, multi-sectoral range of development topics appears to be sound and therefore should be continued in the absence of evidence to the contrary. An additional value of the training approach is that development is presented as an integrated process that depends on improvement in a number of interrelated and interdependent areas. Too often in development education this process is presented in a fragmented way at the local level, and of course rural Swazis know from experience that their problems will not be solved by building a primary school or boiling their drinking water alone. It should be recognized that Community Development deserves much of the credit for developing and implementing a consistent, coherent and effective training approach and curriculum. SWAMDP's Traditional Sector Advisor, an anthropologist who was in-country from 1985-7, also deserves credit for helping develop the training approach and curriculum. Moreover

SWAMDP contributed to CD's successful local leader training in a more general way through the institutional development of Community Development, by providing or sponsoring relevant and effective training for CD staff, among other inputs.

It may be that after 3-4 years of presenting general development topics, more specific and narrowly-focused topics should be introduced. Part of the rationale for this would be that it cannot take very long for the limited number of Swaziland's local leaders to have been exposed to two or more workshops. Perhaps during SWAMDP's second phase, more focused and sophisticated development topics can be introduced to leaders who have attended (not simply been represented) two, three or more SWAMDP-supported workshops. A training needs assessment, by leadership group, would be useful in determining a more advanced training curriculum for local leaders (it should be remembered that development committee members already receive relatively specialized, focused development training).

VI.2. Local Leader Training and the Private Sector

Adding private sector emphasis to local leader training in the future is warranted because of: (1) the interdependence of large areas of Swazi Nation Land, local leaders, and many of the largest companies that comprise Swaziland's private sector; (2) preliminary evidence that improved communication between local leaders and the private sector leads to improvements in both company productivity and development on Swazi Nation Land; (3) the agreement on all sides that LL workshops would be an appropriate vehicle for improved communication of this sort; and (4) compatibility of the proposed expanded project with major objectives or strategy areas of USAID's new Country Development Strategy Statement that relate to employment generation and the development and expansion of Swaziland's private sector.

What can be said about the present broad-based training curriculum for local leaders in light of USAID/Swaziland's current objectives? Given existing manpower and financial resources, if an argument were to be made for greater focus on developing business skills, there would necessarily be less focus on primary health care, clean water, agricultural modernization, child spacing, AIDS prevention, how to organize and run development committees, general self-reliance, etc. De-emphasizing these might conflict with GOS policy priorities as well as undercut other USAID objectives. It therefore seems warranted to reach the conclusion that the present training approach and scope be continued and that additional resources be allocated in order to add emphasis on private sector development in local leader training.

There is also the issue of leaders' need for rudimentary business-related skills before they or others in their communities can be

expected to become entrepreneurs or otherwise active in business. Remedial skills of this sort include basic literacy, learning how a bank functions, learning about loans and collateral, etc. Such remedial training for certain local leaders, notably officers of development committees, is already underway in the SWAMDP project. This training component deserves special scrutiny during the design of a second funding phase of SWAMDP in order to make this phase more in line with USAID's current emphasis of promoting economic growth through developing Swaziland's private sector.

VI.3. Future Funding Of Local Leader Training

CD/Tinkhundla does not appear ready to assume full responsibility for the recurrent costs of local leader training for several reasons, including the absence--until now--of an evaluation of the impact of such training. As a result of SWAMDP, Tinkhundla has contributed approximately E25,000 a year toward local leader training costs during the past two years. It is recommended that USAID continue support for training local leaders with the assumption that the present evaluation as well as any future evaluations will convince the Government of Swaziland of the value of development training for local leaders, and that the GOS will assume more funding responsibility progressively during a second project funding cycle.

Local leader workshops provide a vehicle for various governmental agencies and PVOs through which they can realize their objectives--yet apart from providing speakers, they do not contribute to the funding of workshops. As noted in Sect. I.1., certain government agencies and PVOs did fund workshops or seminars for chiefs using their own or donor resources prior to 1985 (although Community Development had not conducted any training for chiefs for several years prior to 1985). When USAID training support eventually comes to an end, there would appear to be no reason why Community Development should have to shoulder all training costs. Other GOS and PVO agencies and organizations might be able to share such costs out of their training budgets since their participation in LL workshop assists them in meeting their program objectives--and since some have been directly involved in chief training in the past.

It should also be recognized that while project impact has been impressive, there is room for improvement. For example, 47% of respondents identified the chief as a person with responsibility for local development. This shows progress (or project impact) since 1984 when only 9% identified the chief, but what of the other 53% that did not mention the chief in 1989? Thus there is need and justification for continued support for local leader training.

APPENDIX A: LOCAL LEADERS SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

(Q1) NAME OF REGION _____

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

NAME OF LOCATION/COMMUNITY _____

NAME OF CHIEF (ACTING CHIEF) _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE: _____

DATE: _____

(Q2) What type of leader is the interviewee?

