SWAZILAND: POVERTY ASSESSMENT BY THE POOR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

MAIN REPORT ON
PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

AUGUST, 1997
CONTENTS

Participatory Poverty Assessment 1

Who are the Poor? 2

What are the Causes and Problems of Poverty? 2

How do the Poor Cope? 4

What Makes Women Especially Vulnerable? 6

What Measures are Proposed by the Poor for Poverty Alleviation? 8
PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

Under the auspices and overall supervision of Swaziland's Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, and with support from the World Bank, a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) was carried out in mid 1995 by research teams from the University of Swaziland.

The purpose of the PPA was to complement the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office by providing qualitative information, from the perspectives of the poor themselves, concerning:

- the nature of poverty, vulnerability and wellbeing;
- changes over time which have affected people's wellbeing;
- how people cope with poverty and vulnerability;
- the constraints and opportunities for improving wellbeing.

The assessment is described as "participatory" because it involved direct participation by the poor in analysing their own conditions. In each of 63 selected communities throughout Swaziland, discussions were held in large and small focus groups, followed by conversational interviews with individual households. Instead of using structured questionnaires, researchers used an interview guide to conduct semi-structured, conversational interviews.

Research teams were assigned to each of the four agro-ecological regions of Swaziland—Highveld, Middleveld, Lowveld and Lubombo— and to selected peri-urban sites. The same qualitative methodology was used in each community to gather information on people's perceptions and experience of poverty. Altogether more than 600 households, 100 focus groups and 100 key informants participated in the poverty analysis.

In November 1996, the regional reports of each of the research team leaders were presented and debated at a workshop for the National Development Strategy sectoral committees. This was followed in February by a national workshop, held by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, to disseminate a draft synthesis report on the PPA findings and discuss the policy implications for government agencies, non-governmental organizations and donor agencies. Further follow up is to include integration of the PPA results with those of the Household Survey, and reporting back to the regions and communities.

This booklet provides a brief summary of the resulting report Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor.
WHO ARE THE POOR?

Focus groups in all regions of the country identified the major distinguishing characteristics of poor households; and they ranked the households within their own community according to wealth. The poor were defined by many of the same characteristics in both rural and urban areas:

- those who were unable to meet the basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing;
- those who could not afford schooling or health care for their children;
- people without independent income—widows, deserted wives, the unsupported elderly, the physically or mentally disabled.

In addition, in rural areas, low crop yields—because of lack of livestock, productive land, technological assets and information—were seen as a key indicator of poverty. In urban areas, the poor were characterized as having low-wage and unstable employment, and living in overcrowded and unsanitary housing.

In the majority of the sample communities a very substantial share of households were defined by participants as poor or very poor, experiencing food insecurity and hunger. This share varied more between communities within a particular region than it did from region to region. On average, the lowest shares of households defined as either poor or very poor were found in Lubombo (53%) and Highveld (55%), and the highest shares were found in Lowveld (85%) and Middleveld (70%).

In all regions, a large middle category of households were seen to be either just managing to get along or were characterized as "struggling" households: those who might easily slip into poverty if their crops failed or they lost their jobs.

The rich, or well-off, ranging from 2% to 15% of households, were defined as having one or more household members in steady employment; assets such as cars, tractors, businesses and modern houses; all children attending school; and, in rural areas, owning large herds of cattle.

WHAT ARE THE CAUSES AND PROBLEMS OF POVERTY?

The need for secure access to water—for drinking and for agriculture—was cited overwhelmingly as the greatest problem in almost all of the rural communities. Although the impact had been most severe in the Lowveld, survey participants in all regions of Swaziland blamed the recent drought as the major factor pushing entire communities over the edge into poverty. Depending on rain-fed agriculture, farmers were always subject to crop failure.
In some rural communities, households were also suffering from lack of access to adequate agricultural land. Young men were the most likely to lack access to productive land. This problem was blamed sometimes on the inappropriate land allocation policies of traditional authorities and in other cases on the poor quality of Swazi Nation Land while the best agricultural land was allocated for Title Deed ownership. In several cases (e.g., Etinseni in the Lowveld, and Malandelahle in the Highveld), resettlement policies had displaced families to make way for commercial agriculture, forestry or mining operations, leaving them with insufficient arable land for even subsistence farming, and often with no viable alternative sources of livelihood.

In addition to access to water and land, other factors identified as contributing to poverty in rural communities were:

- poor transport and communications;
- lack of access to markets;
- lack of access to social services, health care, relevant education and training, credit and development information;
- cattle theft and other crime.

### Summary of Problem Ranking

(% of community focus groups citing as major problem)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Problem area</th>
<th>Highveld</th>
<th>Mid’veld</th>
<th>Lowveld</th>
<th>Lubombo</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads/transport</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extens. &amp; devt. services</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of electricity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Care of the destitute</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Lack of mortuary</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the ranking of problems at the community level, two notable differences emerged between regions:

- the problems of hunger and food insecurity were of much greater concern to communities in the Lowveld than in other regions;
- communities in Lubombo gave particularly high priority to the problems of crime and cattle rustling.

The factors identified as contributing to poverty of the individual household in peri-urban communities were:

- lack of education and stable employment, because of the high dependence on cash income for food and housing;
- high crime rates and the influx of immigrants who took jobs that would otherwise go to Swazis;
- ill health due to poor sanitation, shoddy housing, long lines at communal water taps or high water rates for indoor plumbing;
- alcoholism and even temporary illness that would incapacitate the major wage earner.

Factors that would push Swazi households into poverty in both rural and urban areas were cited as:

- the death, disability, or desertion of the husband;
- the failure of children to support elderly parents;
- teenage pregnancy, large families, and polygamy.

**HOW DO THE POOR COPE?**

**Household coping strategies**

Participants in all sample communities reported that their sources of livelihood had deteriorated over the past few years, because of the drought since 1991, which affected water supplies and crop production, combined with the increased competition among young men for limited wage earning jobs, and the reduced level of income sent back to rural areas. In response to these pressures, men and women had altered their consumption patterns, found new ways to generate earnings, and changed their working patterns and workloads.

Most of the coping strategies that were described were based on the household rather than the community. To reduce expenses, households in both rural and urban communities employed many of the same strategies: food rationing, substitution of cheaper foods,
sending one or more children to live with better-off relatives, taking children out of school, foregoing medical care. In addition, some respondents in urban households coped by walking to work (sometimes hours) to save on bus fares.

To augment household income, households reported selling livestock and other assets, borrowing cash from friends, neighbors, or informal money lenders, taking seasonal jobs and piece work, engaging in hawking and vending, making and selling handicrafts, and begging. However, as more and more people were having to resort to these strategies, competition was increasing and the strategies were becoming less viable. Some of the poorer residents in the peri-urban communities were coping by renting out rooms in their own substandard housing; they were concerned that this small but crucial source of income was threatened by insecurity of tenure and proposed up-grading programs.

Safety nets and local institutions

Focus groups in rural areas reported that the extended family remained the most important safety net for people in need. However, there was a widespread perception that the system was weakening, and references were made often to "irresponsible sons" who were not supporting their elderly parents, to men who had deserted their wives and children, and to widows and the elderly who had no familial support.

Men viewed traditional institutions of the local chiefdom as their primary source of social support. It was notable, however, that traditional local authorities were not given credit in household interviews or focus groups for any significant role in protecting the needy. Communities reported great variation in the effectiveness and equity in allocation of use rights to Swazi Nation Land, which is entrusted by the King to local chiefs. In several Lowveld communities, respondents were concerned that communal food grown in the chief's fields was not distributed to those most in need.

Women's groups—including cooperative income-generating projects, traditional revolving credit schemes and burial societies—were seen as providing an important safety net function for their members, especially during times of crop failure. Women's groups were engaged in activities such as vegetable gardens, handicrafts and sewing, brick or fence making, school feeding and making school uniforms.

Rural inhabitants expressed distrust of outsiders, and of government representatives in particular. The main exception was the case of some NGOs which had built up a long-term relationship with a particular community. Most people expressed little confidence that any of central government agencies were equipped to address the needs of rural communities. In many rural communities, food aid and food for work programs were said to have been vital during crop failures or severe drought but were often seen as sporadic and unreliable.

In urban centers, households had less support from extended families, although some participants said they received food from rural homesteads when in need. They also had
little support from community level institutions. Community groups mentioned sometimes as a source of support were church groups and women's cooperatives. NGO programs were viewed to be most significant in the areas of education and health care: NGOs and parastatals were sponsoring orphans and other poor school children; free medical services were offered to street children, AIDS victims, and the elderly.

**WHAT MAKES WOMEN ESPECIALLY VULNERABLE?**

The majority of Swazi women in all areas of the country and at most income levels were seen to face the threat of poverty and even destitution. This vulnerability derived mainly from their minority status, which denied them control and ownership of assets, including their own labor. Although women were finding themselves increasingly responsible for their family's food security and education, there was often little support available for those who were widowed, deserted by their husbands, or whose husbands were unemployed or absent.

**Lack of control over assets**

Inheritance in Swaziland is passed on through male children, denying women the economic and social mobility which normally flow from ownership rights. In all the regions, women reported that they were dependent on males for access to land, although many were expected to work on farms and were responsible for feeding their families. Even women heads of households had to gain permission to use land through sons or other male relatives; if the males did not comply, the woman's requests would be ignored.

Participants in the PPA reported that almost all of household decision-making concerning the use and disposal of assets was controlled by males, including the sale of livestock, which crops to plant, and whether women were allowed to take on some form of employment. Women's control was normally confined to minor assets such as clothing and utensils. Some women were seen as the owners of chicken or pigs, but usually consulted with men before deciding to slaughter or sell.

Children were also regarded as assets, and women reported strong pressure to avoid birth control and continue producing sons. The final decision as to whether or when children should attend school was normally made by fathers, although mothers were more likely to raise the question, and were often responsible for finding the money to pay the fees.

Most women in the rural communities reported needing the permission of their husband, or his nearest male relative proxy, to seek employment. Often, selling vegetables or crafts were the only culturally approved income-generating activities and, as a result, the competition for these activities was very strong. Many rural women said they believed they were poor precisely because their husbands refused to let them work.
Lack of support

Although women in Swaziland are dependent on men, many find themselves alone and in charge of supporting their families. Husbands who had migrated for employment often failed to send regular remittances to their families. Virtually all women respondents condemned the practice of polygamy, and some said it was the most important factor contributing to poverty; they reported that men's failure to manage separate households led to an inevitable breakdown in family life and the deteriorating welfare of their wives and children.

Widows were identified in all the sample communities as the group most vulnerable to poverty. Women complained that the hardship of widows was made worse by Swazi custom which regards them as bearers of bad luck and leads to social isolation during a long period of mourning. Older widows who were physically unable to exchange or pool their labor resorted to begging and were defined as the group most likely to be destitute.

Coping with food insecurity

The woman's role in most Swazi communities to provide food for their family can impose a very heavy burden of work and stress. Women respondents said they commonly begged and borrowed food, or sent their children to better-off relatives or neighbors when food ran short. They described these practices as an informal kind of social security system that compensated in part for the lack of formal welfare programs or credit and savings available to females.

The normal workload of rural women included fetching water (up to four hours a day, depending on the distance), working in the fields, as well as household chores, preparing food and caring for children. Many women supplemented household income by making and selling handicrafts, but the drought had depleted the grasses traditionally used in this art. Some traveled many kilometers in winter and early spring to get the grasses they needed for crafts. Other women reported a variety of activities to earn extra money, including cotton picking, harvesting and selling wild vegetables and aloe plants. A successful strategy for some had been to invest in small-scale intensive vegetable farming, because they could use the produce at home and sell the surplus. In the peri-urban communities, men were more lenient in allowing their wives to seek employment; however, few women were able to find such employment and most depended on casual jobs and hawking and vending. Some women in both rural and urban communities were augmenting their income through work in cooperative groups for brickmaking, fencing, poultry or sewing projects.

For many women, food-for-work programs were seen as absolutely essential to their ability to feed their families at times of crop failure. However, because men tended to view these programs as degrading and were reluctant to participate in them, they placed a heavy additional work burden on many women.
WHAT MEASURES ARE PROPOSED BY THE POOR FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION?

Residents of poor rural communities in Swaziland identified the changes they felt were needed to enable them to diversify their income and bring about a long-term improvement in their standard of living. They proposed measures to improve agricultural productivity in Swazi Nation Land areas, and higher priority to investment in rural infrastructure and services. Measures to strengthen social and family relationships and social protection were considered important for both rural and urban poverty alleviation.

Improving Agriculture on Swazi Nation Land

Access to water was viewed as by far the highest priority in rural areas. Rural participants said time and time again that "if we just have water, we can feed ourselves." Focus groups requested construction of dams, bore holes, and irrigation systems, and said that consistent supplies of water would also ease the country's health problems and reduce constraints on women's time.

For some households in rural communities, access to productive land was also a constraint. Concern was expressed that resettlement policy should ensure the provision of adequate agricultural land to those who are moved. It was also suggested that unemployed young men should be given access to good quality land which had been zoned for Title Deed ownership but which was lying idle.

Farmers frequently expressed the need for affordable technical help, including information and advice on alternative crops and farming practices, more efficient marketing channels, and tractor hire, seeds, and fertilizer.

Investing in Rural Infrastructure and Services

The majority of rural households found themselves increasingly dependent on new sources of income to purchase adequate food supplies. Many respondents called for new incentives to attract private investment in rural areas, but noted there must be an improvement in rural transport, communications, and electricity before companies would consider rural locations. Several communities said their residents would help build and maintain roads, if they could count on the necessary support.

Participants cited the lack of access to adequate and affordable health care as the second most important problem, after water, in rural Swaziland. They said lack of adequate bus services and health facilities has deterred qualified professionals, such as teachers, health workers and agricultural extension workers from seeking employment in rural communities. Respondents urged the government to provide new incentives to encourage
teachers to work in rural areas so that children would have access to educational quality comparable to that in urban centers. Most rural residents believed education to be the key to a better life for their children, but many families, already struggling, could not afford the costs of schooling.

**Strengthening Family and Social Institutions**

Many respondents suggested that marrying later and having fewer children would help boost families out of poverty (although it was notable that family planning was rarely mentioned as part of the solution). It was the widespread opinion of women, shared by some men, that polygamy was a contributing factor in poverty. Women believed they should have independent rights to property and other assets, but this view was opposed by most men.

The Chief's kraal was the most important institution for the majority of men but was criticized in many of the communities for failing to address community development and the needs of the poor. Most of the new income generating projects were being carried out by women, who called for better access to formal credit and for technical and marketing support. It was suggested that attention be given to designing projects (such as improving access to water and better transport) that would relieve the burden of work on women, and to alternatives to the food for work programs that would facilitate greater involvement of men in community development and income generation.

In all the sample communities, participants said that increasing crime and alcoholism were undermining family and social relationships. They asked for police stations in every community and more government efforts to control cattle rustling, while some proposed the development of community policing where no formal service was available.

Finally, the survey participants widely believed that social assistance for the destitute was an obligation of government; however, they found that the existing government welfare program was failing to provide for the people who were most in need. They suggested changes in the program to allow for administration of the program at the community level, improved public information and better training of staff.
SWAZILAND: POVERTY ASSESSMENT, BY THE POOR

MAIN REPORT ON
PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

AUGUST, 1997
SWAZILAND:

POVERTY ASSESSMENT BY THE POOR

REPORT ON
PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

AUGUST, 1997
FOREWORD BY HON. MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

I feel honoured to be associated with the work of the outstanding team that has carried out this important study. The Participatory Poverty Assessment was embarked upon some two years ago, when the need became clear for better understanding of the needs of the poor, and for government and donor coordination to address emerging issues of poverty in the country. We greatly appreciate the World Bank’s support of the work.

I am proud that the Assessment was carried out by a team of researchers from the University of Swaziland who went to the people and came back with on-the-spot findings. In achieving this feat, we have clearly verified one big point, that is, this document is people-centred. It is a study conducted by researchers who understand the culture, traditions and customs of the people. It is a qualitative study which will be integrated with the results of the Household Income and Expenditure Survey done by the Central Statistical Office.

This report has clearly shown that poverty exists in Swaziland. What we need urgently is to develop strategies and action plans that are designed to address it. We have to realise that poverty is one of the greatest threats to our environment and a challenge to sustainable development. Now that we know the extent of the problem, we need to plan effectively.

Finally, I wish to appeal for resource mobilisation in order to enable us to begin a systematic onslaught on poverty. We need to put into place well-targeted programmes which will enable the poor to achieve respectable levels of social status and dignity. The poor do not need hand-outs; they need the means by which they can develop themselves. This report will definitely assist us in the process of planning for effective poverty alleviation. I hope that everyone reading this report will be so inspired that s/he will rise to take positive action. The poor need action and not pity!

A. H. N. Shabangu
MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

July, 1997
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Under the auspices and overall supervision of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, the Participatory Poverty Assessment in Swaziland was carried out by four teams of staff and students of the Faculty of Social Science and Agriculture, University of Swaziland:

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<tr>
<th>Highveld region:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. R. Simelane, Lead Researcher</td>
<td>K. P. Khumalo, Team Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Team Leader</td>
<td>Nosipho Dlamini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mthunzi Gamedze</td>
<td>Ernest Fraser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cynthia Mahlalela</td>
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J. K. Ngwisha, Dean of the Social Science Faculty, coordinated the implementation of the study. UNDP and UNICEF provided administrative support. The assessment was funded by the World Bank, which also provided technical support, and by the Danish Trust Fund; the Bank’s task managers for the PPA have been Gibwe Kajubi, succeeded in turn by Miranda Munro and Gillian Perkins.

The full findings of the PPA were written up by each of the team leaders in five reports which were released in October, 1996, to key stakeholders, including the Coordinator and Sector Committees for the National Development Strategy. This report, prepared by Gillian Perkins, provides a synthesis of the regional findings and was disseminated in draft form at a national workshop in February 1997, sponsored by the British Overseas Development Administration. The full report on proceedings of the workshop, by its facilitator Prof. Michael Matsebula, is attached in Annex 5.

Primary credit is due to the many hundreds of participants throughout Swaziland who gave freely of their scarce time to share their experience and thoughts, often concerning difficult and personal issues. It is their perceptions—of the nature, causes and problems of poverty in their communities—that are presented here.
Contents

Executive Summary  

1. Background to the Study  
   Objectives and Management  1  
   Economic and Social Background  2

2. Perceptions of Poverty  
   Defining the Poor and the Better Off  5  
   Identifying the Causes of Poverty  10  
   Ranking the Problems  12

3. Coping Strategies and Safety Nets  
   Coping Strategies and Mechanisms  14  
   Safety Nets  20

4. Women and Poverty  23

5. Peri-Urban Case Studies  29  
   Perceptions of Poverty  29  
   Coping Strategies of the Poor  32

6. Policy Implications  35  
   Agricultural Livelihoods  36  
   Rural Infrastructure and Services  37  
   Family and Social Institutions  38

7. Addendum: Follow up to the PPA  41  
   Next Steps  41  
   Integrating Quantitative Data on Poverty  42

Annexes:

1. Research Design and Methodology
2. Interview Guide
3. Selected Sites
4. Agro-Ecological Conditions and Livelihood Patterns
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Objectives of the Study

The Participatory Poverty Assessment was carried out in 1995, with the objectives of (i) providing information on the causes and problems of poverty from the perspectives of the poor themselves; (ii) identifying constraints to and opportunities for improving well-being, as perceived by the poor; and (iii) strengthening the dialogue between policymakers, service providers and the poor.

The research teams from the University of Swaziland used qualitative, "participatory" social research methods, through focus groups and semi-structured interviews, to gather information on the perceptions and experience of poverty in 63 sample communities throughout Swaziland. Altogether, more than 600 households, 100 focus groups and 100 key informants--across the country's four agro-ecological regions and in the peri-urban areas--participated in the poverty analysis.

Summary of Findings

Defining poverty

Focus groups defined poor households in terms of the following characteristics: (i) inability to meet basic needs (hunger, begging for food, poor condition of housing and clothing); (ii) children not attending school; (iii) low crop yields because of lack of agricultural assets (livestock, good land, or access to inputs); and (iv) demographic categories--widows, the elderly living alone, the disabled, and large families.

The proportion of households defined by focus groups as either poor or very poor varied as much between communities within each region as it did between regions. On average, Lubombo had the lowest share of households defined as poor (53%) and the Lowveld the highest (85%): however, some communities in every region described the majority of their members as poor.

Explaining the causes of poverty

Only a small minority of rural residents—in some communities, none at all—were seen to be secure from the constant threat of poverty. The majority of individual households are liable to be pushed into poverty at any time by crop failure, death or disability of the husband; or by the failure of children to support their elderly parents.

In all the regions, the drought was seen to have been a fundamental cause of impoverishment of the community as a whole. Other important factors were identified—including lack of access to adequate agricultural land, cattle theft, rising costs, bias against rural areas (in terms of investment in infrastructure, social and development...
services), isolation from mainstream markets and information sources--which compounded the impact of the drought and weakened the ability of communities to recover by diversifying their sources of income.

**Ranking the problems**

Throughout all four regions, the same key problem areas were identified by community-level focus groups. Access to water—for drinking, livestock and agriculture—was the overwhelming priority, followed by poor quality and/or lack of access to health care, transport and education. Other problems mentioned frequently were the increase in crime, unemployment, access to marketing outlets, agricultural inputs, electricity and telephones, and care of the destitute and elderly. The most notable differences between regions were the particularly high priority given to the problems of crime and cattle rustling in Lubombo and to hunger and food insecurity in the Lowveld.

Problem ranking by individual rural households focused on hunger and food security, meeting the costs of schooling and health care, and the lack of employment opportunities, especially for young men. In the peri-urban communities, the key problems identified by participants were: sanitation and related health problems; overcrowding and access to land; poor housing; and crime.

**Coping**

Most of the coping strategies adopted in response to drought, rising costs and other threats to livelihoods have been based on the individual household. They involve food rationing and curtailing expenditure on education and health; selling livestock and other assets to pay for immediate consumption needs; generating additional income through casual labor, handicrafts and petty trade; and inter-household borrowing and begging. Many of the these coping strategies of the poor have become less viable as more and more households in the community have had to resort to them, and as assets have been depleted.

These strategies have had a severe impact in increasing the workload of women. In addition, most of the cooperative income generating activities were run by women's groups, while many of the infrastructure projects (in addition to the food for work schemes) also depended on women's labor.

A strong sense of isolation and lack of support was perceived on the part of poor households. The most important safety nets—the extended family, voluntary community level institutions, food aid and local and central government programs, were all considered to be ineffective in protecting the most vulnerable from extreme poverty and destitution. Traditional forms of borrowing and begging between households continued to be the most significant recourse but were said to be constrained by the diminishing proportion of households with food or income to spare.
Women and poverty

Women were consistently defined as the most vulnerable social group in all communities. Their particular vulnerability was attributed to:

- Women's minority status which denies them ownership and control of assets, including their own labor.
- The lack of support experienced by many women: female heads of households who are widowed or whose husbands have deserted them; women whose husbands are absent or unemployed; and women who lack the support of community institutions.
- The increasing burden of responsibility on women for the food security and education of large families.

Aspirations for the future

Participants identified a wide range of measures that are needed to enable them to improve their incomes from agriculture, diversify their sources of income, and strengthen their family and social relationships so as to adapt and cope better at times of stress. According to respondents in the assessment, actions are needed in three broad areas:

- Stronger support for the Swazi Nation Land agricultural sector, improving access to land, water, farming inputs, technical support and marketing channels.
- Higher priority to rural infrastructure and services, improving access to health care, affordable, higher quality basic education, and opportunities for employment and income-generation.
- Strengthening of social and family relationships, controlling crime, and protecting the destitute, in both urban and rural communities.
1. Background to the Study

A. Objectives and management

The Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) was initiated in late 1994 in response to the UNDP Consultative Workshop on Poverty, which highlighted the lack of information regarding the status of rural and urban households in the development process, and the need for donor coordination to help identify and address emerging issues of poverty in Swaziland. The PPA was designed as a qualitative study to complement the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (NHIES), carried out by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, and from which a poverty profile is being developed.

The specific objectives of the PPA were to:

- provide information on poverty, vulnerability, and wellbeing from the perspectives of the poor themselves;
- provide information on changes over time which have affected people’s wellbeing;
- learn how people cope with poverty and vulnerability;
- identify constraints to and opportunities for improving wellbeing as perceived by individual households and communities;
- strengthen the dialogue between policymakers, service providers and the poor.

The work was undertaken by research teams from the University of Swaziland. A total of 63 sample communities were selected throughout Swaziland (see Annex 3), representing poor rural and urban populations, different agro-ecological conditions of the country, and alternative forms of land tenure and development administration. Selection was based on the framework established by the CSO for the Census Enumeration Areas of 1986, providing a reference point to the data collection frame for the NHIES.

Research teams were assigned to each of the four agro-ecological regions—Highveld, Middleveld, Lowveld and Lubombo—and to the selected peri-urban sites. The same research methodology (see Annex 1) was used by each of the teams in each community, employing specified qualitative research methods to gather information on the perceptions and experience of poverty among members of these communities. Altogether, more than 600 households, 100 focus groups and 100 key informants participated in the poverty analysis.
The assessment is described as "participatory" because it involved direct participation by
the poor in analysing their own conditions. Discussions were held in large and small focus
groups, followed by conversational interviews with individual households. Instead of using
structured questionnaires, researchers used an Interview Guide (Annex 2) to conduct semi-
structured, conversational interviews.

The field work was carried out in mid-1995—the fourth consecutive year of intense drought
which affected large areas of the country. The findings of the PPA were written up by the
research team leaders and disseminated as a resource to key stakeholders in Swaziland in
October, 1996. The aim of this report is to provide a synthesis of the four regional reports
and the two peri-urban case studies, to support the process of dialogue on policies for
poverty alleviation.

B. Economic and Social Context

Living standards for the Swazi population have been adversely affected since 1990 by two
kinds of factors: drought conditions between 1991/92 and 1995/96 which have had a drastic
impact on subsistence agriculture, rendering two thirds of the rural population eligible for
food aid in 1992; and political changes in neighboring countries which have had the effect of
reducing public revenue and constraining growth of the formal private sector in Swaziland.
The dramatic political and economic changes in South Africa and, to a lesser extent, in other
neighboring countries that are promoting private sector development, have eroded
Swaziland's comparative advantage in attracting private investment. Public revenues, which
remain highly dependent on the regional Customs Union, are falling. And employment
opportunities for Swazis in South Africa have declined from their peak in the late 1980s.

Growth of the Swazi economy declined from an average of 6% per annum in the 1980s to 2%
in the early 1990s--well below the very high population growth rate, approaching 3.8% --
while formal employment opportunities are static or decreasing. Distribution of income,
estimated at $1,100 per capita, is highly skewed, and human development has lagged behind
economic growth. The infant mortality rate, at 98 per 1,000 in 1995, is high compared with
other African countries at similar per capital income levels, although it has been reduced
from 150 in 1983. The child malnutrition rate also compares unfavorably with other countries
in the region. The literacy rate, on the other hand, is estimated above 75% and primary school
enrolment rates are relatively high. Nevertheless, the quality of primary education is a matter
of concern, and public funding to education is balanced in favor of the tertiary sector.

Public expenditure is also balanced (i) in favor of the urban sector and (ii), within the rural
sector, in favor of the commercial estate sector. Although the share of planned capital
expenditure allocated to “housing and community amenities” is high, at 12.4% (Development
Plan 1994/95-1996/97), this is concentrated in urban areas. Similarly, “water resources
management” accounted for no less than 19.7% of planned expenditure but is focused
primarily on the needs of large scale commercial projects.
Agriculture accounts for three quarters of the country’s labor force; and agro-processing accounts for the bulk of exports. Two forms of land tenure co-exist in Swaziland. Individual tenure farms (ITF) or “title deed” land reflects Western principles of land ownership and is governed by the Roman-Dutch law. Swazi Nation Land (SNL) vests in the King, is subject to customary land tenure, and use rights are allocated by chiefs. The rural economy is sharply divided between (i) large scale, capital intensive, commercial farming, often using immigrant labor, on ITF land (25% of the land area, and usually the best quality land), and (ii) rain-fed, semi-subsistence farming by smallholders on Swazi Nation Land, with few linkages between the two. Marketing channels, technical support and finance are all geared to the needs of the large scale commercial sector. The maize market is highly regulated, with a gap between producer and consumer prices that discourages smallholders from producing above subsistence needs.

The rural population (70% of the total population) consists of some 88,000 households, more than one third of which are headed by women. In the traditional sector, income from agricultural production—mainly of maize and sometimes of cotton—is heavily supplemented by remittances from family members in paid employment in Swaziland or South Africa. Most of the agricultural labor is carried out by women, older men and children. Only 40% of households own cattle.

With a rainfed farming system, a single cropping season and a limited food crop mix dominated by maize production, rural households are vulnerable as a matter of course to production shortfalls and consequent “hungry periods” leading up to the harvest months of June/July. The impact of the drought, most severe and prolonged in the Lowveld region, was to disable this already fragile livelihood system. The 1993 Human Development Report classified 400,000 people, or 46% of the population, as living in "absolute poverty." In 1994, WFP and UNDP funded a Household Needs Assessment which estimated 15,000 households, most of them female-headed, as having insufficient income or harvest to meet their basic food needs. People receiving food aid numbered 410,000 in 1992, 200,000 in 1993/94 and 80,000 in 1995/96.

In responding to the challenges of recovery from the drought and of adapting the economy to a rapidly changing competitive environment, Swaziland faces institutional constraints—which the government is now taking steps to address—related primarily to its dual governance structure and the minority status of women. The still important role of traditional authority in Swazi society has tended to reinforce the rigidities of the dual economic structure. In the Swazi Nation traditional sector, which accounts for nearly 80% of the population, local authority is exercised by chiefs, through 200 chiefdoms. By tradition, chiefs are male. The main functions of the chiefs, assisted by a male council of elders, include the allocation of use rights to Swazi Nation Land, and the settling of disputes according to traditional law and custom. Women’s minority status under traditional law constrains their opportunities to contribute to, or benefit from, the development process.
These institutional constraints are not only affecting Swaziland’s ability as a nation to adapt and compete economically. The findings of the PPA demonstrate that they also constrain the capacity of poor households and communities to take advantage of development opportunities and assistance, and to adapt and cope at times of stress.
2. Perceptions of Poverty

A. Defining the Poor and the Better Off

Focus groups in each of the communities defined the characteristics of poverty and wealth, agreed on categories of poverty and well-being appropriate for their own community, and assessed how many households within their community belonged in each category. In several cases, participants maintained initially that all households in their community should be defined as poor and that nobody was better off. The number of categories eventually decided upon varied from two to six but most of the focus groups settled on either three or four: typically, the well-off or better-off; those who were managing; and the poor, often also distinguishing between the poor and the very poor or destitute.

Although there was wide variation between different communities in the proportion of households assigned to each category, broadly the same criteria were adopted by all the groups for determining how households should be ranked. Focus groups and key informants characterized poor households in terms of:

- inability to meet basic needs (hunger, begging for food, bad condition of housing and clothing)
- children not attending primary school
- low crop yields because of lack of agricultural assets (livestock, good land, or access to inputs)
- demographic categories—widows, the elderly living alone, the disabled, and large families, were those most likely to be poor.

Rich or well off households were typically characterized by:

- one or more household members in formal employment
- all children attending school
- large herds of cattle
- high crop yields
- ownership of assets such as cars, tractors, businesses, boreholes, and cement block houses.
Some Definitions of Poverty and Well-being in Lubombo

The poor:
- the woman who has lost a husband
- the woman who is old and can no longer till the soil
- the woman who does not have children
- the woman who has been neglected by her children

The well-off:
- the man who has over twenty cattle
- the man who has a business
- the man who is employed and who has a wife working
- the man whose children are attending school and are well fed

The temporarily poor:
- those who could feed themselves before the drought but are now hungry
- previously prosperous cotton farmers who “are now struggling like us”

The new poor:
- previously rich people who have lost their cattle through cattle rustling
- widows whose husbands had left them cattle but who now have nothing to sell to educate their children

Usually, a large middle or average category of "struggling" households was defined to include those who were managing much of the time but were vulnerable to severe poverty when their crops failed or they lost their income from remittances. Further wealth ranking distinctions within this broad category were often based on whether women of the household were involved in successful income generating activities such as hawking or informal vending.

In all cases, the very poorest category was defined as comprising widows, deserted wives, the elderly not supported by their children, and the physically or mentally disabled. These groups were often described as “permanently poor”, meaning that they were poor even when there was no drought or other shock affecting the community as a whole.

The proportion of households defined by focus groups as either poor or very poor varied as much between communities within each region as it did between regions. It is important to note that, because each group defined its own wealth categories, and its own boundaries between categories, the results are not strictly comparable. In addition, many of the focus groups were
unable to quantify the numbers of households in each category. The figures in Table 1, therefore, provide only a very rough indication of differences in perceptions between communities or regions. On average, Lubombo had the lowest share of households defined as poor and the Lowveld the highest; however, some communities in every region described the majority of their members as poor.

Table 2: Share of Households in Community Defined by Focus Groups as Poor or Very Poor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Lowest Share</th>
<th>Highest Share</th>
<th>Average for all Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleveld</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowveld</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubombo</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Lowveld summary

Figure 1

Wealth ranking: Lowveld

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth category</th>
<th>Criteria/ household characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better off (10-15%)</td>
<td>Permanent wage earners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owners of many livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton farmers owning tractors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owners of shops or other businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling (50%)</td>
<td>Occasional/seasonal wage earners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawkers and vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have access to land and minimum inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Need food aid if it does not rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Receive small/occasional remittances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse off/Destitute (35%):</td>
<td>Experience food shortage and hunger even when there is no drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unsupported widows and deserted wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unsupported elderly and disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed without access to land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) Middleveld summary

**Figure 2**

**Wealth ranking: Middle Veld**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth category</th>
<th>Criteria/ household characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Better off (2%)</strong></td>
<td>Have brick houses, cars, tractors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have 20 or more livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have income from formal employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children attend school and are well dressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are not vulnerable to natural calamities (drought, floods, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Managing (28%)</strong></td>
<td>Have sufficient food - grow enough food if there are good rains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have at least one household member in wage employment (RSA mines or co. towns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can afford to pay school fees, depending on number of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poor (60%)</strong></td>
<td>Live on hand to mouth basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have no regular or established source of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do not have enough food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cannot afford school fees for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have poor housing structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are vulnerable to even minor natural hazards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worse off/Very poor (10%)</strong></td>
<td>Elderly, disabled and widows without working children or other support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beg for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depend on neighbors for food, laundry, firewood, clothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c) Highveld (Mashobeni community)

Wealth ranking: Highveld (Mashobeni)

Very poor

Rich

Managing

Poor

---

d) Lubombo (Lomahasha community)

Wealth ranking: Lubombo (Lomahasha)

Well-off

Poor

Better-off

Struggling

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth category</th>
<th>Criteria/ household characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Well off (10%)</td>
<td>Successful cotton farmers of the 1970s who invested in tractors and businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better off (20%)</td>
<td>Wives supplementing household income through hawking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling (30%)</td>
<td>Cotton farmers who are in debt Household member disabled but working Unemployed youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor (40%)</td>
<td>Widows, the elderly and mentally handicapped Have dilapidated housing Children not attending school Cannot afford clinic fees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 2
B. Identifying the Causes of Poverty

In explaining the causes of poverty, a distinction was often drawn between factors which make individual households vulnerable to poverty and factors which are contributing to the impoverishment of communities.

What makes individual households vulnerable to poverty?

Only a small minority of rural residents—in some communities, none at all—are seen to be secure from the constant threat of poverty: these are described primarily as the highly educated and the families of successful cotton farmers of the 1970s who chose to invest their profits in income-generating assets, such as tractors and businesses. The majority, whose livelihoods are based on rainfed agriculture, are always vulnerable to crop failure. These households may also be pushed into poverty at any time by death or disability of the husband, or by the failure of children to support their elderly parents. Family ties are seen to be weakening: sons are less likely to provide for their elderly parents, while men are deserting wives and children they are unable to support. Factors thought to increase vulnerability to poverty were teenage pregnancy, large families, and polygamy. When children dropped out of school, this was seen to perpetuate the vulnerability of the household; parents would make major sacrifices, even to the point of rationing food consumption in the family, to pay school fees.

What makes communities poor?

In all the regions, the drought was seen to have been the fundamental cause of community impoverishment: as a result, improvements in water supply (through dams and irrigation) were the overwhelming priority to reverse this trend and enable rural communities to feed themselves. Nevertheless, other important factors were identified—including lack of access to adequate agricultural land, cattle theft, rising costs, neglect of rural areas (in terms of investment in infrastructure, social and development services), the lack of job opportunities, isolation from mainstream markets and information sources—which compounded the impact of the drought and weakened the ability of communities to recover by diversifying their sources of income.

Depletion of Cattle Stocks in Lubombo

In the Lubombo region, communities had suffered from both drought and cattle rustling. As one participant explained, “A lot of people were sending their children to school by using the cattle. Come ploughing time, the oxen would be used. Come planting time, they would sell cattle to buy seed and fertilizer. Come drought, a few cattle would be sold to tide the family over until next harvest. Now with so many kraals empty, the kids will drop out of school, people will have a problem with farm inputs, and we will be more vulnerable to hunger during the drought - destitution will increase”.

Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 2
Depletion of assets

Strong concern was expressed that communities were experiencing progressive depletion of their assets—cattle stocks, productive land, sources of firewood, and the grasses used as raw materials for handicraft production—due to drought, cattle rustling (in some cases), and the need to sell assets to meet the rising costs of food, education, health care and transport. In a number of instances, resettlement had deprived communities of agricultural land.

Resettlement Deprives Communities of Agricultural Land

Lack of access to agricultural land was perceived as a major cause of impoverishment for several communities that had been resettled, for example:

The people of Etinseni (Lowveld) trace their poverty back to 1973/74, when the community was moved from agriculturally productive land to make way for commercial sugar cane plantations. They described themselves as “living in the prison of having the Lubombo mountain on one side, with no access to the plateau, and the foot and mouth cordon fence on the other side.” Hunger and food shortage was described as a permanent characteristic of the community, regardless of the rains, because of the lack of access to arable land. The closest water supply was three hours walk away, over two fences, and shared with livestock; the nearest bus and school were a similar distance away. Wage employment in the nearby sugar company was the major source of livelihood; however, only nine of the 68 households had a member in full time employment. When a company employee was laid off, their children could no longer use the company bus and were obliged to drop out of school.

At Ingwempisi Farm in Lushikishini (Highveld), residents had been resettled to make way for the Chinese Agricultural Scheme. As a result, they lost their farm land and found their subsistence threatened because of inadequate land allocations in the new resettlement.

Also in the Highveld, at Malandelahle in Luhhamaneni, community residents had been resettled away from arable land, in this case to make room for the asbestos mine at Bulembu. For as long as the mine was operating profitably, employment at the mine provided a source of livelihood for the community. However, closure of the mine in the early 1990s left residents of the area with no alternative source of livelihood as they had no land even for subsistence farming.

As a result of the depletion of assets and the inability of a large proportion of households to sustain their livelihood through farming, the better off households were less able to support their poorer neighbors by providing casual employment or traditional forms of credit and charitable support. Competition was increased for informal, non-farm sources of income such as beer selling, hawking, petty trade or domestic help.

Failure of government support

The potential for income generation through diversified sources, agricultural or otherwise, was perceived to be constrained by government preoccupation with development of urban areas, at the expense of rural communities. Feelings of helplessness were based on the sense of isolation...
from the mainstream and of government promises that were not fulfilled. Neglect was expressed in terms of access to, and quality of, social and extension services; lack of investment in the transport and communications infrastructure needed to provide access to essential services, to attract investment and to create rural employment opportunities; and access to markets, information and credit.

The lack of infrastructure and basic services--especially the poor quality and difficulty of access to health care--was seen to deter qualified professionals from serving in remote areas. The inferior quality of teaching in rural schools and the lack of access to secondary schools were common concerns. In addition, many rural children were reported not to be attending primary school because of transport constraints or inability to pay the fees and other costs.

At the same time, well-being at the community level was increasingly affected by crime, attributed to the numbers of children not attending school, the growing number of unemployed youth without access to agricultural land, and the strain placed on social relations by the increase in borrowing and begging.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concerns about Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Importance: “I never used to worry about my illiteracy and the fact that I was not able to send my children to school, as long as we had something to eat. But now, because I know the water problem is here to stay, I realize that my children are in trouble for life, because they cannot get any decent pay from any job if they don’t know how to read and write; and yet farming is no longer feasible as our main source of livelihood.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs: “Too many children are living with widows or elderly women who cannot afford the costs of schooling.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance: “Instead of teaching useful crafts, our schools are educating people for office jobs that don’t exist.” ...“We sell the last cow to educate our children, only to find that they can’t get jobs when they leave school.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Ranking the Problems

At the community level

Throughout all four regions, the same key problem areas were identified by community-level focus groups. Access to water--for drinking, livestock and agriculture--was the overwhelming priority.

Poor quality and/or lack of access to health care, transport and education were all cited as one of the top five problems in the majority of focus groups. Other problems mentioned frequently were the increase in crime, unemployment, access to marketing outlets, agricultural inputs, electricity
and telephones, and care of the destitute and elderly. More community-specific problems included resettlement, access to land, lack of a mortuary, and chieftancy disputes. The frequency with which these problems were cited by focus groups as having major importance for the community is summarized in Table 2. Two notable differences between regions should be highlighted:

- the problems of hunger and food insecurity were of much greater concern to communities in the Lowveld than in other regions;
- communities in Lubombo gave particularly high priority to the problems of crime and cattle rustling.

Table 3: Summary of Problem Ranking
(% of community focus groups citing as major problem)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem area</th>
<th>Highveld</th>
<th>Midveld</th>
<th>Lowveld</th>
<th>Lubombo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads/transport</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food/hunger</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to markets</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extens. &amp; devt. services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. equipment/inputs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to land</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of electricity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care of the destitute</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of shop</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of telephone</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of mortuary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the household level

While the focus groups addressed community level problems, interviews with poor households revealed priorities at the level of the individual household. Although access to water, health care and education were prominent concerns at both levels, households emphasized the problems of hunger, unemployment, family and marital relationships, and alcoholism. Food security was a major preoccupation for the majority of households interviewed in every region. A number of households and key informants gave priority to such problems as teenage pregnancy, polygamy, and having too many children.
3. Coping Strategies and Safety Nets

A. Coping Strategies and Mechanisms

Participants in all the sample communities perceived their welfare to have deteriorated over the last few years as a result of several factors. By far the most important was the drought, which had affected all the communities in varying degrees since 1991, preventing many from feeding their families through their own agricultural production and often making access to drinking water very difficult. At the same time, political change in South Africa, combined with increasing competition among young men for limited wage-earning opportunities in Swazi towns, was reducing the level of income from remittances to the rural areas. In addition, the costs of basic goods and services--including food, school costs and transport--were seen to have been rising substantially. Some communities had been further impoverished through cattle theft.

In response to these threats to their livelihoods and living standards, people changed their behavior in a variety of ways. As explained by participants, the different kinds of strategies adopted--summarized in Table 3 below--involved changes in consumption patterns, diversification of income through new income generating activities, changes in the workloads of men and women, and measures to cope with personal stress. Some of these strategies have served to strengthen, and others to weaken, future household and community capacity to protect the interests of vulnerable members and to adapt successfully to changing conditions.

Food security

Risk minimising strategies included drying and storing food at times of surplus, and diversifying sources of income, in order to cope at times of crop failure. Teaching children not to waste food was also considered important. These strategies, even in addition to selling assets and/or saving on school fees by taking children out of school, were insufficient to maintain food consumption patterns through periods of drought and the majority of households reported resorting to strict rationing of food. Consumption strategies included reducing the size or number of meals a day, adults going without food, substituting cheaper and more filling foods, grinding sorghum residue from beer to make porridge for children, and drinking beer, “you can fill up your stomach and quickly go to sleep on very little money.”

Participation in food for work programs had been crucial to the subsistence of many of the households, although this was perceived, especially by men, as degrading--a form of slavery--and inadequate. Often it was women who carried out the work. The required hours of work were considered too long in relation both to the amount of food provided and to other work which household members had to perform: the food was insufficient to
meet the needs of a large household but the work left no time for activities to supplement it from other sources.

**Expenditure minimizing strategies**

In addition to changing food consumption patterns, households reported taking children out of school, sending children to live with relatives or work in other households, reducing their use of transport and health care facilities, and using the services of local traditional healers for some purposes instead of health clinics or hospitals.

**Cash generating strategies**

Household strategies for diversifying sources of income and food supply are strongly gender-based and have had a severe impact on the workload of women. For men, the primary options have been migration to find wage employment, casual work in the neighborhood (e.g., cutting logs, maintaining houses), and selling cattle and other assets to pay for immediate consumption needs. Activities taken on by women to supplement household income and meet food needs included: casual work in the houses or fields of better off neighbors, petty trade and hawking, making and selling handicrafts or beer, and collecting wild fruits and vegetables. Community based coping strategies appeared to be relatively limited. Most of the cooperative income generating activities were run by women’s groups, while many of the infrastructure projects (in addition to the food for work schemes) also depended on women’s labor.

**Savings and credit**

Although borrowing from the bank or from money lenders was mentioned by a few male participants, and some women mentioned revolving credit schemes, there was generally very little knowledge or experience of formal savings and credit-- to the extent that, in most of the focus groups, discussion of the options involved had to be abandoned and the groups discussed instead the use of traditional inter-household borrowing of food and cash. A number of men had dropped out of agricultural cooperative or credit schemes when their production was insufficient to repay loans. Women complained that their income generating activities were constrained by lack of information about and access to credit. In some focus groups, it was felt that the hand-to-mouth existence of the community as a whole made any savings impossible.

**Individual coping mechanisms**

The pressures of poverty are experienced very differently by men and women. Men have experienced a threat to their social status, self respect, and confidence in their economic role as providers for their family, through the loss of their cattle and through increased dependence on the informal earnings of their wife to meet basic household needs. Many instances were cited of men who had left the community and deserted their families because of debt they could not repay, or simply because they were unable to provide for
their wife or wives and children. Cases were reported in every community of men, and sometimes also women, who resorted to alcohol abuse as a means of coping with hunger and/or personal stress.

For women, the main pressures were those on their time and health because of regular child bearing, an excessive burden of work, and the constant stress of how and what to feed their children and how to pay for schooling. Many found moral support through prayer, church or women's groups; many also expressed feelings of isolation, however, as they felt unable to discuss personal matters with their husband or his family, and their workload left them no space for relaxation with friends. Although it was relatively rare for women to leave their families, some female heads of households had turned to their mother to take care of their children while they moved away to earn the money to support them; and in a few cases, grandmothers had been left to care for children without any support.

Table 4: Coping Strategies and Mechanisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household-based Strategies</th>
<th>Gender basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a) Reducing Consumption and Expenditure</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food rationing: changing diet to reduce cost; reducing the size or number of meals a day; making softer porridge using less mealie meal; teaching children not to waste food; mothers, or both parents, going without food themselves in order to have enough for their children; not feeding chickens and dogs.</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending one or more children to stay with better-off relatives, or to work as live-in domestic workers/babysitters.</td>
<td>male/fem. children girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking children out of school or alternating children in school.</td>
<td>male/female children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiating with school principal to reduce or postpone school fees.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to traditional healers or using home remedies instead of paying higher fees and/or transport to clinic or hospital.</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using maize cobs, cow dung or chicken droppings instead of firewood.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b) Increasing Sources of Income or Food</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration by one or more household members, to seek wage employment in urban areas or RSA.</td>
<td>mainly men, sometimes women and older children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 3
### Table 4 continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household-based Strategies, continued</th>
<th>Gender basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selling livestock, farm machinery and other assets to pay for food or schooling.</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual work: local seasonal jobs and piece work, work in neighbors' fields, paid in cash or kind.</td>
<td>men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty trade, informal vending and hawking.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making and selling clothing and handicrafts.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing labor in exchange for school fees or payment to the school Building Fund.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal making and selling of beer; selling &quot;dagga&quot;.</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing cash or food from neighbors and relatives.</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Disguised begging&quot;: visiting the homes of others around eating time.</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in food for work programs.</td>
<td>women and men but primarily women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing from the bank or from informal money lenders (&quot;Shylocks&quot;)</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathering wild fruits and vegetables - &quot;famine foods.&quot;</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begging and scavenging.</td>
<td>mostly widows, disabled and elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft (for sale or consumption, e.g., of firewood, crops or vegetables).</td>
<td>women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution (rare cases) - sex in exchange for money, food or water.</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community-based Strategies</th>
<th>Gender basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communal income-generating projects (e.g., poultry farming, vegetable gardens, brick making, handicrafts, sewing).</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community infrastructure projects (e.g., water, clinic, school, roads).</td>
<td>mostly women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial societies (common) and other informal revolving credit schemes (rare).</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community crime alert and policing systems, primarily to control the problem of cattle rustling.</td>
<td>men and women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual Coping Mechanisms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment of wife/wives and children when unable to support them, or to repay debt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft and other crime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse, especially alcohol drinking: “alcohol helped one not to concentrate on the hunger problem.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Asset Constraints**

Viability of the livelihood and coping strategies, as described by focus groups and households, depends on people’s access to various different types of assets: natural resources (land, water, raw materials for handicrafts, wild “famine foods”); physical capital (housing, farm inputs, livestock, physical infrastructure), human capital (health, education and training), and social capital (arrangements within the household or family for pooling of income and expenditure to meet the needs of all members, as well as the formal and informal institutions that facilitate trust and cooperative action in the wider
community). Poverty can be seen as the lack of access to these assets: the poor depend primarily on their own time and labor.

Access to assets was seen to be important in two ways. First, it determines which groups in the community are most vulnerable to poverty. The minority status of women denies them access in their own right to property or other physical assets, limits their freedom in using their own labor, and requires that they depend on their husband, or on other supportive family relationships. Without this support, their only resource is their own time and labor. The elderly and handicapped who are unable to work depend totally on family and community support.

Second, however, is the question of changes in the stock of assets available to the community as a whole. As drought, soil erosion, cattle theft and economic pressures have depleted the natural and physical assets of many rural communities, more and more households have had to resort to coping strategies that depend primarily on the asset of their own time and labor: informal vending, begging and borrowing from neighbors, making and selling beer or handicrafts, casual work for better-off households, etc.; in other words, the livelihood strategies of the traditionally vulnerable groups. These strategies have become progressively less viable because of the increase in competition for shrinking markets.

The diminishing viability of these strategies, because of the increasing number of people employing them, has contributed to the growth of dysfunctional coping mechanisms by individuals -- crime, theft, alcoholism, prostitution, and family desertion -- which in turn were seen to be eroding the family relationships and social capital on which livelihood and coping strategies will continue to depend.

Most of the household and community based coping strategies listed in Table 3 were seen by participants to have either a positive or a negative longer term impact on access to assets of different kinds. For example, there was much concern about the future impact on human capital of cutting back expenditure on schooling and health care for children. Even those who had little or no formal education themselves were convinced that education of their children was essential to break the vicious cycle of poverty, and many women in particular were making extreme efforts to keep their children in school. Similarly, cattle and other physical assets were sold to meet immediate needs only with the greatest reluctance; households saw their future ability to cope diminished by the loss of these assets when they had little prospect of recovering them. On the other hand, community based strategies, such as the women’s cooperative groups engaged in income generating activities, are serving to build physical and social capital for the future (although a strong sense was conveyed of the limits to these strategies because of the constraints to women’s time).
B. Safety Nets

A range of significant institutions, listed in Table 4, were mentioned in focus groups and household interviews. Few were considered to be fully effective. Most important was the extended family, although this was seen to be weakening and reference was made frequently to sons who neglected to support their elderly parents and to husbands who abused or deserted their wives. Some of those who were not supported by other family members received assistance from neighbors, church groups or NGOs.

Some women’s groups provide an important safety net function for their members. The very poorest women are liable to be excluded, however, because they cannot afford the fee required for participation, because their daily work load is too great to allow the time, or because of ill-health.

Food aid and food for work programs administered by NGOs were acknowledged as crucial to most of the communities at times of severe drought and crop failure. This assistance was seen as infrequent and unreliable, however, and the distribution inequitable. Food for work programs were viewed as a poor alternative to assistance that would enable communities to fend for themselves: those which invited any household to participate were preferred to those which were targeted because the targeting was not considered to be effective.