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

(Q3) How many development-related workshops have you attended in the past 10 years?

- (1) none
- (2) 1-2
- (3) 3-4
- (4) 5-6
- (5) more than 7

(Q4) How many development-related workshops have you attended in the past 4 years?

- (1) none
- (2) 1-2
- (3) 3-4
- (4) 5-6
- (5) more than 7

(Q5) (If any workshops attended during last 4 years), What in the workshops of the last 4 years did you find most useful?

(Q6) Can you think of any ways the workshops could be improved?

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

(Q7) If yes (Q.6), How could they be improved?

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

68

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

(1) Yes

(2) No

(9) If Yes (Q.8), in what kind of activity or project or group?

(Q10) Which local community people have responsibility for dealing with development problems? (More than one ans. possible)

(1) the chief

(2) tindvuna

(3) government or extension workers

(4) various committee members

(5) imisumphe/RDA/resettlement people

(5) no one

(7) bucopho or inkhundla representative

(8) other (specify) _____

61

(Q11) List the type of development committees or associations currently found in this chief's area (sive sesikhulu). [May need prompting to remember].

- (1) libandla or chief's devel. committee
 - (2) agricultural (dip tank, garden, farmers, storage shed, irrigation, etc.)
 - (3) health/water/sanitation
 - (4) school/education
 - (5) imisumphe/resettlement
 - (6) Women's, zenzele, WID, market, creche
 - (7) others (Specify) _____
- _____
- _____

(Q12) List the number of development committees currently found in this chief's area (sive).

- (1) 1-4
- (2) 5-8
- (3) 9-12
- (4) 13-16
- (5) more than 17

(Q12a) (Interviewer: Give exact number _____)

(Q13) Please list as many development committees as you can that existed in 1985.

- (1) libandla or chief's devel. committee
- (2) agricultural (dip tank, garden, farmers, storage shed, irrigation, etc.)
- (3) health/water/sanitation
- (4) school/education
- (5) imisumphe/resettlement/RDA
- (6) Women's, zenzele, WID, market, creche
- (7) other (Specify) _____

(Q13a) (Interviewer: Count number & write here _____)

(Q14) The number of committees in 1985 was:

- (1) 1-4
- (2) 5-8
- (3) 9-12
- (3) 13-16
- (4) more than 17

(Q15) Are there more, or less, development committees now compared with 1985 (INTERVIEWER: compare Q12a with Q13a)

- (1) More
- (2) Less
- (3) Same

(Q16) If there are more devel. committees now, what is the reason?

- 1) training/workshops
(PROBE: _____)
- 2) attitude or actions of chiefs or other local leaders
(PROBE: _____)
- 3) increased capital available
(PROBE: _____)
- 4) effects of education, formal schooling
(PROBE: _____)
- 5) influence of radio
(PROBE: _____)
- 6) influence of extension workers
(PROBE: _____)
- 7) increased popular demand
(PROBE: _____)
- 8) other
(Specify) _____

(Q17) If there are fewer development committees now than in 1985, what is the reason?

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

- 72-

(8) Don't know

(Q18) Are there other development projects or activities in this area that do not have committees or associations?

(1) Yes

(2) No

(3) not sure/don't know

(19) If yes (Q18), how many other development projects or activities are there in this area?

(1) 1-3

(2) 4-6

(3) 7-9

(4) more than 10

(5) don't know

(Q20) Is the chief of this area initiating development activities (e.g., school or farm shed construction, health or water systems, raising crops for sale, etc.) or otherwise participating in development activities?

(1) Yes How? Comment _____

(2) No How? Comment _____

(Q21) If yes (Q20), is chief's participation in development more, or less, compared to 4 years ago or earlier?

(1) More

(2) Less

(Q22) Has the chief or group acting under the chief's authority collected money for any development projects for the community during the past 12 months?

(1) Yes _____

(2) No _____

113'

(Q23) If Yes (Q22), about how much money was collected from each homestead?

- (1) E1-40
- (2) E41-80
- (3) E81-120
- (4) E121-160
- (5) more than E161

(Q24) Following from Question Q22, for which type of development-related projects was the money collected? (You may check more than one)

- (1) Agricultural
- (2) Health
- (3) Water
- (4) School/Education
- (5) Women's activities such as market, income generation
- (6) Other

(Q25) Has the chief in this area raised money for purposes other than development?

- (1) No
- (2) Yes (If yes, for what purpose(s) _____)

(Q26) Are development topics ever discussed in the bandlancane?

- (1) Yes _____
- (2) No _____
- (3) There is a separate central development committee under the chief

[If no, skip to Q30]

(Q27) If yes (Q26), what development topics are discussed?