Community members tended to be distrustful of outsiders in general, and of government representatives in particular. Little confidence was expressed in any of the central government agencies to address the needs of rural communities. The main exception to the distrust of outsiders was the case of NGOs which had built up a long term relationship with a particular community. It was notable that local traditional authority was not credited in focus groups or household interviews with any significant role in protection of the needy. Although this was clearly the most important institution for the majority of men, its role appeared to be limited primarily to negotiation in land disputes. Perceptions of effectiveness and equity in the allocation of SNL land varied greatly between communities. In several communities in the Lowveld, participants expressed dissatisfaction that the food grown communally in the chief’s fields was not available to disadvantaged members of the community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Form of Support</th>
<th>Perceived Effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extended family</strong></td>
<td>Support to dependent family members - women, the elderly, the disabled. Sons support elderly parents; in-laws support widows.</td>
<td>This system seen to be weakening. Frequent reference to “irresponsible sons”, men who desert their wives and children, widows and elderly with no support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local traditional leadership</strong></td>
<td>Settlement of land disputes. Allocation of land to those in need. Otherwise, safety net role appears limited.</td>
<td>Variable in terms of land allocation. Important to men as focus of social support/relations. Often seen as a negative factor by women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informal community institutions</strong></td>
<td>Informal voluntary assistance to the poorest from better-off households</td>
<td>Constrained by impoverishment of the community as a whole: households that were once well off now have little or nothing to spare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local church</strong></td>
<td>Spiritual and emotional support and, occasionally, organization of practical assistance to the needy.</td>
<td>The church is particularly important to women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women’s organizations</strong></td>
<td>Women’s cooperative income-generating projects. Informal revolving credit schemes; burial societies providing insurance in meeting burial costs.</td>
<td>Seen as a vital safety net, especially when crops fail. The main constraint is the pressure on women’s time. Women’s self help groups important but limited because they do not have access to formal credit systems and usually exclude the poorest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Farmers’ credit schemes (organized by NGOs, or combination private and public sector)</strong></td>
<td>Chinese scheme (operating in three of the Lubombo communities) providing credit for farming inputs, repaid through portion of next maize crop. Cotton farmers’ credit scheme (Middleveld)</td>
<td>Most farmers had dropped out of the scheme because they were unwilling or unable to pay the required 22 bags of maize. Low yields, because of drought, have prevented farmers from repaying loans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Form of Support</th>
<th>Perceived Effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>External NGOs/aid agencies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food aid</td>
<td>Had been crucial at some stage in recent years in most of the sample communities, although distribution was seen as infrequent, unreliable and inequitable.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food-for-work programs</td>
<td>Often seen by men as form of “slavery” depriving them of dignity and self respect. The work often done by women.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsorship of primary or secondary school children.</td>
<td>Several communities had developed a successful long term multi-purpose relationship with an individual NGO.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance with basic infrastructure projects.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government agencies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Department payments to registered unsupported elderly and disabled</td>
<td>Poor treatment by welfare officers. Ineffective because of administrative inefficiency and distance to nearest center.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education subsidies</td>
<td>Insufficient considering extent of poverty and high costs of schooling.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic health care</td>
<td>Physically inaccessible for households in remote communities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural extension</td>
<td>Not meeting needs of poorest who are prevented from feeding themselves by lack of access to inputs and information.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Women and Poverty

Within a context of overall hardship, women were consistently defined as the most vulnerable social group by focus groups, by key informants and in individual household interviews. Several aspects of this vulnerability were highlighted:

- Women’s minority status which denies them ownership and control of assets, including their own labor.
- The lack of support experienced by many women: female heads of households who are widowed or whose husbands have deserted them; women whose husbands are absent or unemployed; and women who lack the support of community institutions.
- The excessive workload imposed on women as they find themselves increasingly responsible for the food security and education of large families.

This chapter outlines the opinions expressed by women concerning their vulnerability and the coping strategies they are adopting.

Lack of Control over Assets

The PPA explored women’s perceptions and experiences of control of assets according to five different forms of marital relationship: stable customary and/or common law marriage; divorce; separation/migration; widowhood; and in polygamy. The aim was to learn who made key decisions about disposal of assets, including sale of livestock, what to plant, whether sons and daughters should attend school (and for how long) and whether the woman can look for a job.

No notable differences were revealed between regions. Women in Lubombo region stated that most decisions are made only by the man, while some decisions may be made jointly. Very few decisions are made by the woman alone and ultimately it is the man who has the final word. Similarly in the Lowveld, focus groups stated that it was seldom that women made decisions unilaterally. While there might be some inter-household variation in women’s control over assets, the general pattern was that the man made the decisions, but sometimes in consultation with the wife. Decisions concerning what and when to plant were usually made by men. With regard to children’s education, women usually initiated the discussion on when a child could start school, but the final decision rested with the man. If he agreed that the children should go to school, it was often the woman’s responsibility to find the money to pay fees.

Women (in the Highveld, for example) categorized assets into major assets, largely controlled by men, and minor assets, over which women often had control. Major assets included land use rights, big livestock, and capital assets such as a house, tractor, car. Minor assets included clothes, utensils, small stock, and sometimes milk cows. Children were viewed as assets for the future, and women accepted strong cultural pressure to continue producing sons.
Although women expect to spend most of their productive labor on farming, and to take responsibility for feeding the family, they depend in practice (and to a lesser extent under law\(^1\)) on male access to use rights to land. Women in Lubombo region expressed particular hardship regarding the allocation of land within marriage; if the wife was out of favor, or neglected by the husband, she might find it more difficult to gain use rights to land since “we are too many and there is too little land”. For a woman, even as a female head of household, her usufruct access would be facilitated through a male relative, including younger relatives and sons. Should these male relatives be absent or disinterested, the woman’s needs were disregarded. If the female head of household was also a widow, or an elderly widow, the situation was exacerbated, due to the social isolation imposed by the mourning period, and the likelihood that older women find it more difficult to exchange or pool labour.

In the Lowveld communities, women commented on the alternative household arrangements that were emerging in response to lack of assets and resources, particularly access to land: in order to feed their children, women were increasingly returning to their family homesteads in order to gain access to their family allocation of land, not just when a marriage had failed; some widows had “inherited” access through their late husbands; sometimes the community made a collective decision, facilitated by the chief, to allocate land to a woman coping with destitution while trying to support a family.

With regard to ownership and control of livestock, women in the Lowveld pointed out that men’s ownership of cattle did not help the women and children, because the men could decide to sell or not sell cattle without consulting the women, and if they did sell, the money would not necessarily be used to buy food for the household. This could also apply to the cattle which accompany the woman as dowry, and women felt that they could not rely on men agreeing to sell the livestock for food, no matter how hungry the family might be.

Women in the Middleveld were also aware that they did not own any other major assets; besides the utensils of the household and their traditional clothes, they owned only chickens. None of them owned goats, donkeys, or cattle. Some women in the Lowveld reported that they have a greater say in the decisions about pigs —“the pig is the woman’s cow”— because the women are more involved in the husbandry of pigs. With chickens, women were free to slaughter or sell when they decided, but they would nevertheless usually consult with the men. When there was clear desertion of the family by the man, women might make their own decisions regarding disposal of livestock, but were more likely to consult with sons or male members of the extended family instead.

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\(^1\)“According to traditional Swazi law and custom, all land attached to a homestead belongs to the head of that homestead. The homestead head then distributes fields to women of the homestead... However, in some cases, the grandmother of the homestead, or the most senior wife, may be designated as the homestead head.” (A. Armstrong, 1986, *Legal Aspects of Land Tenure in Swaziland*) The 1982 Farm Dwellers Act recognises that the head of homestead may be a woman. In addition, unmarried adult women and women married out of community of property may own Private Tenure Land.

_Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 4_
Lack of Control over Use of Own Labor

Women felt constrained by being unable to take a job without their husband’s permission. Focus groups in the Highveld stated that women cannot look for jobs anywhere they want, and especially if they involve migrant labour. They need their husbands’ permission to seek out income-earning opportunities and this sanction is not always given. Even when the husband is absent, his permission is still required, or that of his nearest male relative as proxy. As a result, women’s only asset, that of their labour, is deployed through men’s decisions, which are not necessarily supported by appropriate resources or by men’s capacity to fulfill their livelihood obligations.

Women’s coping strategies in the Highveld were to participate in localized vending of vegetables or crafts, which is a culturally approved activity. Women in the Middleveld were emphatic about the restrictions under which they tried to subsist; 75 percent of those interviewed felt that they were poor precisely because their husbands would not give them permission to go out and look for employment. In this region also, men vet the women’s activities for income-generation, vetoeing those which might incur disapproval from other families or, according to some of the women interviewed, might enable their wives to become financially independent. In Lubombo, livelihood activities such as handicrafts, informal vending, and piece work such as weeding and threshing maize, are oversubscribed and are supplemented by selling firewood, thatching grass, collecting water. Women called themselves “bomanthuthu” because they could not secure jobs, but at the same time lacked the appropriate skills to start their own businesses and become self-employed.

Few Women Have Experience of Formal Savings and Credit

Savings did not appear as a significant safety net for women. Many women in the survey said they were too poor to be able to save anything. Where a women’s group or cooperative has a savings scheme, the long distances to banks and the costs of transport often discourage them from keeping the savings in a bank account. Traditional burial societies and rotating savings and credit groups (luholiswano) are the popular institutions for those women who can afford membership; however, women in the Highveld, for example, reported having to forego membership when paying subscriptions competed with paying school fees.

Lack of Support

Despite their dependent status in Swaziland, women are not only responsible for the well-being of large families, but are often finding themselves meeting that responsibility alone, without the support of a husband. Several factors were said to account for the numbers of female headed households: the lack of security for women in marriage; the former practice of arranging marriage for a daughter with a much older man; and the lack of local employment opportunities for men.
Women's opinions concerning alternative forms of marriage centred on the need for security. Some men, as well as virtually all women in the study, expressed condemnation of polygamy. Some women perceived this type of marriage as the contributing factor to poverty. They saw that a man could have more than one wife, but that the increased costs of living have contributed to the man's failure to manage separate households, resulting in a breakdown in family life and welfare. There was ambivalence, however, concerning the relative merits of customary and civil marriage: women did not see either form of marriage as providing the security they sought, or opportunities for self-sufficiency. Customary marriage for their daughters was considered preferable in that it could not be dissolved; however, it allowed polygamy which was perceived as liable to result in poverty. It was suggested by some women that it would be better to be single, because the men provided no support and merely increased the workloads of women.

Widowhood held a particular threat because of the Swazi custom which regards the widow as the bearer of bad luck. As a result, the mourning period, which traditionally lasts two years, alienates widows from the rest of society and restricts their productive activities. Women without support have significant responsibilities, even during old age and widowhood. Traditionally the disabled children, and the children under the custody of the husband following dissolution of a marriage, are maintained by the paternal grandmother—another factor which inhibits the wellbeing of the elderly widows. Significant numbers of “women without support” were found in each of the sample communities, and they were the least able to afford to send their children or grandchildren to school.

Many women, whether or not they were heads of households, expressed lack of support of a different kind—a lack of support groups within the community. Praying individually or with local church members was a coping strategy for both sickness and stress, mentioned by women in the Middleveld. But they felt uncomfortable with discussing the details of their problems even with church members, for fear of being targets of gossip in the community. Some of the communities visited were caught up in a Satanism scare, also reported in the Lowveld, and rumours regarding people's behavior were so rife that they refused to talk to or to be seen talking to outsiders. Women would resort to praying without identifying their personal difficulties.

Women in the Lubombo region spoke of having no one to consult on their problems, even within the family; they might talk to their mother-in-law, but not their husbands. In the Middleveld, women stated that they generally preferred discussing their problems with their own parents and relatives, rather than their in-laws. So they would either sneak out of the household when their husbands were absent, or ask for some time off to visit their parents. Some women (in the Lowveld, for example) expressed feelings of total isolation, sometimes because of their sheer burden of work and child-bearing.

Coping Strategies and Workloads

Compensating for food insecurity is perceived to be women’s responsibility and in many cases—female heads of households, women whose husbands are absent or unemployed—they carry this responsibility alone. These are the categories of households defined in the wealth ranking as
living on the margin of hunger. Hunger and food insecurity were major preoccupations in most of the interviews with poor households. One woman said that she drinks water as if it were food; another said that she goes to bed praying that God will show her where to find food the next day. The diversity of how women cope with not enough food indicates both resourcefulness and desperation; the workload it imposes is extremely heavy. Women in the Lowveld described themselves as having “no rest, regardless of season or condition.” Even when they were pregnant or sick, the work had to be done.

Women commonly beg and borrow food; in the Middleveld, women described this as the norm. Food loans may be obtained with the understanding either that they will be repaid “kwendzela”, or that they will not be repaid “kwenanisa”. Some individuals undertook disguised begging by visiting different homes around eating time to be offered food. Some families sent their children to households in less critically affected areas “kusisa bantfwana” so that they would be fed. This networking between relatives and neighbours to ensure that food is available constitutes a form of social security system and helps to compensate for the lack of formal systems of credit and savings for women. Other coping strategies, however, are a cause for concern; some women in the Highveld and Middleveld, for example, reported exchanging sex for food.

The coping strategies aimed at compensating for the drought’s impact are effected mainly by women, who have to walk further for water and spend more hours of each day obtaining food. Many women engaged, when they could, in informal vending and making crafts to sell, which is crucial for income in winter. But drought conditions have depleted the grasses on which women depend for their crafts; even cutting grass for thatching as piece work has become precarious and unreliable. Women in Maphilingo community (Lowveld), for example, now travel in winter and early spring as far as Malkems for the species of grass they need for producing sleeping mats. Other coping strategies for income in the Lowveld are cotton picking, and harvesting and selling wild green vegetables and aloe plants--all seasonal activities.

**Typical Working Day in Summer for a Woman in Lubombo**

In Lubombo region, women reported that workloads generally differ between the summer and winter months. In summer, the woman will wake up anywhere between 1.00 am and 5.00 am; she collects water and the time spent will depend on the distance to the borehole (anything up to 4 hours). She comes back, cooks and is off to the fields until 12.00 or 1.00 pm, where her primary task is weeding. After eating and doing some household chores, she goes to the women’s group for activities such as vegetable growing, brick making or sewing, or does handicraft work. Preparing supper begins about 4.00 pm, while doing other household chores, until bedtime at 7.30 to 9.00 pm. In summer therefore, women work up to a 20 hour day.

Women reported that it was becoming increasingly difficult to sell assets or to market handicrafts and other products, because of the poverty of their neighbours and the high costs of transport to reach other customers. Nevertheless, some women in the Middleveld managed to buy stock from wholesalers in Mbabane and Manzini, and sell it closer to home. Common items for hawking and
vending were fruit and vegetables, or clothing from RSA. But there was concern that so many 
women were resorting to informal vending that they were flooding the restricted market. The 
women who coped best were thought to be those who had been able to invest in small-scale 
intensive vegetable growing, which they could use for both home consumption and sale.

In Lubombo, women viewed the available external assistance - primarily food for work and NGO 
programs - as sporadic and unreliable. In the Lowveld, where food aid and food for work 
programs had been the main safety net during the drought, women participants in the FFW 
programs outnumbered men. Even elderly women, who were registered for free food, opted to 
participate in the FFW in order to increase their ration, because of the number of dependent 
children they had to feed. They might be too feeble or ill to do the work, such as digging pit 
latrines, but would show up anyway.
5. Peri-urban Case Studies

The Manzini-Mbabane Corridor consists of a series of peri-urban settlements inhabited by an estimated 108,000 people, 13% of the population of the country. Manzini is the principal industrial center of Swaziland while Mbabane is the capital and administrative center. In the formal sector, urban inhabitants are employed primarily in government and service-related industries in Mbabane, or as laborers or industrial workers in Manzini. There is a large and growing informal sector. Over 60% of the population of the Mbabane-Manzini Corridor live in informal, unplanned communities in substandard structures, on land with no title. Fewer than half have access to safe drinking water and less than 20% are connected to a sewerage network.

The case studies in the peri-urban areas involved four low-income residential areas: Moneni and Ka-Khoza, on the outskirts of Manzini; and Gobholo/Msunduza and Sidwashini on the outskirts of Mbabane. The livelihoods of 28 of the 40 households interviewed in these communities were based on informal vending activities. These included: selling fruits and vegetables in the market or along the streets; selling handicrafts; hawking (travelling to South Africa to sell handicrafts and buy clothes and soft goods to sell back in Swaziland); beer selling; and selling firewood. For the minority who relied on wage employment (as cleaners, drivers, security guards, housemaids, shop assistants, factory workers, labourers, or bus conductors), wages were usually insufficient to cover basic household needs and had to be supplemented from informal activities. Some households, including most of the female-headed households, had no member in employment and informal vending provided the sole source of income. A few households mentioned remittances from children. Other livelihood strategies included beer brewing and renting out rooms for up to E100 a month.

A. Perceptions of Poverty

Wealth ranking in the peri-urban communities displayed a similar pattern to that in the rural assessments. In the four sample communities, as Figure 1 illustrates, the majority of households were described as either poor or very poor, while most of the remainder -- those who were “affording” or “working”-- were perceived as being vulnerable to poverty. Only those with a sufficiently high level of education to secure skilled employment in business or the civil service were described as “rich” or “okay”; such households were said to be very few, amounting to five households in Moneni, for example, and only two in Ka-Khoza. A focus group of the traditional governing body for Manzini South (which includes Moneni) estimated as many as 20% in this better-off category and characterized them as living in beautiful big houses, able to afford health care costs, having well fed children, and being business-minded -- “even their children have assets.”

The “poor”, or the “working poor”, engaged in low-wage employment, hawking and vending, constituted by far the largest group in each community. They were described as living in overcrowded and insanitary conditions, struggling to feed their families, and often unable to afford health care or schooling for their children.
The size of the “poorest” or “very poor” category varied between the communities. In all cases, however, in common with the rural assessments, the households falling in this group were said to be those of widows, deserted wives, and the unsupported elderly. They led a hand to mouth existence, not knowing where the next meal would come from, or “if or what they eat this evening.” As a last resort, they would scavenge from dustbins or at the dump site for food or items that could be sold.

**Figure 5: Wealth Ranking in the Peri-Urban Communities**

**Gobholo/Msunduza**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Poor</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Affording</th>
<th>Rich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Momeni**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Rich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sidwashini**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poorest</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ka Khoza**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poorest</th>
<th>Rich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing was seen as a key, but potentially deceptive, indicator of poverty. On the one hand, wealthy people might be living in low-quality housing, either because they were prevented by legal and regulatory constraints from building good housing, or because they were renting temporary accommodation in the urban area while maintaining a permanent home elsewhere. On the other hand, house ownership was not in itself an indication of wealth. Many households in the “poor” category owned sub-standard homes and depended for their subsistence on the income from renting out rooms. What was clear was that only the “rich” could afford piped water and internal toilet facilities: water charges added to the rent by landlords when a tap is available in the home (E10 was cited) were said to be beyond the means of the poor.

*Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 5*
Many of the factors identified as pushing people into poverty, including widowhood, spousal desertion, and the failure of children to support elderly parents, were the same as in the rural communities. Other common factors -- lack of education, unemployment, alcoholism, illness -- had a particular significance in the urban context, because of the high dependence on cash income for basic food needs. In the focus groups, not having land to plough to feed the household was seen to be a source of stress and of yearning for the rural lifestyle. The increasing shortage of land even for backyard gardens, as the peri-urban areas became more and more overcrowded, was cited as a major problem of the poor. In this context, any factor that contributed to the unemployment of a household member was perceived to be a major crisis event. Even a short term, temporary illness could lead to the loss of a job which might not be recoverable; alcoholism of the father could make the whole family destitute.

Table 6: Perceptions of Urban Poverty and its Causes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Problems of the Poor</th>
<th>Causes of Poverty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From focus group discussions and household interviews:</td>
<td>As perceived by poor households:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sanitation and related health problems</td>
<td>- Lack of education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Overcrowding and access to land</td>
<td>- Widowhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Housing</td>
<td>- Old Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Crime</td>
<td>- Alcoholism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Access to water</td>
<td>- Teenage pregnancies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Unemployment</td>
<td>- Unemployment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poor sanitation was ranked in the top five problems by the focus groups in every community. The shortage, poor siting and inadequate construction of toilets, together with improper disposal of household waste (in three of the four communities, there were no public dustbins) were blamed for spreading illness and diseases among children. Access to water ranked as a major problem in three of the four communities, because of long queues at communal taps and the distances involved for some households, and unaffordably high water rates charged to tenants when taps are available at the house.
The nature of the housing problem varied by individual and community. Tenants blamed landlords for poor construction and for overcharging for substandard rooms or houses. In some cases, the reluctance to invest in housing improvements or new construction was attributed to the lack of secure tenure, and the risk of not receiving compensation in the case of removal. In one of the communities, according to the focus group, people had been instructed not to build (by the City Council and Ministry of Housing) because of a government housing scheme that would be implemented.

The rising rate of crime was a widespread concern, attributed to the high rate of urban immigration, excessive use of alcohol and, above all, the growing numbers of unemployed youth. Mozambican immigrants were seen as having contributed to the overcrowding, shortage of jobs, and increase in crime. Alcoholism was perceived as both a consequence and a cause of unemployment. One of the focus groups proposed that the creation of a community vocational center, offering workshop, business and recreational facilities, could help to address these related problems of crime and unemployment, especially among the young.

In the focus groups, feelings of helplessness were expressed in the face of rising prices -- especially of food, transport, education and health care -- low wages and/or uncertainty of income, and increasing indebtedness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children’s Concerns Focus on Reducing Crime</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A focus group of school children distinguished between their aspirations for their own households and their aspirations for the community. Having “brick houses”, electricity, water, and telephone, were aspirations for individual households. For the community, the children’s priorities were:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Removal of shebeens (drinking places), “there are too many of them”;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A police station nearby to help reduce the crime rate;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Improvement of waste disposal and sanitation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Coping Strategies of the Poor

As in the rural communities, the poor in peri-urban areas are experiencing either depletion of, or constraints in access to, the assets on which their coping strategies depend. And households are suffering from increased competition for limited wage employment and informal trading opportunities. Although physical access to schools and clinics is not a problem as it is in some rural communities, poor urban families are often unable to afford the services. Coping strategies, based for women mainly on informal vending, place a similar burden on women’s time. Community based coping strategies appear to be few and based mostly on women’s income generating activities, for example in brick making or vegetable gardening.
The Working Day of a Market Woman

For the majority of households in the sample peri-urban communities, informal vending activities by women were an essential source of income, often leaving little time for childcare functions. One woman, for example, selling boiled and roasted green mealies during the summer months, described her working day as follows:

3.00 a.m. Wake up to travel to Vuvulane or Lubulini to purchase green mealies in bulk.
8.00 a.m. Return home, cook mealies and get ready for market.
9.30 a.m. Leave for market.
10.00 a.m. Market.
6.00 p.m. Arrive back home, eat and sleep.

Her children take care of each other and sometimes they come to the market after school to help.

Measures to reduce consumption in response to rising prices reflected those reported in the rural communities, including food rationing, saving on school fees, health care and public transport. Food rationing and changes in diet in peri-urban households were often instituted towards the end of the month, prior to pay day. For urban households, bus fare to the place of work could equal or even exceed the daily wage and, as a result, many would spend hours walking to and from work, rather than "work for the bus." One option for women who could not afford to pay rent was cohabitation.

Even for those households with a member in wage employment, this income was usually insufficient to maintain the family and had to be supplemented from other informal sources. Of necessity, men in the peri-urban areas were said to allow their wives more freedom in livelihood and coping strategies, and women were usually free or encouraged to seek wage employment. In practice, however, very few women were able to find work in the formal sector and the vast majority depended on low paid casual work and petty trade.

Housing is much more important as a productive asset than in rural areas, and one on which many of the poor depend. Renting out of rooms in sub-standard housing is crucial to some female headed households but this source of income is seen to be threatened by up-grading development and insecurity of tenure.

Some families are able to borrow from neighbors before pay day. Borrowing from informal money lenders ("Shylocks") to cover immediate needs is widespread (far more common than in rural communities) and cases were cited of suicides due to the pressures of accumulated debt which could not be repaid.

Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor - Chapter 5
Safety Nets

Although the extended family plays a smaller role than for rural households, some participants said that they received food from rural homesteads at times of need. The only community based initiatives that were mentioned were women's cooperatives and church groups. Church organizations provide food and clothing to the poor, visit church members who are sick, and donate food to widows.

NGO activities were seen to be most significant in education and health care. Sponsorship of some orphaned and other poor school children was provided by NGOs and parastatals. Free medical services were targeted to street children, the elderly and AIDS victims; they were not available to the children of poor families.
6. Policy Implications

What are the messages from the PPA for policymakers? What solutions do poor households themselves propose to the key problems they have identified? This chapter summarises how participants in the assessment perceived the changes that are needed to enable them to improve their incomes from agriculture, diversify their sources of income, and strengthen their family and social relationships so as to adapt and cope better at times of stress.

One of the most striking findings of the assessment was the sense of isolation and lack of support experienced in many rural communities. Throughout the research in rural areas, researchers encountered distrust of outsiders and disillusionment in government. People felt isolated from the mainstream, and often helpless to improve their conditions, while drought and progressive depletion of their assets made it increasingly difficult for them to generate income from agriculture or other sources. They felt the need for equitable access to information, markets, communications and other services, to enable them to identify and act on opportunities to diversify sources of income and improve their welfare in the long term. For many, this sense of isolation was compounded by a lack of supportive relationships within the family and community.

According to respondents in the assessment, actions are needed in three broad areas:

(a) **Stronger support for the Swazi Nation Land agricultural sector.** Efforts to improve agricultural productivity in SNL areas were seen to be constrained by government bias towards the commercial Title Deed Land sector in terms of access to good quality land, water, farming inputs, marketing and technical support. In some communities, local traditional authorities were also criticised for failing to address the real needs of the community.

(b) **Higher priority to rural infrastructure and services.** The government was held responsible for ensuring the provision of community clinics and health care, affordable schooling, transport and communications infrastructure, and for social security for the elderly and disabled. It was perceived as failing to meet these responsibilities, reneging on its commitments, and favoring investment in the urban sector.

(c) **Strengthening of social and family relationships.** In both rural and urban areas, people also expressed diminishing confidence in their family and social institutions. Factors included the increase in crime, increasing numbers of unsupported women and of unemployed youth, alcohol abuse, and the unviability of polygamy and large families under conditions of economic hardship.

The measures proposed in community focus groups and by poor households are outlined below.
A. Agricultural Livelihoods

*Improve access to land and water*

Access to land was not seen as a serious constraint to livelihoods and coping strategies in all the rural communities. The most severely affected were communities (such as Etinseni, in the Lowveld) whose residents had been resettled to make room for commercial farming, mining, or forestry operations. Strong concern was expressed that resettlement policy should ensure the provision of adequate agricultural land to those who are moved. In many communities, there was a perception that traditional landholders were deprived access to the best quality agricultural land, which was zoned for Title Deed ownership or concessional lease and was often underutilized by absentee landlords. Young men were the most likely to lack access to adequate land. It was suggested that unemployed young men should be given access to good farm land which was lying idle. In some communities it was also felt that allocation of SNL land by the local traditional authorities was inequitable, and that women should have access to land in their own right.

Access to water, however, was seen to be by far the most important problem throughout the four regions. The statement was made many times that "if we just have water, then we can feed ourselves." The solution proposed by the majority of focus groups was the construction of dams, boreholes and irrigation systems. Improvements in water supply were also seen as crucial to improving health and reducing the constraints on women's time.

*Improve access to farming inputs, technical support, and marketing channels*

Low yields or even failure to cultivate land at all, because of lack of access to farming inputs, was commonly cited as a distinguishing characteristic of poor households vulnerable to food shortage. The need was expressed frequently for wider access to affordable farming inputs—tractor hire, seeds, fertilizer—and for extension services designed to meet the needs of poor, semi-subsistence farmers. Farmers wanted information and advice on alternative crops and farming practices; there was a strong perception of the need for alternative strategies to reliance on maize as a major crop, especially in the Lowveld region which is most prone to drought. Extension workers should be provided with transport to enable them to carry out their work in less accessible areas. Similarly, changes were called for in agricultural pricing and marketing policies to remove discrimination against smallholders and establish efficient marketing channels for their surplus produce.

*Protect natural resources*

Some natural resource constraints were mentioned (including the shortage of wild grasses for handicrafts) in the context of the immediate impact of the drought. There appeared to be less awareness in any of the communities, however, of long term environmental protection issues, such as overgrazing and soil erosion. This can be seen as one example of the isolation of most of the rural population from information and from policy debate. The High Veld research team commented on this in their regional report, pointing to the need for efforts to improve information and education on environmental issues.
B. Rural Infrastructure and Services

*Improve transport, communications, marketing and commercial infrastructure*

The majority of rural households depended substantially on diversifying sources of income for the purchase of food to supplement their own production. The proposed solutions to growing unemployment and increasing constraints to income generation focused on higher government priority to public investment, and measures to attract private investment, in the rural areas. It was proposed that incentives could be offered to companies to locate in rural areas. Specifically, higher investment in transport, electricity and telecommunications infrastructure was considered the key to linking rural communities with mainstream productive and market opportunities. Communities were willing to contribute to construction and maintenance of roads, given the necessary support. Several communities expressed the need for a community shop, selling basic goods such as bread, sugar and mealie meal. Market buildings were needed for women's craft production. Better technical and market information should include information on credit options.

*Improve access to—and quality of—health and education services*

Improvements in roads, bridges and bus services were seen as essential to improve access to schools, clinics and hospitals. In a few cases, access to primary school was difficult, for example when the school was too far away for young children to walk, or where the school was on the other side of a river which was sometimes impassable. In several communities, the distance and lack of transport to the nearest secondary school prevented the majority of children from continuing school after Grade 5.

Lack of access to adequate health care was cited as the second most serious problem for rural communities in all four regions (the first being access to water, which was itself seen as crucial to reducing illness and disease). Often, people had to walk long distances to the nearest health clinic, sometimes crossing rivers without bridges. Having a clinic in the community was a high priority. Clinic hours needed to be longer and coordinated with bus schedules. Another major concern was the need for telephones and transport to respond to medical emergencies.

The lack of adequate local health services, the lack of a community shop selling basic goods, combined with poor transport facilities, were seen as important factors deterring qualified professionals - health workers, teachers, extension workers - from working in poor rural communities. It was proposed that the government should offer incentives to teachers to work in remote and difficult conditions, so that the quality of education offered to rural children would be comparable to that in urban areas. A high level of awareness was evident of the increasingly crucial role played by education in overcoming the cycle of poverty. Concern was expressed frequently, however, that education should be more relevant to realistic work opportunities and self employment, and that schools were educating children for jobs that did not exist. The community's willingness to contribute in the construction of local schools depended on confidence that qualified teachers could be attracted to stay in the community and that the education provided would meet the real needs of their children.
The government's assumption of virtually universal primary school enrolment was not borne out by the experience of participants in the study. In addition to the difficulties of physical access in a few communities, concern was expressed in every community that increasing numbers of children were not attending even primary school because their parents could not meet the costs. The need for fees and other costs to parents to be reduced and/or bursaries to needy pupils to be more widely available for both primary and secondary school was a high priority among the poor.

C. Family and Social Institutions

Strengthen family and intra-household relationships

Several proposals were made for strengthening the capacity of the family to meet the needs of all its members. Many suggested that, to avoid poverty and afford schooling for their children, people should marry later, have fewer children and that educated children should be held responsible for supporting elderly parents. For the same reason, women strongly favored monogamous relationships. They found that neither customary nor civil marriage now provided them with sufficient security. It was proposed often by women that, because of their increased responsibilities in income generation, and the large number of female-headed households, their minority status was no longer viable; that women should have independent rights to property and other assets. This latter view was not endorsed by most of the male participants.

An equally strong concern was the need for measures to reduce women's workload, for example through pre-school programs, school feeding programs, easier access to water and better transport. No very clear idea emerged concerning ways to make the intra-household division of labor more equitable, or how the role and responsibilities of men within the household might best be adapted when conditions prevented them from supporting their family through traditional livestock production or migrant wage employment.

Build social capital

Beyond the extended family and traditional inter-household borrowing, social institutions played a relatively small role in the coping strategies of the poor, many of whom expressed a sense of isolation and lack of support, of "having no-one to turn to." The main exception was that of women's groups engaged in revolving credit schemes or cooperative production such as sewing, gardening or poultry. Constraints to be overcome included lack of access to formal credit, and to technical and marketing support. The poorest households were liable to be marginalized from community level institutions, such as women's groups. It was proposed that special efforts would be needed to enable the poorest women to benefit from participation in these groups; they were excluded by inability to afford the required fee and often also because of lack of time or ill health.

While women played the major role in community development projects, they continued to be excluded from traditional political or decision making bodies. For many women, this was a source of frustration or bitterness. The Chief's kraal was the most important institution for the majority of men, but was criticized in many of the communities for being preoccupied with boundary and land disputes and for failing to address the needs of the poor. Farmers' cooperatives were mentioned by
men as potentially important, but had foundered in the past when members were unable to repay loans from their production.

In virtually every community, family and social relationships were perceived as being undermined by increasing crime and alcoholism. This was attributed in turn to worsening poverty and to rising unemployment among young men. In most cases, the government was held responsible for the failure to control crime in general, and cattle rustling in particular; the desired solution was to have a police station in every community. Examples were cited of community initiatives to organize their own alert systems to deter cattle theft. It was suggested by some that, lacking any effective formal police service, community policing activities should be more widely developed.

The need for development of community-based solutions or coping strategies is particularly strong for poor residents of peri-urban communities. The traditional safety nets of the homestead and reciprocal support between neighbors, still important in the rural areas, are not available to many poor urban households. For those renting rooms in sub-standard housing, the likelihood of theft of their few possessions from rooms which could not be locked effectively was a major problem. The aspirations of urban children focused on having local community youth centers (for recreation, training and employment services), reducing the number of bars or drinking places, and increasing the number of local police stations.

**Target assistance to the poorest**

A distinction was made frequently between “the poor” and “very poor” or “destitute.” Many - because of lack of assets and/or inability to use their own labor - were unable to meet their basic needs without regular support. These dependent groups were defined as elderly widows or deserted women, the elderly infirm, and the handicapped or disabled. For those among these groups who did not have support from members of their extended family, it was widely considered to be the government’s obligation to provide social assistance. Several changes were said to be badly needed in the existing program of the Welfare Department, which was strongly criticized: administration should be more locally based since those in the greatest need were unable to afford transport to register or collect payments; those responsible for administering benefits should be sensitized to the needs of recipients and treat them with courtesy; once registered, recipients should be able to count on regular payments and not risk being turned away, after paying for transport to the center, because of lack of funds; public information should be improved and targeting should be extended to reach more of those in need.

Female headed households present a special case because they are so numerous, and the welfare of many young children depends on them. The households of unsupported women were defined by focus groups as “the chronically poor”, those who were always vulnerable to poverty regardless of the well-being of the community as a whole. Among these, the households of elderly women trying to raise their grandchildren were said to be the poorest. A key indicator of poverty was defined as "households with children not attending primary school."
Reduce dependence on food-for-work programs

Food aid and food for work programs were credited with having enabled drought stricken communities to survive the previous few years. Where these were targeted to individual households, however, the targeting was considered ineffective and was a source of contention within communities. The aid was seen as undependable and not well related to need, either between communities or between households. Most fundamentally, people's self respect was threatened by dependence on aid; they wanted to be able to put their work into securing their own livelihoods. Relatively few men participated in food for work programs, adding to the labor and time constraints of women.

It was suggested that these programs be supplemented by sponsorship of productive activities aimed at income generation, designed to be attractive especially to men.
7. Addendum:
Follow Up to the Participatory Poverty Assessment

This report marks the beginning, not the end, of a process. The PPA has helped to focus attention on the conditions and concerns of ordinary people in Swaziland and to open up the debate on the measures needed to alleviate poverty in the country.

Both the complexity of the issues involved and the will to address these issues was highly evident at the workshop held by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development in February 1997. The purpose of the workshop, which was opened by the Minister and attended by representatives of government, non-governmental and donor organizations, was to disseminate the findings of the PPA, and to facilitate discussion of the policy implications and indications for action. The full report of the workshop proceedings is attached in Annex 5.

Next Steps

The next steps, as proposed and agreed at the workshop, include the following:

**Improving poverty monitoring and analysis:** The first step will be to integrate the findings of the PPA with those of the poverty profile from the Household Survey, as soon as the latter are available (see below). This would permit a full assessment of the current status of information on poverty in the country and the development of a detailed strategy for on-going monitoring. While the PPA provides insights into the qualitative aspects of poverty, good quantitative data and analysis will be crucial for guiding government policy.

**Integrating poverty issues in policymaking and planning processes:** Establish close linkages between on-going poverty assessment and national planning processes, in particular the National Development Strategy and the Economic and Social Reform Agenda.

**Dialogue and consultation:** Arrange for feedback to the regions and to the communities involved in the PPA through regional workshops and more tightly focused follow-up assessments. A short summary of the PPA findings has been prepared, to be translated into Siswati, in order to facilitate broader dissemination and dialogue.

**Coordination and communication:** Create a forum, based around a multi-sectoral steering committee on poverty, where all agencies can meet, pool information and resources, and coordinate activities in poverty monitoring, analysis and the design of interventions.
Quantitative Data on Poverty

Since completing the report on the PPA, results of the 1995 Household Income and Expenditure Survey have been made available, and a draft poverty profile from these data has been prepared. The quality of data is weak in some aspects and further work is being carried out to ascertain the validity of absolute poverty measurement from the HIES data, and the value of the survey in providing baseline indicators for future monitoring of poverty.

Preliminary analysis in the draft poverty profile, based on the consumption data (usually more reliable than data on income in this type of survey), suggests a high degree of consensus between the findings of the the HIES and the PPA. From the HIES data, even allowing for substantial under-reporting of consumption from own production, and for other sources of inaccuracy, the conclusion of a significant incidence of poverty would seem to be inescapable. The survey estimates 48% of the population to be below the food poverty line and 66% below the higher poverty line. (It should be borne in mind that both surveys were conducted at a time when the impact of the drought was substantial.) The HIES results support the PPA findings in a number of areas:

- From the HIES, the head count ratio for poverty in rural areas is highest in the Lowveld and Middleveld, and lowest in the Highveld and Lubombo. Despite the entirely different methodologies, it is interesting to compare this with the assessment made by community focus groups, concerning their own communities, in the PPA.

Table 1: Comparison by Ecological Region of Groups Classified as Poor or Very Poor by PPA Focus Groups and the HIES Poverty Line in Rural Swaziland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecological Region</th>
<th>Rural HIES Head-Count Ratio</th>
<th>% of households in community classified as poor or v. poor by PPA focus gps.</th>
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<td>Food poverty line</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>62%</td>
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<td>74%</td>
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<td>Lubombo</td>
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<td>65%</td>
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</table>

- Households headed by women (30%) are poorer than other households. This difference is greater in the wealthier regions and increases with the age of the head of household. For the country as a whole, 71% of people in female headed households are poor, compared with 63% in male headed households. 33% of very poor households and 32% of poor households are headed by women.

- The larger the family size the poorer the household. The average size of very poor households is 8.2, compared with 6.5 for poor households and 4.6 for non-poor households.
• The older the head of household, the poorer the household. For households headed by men or women under 30 years old, the poverty rate is 50%. With household heads over 60, this increases to 77% for men and 81% for women.

• Mean remittances are lower for the poor. On average, non-poor families receive three times the level of Swazi remittances that very poor families receive.

• A lower percentage are poor if the household head is an employee (52% below the high poverty line, compared with 83% for unpaid family workers).

• Poor households spend less on education and have a larger average school delay. School delay, or failure to attend school at all, is mainly a rural problem and is worst in the Lowveld and Lubombo. 24% of rural households reported they were more than one hour's walking distance from school.

The HIES has confirmed that the distribution of consumption in Swaziland is highly unequal, with the richest 10% of the population accounting for 43% of total consumption (Gini index of 50.7). Although inequalities are greatest in urban areas, the proportion of urban residents who are very poor is estimated at only 30%, compared with 55% for rural areas. According to the survey, rural residents account for 83% of the poor in Swaziland.
ANNEX 1

Research Design and Methodology
Participatory Methodology

Research Design

The following research issues were identified collaboratively during the training for the researchers, drawing on their knowledge and experience, and were incorporated into the assessment sequence:

(i) perceptions of wellbeing, wealth, vulnerability, powerlessness, poverty
(ii) changes over time; trends related to shocks to the system, significant events
(iii) safety nets people rely on, such as formal and informal groups and institutions
(iv) food security
(v) coping strategies
(vi) changes to livelihoods and control over assets
(vii) gender dimensions of these issues

The units of analysis were defined as the community and the household (not the homestead). A total of 63 sample communities were selected throughout Swaziland (see Annex 1), to take account of varying agro-ecological and institutional conditions within the country. Classification of the sample population was done first on the basis of the country's four distinct agro-ecological zones. Within each of these regions, further classification used the CSO's Census Enumeration Areas framework, distinguishing land tenure type—Individual Tenure Farms (ITF) and Swazi Nation Land (SNL) and, within SNL, Rural Development Areas and non-Rural Development Areas. SNL is subject to customary land tenure, is allocated by chiefs, cannot be alienated, and generally vests in the King who holds it in trust for the Swazi Nation. ITF, or Title Deed, land reflects western principles of land ownership and is governed by the Roman-Dutch law.

Research teams were assigned to each of the four agro-ecological regions—the Highveld, Middleveld, Lowveld, and Lubombo—and to the selected peri-urban sites. The same research methodology was used by each of the teams over a two day period in each community, employing specified qualitative research methods to gather information on the perceptions and experience of poverty among members of these communities. Altogether, the PPA involved more than 600 households, 100 focus groups, and 100 key informants throughout Swaziland in the poverty analysis.

The methods used are described as "participatory" because they involve direct participation by the poor in creating a profile of their own condition by self-analysis. Instead of using structured questionnaires, researchers used an Interview Guide (see Annex 2) to conduct semi-structured, conversational interviews. In each of the communities, discussions were held first in large and then small focus groups, followed by conversational interviews with selected individual households. In each region, the same procedures, including a variety of visual techniques, were employed to encourage the poor to describe, explain and analyze their modes of livelihood, the problems and constraints they encountered, possible solutions to the problems and obstacles, and their aspirations for the future. Interviews were also conducted with "key informants" (such as teachers, health
workers, extension workers or traditional leaders) in the community, to gain a broad range of perspectives on poverty issues.

**Participatory Methods**

The following tools and processes were used to facilitate participation:

*Social mapping* was the first tool to be used in focus group discussions, both to introduce the PPA and to facilitate identification of the characteristics of poverty and community problems. Participants would draw maps of their community, either on the ground using stones, twigs and leaves, or on large sheets of paper, to show key features such as service delivery points (the clinic, water sources, the school), local institutions (such as churches and women's groups), significant infrastructure or natural resource features, and individual households characterized as rich or poor. This tool quickly establishes the value of local knowledge and perspectives and enables participants to provide detail and clarity by referring to each others’ information in response to probing questions.

*Trend analysis and problem census*. The next task for the large focus group was to identify recent events they considered significant in terms of their wellbeing—such as drought, changes in the accessibility or affordability of services or productive inputs, changes in prices of basic consumer goods—and to assess the impact of these changes on their collective and individual wellbeing. This discussion was assisted by reference to households or features on the map. Discussion then led into the census and ranking of problems. To support the trend analysis, researchers documented the life histories of some community members.

*Wealth ranking* of the members of their community was a further task of the large focus group. Participants were asked to define the characteristics and indicators of poverty and wealth in their community, identify categories of well-being and poverty according to their own criteria, and indicate the number of households falling into each of these categories. This technique involves a systematic ranking of households, with participants establishing the boundaries of their community, again facilitated by the map, and then using a set number of stones, pebbles or cards to allocate each household to a category. Discussion on the indicators of wealth or poverty in the relevant categories was facilitated with questions such as: What makes a person (or household) wealthy or poor in your community? What kind of person (or household) do you consider to be wealthy or poor in your community? What is the difference between a poor person and a rich person in your community? How would you describe the life of a poor/rich man/women? The results of this exercise were used to identify poor households for the household interviews. Wealth ranking was also carried out by key informants.

*Preference ranking of sources of finance* was to be used in a smaller, single-sex focus group, to rank and score people’s preferences for five specific sources of credit and modes of saving, using a set of five criteria to make the ranking. A matrix was developed by means of sets of pictures, and participants placed stones or marks in the columns and rows to score each out of ten.
Institutional diagrams (Venn diagrams) were used in household interviews to explore membership of local groups, and the impact of different institutions. Respondents were asked to draw circles on the ground or on paper to represent formal and informal groups and institutions—such as the church, school, extension service, poultry group, Chief's kraal—of significance in their lives. The more important the institution to the participant, the larger and more central would be the circle. Common membership of groups would be represented by overlapping circles.

Gender analysis was facilitated by visual tools. Household interviews with women examined the status of female heads of households, and explored gender differences in access to land, control over assets and decision making, workloads and attitudes towards work, participation in community level institutions, and aspirations for the future. Women described their typical working day, in summer and in winter, by illustrating the sequence of activities on a 24 hour clock. This could be done diagrammatically. An additional visual tool was used to encourage discussion about women's control over family assets, including children, and how this control changed if the family relationship changed. Pictures on cards of typical items owned by Swazi families were placed on the ground and the women were asked to place them under the figure of the man, or the woman, or the couple, to denote control of those assets. A checklist of five options in terms of marital status was used to elicit women's description of powerlessness, or of security, under these different conditions. This exercise then led into the discussion on decision making which employed a checklist of five different kinds of decision to determine whether there was joint decision making in the household, or subordination of one member by another.

Application in the Sample Communities

Some modifications were made in these methods, as a result of initial field experience. In a few cases, it proved impossible to carry out the research in the targeted communities in the time available, due to the lack of vehicular access and/or to the wide dispersion of homesteads in a community. In these cases, alternative communities were selected. (Annex I lists those communities, together with their Enumeration Area reference numbers, which actually participated in the research.)

Members of focus groups frequently had some difficulty in identifying the precise boundaries of their community and, hence, the number of households to be included in the wealth ranking. This was particularly significant in the peri-urban communities, where community members were also less likely to know one another personally. Even in some rural communities, however, the assistance of key informants was sought to resolve the question of community boundaries and the numbers of households in different categories. The Middle Veld team found that, in several communities, the social mapping exercise was impeded by sensitivities relating to chieftancy disputes or other local power struggles over boundaries.

Researchers found that considerable time was needed to overcome distrust, and sometimes even hostility, on the part of the community, before focus group members and households appreciated the purpose of the work and were prepared to discuss social mapping, wealth ranking and poverty issues. Sometimes, complaints were made that people were tired of being interviewed.
without anything being done. Reluctance in many cases to discuss household and personal problems was attributed to Satanism and the belief that revealing the dark side of their lives would "let the devil in." As a result, teams found that they often needed to spend longer than two days in each community. In the second phase of work in the High Veld, because of difficulties in achieving social mapping and wealth ranking in focus groups, key informants played a larger role; to compensate for reducing the role of large focus groups, the length of stay in each community was extended to five days and the number of household interviews increased from 10 to 15.

Some difficulties were experienced in explaining the use of the visual aids, including those for savings and credit, and the use of Venn diagrams to illustrate participation in community institutions. Researchers sometimes found it easier to gather the relevant information simply through questions and discussions. Discussions of savings and credit options presented particular problems because the extent of experience or knowledge on the part of participants in the use of any formal financial services was much less than had been anticipated. Instead, the focus groups discussed how people coped when they needed cash, and the significance of informal credit and exchange of money and food between households.
ANNEX 2
Interview Guide
A. FOCUS GROUPS

1. POVERTY CHARACTERISTICS, PERCEPTIONS OF WELL BEING AND VULNERABILITY -- Who are “the poor”? (age, gender, occupation, family composition etc.).

   Wealth Ranking
   What are the characteristics of poverty as defined by the poor?
   What are the characteristics of poor household (men/women)
   What are the characteristics of a well off households (men/women)
   Which people are categorized as being permanently poor? Which groups are recognized as being temporarily poor? Why?
   Poverty profiles/life histories of poor/rich homesteads/person
   Differences in poor and rich communities in urban areas

2. TREND ANALYSIS

2(a) What have been the significant changes in the community? (Reference education, health, agriculture extension)
   How have livelihoods changed over the last 12 years/9 years? (cyclone/drought) (gender, age differences)
   Which productive inputs/services have become less affordable/accessible during the last 2 years for rural livelihoods?
   Which domestic expenses have become more costly during the last 2 years?
   How would you compare life in town to life in your community?
   How has this changed in the last 9 years?
   In what ways is life better/worse than it was 2 years ago/9 years ago?
2(b) ASPIRATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

What do communities rank as their priority needs and demands (beneficiary assessment of services to the poor e.g., infrastructure, credit, access to land, etc.)? What are the major impediments to meeting these priority needs and demands as viewed by the poor? (Land tenure issues, legal/regulatory constraints, etc.)

What changes would they like to see in the community?

What would be the single most important change for a better life in your community? (Also as viewed by services providers and key informants).

3. VULNERABILITY

Are certain groups more vulnerable than others? How? (widows, aged, disabled, farmers, children).

What are the main shocks that have made certain groups vulnerable and how? (Crisis Events, Droughts, AIDS, etc.)

Are women more vulnerable than men? Why?

4. COPING STRATEGIES

How do vulnerable groups cope at the individual, household and community levels? (migration, remittances, food distributions, food for work programs, production groups, changing/alternative household structures, inter- and intra-household transfers and loans (food and cash), changing consumption patterns, etc.)

What formal and informal institutions and networks do the poor rely on? (family, community, market, church, etc.)

How best can they be supported?

B. SMALL FOCUS GROUPS (Men separate/women separate)

1. SOURCES OF FINANCE (Savings and Credit)

1(a) SAVINGS

Do people save?

What are the main forms of savings? (Bank, coop, ROSCOS, cash box, livestock, food crops, other).

If not, what would be the preferred method of saving?

What factors would support their saving more? (proximity, trust, minimum amounts, legal barriers)


Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor

Annex 2 - 2
1(b) CREDIT

Do people borrow money?
If so, what are their main sources of credit? (Bank, ROSCOS, cooperatives, employer, money leader, neighbor, relative, etc.)
What are the key constraints to gaining access to credit? (distance, interest rates, legal constraints, collateral, other)
C. HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS (10 Households, of which 5 should use interview schedule)

1. LIVELIHOOD ANALYSIS (including Coping Strategies - Migration)

   What are the major forms of livelihood? (farmers, shop owner, informal vending, handicrafts, wage/industrial workers, etc.)
   Farmers (Specify type of crop, farm size, marketing outlet, off-farm employment, other)
   Is your income sufficient to meet your needs? (Health, education, food, shelter, etc.)

2. CRISIS COPING STRATEGIES

   In what ways has the drought affected your household?
   What have you done to cope?

3. GENDER

   Do women cope differently from men? How?

4. SAFETY NETS

   What formal and informal institutions and networks do you rely on?
   How best can they be supported? (NGO, Government, community, etc.)

5. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

   Where do you go to discuss your problems?
   Are there any institutions that are important to you?
   Are you a member of any groups?
   Which group is most important to you and why?
   Are there any other institutions which are active in or important to the community?
   What kinds of assistance would you like to receive to improve your life (from government, NGO)

6. FOOD SECURITY RANKING

   What risk minimizing practices has the household attempted?
   What loss-management mechanism has the household used?
   What coping strategies has the household employed in order to secure food?
   What consumption strategies does the household currently employ? (Ranking)
7. VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE - *What can be done?*

What changes would you like to see for your household?
What are your aspirations for your children?
D. WOMEN'S INTERVIEWS (Individual Households 5 per community)

1. STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

   Are there female headed households?
   Do they consider themselves poor, vulnerable, and powerless? If not, why not? If so why and in what way?
   What do they do to cope?

2. ACCESS TO LAND

   How do women gain access to land? (allocated by family, etc.)

3. WORKLOADS

   How do women balance their productive and reproductive roles? (time use by season, labor, energy and legal constraints)

4. CONTROL OVER ASSETS AND DECISION MAKING

   Rank decision-making (women/men/joint) using following decision-making variables (Disposal of assets; decision to go out and look for work; sending daughter to school and for how long? and What to plant/grow in the homestead?)