- (1) roads, transportation
- (2) agricultural (irrigation, cattle, farmers problems, etc.)
- (3) health/water/sanitation
- (4) school/education
- (5) land use/resettlement/RDA
- (6) Women's activities, zenzele, WID, markets
- (7) other (Specify)_____

(Q28) If Yes (Q26), are these topics discussed:

- (1) regularly/often?_____
- (2) sometimes?_____
- (3) rarely?_____

(Q29) If Yes (Q26), for how long have development topics been discussed in the bandlanane?

- (1) 1-2 yrs. _____
- (2) 3-4 yrs. _____
- (3) 5 yrs or more

(Q30) What is the responsibility of a chief in developing his area?

(Q31) What does the government expect the chief to do about development in his area?

- (1) lead, take an active role
- (2) delegate tasks to those under his authority
- (3) do nothing
- (4) Other (specify) _____

(Q32) What are the main obstacles to development in this area?

(Q33) Are most people in this area willing to contribute money or labor for development projects that benefit them (e.g., school or clinic construction, protecting a spring or sinking a borehole)?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

Comment _____

(Q34) What is your age?

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

(Q35) What is your education (how far did you go in school?)

(1) none

(2) Some primary, or completed primary

(3) Some secondary, or completed secondary

(4) post-secondary

(Q36) [Respondent is:]

(1) Male

(2) Female

101

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL POINTS FOR USAID'S CONSIDERATION

(1) SWAMP, through the CD Unit and its local leader (LL) training efforts, is assisting the realization of GOS goals by making traditional government and the Tinkhundla system itself work towards national development. Evidence can be found in LL workshop reports and elsewhere that local leader training is actually helping to define the rural development responsibilities of Tinkhundla as well as local leaders, at least at the local level. As noted in the report, inclusion of private sector concerns in LL workshops should strengthen and improve dialogue between SNL local leaders and the private sector at local Tinkhundla in the future.

Local leader workshops also seem to support a broad range of USAID development objectives, *viz.* improved agricultural techniques and land usage, income-generating activities/securing credit and loans, responsible child spacing, primary health care and the Rural Health Motivator program, the expansion of educational opportunities (a frequently cited outcome of workshops is the collection of funds for building primary and secondary schools), the provision of clean drinking water, environmental sanitation, gardening and family nutrition. This is done by bringing awareness of these topics--and acceptance of related activities--directly to local leaders. Technical information related to these topics is also presented, especially when training development committee members.

Considering the modest proportion of USAID's budget that goes into LL training, USAID would appear to be getting good returns for its investment in diverse sectors of development. It should be remembered that while donor groups and government necessarily take a fragmented, compartmentalized approach to development, development at the local level presents itself--and proceeds--as a family of inter-related activities all of which contribute in their own way to what we understand to constitute development. Local leader development workshops represent one of the few areas where the various constituent components of development are presented together, and the audience happens to be the very people in Swaziland who are perhaps most in need of understanding the mosaic of development, and are the most pivotal in local acceptance of, and participation in, development.

USAID involvement in LL training serendipitously provides it a window into an otherwise arcane and somewhat inscrutable system of traditional governance. The unique Tinkhundla alone has always been very difficult for outsiders to fathom, yet it is the mechanism which perhaps best reconciles local/traditional and modern/parliamentary governments, plus it has recently become a nexus for dialogue between the (rural-based) private sector and traditional leaders of Swazi Nation Land. USAID appears to be the only donor with its finger on the Tinkhundla pulse, so to speak.

- B

A perusal of SWAMPD's LL workshop reports reveals details of the inner workings of the chief's council, the Tinkhundla, and other mysteries of local government and power politics. It also provides valuable insight into Swazi values, attitudes and behavior related to such areas such as resettlement, land tenure, cash cropping and agricultural innovation, child spacing, perceptions of the national government, and other development-related issues.

(2) Scholars have observed that in traditional societies engaged in warfare in the recent historic past, when warfare ceases, the role of men who were at one time warriors becomes ill-defined for an interim period of indefinite length while the society moves towards participation in a cash economy and modern wage laboring. It has been further observed, perhaps with somewhat unfair stereotypic thinking, that rural Swazi men spend a lot of time in verbal deliberations and alcohol consumption while women engage in economically productive activities. One important effect of the LL workshops might be that rural Swazi men are directed into new roles--roles clarified and promoted by LL workshops--to which they can attach importance and meaning. The new roles may consist of active participation in development through membership in various development committees, the chief's council, or as delegates to the local inkhundla, etc.

(3) Regarding the allocation of scarce USAID resources: if these were to go primarily or exclusively to the modern/urban/formal economic sector, a general result would almost certainly be an exacerbation of already-formidable rural/urban and rich/poor differences in wealth and opportunity, which itself would spur greater rural-urban migration.

(4) It should be remembered that most Swazi are rural, that development is most lacking and therefore most needed in the rural sector, that development is usually not possible without the sanction if not active participation of chiefs and other local rotables, and that the local leader workshops seem to be achieving the stated goals of animating and encouraging local leaders to support and participate in development.