   Rank control over assets (in stable marriage, after death, divorce, migration, polygamous marriage)

5. LIVELIHOODS

   What do women define as “work”? 
   How do they make a living? 
   Do they meet all their needs? 
   Where can women use the most assistance?

6. EXPECTATIONS OF THE FUTURE

   Do you have a priority for change in your life? 
   Would you like to have your daughters married? Why or why not? 
   If so, in community of property, out of community of property, or customary?


Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor

Annex 2 - 6
7. PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY LEVEL INSTITUTIONS

In what institutions do women participate in?
In which institutions would they like to participate in?

E. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS (Teachers, extension workers, Inner Council, NGO field workers)

1. KEY INFORMANT

What is your relationship to the community? (activities, responsibilities, resources)
How did you come to this community?
What are your perceptions of the area? (livelihood patterns, wealth ranking, social and physical infrastructure, gender)
Are there major differences in community lifestyles now versus 9 years ago?
What are the 5 major needs of this community? (Rank)
Do you feel you meet the needs of the community? Why? Why not?

2. FOCUS GROUP WITH INNER COUNCIL

Composition of the group by gender
Responsibilities of the Council
Livelihood patterns in the area
Any changes over time
Perceptions (education, health, extension services, etc.)
Wealth ranking
Achievements over time
Problems (Rank top 3)
Any differences men/women/vulnerable groups
Suggestions for change (what type would they support)?
FOOD SECURITY RANKING

Grow enough Food
Buy Food
Food from relief programs
Inter-household transfers and loans (food and cash)
Gathering wild food
Use of famine food
Rationing of food stuffs
Dividing or splitting the household
Migration
Credit

Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor

Annex 2 - 9
RANKING FOR FOOD CONSUMPTION STRATEGIES

Reducing number of meals
reducing food portions
begging for food
borrowing food
work for food/payment in kind
mothers do without food
rely on school feeding programs

selling small stock
selling beer
selling fruits and vegetables
selling firewood
selling belongings or farm implements
selling handicrafts

borrowing money
donations from neighbors
donations from churches
donations from NGOs


Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor

Annex 2 - 10
Annex 3

Selected Sites
SITES SELECTED FOR PPA

SHARE OF TOTAL POPULATION:

HIGHVELD: 32%
MIDDLEVELD: 38%
LOWVELD: 24%
LUBOMBO: 6%

[Map with sites labeled and shaded regions indicating population distribution]
### SITES SELECTED FOR PPA IN HIGHVELD REGION

<table>
<thead>
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*Note:* Supplementary assessments were done in communities: Maphilingo, Maphobeni, Mphumakudze/Mphaphati, Lokhayiza, KaNdzangu and Etinseni/Elunkunthu.

*Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor*  
*Annex 3 - 1*
### SITES SELECTED FOR PPA IN THE LUBOMBO REGION

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### SITES SELECTED FOR PPA IN THE MIDDLEVELD REGION

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ANNEX 4

AGRO-ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS AND LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS
BY REGION
HIGHVELD

Agro-Ecological Conditions

The Highveld is a narrow strip of land running north-south along Swaziland's western border with South Africa and is an extension of the Drakensburg mountain range. It constitutes 29% of the total land area of Swaziland. The zone is approximately 40% rocky, while the remainder is characterized by shallow soils often unsuitable for agriculture. Only 10% of the land is classified as having good agricultural potential. The climate is temperate and humid, with rainfall ranging between 1,000 and 1,250 mm per year. Precipitation is predictable, most rain falling during the summer months of October to February. The zone is the second highest producer of maize in the country, and the leader in tobacco production, mostly from commercial farms. Groundnuts are also grown. The average size of farms (1.2 ha.) is smaller than the national average (1.5 ha.). Forestry is an important industry in this zone. Particular conditions in each of the sample communities are described in Appendix Table 7.

Livelihood Patterns in the Sample Communities

The major sources of livelihood in the Highveld belt (see Appendix Table 6) include:

- farming (subsistence, cash crops and livestock)
- handicrafts
- sewing, knitting and crotchet
- hawking
- selling liquor
- fruit and vegetable vending

Subsistence Crops

The major crop is maize, grown by all communities interviewed. Other important crops found to be grown were pumpkins, beans, cow peas, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and melons. In most cases, maize was grown for subsistence, although in some of the communities—Dladleni, Dlangeni and Lushikishini—many growers of surplus maize had reportedly lost a lot of income due to the drought. The legumes and the other crops were also grown primarily for family consumption. But where surpluses occurred, they would be sold.

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1 Of the fifteen communities studied, Dlangeni was the only one which reported (i) surplus maize but without market and (ii) no drought impact on water supplies. Only a shortage/absence of clean, piped water was the problem.
Cash Crops

A few communities in the south of this belt (in the Shiselweni District) mentioned cash crops such as tobacco, sugar cane and cotton. The latter was grown largely in the Mkhitsini community before escalating costs of cotton farming and the expansion of milling companies prompted a widespread shift to maize production. Another cash crop mentioned in three communities (Dlangeni, Mkhitsini and Mashobeni) was dagga growing, which appears to be an important income generator despite the government's position of criminalising possession.

Livestock

Although traditionally Swazis keep cattle more as a store of wealth than as a means of livelihood, many communities reported regular disposal of cattle and goats to meet basic income needs.

Women's handicrafts

Most of these handicrafts are made from indigenous grass raw materials which are found throughout this temperate zone. The different grasses are used to make different products, for example 'likhwane' for sleeping mats, and 'lutsindzi' for making ropes which can then be used to make a variety of products such as baskets, door and floor mats, and various other products. One kind of grass is used almost exclusively for making hand brooms, while another kind is used for thatching houses.

All these handicrafts are income earners for many women throughout the Highveld, depending on transport and access to markets. Marketing was found to be a constraint in the two communities in Hhohho District in the northern part of the zone. In these communities, the drought had had no major effect on the water levels, hence the raw material supplies had not diminished. For the women further South, particularly at Mtsambama (Mbengeni and Kwendzeni) Mashobeni, Dudusini and Mkhitsini (Ngqovaneni and Mgangadu) the continuing drought spell had dried up the water basins suitable for the growth of these raw material plants.

Men's handicrafts

The handicrafts predominantly made by men, though on a much smaller scale than women, included: carpentry, wood-carving (including wooden spoons and bowls), spear-making, making ploughing yokes and sledges, and traditional male attire, for example 'emajobo'.

Other informal sector occupations

In general, men were found to be engaged more in other types of informal\(^2\) sector income generating occupations than they were in handicrafts. These included carpentry and welding, building kraals and stick and mud houses.

\(^2\) Here, informal sector refers to the enumerated or untaxed or unregistered sector.
For women, the main informal sector activities mentioned were sewing, knitting and crochet, sale of fruits and vegetables, liquor brewing and hawking (buying clothes mainly from South Africa and selling them locally). Liquor brewing was found to be one of the Highveld’s major sources of livelihood practised by women in all but one of the sample communities, although most women peddlars complained of perpetual harassment from the police.

Remittances from migrant labor

Another major source of livelihood for the rural household in the Highveld region was remittances from male family members working in urban areas or in sugar or forest plantations in Swaziland, or in South African mines.

Mining

Amongst the fifteen communities studied, Malandalahle in Luhhumaneni was the only area where mining provided a major source of employment and income for a vast majority of the households.

Other sources

Although not predominant in the region, the following were also mentioned as sources of livelihood: shopkeeping (groceries), vegetable gardens and poultry (ramtutus) farming.

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3 The total number of Swazi’s working in South African mines was estimated at around 15,000 in 1994.
MIDDLEVELD

Agro-ecological conditions

The Middleveid zone is a north-south longitudinal strip of land, adjoining the eastern slopes of the Highveld, with broad valleys and modest hills varying in elevation from 500 to 1,000 meters. The climate has a sub-tropical element with predictable annual rainfall ranging from 750 to 1,150 mm. Soils are deep, fertile loams, covered by tall veld grass. The zone is traversed by all the main rivers in Swaziland. With the best agricultural conditions in the country, there is substantial commercial agricultural production; this is where the large multinational firms (Lonrho, American Corporation) are growing maize, sugar cane and citrus, as well as ranching.

Livelihood patterns

The region is densely populated. Despite the natural advantages of the region for commercial agriculture, many peasant inhabitants-- living in Swazi Nation Land (RDAs and non-RDAs) and in ITFs-- are experiencing hardship. In the 16 communities visited in the Middleveld, the major means of livelihood were, in order of importance: farming, remittances, and handicrafts.

Farming

Throughout the Middleveld, farming is the major means of livelihood. Most families practice mixed cropping, combining maize, pumpkins, groundnuts, potatoes, cotton, sorghum, beans and jugo-beans. In all the sample communities, the major crop was maize while cotton was the only cash crop.

Remittances

Some families have relied on remittances from their husbands or sons working either within Swaziland or in the Republic of South Africa. The major areas of employment were the sugar companies in the Lowveld, and the gold and coal mines in RSA.

Handicrafts

Some women in the Middleveld were involved in making and selling handicrafts. The items they made included door-mats, sleeping-mats, brooms, fruit bowls and shopping and laundry baskets. The major raw material in making most of these items was some special type of grass. The major markets for these items were the two city markets in Mbabane and Manzini, except for two communities where the women had made arrangements with business woman from the Indingilizi gallery who would come and collect the goods at a central point within the community.
Agro-ecological conditions

The Lowveld constitutes 37% of the total land area of Swaziland, making it the largest of the four agro-ecological zones. However, population density is lower than in the Middle of High Veld. The zone is characterized by deciduous bush Veld with an elevation ranging one to 500 meters. Small, rocky knolls dominate the parts of the zone which are not under human habitation. The climate is sub-tropical, humid and hot. Rainfall is low and unreliable, ranging from 5-850 mm annually. Drought is a persistent feature and low crop yields and crop failure are common prospects for small scale farmers every second year. Despite these conditions, peasant farmers continue to grow maize as their primary crop, supplemented by groundnuts, melons and sorghum. The alluvial soils provide an excellent basis for irrigated agriculture of the large commercial farmers who grow cotton, rice, sugar cane and citrus in the non-RDAs. The conditions in the zone are suitable for cattle. Malaria is prevalent.

Livelihood patterns

Data collected from 12 communities in the Lowveld indicate that the principal means of livelihood are the following:

Farming

In view of the fact that Swazis have access to Swazi Nation Land (SNL), they live off the land. They grow crops such as maize, peanuts and cotton. It should however be pointed out that, in Swaziland, people are not being successful in farming. The growing of cotton is practiced. However, the drought is the greatest handicap.

Sale of Commodities

These include such sales as intoxicating drinks, i.e. Mavula, (umcombotsi) and lifuluthis (made from grapefruits). The role of the alcoholic beverages is usually dependent on whether wild fruits are available. Also, the selling of second-hand clothes is practiced.

Remittances from Wages Employment

Most families indicated that they had at least one of their members in wage employment. Remittances in the form of money and material goods were quoted as their means of livelihood. Due to crop failure, respondents indicated that money derived from the sale of commodities and remittances is used to purchase foodstuffs from shops and neighboring communities who have surpluses. It should be pointed out that labor migrants work in South Africa and/or within Swaziland. In the Lowveld, migrants work in the sugar and citrus fruit plantations. They also work in the urban and mining areas in Swaziland. Data collected from focus group interviews and
households indicate that most of these wage earners are seasonal workers. In fact, their quality of life is reported to be better during the season they are in wage employment.

*Sale of Livestock*

In light of the fact that farming is not a successful endeavor, those families that have livestock sell them in order to meet their basic needs. Livestock that are sold range from cows and goats to chickens.

*Food for Work Programs*

In order to have access to drought food such as yellow maize and beans, communities are expected to engage in community projects such as the building and maintenance of roads. They are also encouraged to build pit latrines so that human waste is properly disposed of.

*Kwendzela (Asking for Food from Relatives, Friends and Neighbors)*

Data collected from households and focus group interviews indicate that some community members survive by asking their relatives, friends and neighbors to spare them some food. It was also revealed that when communities ask for food from their friends, relatives and neighbors there is no time frame mode regarding the return of the food. Communities such as Mconcwane, Sinyamantulwa, Zindwendweni and Msindazwe were actively involved in asking for food from each other. The communities also reported that during the harvesting of maize, they go to places where there are good harvests to help out. In return, they get some certain amounts of maize.

*Natural/Wild Vegetables*

Respondents reported that they depended on wild vegetables for a living i.e. emahala (edible aloe). They also reported that in their neighbors the wild vegetables are scarce to the extent that they walk long distances to secure them from title deed land, and that this was illegal. Once they have gotten the wild vegetables they sell them to communities that are in dire need of them. The financial resources derived from the sale of these wild vegetable are used to buy food and pay school fees.
LUBUMBO

Agro-ecological conditions

The Lubombo region is a narrow north-south escarpment which rises sharply from the eastern lowveld and from the western merging of the Lubombo plateau which extends from the south-western tip of Mozambique. At an elevation of 600 meters, the zone has a sub-tropical climate, characterized by predictable rainfall ranging from 750 mm to 1150 mm. The zone constitutes 8% of the land area of the country and is relatively sparsely populated. About one third of the land - which consists of rock interrupted by steep slopes and deep river gorges - is considered arable.

Livelihood patterns

The households in the Lubombo ecological zone can be characterized as semisubsistence agricultural households. All the 132 households interviewed were engaged in some agricultural production with other income from off-farm sources. Generally, the livelihood strategy of all the rural homesteads is centered on producing enough maize for domestic consumption. In addition, the households engage in several income generating activities.

Agriculture

Maize is the major crop grown. Maize is essentially for home consumption but the more progressive farmers often produce enough to sell. Before the drought, some communities were said to have prospered because of selling maize. Other food crops grown are beans, ground nuts, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, jugo beans, and sorghum. The main cash crop was cotton, while some communities had a few homesteads involved in sugar cane and vegetable gardening cooperatives.

Off-farm income sources

As evident from Table 3 in Appendix D, remittances were an income source for 50 of the 132 households interviewed. The absence of remittances from children was one of the most often-mentioned factors as making the one vulnerable to poverty. For most households who received remittances from children, they mentioned that these were sometimes irregular.

Within their communities some of the households derived income from the following activities:

- handicraft - sleeping mats, table mats, crocheting; women's groups income generating activities; (53 households)
- informal vending; hawking (48 households)
- piece jobs e.g. weeding and harvesting in other peoples fields and threshing maize in return for money or food, construction jobs (47 households)
- beer brewing (26 households)
Other income sources include:

- healing (traditional) e.g. sexually transmitted diseases, those unlucky in love, fortune telling, sidliso;
- selling firewood, thatching grass;
- collecting water and charging 50 cents to those who cannot go and get water, for example the disabled and elderly.

Most of these activities are carried out by women. The traditional healing was mostly men.

**Constraints to agricultural production**

**Drought**

The lack of rains, over the past, how many years, have affected all the 10 communities that were included in the assessment. Lack of rains was perceived to be the most important constraint to agricultural production and this perception was present in all ten communities.

**Cattle rustling**

All ten communities have been hit hard by the cattle rustling problem. Very few homesteads are left with oxen for ploughing. The farming implications of the cattle rustling problem are that:

- the rich who had draught animals used to plough for the poor, now no homesteads have the capacity to help the poor.
- the livestock would be sold to buy fertilizer, seed, hire labor (thereby providing temporary employment for the poor).
- the livestock was the only store of wealth left to widows by late husbands with them gone they can not farm.
- the livestock would be sold to cope with food shortages until the next cropping season but now the people find it very difficult to recover from drought and reestablish their farming operations.

**Access to land**

Who you are and where you live was the theme of land accessibility. The degree to which access to land was a constraint varied by community. In some communities, these community members had no access to grazing land, others had no access to farming land, others had no access to both while others had land of very poor quality.

At the community level, the need for resettlement, and absence of a chief made access to land a major constraint to agricultural production. At the household or individual level, it transpired from focus groups discussions and the household interviews that women and young men had a
problem getting access to farming land. All the female headed households had access to land through a male relative, either a husband, father, or son.

The following example on community-specific, issues illustrate the point. Sitsatsaweni:

"We would be far in agriculture were it not for three major constraints: lack of rain, lack of farm inputs and lack of land."

The focus group discussions distinguished between two types of community members: those who were born there were perceived to be privileged in that they have large tracts of land while those who came through "kukhonta" are many and have homes but have no farm land. Nearby farms that were either lying idle or were being used by outsiders were a source of frustration. "The Boers came and cut the most fertile parts for their farms. When they left we were told that the farms were bought back for Swazis but people from Mbabane (Tibiyo) got the land instead of the people from Sitsatsaweni benefiting."

The youth (male) feel disadvantaged when it comes to land acquisition in communities like Sitsatsaweni. Some members of the communities would have fields that were lying fallow. For people with no access to land, they usually ask to use a neighbors farm for a specified number of cropping seasons, but in other areas, e.g. Mhlumeni, Elukhetseni, the land was said to be poor quality, such as rocky, while in other areas the soil was no longer producing as it used to and input requirements for such soils was beyond the means of the farmers. For the communities that had no defined grazing land, resettlement was seen as a solution to the land problems of the area.

**Tractor hire**

The poor sometimes can not pay for the tractor hire on time.

Two of the communities that were under an RDA mentioned that the queue for the government tractor hire service was so long that by the time it got to most homesteads, it was too late to take advantage of the early rains. Hence the poor get poorer harvest.

**Availability of labor**

Widowhood and old age in a farming community were often mentioned as factors that make an individual vulnerable to poverty. The loss of a husband and old age were equated to, among other things, loss of physical labor which is essential in agricultural production.

**Constraints/problems with off-farm income sources**

- irregularity of remittances;
- dwindling supply of materials needed for handicrafts; either through overuse for generations or the drought conditions;
- seasonality of grass materials needed for handicraft e.g. lukhwane thatching grass;
- beer brewing does not make much profit, and occasionally the police will come and spill the beer;
- hawking: locals do not have money, some take things on credit and do not pay;
- traditional healing: unreliable source of income because sometimes there are no patients, or the patients have no money;
- marketing outlets for handicraft and the products of the women's groups.
ANNEX 5

REPORT ON PPA WORKSHOP
SWAZILAND

PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

REPORT ON WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

WORKSHOP FOR DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS
AND CONSULTATION WITH STAKEHOLDERS

FEBRUARY 17-18, 1997
EZULWINI SUN HOTEL, SWAZILAND

SPONSORED BY THE OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Report compiled March 1997
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary ........................................................................................................... 3

1. Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 10

2. Official Opening ............................................................................................................... 12
   2.1 Remarks By Mr Ephraim M Hlophe ................................................................. 12
   2.2 Remarks By Hon Albert H N Shabangu ......................................................... 13
   2.3 Remarks By He John Doble ........................................................................ 13

3. Research Findings ......................................................................................................... 14
   3.1 "Outline Of Methodology Used To Collect Information" By Prof John K Ngwisha ... 14
   3.2 "Summary Of Findings From The Highveld" By Dr Vakashile R Simelane ...... 16
   3.3 "Summary Of Findings From The Lowveld" By Mr Khanyakwezwe P Khumalo ... 17
   3.4 "Summary Of Findings From Lubombo" By Dr Patricia J Musi .................... 18
   3.5 "Summary Of Findings From Peri-Urban Areas" By Dr Patricia J Musi ............ 19
   3.6 "Summary Of Findings From The Middleveld" By Dr Vakashile R Simelane ... 19
      (For Ms Phumzile L Magagula) ................................................................. 19
   3.7 Questions Of Clarification From The Floor ................................................. 20

4. Qualitative And Quantitative Approaches ..................................................................... 21
   To Measuring Poverty ................................................................................................. 22
   4.1 "Qualitative And Participatory Methodology In Poverty Assessment And 
      Experience In Other Countries" By Ms Caroline Robb .................................. 22
   4.2 "Some Results From The Last Household Survey" By Mr Sipho W Dlamini .... 23
   4.3 Questions Of Clarification From The Floor .................................................. 24

5. Group Reports On Findings .......................................................................................... 26
   5.1 Session 1: Morning Of Day 1 ......................................................................... 27
   5.2 Session 2: Afternoon Of Day 1 ......................................................................... 31

6. Sustainable Livelihoods ................................................................................................. 34
   And Development Strategy ....................................................................................... 34
   6.1 "Sustainable Livelihoods" By Mr Naresh Singh ............................................ 34
   6.2 Questions Of Clarification From The Floor ..................................................... 35
   6.3 "Poverty And National Development Strategy" By Ms Nomathemba Dlamini ... 37
   6.4 Questions Of Clarification From The Floor ...................................................... 38

7. Group Reports And Proposals ....................................................................................... 39
   7.1 Group 1: Rural Livelihoods .......................................................................... 40
   7.2 Group 2: Rural Infrastructure And Services ............................................... 41
   7.3 Group 3: Peri-Urban Areas ............................................................................ 42

8. Official Closing ............................................................................................................... 44
   8.1 "Vote Of Thanks" By Mr Ephraim M Hlophe .................................................. 44
   8.2 "Official Closing Remarks" By HE John Doble ............................................ 45

9. Conclusion: Synthesis Of Discussions ......................................................................... 46
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a summary of the proceedings of a workshop on participatory poverty assessment (PPA) held on February 17-18, 1997 at Ezulwini Sun Hotel. The workshop (attended by fifty participants) was a forum for the dissemination of results from a PPA survey and consultation with stakeholders. Its overall objective was to create an awareness of the need to address poverty issues in a coordinated and comprehensive fashion.

The workshop proceedings were spread over two full days; with each day having its own specific objectives. The objectives of the first day were to inform participants about the PPA approach, discuss findings of the PPA survey, and discuss the measuring and monitoring of poverty. The objectives of the second day were to assess policy implications and agree on follow-up actions.

The PPA survey was conducted in 1995 by four teams of researchers from the University of Swaziland; with each team covering a specific ecological region of Swaziland. It was prompted not only by the lack of information regarding the status of rural and urban households in the development process, but also by the need for donor coordination to help identify and address emerging issues of poverty in Swaziland.

The workshop (funded by the British Council) was held under the auspices of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development which was keen to see the output feeding into the national development strategy (NDS) process currently on-going. Its format comprised plenary sessions interspersed with group discussions. The report reflects this format. Section 2 presents summaries of the remarks made at the official opening. Section 3 summarizes the findings from the PPA survey. Section 4 summarizes presentations on qualitative and quantitative approaches to measuring poverty. Section 5 presents summaries of group discussions on the research findings. Section 6 presents summaries of presentations on sustainable livelihoods and the NDS. Section 7 presents summaries of group discussions on data for measuring and monitoring poverty; policy implications for poverty alleviation; and proposals on follow-up actions. Section 8 summarizes the remarks made at the official closing. Section 9 presents the major conclusions of the workshop.

From an overall perspective, the workshop discussions can be divided into two categories. The first category comprises discussions focusing on survey results. These discussions covered the methodology followed in collecting data under the PPA approach, the actual results from the survey and preliminary results from a household income and expenditure survey conducted by the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The PPA approach is qualitative whereas the CSO approach is quantitative.

The second category comprises discussions focusing on the policy implications of the survey results and follow-up actions. Additional inputs in these deliberations came from the presentations on the experience of other countries which have implemented the PPA approach; the importance of sustainable livelihoods; and linkage of poverty issues to the NDS process in Swaziland.
The PPA survey results can be summarized as follows:

(a) **Primary Means of Livelihood:**
- Crop and livestock farming.
- Informal sector activities (handicrafts, sewing, knitting, crocheting, beer brewing and selling, collecting and selling wild fruits and vegetables, collecting and selling firewood, etc).
- Remittances (from migrants and relatives resident in the other sector).

(b) **Coping Strategies:**
- Food from neighbours and relatives under the "kwendzela" practice where there is no promise of paying back.
- Migration to urban areas.
- Sending children to stay with better-off relatives or to work as stay-in gardeners and baby-sitters after school.
- Negotiating with principal to pay school fees in instalments.
- Resorting to traditional healers to avoid paying higher clinic fees.
- Using maize cobs or cow-dung instead of paraffin or firewood.
- Piece work and food for work.
- Community alert programmes to prevent theft of assets (especially cattle).
- Food rationing and begging for food.
- Taking alcohol to get away from it all.
- Prayer.

(c) **Constraints Faced in the Attempt to Survive:**
- Water shortage (where water available it is not fit for human consumption).
- Lack of, or poor, economic infrastructure (roads, bridges, public transportation, market facilities, electricity, etc).
- Lack of, or poor, social infrastructure (health centres, schools, police stations, etc).
- High number of children (thus unable to educate them all and to accumulate resources for starting income-generating activities).
- Limited incomes due to insufficient employment opportunities (thus unable to buy adequate farming inputs, purchase consumption necessities and finance capital expenditure needs).
- Limited livestock due to cattle rustling and shortage of grazing land.
- Limited access to land by female-headed households.
- Dwindling supply of wild materials for handicrafts due to seasonality factors and soil degradation.

(d) **Characteristics of Poverty:**
• Inability to meet basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education).
• Poor farm yields due to lack of agricultural inputs (land, livestock, fertiliser, etc).
• Dependant on food handouts and irregular remittances.
• Poor and/or crowded accommodation.
• Lack of sanitation and no proper disposal of refuse.

(e) Vulnerable Groups:
• Widows.
• Elderly.
• Disabled.
• Women-headed households.
• Children of women-headed households.
• Children of school-going age but out of school.
• Childless.
• Illiterate.
• Street kids.
• Unemployed orphans.
• Unemployed household heads.

(f) Causes of Poverty:
• Shortage of water.
• Inadequate agricultural extension services.
• Limited access to and power over resources (e.g., land, labour, credit and information).
• Lack of employment opportunities.
• Poor socio-economic infrastructure.
• Lack of entrepreneurial and business skills.
• Illiteracy and unaffordable education (coupled with inappropriate educational system with little preparation for self-employment).
• Little or no livestock (due to lack of income, shortage of grazing land, cattle rustling, etc).
• Sub-optimal functioning of local authorities.
• Lack of collaboration among helping agencies.
• Lack of participation, understanding and consultation on measures to improve livelihoods.
• Break-down of family and social relations (including weakening of extended family system; break-down of morality and humanity; and chieftaincy disputes on succession and boundaries).
• Inflation.
• Withholding of permission by men for their women to take up gainful employment and laziness by some men.
• Minority status of women in both the customary and modern laws.
• Inadequate rural planning and resettlement schemes.

(g) **Consequences of Poverty:**
• Crowding in the informal sector.
• Spouse desertion.
• Cohabitation.
• Alcoholism.
• Rise in crime rate.
• Illness.
• Increasing indebtedness.

(h) **Safety Nets:**
• Neighbours, friends and relatives during times of distress.
• Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).
• External donors.
• Extended family system (which, however, is weakening).

(i) **Solutions to Poverty:**
• Redress water needs by constructing dams and irrigation facilities through full community involvement.
• Fight crime through more police presence.
• Reduce unemployment through the encouragement of smallscale income-generating activities and re-orienting the educational system towards self-employment.
• Improve local socio-economic infrastructure, overall macroeconomic environment and delivery of public services.
• Introduce labour-intensive public works projects.
• Improve tourism particularly its links with the rural sector.
• Improve the functioning of local authorities by improving the public accountability of chiefs and their councils.
• Make education to be appropriate, affordable and accessible to pregnant teenagers.
• Introduce social security welfare payments for the very destitute.
• Ensure the coordination of poverty alleviation activities among affected community, government (central and local), CBOs and NGOs.
• Central government and local authorities to devise meaningful developmental programmes.
• Implement effective policies impacting on family size and networks (e.g., taxation, public spending, prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS, taking care of the terminally ill, etc).
• Strengthen community-based administrative structures (including systematic interventions by chiefs and local councils).
• Involve the groups being helped throughout the whole process.
• Reform and introduce new laws to deal with problems such as inheritance, land-use rights and status of women.
• Continuously appraise policies and their impact on poverty (especially in relation to population growth and socio-economic infrastructure).
• Facilitate the development and maintenance of markets through information dissemination and sharing.
• Ensure that development is coordinated and sustainable; including the provision of household food security.
• Reduce the compulsory mourning period to at most three months.

The CSO preliminary household survey results can be summarized as follows:
• 14% of the population has no education.
• The 15-19 years age-group has an unemployment rate of 49%.
• The per capita monthly household consumption figures in the rural and urban sectors are E18 and E41, respectively.
• The male-headed households have an average monthly consumption of E614 whereas the female-headed households have E506.

The proposals on policy implications can be summarized as follows:
• Institute reforms of the customary and common legal systems to remove all discriminations based on gender (especially the treatment of women as minors when accessing land or credit and long compulsory mourning periods for women). Entrench in the constitution gender equality.
• Ascertain from the communities themselves how local authorities (particularly Tinkhundla, chiefs and local councils) can be reformed to make them more accountable and responsive to the local needs.
• Wherever possible and meaningful, the communities to be helped must be involved in the design and implementation of the intervention measures.
• Define and formalize property rights on Swazi Nation Land in a clear fashion so that access by households (including female-headed households) is increased and there is an incentive to invest in the land.
• Identify those cultural norms which impede socio-economic progress and find ways of modifying them.
• Compile drought and disaster preparedness plans.
• Conduct feasibility studies for the implementation of social security for the very destitute among the vulnerable groups (especially the elderly, disabled and unemployed orphans).
• Review and overhaul the educational system to emphasize skills required by the economy and self-employment at the end of the process.
- Conduct a feasibility study on the provision of basic services (especially primary education and health) at affordable prices.
- Place poverty alleviation at the heart of all policy measures. In particular, ensure that the annual national budget is underpinned by poverty alleviation.
- Make the population policy explicit and incorporate it into national development planning.
- Institutionalize consultation, collaboration and cooperation among all agencies involved in poverty alleviation (i.e., central government, local authorities, NGOs, donors and others).
- Systematize all policies and practices that strengthen the family unit. In this context, also formulate a policy on street kids.
- Explicitly incorporate poverty alleviation in the NDS, ESRA (Economic and Social Reform Agenda) and rolling national development plans.
- Assess existing policies and laws with the view of ensuring a balance of family and social relationships in the modern world.
- Design a systematic and comprehensive policy to promote the informal sector.
- Engage in proactive planning to cater for immigrants in the urban sector from the rural sector.
- Place the urban development programme on a fast-track so as to increase the number of serviced plots at affordable prices. This entails, among other things, releasing more Swazi Nation Land to cater for the spreading urban sector.
- Review the regulatory environment to facilitate the provision of affordable urban housing.

The proposals on follow-up actions can be summarized as follows:
- Complete the analysis of the household survey data collected by the CSO quickly.
- Use available information to compute the poverty datum line.
- Establish linkage between poverty assessment on the one hand and NDS, ESRA plus other national processes on the other hand.
- Compile an inventory of all existing data on poverty in the country.
- Integrate the data from the PPA survey with that from the household survey conducted by the CSO to determine the degree of confidence to be placed in the respective results and to redress inconsistencies (via further data collection and analysis if necessary).
- Create a forum (in the tradition of a multi-sectoral committee on poverty alleviation) where all agencies working on poverty can meet to institutionalize the centralization of all poverty data; assess the adequacy of available data; determine what additional data needed to be collected; design comprehensive strategies for poverty alleviation; decide how to pool resources to exploit complementarities and economies of scale; decide how to build capacity for data collection and analysis; monitor poverty trends; arrange for the dissemination of poverty data; design common policy analysis and intervention frameworks; decide how to integrate poverty issues into national development planning;
and recommend the role to be played by government, NGOs, donors and others in poverty alleviation.

- Arrange for a feedback to the communities involved in the initial PPA survey. In the process, ascertain perceptions on areas where there presently seems to be gaps - including, population growth, family size, HIV/AIDS, street kids, evolving and changing relationships between the family and the community, and whatever will be suggested by an integration of the PPA results with those from the CSO household survey.

- Conduct an impact assessment of the PPA approach with respect to its objectives.

- Assess the capacity of communities to help themselves and how that capacity can be increased.

- Determine the reasons for the late publication of macroeconomic and microeconomic data with a bearing on poverty by the CSO; and then arrange for a reduction of the time lag to that comparable with advanced countries.

- Determine how data collection and publication by the CSO can be demand-driven.

- Conduct workshops on basic financial management for the benefit of all those engaging in income-generating micro-projects.

- Conduct a full poverty assessment for the country.

- Submit this report together with the World Bank synthesis report on the PPA results to the NDS Coordinator for distribution to the national stakeholders.

- Link poverty alleviation explicitly to family planning and find ways of subsidizing the implied private costs.

- Study closely the wealth of the poor so as to design appropriate interventions.

- Study closely the perceptions of service delivery by government (especially through extension officers) and NGOs so as to improve where necessary or to take advantage of cost-effective delivery.

- Put in place poverty monitoring and evaluation systems to inform policy dialogue.

- Embark on a campaign to inform and educate communities about development options (such as benefits and costs of resettlement). In the process, initiate a dialogue that will enable the communities indicate their preferred options.

- Investigate alternatives to social structures and traditional safety nets which are not adaptive as times change.

- Investigate feasible strategies to mobilize communities for purposes of improving their livelihoods.

A prioritization of the follow-up actions and identification of the appropriate agency (whether government, NGO, donor or other) to be in charge of the respective actions should be done by the multi-sectoral committee suggested above. This should also involve a stakeholders' workshop along the lines of the one to which this report pertains.
1. INTRODUCTION

This report is a summary of the proceedings of a workshop on participatory poverty assessment (PPA) in Swaziland held on February 17-18, 1997 at Ezulwini Sun Hotel. The workshop was a forum for the dissemination of research results from a PPA survey conducted in 1995 and consultation with stakeholders. Its overall objective was to create an awareness of the need to address poverty issues in a coordinated and comprehensive fashion. The workshop proceedings were spread over two full days. Each day had its own specific objectives crafted within the framework of the overall workshop objective.

The objectives of the first day were: to inform and allow participants to familiarize themselves with the PPA approach and methodology; to discuss the findings of the PPA study in Swaziland; to discuss requirements for measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland; and to agree on proposals for follow-up actions on measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland. The objectives of the second day were: to assess the policy implications for alleviating poverty; to identify the next steps in developing a coherent policy framework on poverty alleviation; and to agree on a list of proposals for follow-up actions on the part of government, non-governmental organizations, donors and others on how to alleviate poverty.

The activities conducted at the workshop to achieve these objectives are detailed in the programme which is reproduced as Annex 1 of this report. The participants in the various activities are listed in Annex 2 of this report. Essentially, what this report does is to indicate the results of the progress made through these activities towards achieving the workshop objectives.

The PPA survey was conducted by four teams of researchers from the University of Swaziland; with each team covering a specific region of Swaziland. The survey was funded by the World Bank and Danish Trust Fund; with UNDP and UNICEF providing administrative support. A synthesis of the research findings from all the regions was provided in a World Bank February 1997 draft report by Ms Gillian Perkins, entitled "Swaziland: Poverty Assessment by the Poor", which was circulated to all participants a few days before the workshop. As stated in the latter report, the PPA was initiated in October 1994 in response to the UNDP Consultative Workshop on Poverty which highlighted not only the lack of information regarding the status of rural and urban households in the development process, but also the need for donor coordination to help identify and address emerging issues of poverty in Swaziland. This present report report on the Workshop, together with the synthesis report, help in addressing these two areas. Hence the importance of reading the present report in conjunction with the synthesis report.

The workshop was held under the auspices of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development which was keen to see the output feeding into the national development strategy.
process. The logistics for the workshop were taken care of by Mrs Felicity T Mahundla (Director) and Ms Amanda Rose (Projects Officer) both of the British Council in Mbabane. The facilitator at the workshop was Prof Michael S Matsebula of the Economics Department at the University of Swaziland. The workshop itself was funded by the British Council.

This report has been compiled by Prof Matsebula mainly on the basis of notes made by Mrs Jackie Gillet who provided secretarial services at the workshop. In a few cases, the resource people who made presentations were asked to provide their own summaries which then formed the basis of what appears in this report. The compilation process involved an extensive editing of the notes provided by Mrs Gillet and the resource people. However, care has been taken to retain the essence of the respective presentations as faithfully as possible.

The format of the workshop comprised plenary sessions interspersed with group discussions. The plenary sessions were used to introduce particular subjects and present reports of group discussions; whereas the group sessions were used to delve into more depth on the subjects introduced at the plenary sessions. This format enabled more inputs from participants than would have been the case under plenary sessions only. The rest of this report reflects this plenary-group format. It is divided into eight sections. Section 2 presents summaries of the remarks made at the official opening of the workshop. Section 3 summarizes the research findings from the PPA survey conducted by teams from the University of Swaziland. Section 4 summarizes presentations on qualitative and quantitative approaches to measuring poverty. Section 5 presents summaries of group discussions on the research findings. The summaries are presented in terms of the four regional groups that were formed (namely, Highveld, Middleveld, Lowveld and Lubombo plus Peri-Urban Case Studies). Section 6 presents summaries of presentations on sustainable livelihoods and the national development strategy. Section 7 presents summaries of group discussions on qualitative and quantitative data for measuring and monitoring poverty; policy implications of presentations for poverty alleviation; steps towards developing appropriate policies on poverty alleviation; and proposals on follow-up actions. The summaries are presented in terms of the three theme groups that were formed. These were rural livelihoods, rural infrastructure and services, and peri-urban poverty. Each group was also asked to tackle issues related to family and social institutions which pervade all the other themes. Section 8 summarizes the remarks made at the official closing of the workshop. Section 9 presents the major conclusions of the workshop in terms of two categories. The first category comprises conclusions from the discussions focusing on survey findings. The second category comprises conclusions from the discussions focusing on the policy implications of the results and follow-up actions.
2. OFFICIAL OPENING

2.1 REMARKS BY MR EPHRAIM M HLOPHE

1. I wish to extend a warm word of welcome to the Honourable Minister, facilitators and participants. This workshop has come at an extremely important time when the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (MEPD) is in the process of addressing issues of economic growth and status of our people in Swaziland. In particular, we are in the process of compiling a national development strategy which is expected to provide a long-term development framework to which will be linked the three-year rolling plans and annual national budget being currently published.

2. There next population census will be taking place in approximately May of this year. The results of the census plus the outcome of this workshop should be used for the improvement of economic planning in this country.

3. It is gratifying that this workshop is a home-grown product in the sense that it has been engineered by the MEPD and the research was conducted by teams from our local University. However, without external assistance, it would not have been possible to conduct the survey nor to hold this workshop. It is for this reason that I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the financial and technical assistance provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank, Danish Trust Fund, British Overseas Development Administration and British Council.

4. One finding that caught my attention in the synthesis report published by the World Bank based on the PPA survey is that in one region men did not feature much in the strategies to cope with poverty. Perhaps this workshop will find out what needs to be done to motivate the men correctly so that they play a full role in addressing poverty problems.

5. I am aware that a lot of time and effort went into preparations for this workshop. I would like to single out Mrs Felicity Mahundla from the British Council, Ms Gillian Perkins from the World Bank and Prof Mike Masebula from the University of Swaziland. I trust that their efforts shall not have been in vain.

6. It is now my singular honour and privilege to introduce the Honourable Minister for Economic Planning and Development to make some remarks and officially declare this workshop open.
2.2 REMARKS BY HON ALBERT H N SHABANGU

1. In the same vein as the Principal Secretary, I wish to extend my own very special welcome to you all. More than ever before, it has become extremely urgent that we address effectively the issue of development in Swaziland. Government has recently undertaken some restructuring of ministries. This may also be followed by a re-allocation of resources. All of this reflects a re-prioritization of issues so that the country moves firmly on the development path.

2. Poverty is best appreciated in the context of development. Statistics on development may look attractive on paper but we have to look closer to see what is happening beyond this. Development on the one hand is good; but it also has negative aspects. As an example, consider the expansion of Usutu Pulp Company. This was good news as it meant increased employment opportunities and incomes which would help reduce poverty. However, the risk of dangerous effluent getting into the Usutu River also went up. This has adverse consequences for the lives of others who depend on the water from this river for their livelihood. Thus there is a delicate balance between growth and poverty. As economists would say, there is no development even if there is economic growth as long as poverty persists.

3. A question arises as to whether we can eradicate poverty. To start with, we must have a good measure of the extent of poverty in the country. We should then monitor its movement over time to see if we are indeed moving towards the goal of eradication. How do we spend the limited resources we have to raise the standard of living? Unfortunately one of the important stakeholders in this context (namely, the poor) are not with us in this workshop. We may end up imagining what they want. This does not mean this workshop should be closed; but let us bear this consideration in mind when making decisions for them. Sometimes we think we do the best in the world, which turns out wrong for the people concerned.

4. However, since a survey was done to collect information on poverty issues from the poor themselves, we can minimize the pitfalls of imagining what people want. What I would hope that this workshop does is help my Ministry to begin addressing the poverty problem seriously instead of just talking about it.

5. At this point I wish to formally declare the workshop open.

2.3 REMARKS BY HE JOHN DOBLE
1. I wish to welcome everyone to this workshop and to state that I am very pleased to see you all here. Your presence indicates the seriousness with which you consider the issues of poverty in Swaziland.

2. It is not only the physical assessment of poverty that is required, but also the assessment of related aspects - including the psychological aspect. For instance, in the case of rural resettlement, there may be economies of scale in the provision of many services. This is the physical aspect of development - which is well and good. But at the same time, it must be remembered that the grouping of people can be quite demoralising. Hence, it is important to assess fully the likely impact of any measure intended to alleviate poverty.

3. With these brief remarks, I wish you well in all your deliberations over the next two days.

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 "OUTLINE OF METHODOLOGY USED TO COLLECT INFORMATION" BY PROF JOHN K NGWISHA

1. The participatory poverty assessment (PPA) approach has developed data collection techniques which exceed thirty-five in total. These techniques are grouped into a basket which can be used as participatory assessment. For the PPA in Swaziland, a basket of eight techniques was used - namely, wealth ranking, problem ranking, social mapping, venn diagrams, savings and credit, livelihood analysis, trend analysis, and semi-structured plus unstructured questionnaires.

2. Since these techniques are new in general and the Swazi context in particular, there was need to train the researchers and research assistants in the interpretation of concepts and the use of materials (such as pictures) in inviting participation by individuals and focus groups.

3. As a technique of data collection, the PPA approach raises issues of methodology such as validity and reliability of the data. Through the use of a checking system which ensures that there is consistence in the information from individuals, focus groups and key informants, it is possible to establish a tolerable limit of validity and reliability of the data.

4. The time and funding for developing a sampling frame were not available. The research team fell back on the sampling frame used by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) for the 1986 population census. The sampling frame provided a way in which national coverage of data could be achieved.
5. A decision regarding the most appropriate way of capturing poverty was discussed. The choice was between use of social formations or ecological (national physical) formation as a basis for the selection of sites. The ecological zone was seen as a more compelling basis to giving shape to livelihood patterns. It was decided to use the ecological zone as a basis for data collection. The study sites were divided into the four ecological zones of Swaziland - namely, Highveld, Middleveld, Lowveld and Lubombo.

6. The selection of actual sites was based on the land tenure system using CSO Enumeration Areas. Sites were drawn from Swazi Nation Land (SNL) under both the Rural Development Areas (RDAs) and Non-RDAs and also from Individual Tenure Farms (ITFs). RDAs benefit from state injection of development funds while Non-RDAs do not. ITFs were chosen because they constitute a different livelihood pattern for farm owners and workers.

7. To strike a balance in the information to be collected, two urban sites were selected. These were Mbabane and Manzini. The urban sites were limited to what can be referred to as shanty townships or squalor settlements where poverty is expected to abound.

8. The sample size comprised 600 households, 60 small focus groups, 60 large country focus groups and 60 individual informants.

9. The process of data collection was divided into two equal periods of fifteen days each; with a week in-between for the mid-review. Four teams of five persons each went into the field. Each team consisted of a Team Leader and four research assistants. Each team collected data from a designated ecological zone (with one of the teams also allocated the two selected urban areas).

10. The mid-review looked at the effectiveness of the techniques and the time allocation. As a consequence of the review, changes were made to the following techniques: savings and credit, venn diagrams and social mapping. In order to improve the quality of the data, it was decided to allocate more time for field work on communities and to drop large focus groups which proved difficult to organise.
11. The problem of protocol emerged in the form of too much time taken up by courtesy calls and explanations. Perceive "satanism" also emerged as a problem to some teams who were suspected of being foreign agents because they drove foreign registration cars which were hired from a local car-hire company. The long distances between homesteads presented a further real problem for the time spent on field work. Moreover, hills and valleys constituted a formidable obstacle in movement from one community to another.

3.2 "SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE HIGHVELD" BY DR VAKASHILE R SIMELANE

1. Livelihood Patterns: Farming (both crops and livestock); handicrafts (involving both men and women); sewing, knitting, crocheting; fruit and vegetable selling; brewing and selling liquor; hawking; and remittances (mainly from labour migrants).

2. Problems: Severe water shortages (where water was available, it was not suitable for human consumption); high and rising unemployment; lack of, or poor, transportation (e.g., bad roads, no bridges and, therefore, no buses or where roads are good the buses are infrequent); high crime rate; lack of market outlets; high rate of alcoholism across both sexes.

3. Coping Strategies: Same as for livelihood patterns. What was striking is that for most of the people interviewed, life seemed to be nothing but coping.

4. Most Vulnerable Groups: The elderly, women, children, disabled and widows (who are a very significant proportion of the population).

5. Characteristics of Poor Households: Inability to meet basic needs (including poor appearance and condition of housing and clothing); inability to afford schooling expenses for children; lack of agricultural assets (particularly lack of livestock, shortage of land and shortage of farming inputs); poor farm yields.

6. Causes of Poverty: Drought; unemployment; poor economic infrastructure (particularly transportation); high crime rate; lack of, or poor, social infrastructure (particularly clinics and affordable schools); lack of, or poor, market facilities for handicrafts and surplus maize.

7. Safety Nets: Sought assistance during times of distress from neighbours, friends and relatives and non-governmental organisations (which are well recognised as primary sources of refuge in cases of need and emergency). Of little or no use were community institutions such as Tinkhundla and Chieftaincy centres.
8. **Solutions:** Redress water needs by constructing dams and other water related infrastructure; fight crime through more police presence within communities; reduce unemployment through the encouragement of smallscale industries and re-orienting the present educational system so that it encourages self-employment; introduce electricity for the communities to develop themselves; and get government to provide more assistance.

9. **Concluding Observation:** The fact that the study was carried out during a drought spell must have biased the results since poverty tended to be focused on the lack of seasonal water. This applies to all the regions.

3.3 "SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE LOWVELD" BY MR KHANYAKWEZWE P KHUMALO

1. **Primary Means of Livelihood:** Farming (maize, cotton, peanuts); sale of non-agricultural commodities; sale of home-made drinks (including marula when in season, predominantly by women); remittances from labour migrants (in the form of money and material goods); sale of livestock; food for work programme (i.e., food in exchange for labour services for building, maintenance, etc); sourcing food from relatives or neighbours under the "kwendzela" practice where there is no promise of paying back; collecting natural wild vegetables (e.g., "emahala" - an edible aloe).

2. **Wealth Ranking:** Those who are better off (not rich but are able to survive), mainly wage earners, comprised 15% of the respondents. Those who are struggling comprised 50% of the respondents. These included seasonal wage earners; hawkers, vendors, those who are dependant on food handouts from NGOs and those dependent on irregular remittances - all with minimum access to farming inputs, thus having to use only a portion of the required fertilizer. The destitute (including those experiencing food shortages with or without the drought, widows, elderly, disabled, unemployed and childless) comprised 35% of respondents.

3. **Hardships:** Lack of water supply for livestock, farming and homestead purposes; food shortages resulting in hunger; no money to buy farming inputs (hybrid seeds, fertilizer etc); lack of employment in urban and rural areas; high cost of education; non-availability of clinics, health centres and hospitals neraby.

4. **Vulnerable Groups:** Widows, aged, children, disabled and women who are *de facto* heads of household.
5. **Solutions:** Government to build dams for livestock, vegetable gardens and human consumption (communities do not want to rely on food handouts); employment opportunities to be created in the rural areas; government to assist in ensuring that roads are maintained and new roads are built; health facilities to be constructed at close proximity.

3.4 "SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM LUBOMBO" BY DR PATRICIA J MUSI

1. **Primary Means of Livelihood:** Semi-commercial agricultural farming (maize, beans, ground nuts, etc), remittance from children or labour migrants, handicrafts, vending, hawking, piece work, beer brewing, traditional healing, firewood selling and receiving money on behalf of the disabled.

2. **Constraints:** Lack of rains, cattle rustling, casual employment to other households (mainly cattle herding), lack of store of wealth due to cattle rustling, unable to sell cattle to buy goods, limited access to grazing land due to disputes or poor land or unavailable land, female headed households with limited access to land, unable to get tractor hire, widowhood and old age.

3. **Problems and Hardships:** Remittances on an irregular basis; dwindling supply of materials for handicrafts (due to seasonality factors and soil degradation); little profit from income-generating activities (such as beer brewing, hawking and traditional healing); and lack of market outlets for handicrafts.

4. **Perceptions of Poverty:** It appears that the communities on the plateau are generally better off than those below it. In particular, on the plateau they are not receiving food aid since they have had good rains and are, therefore, able to feed themselves. Nevertheless, there are some poverty pockets within the plateau affecting mostly women, widows, aged, childless and neglected. A well-off person was perceived as a man with over 20 cattle, owning a business, having a working wife and whose children attend school. Poverty is mainly associated with women. Indications of wealth are productive assets, quality of housing and children attending boarding school. Indications of poverty are hunger, housing, old age, too many children to feed, too many children to educate, disabled, elderly, unemployment, widowed and youth.

5. **Problems of Poverty:** Access to water, health, cattle rustling, transport, high school education, unemployment and alcoholism.

6. **Solutions:** Similar to the other regions.
3.5 "SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM PERI-URBAN AREAS" BY DR PATRICIA J MUSI

1. **Key Findings:** Definition of poverty includes: poor quality of housing; overcrowding in households (biggest problem in all areas visited); lack of sanitation; no proper disposal of refuse; food shortages and hunger; seasonal employment generating insufficient incomes to meet basic needs; landlords charging separately for water.

2. **Coping Strategies:** Informal sector activities to supplement income from employment; informal credit from shylocks; and walking to walk to save on bus fares.

3. **Safety Nets:** Non-governmental organizations; church assistance (but fewer in the peri-urban areas as compared to rural areas); extended family system (which, however, has been weakened by the drought); and informal sector (the typical situation is one where women spend fifteen hours a day outside the home leaving children alone).

4. **Vulnerability Factors:** Illiteracy (so unable to get employment), widowhood, old age, alcoholism, teenage pregnancies, inflation and unemployment.

5. **Poverty Effects:** Spouse desertion, cohabitation, influx of immigrants (from the rural sector where the situation is worse), rise in crime rate, crowding in the informal sector, illness and increasing indebtedness.

6. **Solutions:** Affordable and appropriate education, measures to reduce crime (including the construction of police stations), removal of shebeens, introduction of government schemes to take care of those without support (including widows and the physically or mentally handicapped).

3.6 "SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE MIDDLEVELD" BY DR VAKASHILE R SIMELANE (FOR MS PHUMZILE L MAGAGULA)

1. **Livelihood Patterns:** Farming, remittances and handicrafts.

2. **Perceptions of Poverty:** Those considered to be better-off (with farming implements, car, brick house, children in school and untorn school-uniforms) comprised 2% of the homesteads. Those considered average were slightly below the well-off and comprised 28% of the homesteads. The poor comprised 60%. The very poor (mainly the elderly, disabled and widowed - all with huts falling apart and no form of support) comprised 10%.
3. **Causes of Poverty:** Lack of water; neglect by government and local chieftaincies; lack of economic infrastructure (proper roads, public transport, electricity, telephones, dipping tanks, markets, shops and extension services); lack of social infrastructure (clinics, police stations, schools and houses for teachers); use of unqualified teachers; and parents being neglected by their children, especially sons.

4. **Gender-Specific Causes of Poverty:** In the case of men, the causes were lack of income, lack of employment, few or no livestock, high indebtedness and laziness (they expected women to provide the food). In the case of women, the causes were constraints imposed by men (in particular, women could not seek employment because the men withheld the permission to do so); and jealousy from the men who did not want their women to be financially independent.

5. **Solutions:** Construction of dams and irrigation; government to provide employment opportunities; and provision of market outlets.

6. **Coping Strategies:** Piece work by men; migration to urban areas; sending children to work as domestic workers; selling livestock; hawking by women; selling handicrafts and wild fruits; men deserting their families; resorting to alcohol to drown problems; food rations under the food for work programme; community alert strategy to avert cattle rustling.

7. **Safety Nets:** Church organizations, European Union, World Vision, Cotona Cotton Ginning Company, Baphalali Swaziland Red Cross, Umtapo Wabo-Make, Africa Cooperative Action Trust (ACAT) and other NGOs.

### 3.7 QUESTIONS OF CLARIFICATION FROM THE FLOOR

1. **Question:** In the World Bank synthesis report for Lubombo, there is reference to women as being the main victims of poverty. What about the men?

   **Answer:** There were more widowed women than men. Because men tend to have several wives, they do not become widowed so soon. In a polygamous society when a man dies there maybe four or five widows. Many widows are destitute because of the biased inheritance laws.

2. **Question:** What did the interviewers tell the respondents about the purpose of the PPA exercise?
Answer: It was acknowledged that interviewees were tired of researchers. But after explanation, the interviewees felt that perhaps this time something positive will come out. So there was expectation that something positive would come out.

3. Question: Did you get an equal number of women and men at the interviews?

Answer: The researchers strived for a gender balance as much as possible; but at the end of the day there more females simply because they were available at home. However, focus groups turned out to be either better mixed or with more men. The interview process was carried out regardless of whether men or women were household heads.

4. Question: What are the expectations of the public now that you have completed the study?

Answer: The interviewees were told that their views would be factored into policy changes. Unless we go back to them, their expectations can only be met when they see changes on the ground. It would be useful to go back and give a feedback once policy changes are contemplated.

5. Question: Food aid has stopped but it is still mentioned in the report. Solutions must be feasible. AIDS is not mentioned. Size of families is not mentioned. Children are not mentioned as vulnerable. Please comment.

Answer: The interviewees did not seek information on specific problems such as AIDS. The approach focused on perceptions of the interviewees and left out quantitative information. Children were mentioned as part of the vulnerable groups. In some cases, they are lumped together with women. At the time of the survey, there were communities still receiving food aid in the wake of the long-drawn drought.
4. QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES TO MEASURING POVERTY

4.1 "QUALITATIVE AND PARTICIPATORY METHODOLOGY IN POVERTY ASSESSMENT AND EXPERIENCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES" BY MS CAROLINE ROBB

1. There are 72 poverty assessments and 29 participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) that have been conducted under the auspices of the World Bank to-date. There was no blueprint approach followed in these assessments. Each tended to be unique although there are some common features. The PPA technique is more difficult to apply in the urban sector than in the rural sector.

2. The key issues to be resolved in these assessments can be divided into three levels - namely, community, country and World Bank. Those that at the community level are: the sequencing of assessment activities; skill of the facilitators and time limits; actual techniques selected for the poverty assessment from the available wide range; manner of technique implementation; expectations of the respondents who will be disillusioned if nothing happens; how to handle controversial topics; policy focus of the research; analysis and publication of the collected information (how comprehensive should be the report, what format to use for policy makers who may not have the time nor the capacity to read through long reports, should the report be at the micro-level or macro-level); how much to rely on the NGO network to deliver on poverty alleviation; what capacity would be necessary for good NGO delivery; and credibility of the collected information (whether qualitative or quantitative).

3. At the country level, the key issues to be resolved are: ownership of the whole process (given that if there is internal as opposed to external ownership the chances of support and success are higher because of local commitment); identification of key players in influencing policy; type of policy makers to be involved (in general, it should be all those considered to be key to the success of the exercise); integration of qualitative poverty assessment with the quantitative approach typically used by the Central Statistics Office in household surveys; identifying the necessary policy measures; and drawing an action plan to ensure that the necessary policy measures are undertaken.
4. At the World Bank level, the key issues are: how to link poverty alleviation activities with the country assistance strategy in general; how to link the PPA, total poverty assessment and country assistance strategy in particular; nature of management and technical support; types of follow-up actions; and dissemination of information.

5. A few general conclusions can be drawn from the poverty assessments that have been carried out in other countries. These are: the follow-up after assessments has been rather poor (thus failing to satisfy the aspirations created during the survey); the link between the qualitative and quantitative poverty assessments has been rather weak (although there is a high potential for strengthening it); and all relevant stakeholders must be involved throughout the process so that suggested follow-up actions are actually carried out.

6. To be successful in influencing policy, there must be a recognition first that policy change is a social process involving people with desires, prejudices, emotions, etc. Such a process is not a linear function with simple causal-effect relations; it is quite complex. After going over this first hurdle, then appropriate strategies must be embarked upon to incorporate into the social process in a value-added manner. In some cases the necessary policy change may be effected with minimum administrative burden, but with enormous advantages to the poor. An example here is school fees which could be structured such that parents pay over an extended period of time rather than all at once. In other cases, the necessary political change may only come after vigorous advocacy campaigns.

7. Some of the next steps that could be followed are: closer analysis of available information that has been extracted from communities; drawing an action plan based on this analysis; embarking on follow-up steps that also involve talking to the communities; integrating quantitative and qualitative data analysis; conducting repeat interviews to monitor progress (with at least 70% of the initial households being involved again); and introducing a regional dimension in poverty alleviation instead of focusing purely on a given country.

8. It is important to base policy recommendations on a full analysis of information from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches.

4.2 "SOME RESULTS FROM THE LAST HOUSEHOLD SURVEY" BY MR SIPHO WDLMINI

1. A survey on household income and expenditure was mounted over the period October 1994 to November 1995. The analysis of the data from this survey is still on-going. What will be presented today are just some of the preliminary results.
2. One of the major objectives of a household income and expenditure survey is to acquire data on levels of consumption and expenditure which can be used for poverty mapping and for analysing the changes in the standard of living over time when the survey is repeated.

2. Some of the findings can be summarized as follows:
   - More than 70% of the households are headed by males.
   - 14% of the population has no education at all. The averages for the rural and urban sectors are 16% and 8%, respectively.
   - 13.9% of males and 11.5% of females have some tertiary education. But the difference does not seem to be statistically significant.
   - The 15-19 years age group has an unemployment rate of 49% at the national level. The corresponding figures for the rural and urban sectors are 50% and 40%, respectively.
   - The national average monthly household consumption is E583. The rural and urban averages are E446 and E845, respectively.
   - The per capita monthly household consumption figures in the rural and urban sectors are E18 and E41, respectively.
   - The average national monthly household expenditure figures on primary, secondary and tertiary education are E309, E488 and E863, respectively.
   - Food consumption as a proportion of total consumption tends to increase with educational attainment.
   - The male-headed households have an average monthly consumption of E614 whereas the female-headed households have E506.

4.3 QUESTIONS OF CLARIFICATION FROM THE FLOOR

1. **Question:** Do rural households receive incomes from different sources than those available to their urban counterparts?

   **Answer:** At this stage of the analysis of the survey data, I am not able to answer the question. But I have to say that the survey data was not satisfactory in a number of important respects. So far we have concentrated on analysing the consumption and expenditure sides rather than income side.

2. **Question:** What does the survey reveal about housing?
Answer: Housing was broken down into three types of standards. These are high standard (with running water, electricity supply and flush toilets inside); middle standard (slightly lower than the high standard); and low standard (water drawn from a river, paraffin systems and toilet as pit or bush). From a national perspective, 30% of the households were found to belong to the low standard accommodation. Within the rural sector, 45% of the households were found to belong to the low standard of accommodation.

3. **Question:** Urban households seem to consume twice as much as rural households. How much of this differential reflects different standards of living between the two sectors and how much reflects differentials in commodity prices?

Answer: At this stage of the analysis, I cannot answer this question. However, the information for answering it is available. As I said at the beginning of my presentation, the analysis of the survey data is still going on.

4. **Question:** It has been said that 70% of households are headed by males. Are all the males in existence?

Answer: If the male head of a household is away for more than one month, the wife is considered as the *de facto* head of household. If he is away for up to one month at a time, then he is considered as an absent head of the household. If he comes home on a weekly basis, he is considered as head of the household.

5. **Question:** Is consumption defined to include only cash purchases or is it defined to also include non-cash items such as vegetables from an own garden?

Answer: Consumption is defined in an inclusive manner - i.e., to include cash purchases and items in kind from own sources.

6. **Comment:** A survey by the World Lutheran Foundation found that 98% of the families felt they were not food sufficient.

7. **Question:** How does the Swaziland PPA fit into the rest of the world programme?

Answer: I cannot be specific on this question because the PPA is still in its early stages and still evolving. In some countries (such as Zambia), there have been revisits to the communities involved in the initial survey. Some of the general comments to be made are: an office should be set up to monitor the living conditions of the communities; annual basic returns from study sites should be compiled; interviewers must be aware of respondent fatigue when revisiting; revisits are a policy relevant exercise; and there are still plenty of weak areas. It is also pertinent to point out that the blend of qualitative and quantitative
data is not as good as it should be; but it is improving all the time. An optimal blend must have as some of the important elements: coordination among the managers of the qualitative and quantitative approaches; feedback loops to inform other relevant parties or stakeholders; annual surveys to be launched in a coordinated fashion; sharing of information; monitoring by a multi-sectoral team; policy recommendations to be derived from an analysis involving both the qualitative and quantitative data; and an alignment of mechanisms that will produce a synthesis report of the works of the statisticians and social scientists.

8. **Question:** Where is the strength in integrating the qualitative and quantitative approaches and what do we achieve?

**Answer:** The strength lies in taking advantage of complementarities and resolving contradictions thrown up by the two sets of approaches. The result is information with a high degree of credibility.

9. **Question:** How will the integration between the quantitative and qualitative approaches be achieved in Swaziland?

**Answer:** To a large extent, it depends on the sequencing of activities. Once the poverty datum line has been computed from the available survey data in the Central Statistical Office, a comparative analysis of its implications and the results of the PPA survey can be undertaken. The next step will then depend on this comparative analysis. It can be direct policy advocacy or it can be collection and analysis of further data.
5. GROUP REPORTS ON FINDINGS

NOTE: All four groups accepted the points made by the researchers as summarized in Section 3 above. Accordingly, if any of the points are repeated below, it is a matter of emphasis. In some cases there is an amplification of the points made in the summaries and in other cases there is an addition of new points.

5.1 SESSION 1: MORNING OF DAY 1

5.1.1 GROUP 1

1. Vulnerable Groups:
   - Women.
   - Children of women-headed households.
   - Street kids.
   - Disabled.
   - Widows.
   - Elderly.
   - Children of school-going age but out of school.
   - Orphans and unemployed.

2. Causes of Poverty:
   (a) Household Level:
   - Drought.
   - Lack of farm inputs.
   - Breakdown of social structures (including weakening of extended family system).
   - Breakdown of sense of morality and humanity.
   - Lack of education.
   - Limited access to and power over resources (e.g., land, labour and money).

   (b) Community and National Levels:
   - Breakdown of social structures (including chieftaincy disputes on succession and boundaries).
   - Lack of physical infrastructure.
   - Lack of access to land.
   - Lack of social infrastructure.
• Problematic legal status of women (especially minority status in both the customary and modern laws).
• Lack of effective local planning.
• Inadequate rural planning and resettlement schemes.
• Environmental degradation.

3. **Coping Strategies:**
   - Assistance from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).
   - Assistance from donors.
   - Resort to family network.

4. **Solutions to Poverty:**
   - Coordination of activities by affected communities and community-based organizations (CBOs).
   - Coordination of activities by NGOs.
   - Central government and local authorities to implement developmental programs.
   - Effective policies impacting on family networks (e.g., taxation, prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS, taking care of the terminally ill, etc).
   - Strengthening of community-based administrative structures (including systematization of interventions by Chiefs and local councils).

5.1.2 **GROUP 2**

1. **Vulnerable Groups:**
   - Widowed and elderly women.
   - Children.
   - Disabled.
   - Childless.
   - Unemployed.

2. **Causes of Poverty:**
   - Lack of access to resources (especially water and land).
   - Illiteracy.
   - Lack of access to information and credit.
   - Failure to address changed circumstances (as evidenced by outmoded or inappropriate social structures, legal systems and educational system).
   - Government’s inability to address rural development issues.
   - Lack of adequate social security or safety nets.
   - Inflation.

3. **Coping Strategies:**
• Food rationing.
• Begging for food.
• Sending one or more children to stay with better-off relatives or to work as stay-in gardeners and baby-sitters after school.
• Taking children out of school.
• Negotiating with principal to pay school fees in instalments.
• Resorting to traditional healers to avoid paying higher fees in clinics.
• Using maize cobs or cow-dung instead of paraffin or firewood.
• Increasing sources of income and food (through labour migration, selling livestock, casual labour, informal sector activities, borrowing money or food, theft, etc).
• Taking alcohol to escape from it all.
• Prayer.

4. Solutions to Poverty:
• Better understanding of poverty issues across the board.
• Finding realistic solutions with the involvement of the youth and other vulnerable groups.
• Change approach to community development and involve the affected in a much more comprehensive manner than hitherto.
• Reforming and introducing new laws to deal with problems such as inheritance, land use rights and status of women.
• Continuous appraisal of policies and their impact on poverty (especially in relation to population growth and socio-economic infrastructure).
• Meet the beef quota of the European Union.
• Facilitate the development of markets through information dissemination and sharing.
• Make sure that development is sustainable and coordinated.

5.1.3 GROUP 3

1. Vulnerable Groups:
• Retrenched men (whose esteem is lowered to such an extent that they are grouped with women).
• Elderly women ("bogogo").
• Youth.
• Teenagers (especially girls).
2. **Causes of Poverty:**
   - Lack of entrepreneurship and business training.
   - Inadequate agricultural extension services.
   - Lack of collaboration between helping agencies.
   - Lack of participation, understanding and consultation on measures to improve livelihoods.
   - Lack of adequate community planning and implementation of development projects.
   - Lack of micro-credit.

3. **Coping Strategies:**
   - Emphasis on veld products (especially in the Lowveld).
   - "Life is just coping" (traditional family systems of help are being eroded and there is loss of confidence in chieftaincy arrangements for providing food and security).

4. **Solutions to Poverty:**
   - Increased systematic participation in development projects.
   - Emphasis on dams and irrigation (but it should be noted that there are some irrigation facilities which are lying idle because they were imposed).
   - Appropriate education that encourages self-motivation and empowerment
   - Continuing education for pregnant teenagers.
   - Expanded vocational training facilities.

5.1.4 GROUP 4

1. **Solutions to Poverty:**
   - Improved access to land.
   - Extension of leasehold principle to traditional areas.
   - Initiating and maintaining momentum for change.
   - Improved macroeconomic environment.
   - Reorientation of public expenditure (in particular, removal of urban bias).
   - Review of local governance to improve accountability of chiefs.
   - Improvement of the delivery of public services (especially through the early implementation of the Public Service Management Programme, decentralization and effective partnerships with NGOs).
   - Introduction of labour-intensive public works projects.
   - Emphasis on tourism.
   - Spreading the coverage of micro-finance and savings institutions
   - Household food security.
   - Improvement of water infrastructure.
   - Provision of information on how to improve livelihoods.
   - Participation of communities in development process.
• Emphasis on environmentally sustainable income-generating activities.

2. Solutions to Poverty for Vulnerable Groups:
• Introduce some social security scheme for the destitute (with effective targeting).
• Formulate policies to deal with issues of disability.
• With specific reference to the youth, expand work opportunities, expand vocational training facilities and consult them when identifying problems and designing their solutions.
• With specific reference to widows, the compulsory mourning period must be reduced, say to three months.
• Removal of minority legal status of women.

5.2 SESSION 2: AFTERNOON OF DAY 1

5.2.1 GROUP 1

1. Relevance of Participatory Tools:
• The participatory tools are extremely relevant because they enable an appreciation of how issues are perceived by the affected households and communities instead of thinking for them.
• However, they should be linked to data systems at the disposal of NGOs.
• There must be a way of sharing the results of the analysis from all available data sets.

2. Quantitative Data:
• Quantitative data is useful.
• However, it can be made even more useful when integrated with qualitative data.
• The integration process can be done in an iterative manner wherein gaps or inconsistencies are sorted out via collection of further data.
• Hence it is important for agencies working with quantitative and qualitative data to be continuously in dialogue with each other.

3. Capacity Building:
This can be achieved through collaboration between the University of Swaziland on the one hand, and Central Statistical Office (CSO) plus other agencies in both the public and private sectors who are involved with poverty issues (whether data collection and analysis or policy advocacy).

5.2.2 GROUP 2
1. **Relevance of Participatory Tools:**
   - They are relevant, possibly cheaper to implement and enable an in-depth analysis of poverty issues.
   - Their use should be integrated with that of quantitative data.

2. **Capacity Building:**
   - Enhance the capacity of the CSO in PPA techniques.
   - Train and use rural extension staff for data collection.
   - Involve NGOs in the data collection and analysis.
   - Integrate qualitative and quantitative data on poverty issues and then introduce them into mainstream development planning.
   - The Ministry of Economic Planning and Development should come up with a coordinated policy not only for measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland, but also for using and disseminating the collected data.

5.2.3 GROUP 3

1. **Relevance of Participatory Tools:**
   - The PPA approach is quite useful; particularly because it is the people themselves who identify the poverty issues.
   - The PPA can be a powerful tool for monitoring changes in poverty over time since it accommodates both the absolute and relative measures of poverty as perceived by the people themselves. It can also reveal gender disparities.
   - However, to the extent that the information is provided by the people themselves, it may be biased. Hence the importance of independent sources (including knowledgeable locals and quantitative data) for validating the information provided.
   - Because of its participatory nature, it enables commitment to solutions and ownership of whatever programmes are based on its analysis.

2. **Quantitative Data:**
   - The quantitative data is there; but it is not available timeously due to staffing constraints within the CSO.
   - These constraints must be addressed sooner than later if the data is to be useful at all.
   - Furthermore, the CSO must be demand-driven so that is produces relevant data.
3. **Capacity Building:**
- There must be proper staff training and institutional strengthening at the CSO.
- The trained CSO staff can then act as a pool of expertise for other agencies which need training in methods for collecting and analysing poverty-related data.
- An exercise must be launched immediately by the CSO to establish an inventory of existing poverty-related data in the country (including that collected by NGOs).

4. **Proposal for Follow-up Actions:**
- Establishment of a poverty datum line.
- Analysis of data by gender.
- Establishment of linkage between poverty assessment on the one hand, and National Development Strategy (NDS), Economic and Social Reform Agenda (ESRA) plus other policy processes on the other hand.

5.2.4 **GROUP 4**

1. **Relevance of Participatory Tools:**
   - The qualitative aspects of poverty and livelihoods are very important.
   - They reveal not only the conditions or symptoms of poverty, but also the causes or processes resulting in poverty.

2. **Quantitative Data:**
   The report from the CSO analysing the data collected from the household survey is eagerly awaited.

3. **Capacity Building:**
   This can be achieved through consultation, technical training, workshops for relevant institutions, in-country based poverty monitoring, collaboration with NGOs, exchange of best practices regionally and networking.

4. **Coordination:**
   - Poverty is a cross-sectional issue involving a number of government departments and private sector organizations.
   - An effective strategy to reduce poverty must, therefore, involve a wide cross-section of relevant agencies.
   - There must be a central office for depositing all information pertaining to poverty.
   - Furthermore, there must be a multi-sectoral committee whose task is not only to coordinate the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, but also to design a common policy analysis and intervention framework.

5. **Follow-up Actions:**
Integrate the PPA approach with the household survey data from the CSO.

Arrange for a feedback to the communities involved in the initial PPA survey.

Conduct an impact assessment of the PPA approach with respect to its objectives (including policy impact).

Focus on institutional dimensions of community development (i.e., what is the capacity of the communities to help themselves and how can that capacity be increased).

6. SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

6.1 "SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS" BY MR NARESH SINGH

1. Poverty is a condition of lack of access to options and entitlements which are social, political, economic, cultural and environmental. Impoverishment on the other hand, is an active process that leads to diminished access to options and entitlements. It can be appreciated, therefore, that the notion of poverty goes beyond the economic dimension to encompass other important dimensions in life.

2. A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stocks, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is said to be sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, provide livelihood opportunities for the next generation, and contribute positively to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long runs.

3. Sustainable livelihoods (SLs) are derived from people's capacities to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are not only ecological, socio-cultural, economic and political, but are also predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision-making.

4. SLs both influence and are influenced by local adaptive strategies. Examples of the latter are multi-species composition of herds; cultivation of more than one type of staple grain (e.g., maize, sorghum and millet); community regulations for the maintenance of ecosystem health (e.g., irrigation, veterinary services and grazing).

5. SLs depend on income which in turn depends on wealth. The latter can be increased via savings. Thus, savings represent a means by which SLs can be increased beyond the
poverty datum line. This is where policy measures can play a positive role via the reinforcement of local adaptive strategies.

6. There must be strong interaction between governance, policy-making and SLs. In particular, the people whose livelihoods are the focus of attention must be empowered to be involved in decision-making. In most cases, power is not freely given by those who have it. It must be forcefully taken by those who need it. But at the end of the day, power is not necessarily a zero-sum gain. There is a middle ground with a positive-sum gain where everybody is a winner in both the short and long runs.

7. One of the important challenges is to bring people above the poverty line into the wider economy and ensure that they do not fall back in times of stress.

6.2 QUESTIONS OF CLARIFICATION FROM THE FLOOR

8. **Question:** Does having a lot of children contribute to falling below the poverty datum line?

**Answer:** It can contribute simply because there will be that many people sharing limited resources. One effective way of minimizing this problem is to increase access to education. Furthermore, the education curriculum must be suitable to the circumstances of the economy.

9. **Question:** There appears to be difficulty for some communities in trying to improve their livelihoods because of constraints imposed by chieftaincy and Tinkhundla arrangements. What can be done to minimize the negative impact?

**Answer:** The affected communities must empower themselves. But beyond this, it all depends on the traditional culture of the local communities.

10. **Comments from the floor:**

- The legal and traditional systems ought to be reformed; but this is not easy. Customary law can be interpreted differently by different people or the same people at different times. To avoid this, it must be written down and understood by all.

- The decentralization of government is a way forward; but it does not appear to have been thought through properly to enable an equitable distribution of power.

- We must be careful about throwing out structures and systems rather than adapting them.
• It is important to involve the people in the change. Let them find the solutions.

11. **Question:** People below the poverty datum line are mostly under traditional governance. There seems to be some conflict between this system of governance and the modern one. How can the two systems be brought together?

   **Answer:** We must look at the relationship between the two systems and find where harmony can be obtained.

12. **Question:** How do you empower people in a dualistic system of governance?

   **Answer:** You can, for example, reconstitute farmers associations and community-based organisations so that they have clear powers and responsibilities. They can work towards a clear definition of property rights, an acceptable system for the settlement of land claims, and relationship with suppliers of inputs based in the modern sector.

13. **Question:** How can people with power give it to those without power?

   **Answer:** This can be done in the context of organisations and/or communities.

14. **Comments from the floor:**

   • The situation of women is unacceptable. It is complicated by traditional culture and social structure. Because there are some desirable aspects in it, we must not throw out the system altogether. We must adapt it to the modern way of life. The major worry though is that cultural civilisation is a painfully slow process.

   • Equal opportunity for women in the United Kingdom eventually came about. However, as is the case in Swaziland, it was a slow process of change. It can only be accelerated by strategic interventions.

   • In the context of micro-project finance, there are two sides of the story which must be looked at. It may increase incomes (and thus reduce poverty) or it may not. With regard to loans to women, the women do not have the control over the money that they receive. But when the loan is due for repayment, it is the woman who is responsible. In an attempt to pay back the loan, she may cut down on other areas of household consumption. The result is further impoverishment. If women were empowered enough to take full control of the finances, they would greatly help in reducing poverty.
6.3 "POVERTY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY" BY MS NOMATHEMBA DLAMINI

1. Development means improving the wellbeing of a person, community, country, region and whole world. Reducing poverty means to bring up the living standards of people and restore back their personal dignity.

2. The National Development Strategy (NDS) consists of a long term process for people to participate in identifying problems, challenges and solving problems. The question revolves around the type of Swaziland we wish to see in the next twenty-five years.

3. Some highlights of the NDS process are:

   • Economic Review Commission: This was a process involving going around the country to get aspirations of the people on how the Swazi economy should be run. The outcome of this process was a report entitled "Heading for the Future" which was published in 1995.

   • Establishment of eight sector committees charged with the formulation of development objectives and strategies in the context of their respective sectors.

   • Commissioning the preparation of issues and strategy papers to help the work of the sector committees.

   • Consultation with national stakeholders through representatives who attended a two-week workshop at the Protea Hotel in Pigg’s Peak in October 1996. There were about forty of them who attended. These representatives are currently consulting with their constituencies on the basis of the report compiled from the proceedings of the Pigg’s Peak workshop.

   • A draft NDS document was also developed at the Pigg’s Peak workshop. This has already been distributed to the stakeholder representatives to consult with their constituencies. A second workshop will be held again in Pigg’s Peak to address the comments from the stakeholders.

   • Some of the poverty-related issues that emerged from the first stakeholders workshop held at Pigg’s Peak are population growth, lack of economic infrastructure (such as roads, bridges, transport and marketing facilities), lack of social infrastructure (such as health centres, education and shelter), the fast rising problem of street kids, resettlement and governance.
4. The challenge is now to integrate poverty issues into the NDS. Hence the importance of today's workshop. My own view is that most of the strategies in the NDS will have to directly and indirectly impact on poverty in a positive manner if Swaziland is to meaningfully develop.

6.4 QUESTIONS OF CLARIFICATION FROM THE FLOOR

1. **Question:** How will the NDS process feed into the resource allocation decision-making process of government?
   
   **Answer:** The NDS process is only 30% complete and the final document is yet to be written. It will only be after the completion of this exercise that the manner of feeding into the resource allocation decision-making process will be known.

2. **Question:** Will this mean a radical change to the handling of the national budget?
   
   **Answer:** It probably will mean just that.

3. **Question:** How will the NDS affect the structures of the ministries and their relationship with donor agencies?
   
   **Answer:** There will definitely be changes within ministries. The present structure is already under debate. A meeting with four donor agencies has already been held and donors will be consulted and brought into the development process. Another meeting is being scheduled for June 1997 where donors will be involved.

4. **Question:** Are the stakeholders going to be involved in the implementation of the NDS?
   
   **Answer:** Phase 5 of the NDS will involve working very closely with the different sectors and stakeholders. We will be training them in moving from strategy formulation into strategy implementation. Stakeholders have already expressed an interest in monitoring the strategy implementation.

5. **Question:** Is there a continuing plan after the project phase? Should we expect the NDS structure in its present form to continue into the future?
   
   **Answer:** At this point in time, the NDS is still a project. Government will have to consider integrating the output of this process with the system that is running. At the end of the project a review will be made of the situation then and future needs. Depending on the outcome of this review, the NDS structure may continue in either its present form or in a new form.
6. **Comment from the floor:** Consideration should be made by Swaziland to undertake a full poverty assessment study. This entails taking stock of currently available information on poverty; integrating the qualitative and quantitative approaches to poverty assessment; and filling up any data gaps through repeat or special surveys. It is an ongoing process based on issues currently on the table. Full poverty assessment studies have been carried out in other countries and this is one option that can be considered for Swaziland.

7. **Comment from the floor:** We must guard against over-studying the poverty issue. We already have information from the PPA survey. The policy implications of these findings must be implemented as soon as possible.

**Response Comment:** We are all agreed that policy implementation must be based on available information. It is true that the PPA survey has yielded rich information which should now be used for policy formulation and implementation. Indeed, the report of proceedings in this workshop will feed into the NDS process. At the same time, it is incorrect to say that we have a full picture of the poverty situation in Swaziland. In particular, the integration of the qualitative and quantitative data has not been attempted. It is quite conceivable that when that is done, data gaps will emerge which necessitate further surveys. It would also be useful from a policy perspective to monitor the progress in those communities covered under the initial PPA and CSO surveys. Such monitoring requires fresh data. As a general rule, for policy to be well informed, it is better to have more rather than less data.
7. GROUP REPORTS AND PROPOSALS

7.1 GROUP 1: RURAL LIVELIHOODS

1. **Surprising Findings:**
   - Poverty was a burden to women.
   - Children and youth were not identified as vulnerable by some communities.
   - Hunger and food security appeared to be of more concern at the individual and household levels than at the focus group level.
   - People tend to look to government for solutions.
   - Credit facilities were not successful in reducing poverty.
   - Males are perceived to be irresponsible.
   - Government projects are perceived to be not sustainable.
   - Government is not reaching far enough for it to be recognised as useful in poverty alleviation.
   - Traditional structures are perceived negatively by women and positively by men as sources for social support.
   - HIV/AIDS pandemic was not highlighted.
   - Family planning was not mentioned.

2. **Policy Implications:**
   - Minority status of women to be removed and majority status entrenched in the constitution.
   - Civic education to be strengthened.
   - Customary and civil laws to be up-dated and harmonized.
   - Cultural norms that do not impede socio-economic progress should be strengthened.
   - Gender equality to be promoted in all spheres of life where relevant.
   - Disaster and drought preparedness plan to be compiled.
   - Social safety nets for the elderly and the disabled to be designed (including the review of fiscal policy).
   - Review of the educational system with emphasis on technical training and empowering people to be self-employed.
   - Women to access loans on their own right.
   - An explicit and comprehensive population policy to be designed and incorporated in the national planning process.
   - Institutional mechanism to strengthen linkages and cooperation among government, NGOs and international donor community to be established.
   - Policy to deal with street kids to be formulated.
• Policies and practices that strengthen the family unit to be put in place.
• Poverty alleviation to be explicitly incorporated in ESRA, NDS and the rolling national development plans.

3. **Follow-up Action:**
• PPA results to be fed into NDS.
• PPA results to be compared with those from the household survey of the CSO.
• Feed-back on PPA results to interviewed communities and probing on particular issues (including HIV/AIDS and population growth).
• Collecting more information on street kids.
• Basic training on money management at the household and community levels.
• Linking poverty to family planning.
• Study closely the wealth of the poor so as to get an idea on appropriate interventions.
• Study closely the perceptions of service delivery by government (especially through extension officers) and NGOs so as to improve where necessary or to take advantage of cost-effective delivery.
• Integrate findings of the PPA with the quantitative household survey of the CSO.
• Put in place poverty monitoring and evaluation systems to inform policy dialogue.

7.2 **GROUP 2: RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES**

1. **Lessons from the PPA Findings:**
• Water supply needs considerable improvement.
• Supply of agricultural inputs, implements and equipment in some areas has to be increased.
• There is a link between unemployment and education which has to be understood fully so that informed choices are made.
• NGOs are perceived by the communities as providing the best services whereas government and local authorities (particularly Chiefs and their councils) are perceived as providing poor services.
• Agricultural extension services are inadequate.
• Type of education is not suitable for embarking on sustainable activities.
• Basic services (especially healthcare and education) are not affordable.
• Women’s workload is high and proper interventions are needed to lessen it.
• Poor people are aware of the need for a package of services (e.g., appropriate education, marketing, credit, electricity, etc) for sustainable livelihoods. At the same time, they are aware that government may not be in a position to meet their priorities. This suggests the importance of interventions that empower individual households and communities.
• Causes of poverty and their solutions are quite complex.
• Resettlement from the viewpoint of service provision was not raised by the respondents. This issue could be followed up in another PPA survey.

2. **Follow-Up Actions and Policy Implications**
   • Design mechanisms to increase incomes so as to enable access to services.
   • Overhaul the educational system, including the curricula.
   • Introduce collaboration and coordination between government and NGOs to enhance complementarities.
   • Embark on a campaign to inform and educate communities about development options (such as benefits and costs of resettlement).
   • Engage in community capacity building for the management and operation of own services (such as water supplies) before the design of a project or scheme.
   • Institutionalize dialogue among all agencies involved with community development so that strategies to use limited resources are designed and implemented in a coordinated fashion.
   • Focus on women according to their perceived priorities.

3. **Family and Social Institutions**
   • Social structures and traditional safety nets are not adaptive. There is thus a need to look for alternatives.
   • Investigate the evolving and changing relationships between the family and the community through a follow-up PPA.
   • Assess existing policies and laws with the view of ensuring a balance of family and social relationships in the modern world.

7.3 **GROUP 3: PERI-URBAN AREAS**

1. **Working Definition:** A peri-urban area is one which is adjacent to a jurisdiction governed by strict zoning regulations and one where the predominant motive for development is urban related.

2. **Surprising Findings:**
   • Lack of information on the impact of rural-urban migration on peri-urban areas.
   • Magnitude of poverty in peri-urban areas is higher than that in rural areas.
   • Whilst many residents in peri-urban areas are transitory in the sense of maintaining strong ties with their permanent homes in rural areas to which they make frequent visits, a significant proportion is permanent.
   • Effect of the influx of immigrants in the peri-urban areas can be viewed as both positive and negative.
Peri-urban residents often find themselves living beyond their means because of the high cost of living.

3. Causes of Poverty:
   - Poor proactive planning.
   - Lack of opportunities and investment in rural areas; hence migration to peri-urban areas.
   - Lack of security of tenure on Swazi Nation Land (SNL); hence migration to peri-urban areas.
   - Unemployment
   - Lack of education.
   - Large family size and high dependency ratio; hence insufficient resources for education.
   - Lack of access to productive resources as a result of gender inequalities.
   - Polygamy; hence insufficient resources for sustainable livelihoods.

4. Policy Implications:
   - Information dissemination.
   - Universal education at affordable rates.
   - Property rights to be placed within the control individual households.
   - Design of a systematic and comprehensive policy to promote the informal sector.
   - Review of laws such that the acquisition of land is non-discriminatory.

5. Proposals for Follow-up Action:
   - Formalise land and other property rights in the rural sector.
   - Government to engage in proactive planning so as cater for the influx of immigrants in urban areas from the rural sector.
   - Formulate a national land policy, especially as regards individual property rights in the rural sector.
   - Place the urban development programme on a fast-track so as to increase the number of serviced plots at affordable prices.
   - Review the regulatory environment to facilitate the provision of affordable urban housing.
   - Investigate feasible strategies to mobilize communities for purposes of improving their livelihoods.
   - Introduce small business development training in schools and expand business development subjects in colleges and vocational institutions.
   - Investigate the feasibility of expanding social safety nets for vulnerable groups in the rural and peri-urban areas.
8. OFFICIAL CLOSING

8.1 "VOTE OF THANKS" BY MR EPHRAIM M HLOPHE

1. Now that we have come to the end of our two-day workshop, I wish to thank everyone. First, I wish to thank Prof Mike Matselbula who has been performing the valuable service of overall facilitator over these two days. In the same breadth, I wish to thank the various facilitators who worked in the group discussions. Second, I wish to thank everyone for coming to this workshop and help in the brainstorming on poverty issues in Swaziland.

2. Third, I wish to thank the researchers from UNISWA who provided the data on which most of our discussions were based. Fourth, I wish to thank the representatives of local organizations who were able to attend. All of these organizations are closely involved with poverty alleviation almost on a daily basis.

3. Next, I wish to thank the donors - British ODA, British Council, World Bank, UNDP and others. The donor community has become a valuable development partner.

4. One of the important outcomes of this workshop is the need to explore the existing institutional framework with the aim of strengthening it from a poverty alleviation perspective. The information obtained from the PPA study should now be put to use in framing appropriate policies as soon as possible.

5. I wish to confirm that there is a strong relationship between the PPA and NDS processes. What is particularly significant is that both processes are participatory in nature. Government is fully supportive of the participatory approach to programmes. The stakeholders' meetings that have been held so far have amply demonstrated how people can get committed and how a lot can be achieved through consultation and participation.

6. Rural agricultural development has been prioritised very high by government. It will be addressed soon since it has been perceived that poverty is a major problem which can be significantly reduced via the improvement of livelihoods in the rural sector.

7. My Ministry will eagerly await the report of this workshop so that arrangements can be made for it to feed into the NDS process. The expected report, together with the numerous issues papers that have been compiled under the NDS process, will make us quite rich with information. This means that policy-making will now more than ever before be well informed.
Finally, I wish to call upon His Excellency, the British High Commissioner to officially close the workshop.

8.2 "OFFICIAL CLOSING REMARKS" BY HE JOHN DOBLE

1. In a manner of speaking, I have just come back from the "front line" today. I was at a ceremony at St Paul's Primary School in Pigg's Peak where typical poverty problems cropped up. I wish to comment on some of these in the context of the deliberations of this workshop.

2. Let me begin by congratulating the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development to have moved the school before the Maguga Dam project began. The problems of water shortage and insufficient educational facilities are still quite severe. Three new classrooms were constructed at the school in 1996 and the 96 children which were in one classroom were divided into the three new classrooms. Today there are still 82 children in one class. This is part of the problem of high population growth. A question arises as to whether family planning is helpful or it is promoting promiscuity. Other schools are not being fully utilised because children cannot cross the river to get to these other schools. This brings in the problem of inadequate infrastructure which this workshop has also alluded to.

3. Judging by the group reports, problems have been highlighted and good ideas have been discussed on how to solve them. It is good to see so many Swazi citizens involved in this workshop. The usefulness of this workshop will be proved when some of the ideas percolate into policy measures that do get implemented.

4. I wish thank everyone that has worked so hard to make this workshop the success that it has been. In particular, I wish to thank Ms Gillian Perkins from the World Bank, Mrs Felicity Mahundla from the British Council, Mr Ephraim Hlophe from the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Prof Mike Matsebula from the University of Swaziland who was the Facilitator and Minister Albert Shabangu with his thought provoking address at the beginning of the workshop.

5. I now formally declare the meeting closed.
9. CONCLUSION: SYNTHESIS OF DISCUSSIONS

1. The overall objective of the workshop was to create an awareness of the need to address poverty issues in a coordinated and comprehensive fashion. This objective was achieved through a set of activities spread over two full working-days (with each day having its own set of specific objectives). The discussions alternated between plenary and group sessions.

2. From an overall perspective, the workshop discussions can be divided into two categories. The first category comprises discussions focusing on survey results. These discussions covered the methodology followed in collecting data under the PPA approach, the actual results from the survey and preliminary results from a household income and expenditure survey. The PPA survey was conducted by research teams from the University of Swaziland whereas the household survey was conducted by the CSO. The former approach is qualitative whereas the latter is quantitative.

3. The second category comprises discussions focusing on the policy implications of the survey results and follow-up actions. Additional inputs in the deliberations on policy implications and follow-up actions were provided by presentations on the experience of other countries which have implemented the PPA approach; experience of other countries on the question of sustainable livelihoods; and linkage of poverty issues to the NDS process in Swaziland.

4. What follows is a synthesis of the points and conclusions emanating from the discussions in the two categories just highlighted.

5. The PPA survey results can be summarized as follows:

(a) Primary Means of Livelihood:
   • Crop and livestock farming.
   • Informal sector activities (handicrafts, sewing, knitting, crocheting, beer brewing and selling, collecting and selling wild fruits and vegetables, collecting and selling firewood, etc).
   • Remittances (from migrants and relatives resident in the other sector).

(b) Coping Strategies:
   • Food from neighbours and relatives under the "kwendzela" practice where there is no promise of paying back.
   • Migration to urban areas.
   • Sending children to stay with better-off relatives or to work as stay-in gardeners and baby-sitters after school.
   • Negotiating with principal to pay school fees in instalments.
• Resorting to traditional healers to avoid paying higher clinic fees.
• Using maize cobs or cow-dung instead of paraffin or firewood.
• Piece work and food for work.
• Community alert programmes to prevent theft of assets (especially cattle).
• Food rationing and begging for food.
• Taking alcohol to get away from it all.
• Prayer.

(c) **Constraints Faced in the Attempt to Survive:**
• Water shortage (where water available it is not fit for human consumption).
• Lack of, or poor, economic infrastructure (roads, bridges, public transportation, market facilities, electricity, etc).
• Lack of, or poor, social infrastructure (health centres, schools, police stations, etc).
• High number of children (thus unable to educate them all and to accumulate resources for starting income-generating activities).
• Limited incomes due to insufficient employment opportunities (thus unable to buy adequate farming inputs, purchase consumption necessities and finance capital expenditure needs).
• Limited livestock due to cattle rustling and shortage of grazing land.
• Limited access to land by female-headed households.
• Dwindling supply of wild materials for handicrafts due to seasonality factors and soil degradation.

(d) **Characteristics of Poverty:**
• Inability to meet basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education).
• Poor farm yields due to lack of agricultural inputs (land, livestock, fertiliser, etc).
• Dependant on food handouts and irregular remittances.
• Poor and/or crowded accommodation.
• Lack of sanitation and no proper disposal of refuse.

(e) **Vulnerable Groups:**
• Widows.
• Elderly.
• Disabled.
• Women-headed households.
• Children of women-headed households.
• Children of school-going age but out of school.
• Childless.
• Illiterate.
• Street kids.
• Unemployed orphans.
• Unemployed household heads.

(f) Causes of Poverty:
• Shortage of water.
• Inadequate agricultural extension services.
• Limited access to and power over resources (e.g., land, labour, credit and information).
• Lack of employment opportunities.
• Poor socio-economic infrastructure.
• Lack of entrepreneurial and business skills.
• Illiteracy and unaffordable education (coupled with inappropriate educational system with little preparation for self-employment).
• Little or no livestock (due to lack of income, shortage of grazing land, cattle rustling, etc).
• Sub-optimal functioning of local authorities.
• Lack of collaboration among helping agencies.
• Lack of participation, understanding and consultation on measures to improve livelihoods.
• Break-down of family and social relations (including weakening of extended family system; break-down of morality and humanity; and chieftaincy disputes on succession and boundaries).
• Inflation.
• Withholding of permission by men for their women to take up gainful employment and laziness by some men.
• Minority status of women in both the customary and modern laws.
• Inadequate rural planning and resettlement schemes.

(g) Consequences of Poverty:
• Crowding in the informal sector.
• Spouse desertion.
• Cohabitation.
• Alcoholism.
• Rise in crime rate.
• Illness.
• Increasing indebtedness.

(h) Safety Nets:
• Neighbours, friends and relatives during times of distress.
NGOs.
External donors.
Extended family system (which, however, is weakening).

(i) Solutions to Poverty:
- Redress water needs by constructing dams and irrigation facilities through full community involvement.
- Fight crime through more police presence.
- Reduce unemployment through the encouragement of small-scale income-generating activities and re-orienting the educational system towards self-employment.
- Improve local socio-economic infrastructure, overall macroeconomic environment and delivery of public services.
- Introduce labour-intensive public works projects.
- Improve tourism particularly its links with the rural sector.
- Improve the functioning of local authorities by improving the public accountability of chiefs and their councils.
- Make education to be appropriate, affordable and accessible to pregnant teenagers.
- Introduce social security welfare payments for the very destitute.
- Ensure the coordination of poverty alleviation activities among affected community, government (central and local), CBOs and NGOs.
- Central government and local authorities to devise meaningful developmental programmes.
- Implement effective policies impacting on family size and networks (e.g., taxation, public spending, prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS, taking care of the terminally ill, etc).
- Strengthen community-based administrative structures (including systematic interventions by chiefs and local councils).
- Involve the groups being helped throughout the whole process.
- Reform and introduce new laws to deal with problems such as inheritance, land-use rights and status of women.
- Continuously appraise policies and their impact on poverty (especially in relation to population growth and socio-economic infrastructure).
- Facilitate the development and maintenance of markets through information dissemination and sharing.
- Ensure that development is coordinated and sustainable; including the provision of household food security.
- Reduce the compulsory mourning period to at most three months.

6. The preliminary household survey results can be summarized as follows:
• 14% of the population has no education.
• The 15-19 years age-group has an unemployment rate of 49%.
• The per capita monthly household consumption figures in the rural and urban sectors are E18 and E41, respectively.
• The male-headed households have an average monthly consumption of E614 whereas the female-headed households have E506.

7. The proposals on policy implications can be summarized as follows:
• Institute reforms of the customary and common legal systems to remove all discriminations based on gender (especially the treatment of women as minors when accessing land or credit and long compulsory mourning periods for women). Enshrine in the constitution gender equality.
• Ascertain from the communities themselves how local authorities (particularly Tinkhundla, chiefs and local councils) can be reformed to make them more accountable and responsive to the local needs.
• Wherever possible and meaningful, the communities to be helped must be involved in the design and implementation of the intervention measures.
• Define and formalize property rights on Swazi Nation Land in a clear fashion so that access by households (including female-headed households) is increased and there is an incentive to invest in the land.
• Identify those cultural norms which impede socio-economic progress and find ways of modifying them.
• Compile drought and disaster preparedness plans.
• Conduct feasibility studies for the implementation of social security for the very destitute among the vulnerable groups (especially the elderly, disabled and unemployed orphans).
• Review and overhaul the educational system to emphasize skills required by the economy and self-employment at the end of the process.
• Conduct a feasibility study on the provision of basic services (especially primary education and health) at affordable prices.
• Place poverty alleviation at the heart of all policy measures. In particular, ensure that the annual national budget is underpinned by poverty alleviation.
• Make the population policy explicit and incorporate it into national development planning.
• Institutionalize consultation, collaboration and cooperation among all agencies involved in poverty alleviation (i.e., central government, local authorities, NGOs, donors and others).
• Systematize all policies and practices that strengthen the family unit. In this context, also formulate a policy on street kids.
• Explicitly incorporate poverty alleviation in the NDS, ESRA and rolling national development plans.
• Assess existing policies and laws with the view of ensuring a balance of family and social relationships in the modern world.
• Design a systematic and comprehensive policy to promote the informal sector.
• Engage in proactive planning to cater for immigrants in the urban sector from the rural sector.
• Place the urban development programme on a fast-track so as to increase the number of serviced plots at affordable prices. This entails, among other things, releasing more Swazi Nation Land to cater for the spreading urban sector.
• Review the regulatory environment to facilitate the provision of affordable urban housing.

8. The proposals on follow-up actions can be summarized as follows:
• Complete the analysis of the household survey data collected by the CSO quickly.
• Use available information to compute the poverty datum line.
• Establish linkage between poverty assessment on the one hand and NDS, ESRA plus other national processes on the other hand.
• Compile an inventory of all existing data on poverty in the country.
• Integrate the data from the PPA survey with that from the household survey conducted by the CSO to determine the degree of confidence to be placed in the respective results and to redress inconsistencies (via further data collection and analysis if necessary).
• Create a forum (in the tradition of a multi-sectoral committee on poverty alleviation) where all agencies working on poverty can meet to institutionalize the centralization of all poverty data; assess the adequacy of available data; determine what additional data needed to be collected; design comprehensive strategies for poverty alleviation; decide how to pool resources to exploit complementarities and economies of scale; decide how to build capacity for data collection and analysis; monitor poverty trends; arrange for the dissemination of poverty data; design common policy analysis and intervention frameworks; decide how to integrate poverty issues into national development planning; and recommend the role to be played by government, NGOs, donors and others in poverty alleviation.
• Arrange for a feedback to the communities involved in the initial PPA survey. In the process, ascertain perceptions on areas where there presently seems to be gaps - including, population growth, family size, HIV/AIDS, street kids, evolving and changing relationships between the family and the community, and whatever will be suggested by an integration of the PPA results with those from the CSO household survey.
• Conduct an impact assessment of the PPA approach with respect to its objectives.
• Assess the capacity of communities to help themselves and how that capacity can be increased.
• Determine the reasons for the late publication of macroeconomic and microeconomic data with a bearing on poverty by the CSO; and then arrange for a reduction of the time lag to that comparable with advanced countries.
• Determine how data collection and publication by the CSO can be demand-driven.
• Conduct workshops on basic financial management for the benefit of all those engaging in income-generating micro-projects.
• Conduct a full poverty assessment for the country.
• Submit this report together with the World Bank synthesis report on the PPA results to the NDS Coordinator for distribution to the national stakeholders.
• Link poverty alleviation explicitly to family planning and find ways of subsidizing the implied private costs.
• Study closely the wealth of the poor so as to design appropriate interventions.
• Study closely the perceptions of service delivery by government (especially through extension officers) and NGOs so as to improve where necessary or to take advantage of cost-effective delivery.
• Put in place poverty monitoring and evaluation systems to inform policy dialogue.
• Embark on a campaign to inform and educate communities about development options (such as benefits and costs of resettlement). In the process, initiate a dialogue that will enable the communities indicate their preferred options.
• Investigate alternatives to social structures and traditional safety nets which are not adaptive as times change.
• Investigate feasible strategies to mobilize communities for purposes of improving their livelihoods.

9. An exercise should be undertaken to prioritize the follow-up actions and identify the appropriate agency (whether government, NGO, donor community or other) to be in charge of the respective actions. An attempt was made at the workshop but was abandoned because of the recognition that there are strategic considerations involved. These considerations depend, in turn, on the confluence of ideas that would emerge from a comparative analysis of the results from the PPA and CSO household surveys on the one hand and an integration of these results into the NDS and ESRA processes on the other hand. The multi-sectoral committee suggested above would be well placed to initiate this prioritization process. Part of this process could be a stakeholders’ workshop along the lines of the one to which this report pertains.
ANNEX 1: WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

Overall objective for the workshop: To create an awareness of the need to address poverty issues in a coordinated and comprehensive fashion.

PROGRAMME FEBRUARY 17-18, 1997

DAY ONE: Monday, February 17, 1997
VENUE: Ezulwini Sun Hotel, Ezulwini Valley, Swaziland

OBJECTIVES:
- To inform and allow participants to familiarize themselves with the PPA approach and methodology.
- To discuss the findings of the PPA study in Swaziland.
- To discuss requirements for measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland.
- To agree on proposals for follow-up actions on measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland.

NOTE: Each presenter should allow about five minutes for questions of clarification at the end of his/her slot. Presentations will be done in plenary sessions whilst all discussions will take place in group sessions. Members of different stakeholder-groups (namely, government, non-governmental organizations, donors, etc) should ensure that they are represented in each of the discussion groups.

ACTIVITIES:

0830 - 0900: Registration

0900 - 0905: Welcome remarks and introduction of the Honourable Minister for Economic Planning and Development (MEPD) by Mr Ephraim M Hlophe, Principal Secretary, MEPD, who will also Chair the plenary session until 0950.

0905 - 0920: Official Opening by Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Honourable Albert H N Shabangu, MP.

0920 - 0930: Participants to introduce themselves.

0930 - 0950: Presentation of methodology used by researchers in the Swaziland PPA by Prof John Ngwisha, University of Swaziland (UNISWA).
0950 - 1000: Facilitator (Prof Michael S Matsebula, UNISWA) takes over the Chair from Mr Ephraim M Hlophe. Group formation, selection of rapporteurs and outline of group procedures: There will be four groups corresponding to the four regions by which research findings will be presented at 1030.

1000 - 1030: Tea/Coffee Break

1030 - 1130: Presentation of key findings by researchers: Characteristics of poverty, extent of poverty, ranking of problems, etc.
- Highveld Region (Dr Vakashile R Simelane)
- Middleveld Region (Ms Phumzile L Magagula)
- Lowveld Region (Mr Khanyakwezwe P Khumalo)
- Lubombo Region and Peri-Urban Case Studies (Dr Pat J Musi)

1130 - 1200: Group discussions on findings. The researchers will serve as facilitators in the four groups.

1200 - 1230: Presentation of group reports on research findings.

1230 - 1400: Lunch Break.

1400 - 1420: Qualitative and participatory methodology in poverty assessment and experience in other countries by Ms Caroline Robb, World Bank.

1420 - 1440: Role of the Central Statistical Office in measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland by Mr Sipho Dlamini.

1440 - 1530: Group discussions on:
- Relevance of participatory tools and techniques to measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland.
- Available and not available but required quantitative data for measuring and monitoring poverty.
- How to build capacity for measuring and monitoring poverty.
- Further work needed to coordinate available data compiled by different agencies so as to understand more closely the issues involved.
- Proposals for follow-up actions on measuring and monitoring poverty in Swaziland.

1530 - 1600: Tea/Coffee Break.

1600 - 1630: Group reports on the areas discussed at 1440.
1630 - 1700: Video on PPA methods and tools (for those not able to watch it at 2000).

1700: Close of day

DAY TWO: Tuesday, February 18, 1997

OBJECTIVES:
- To assess the policy implications for alleviating poverty.
- To identify the next steps in developing a coherent policy framework on poverty alleviation.
- To agree on list of proposals for follow-up actions on the part of government, non-governmental organizations, donors and others to alleviate poverty.

ACTIVITIES:

0830 - 0845: Sustainable livelihoods by Mr Naresh Singh, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

0845 - 0900: Poverty and the National Development Strategy (NDS) by Ms Nomathemba Dlamini, MEPD.

0900 - 0930: Group discussions on sustainable livelihoods plus poverty and the NDS.

0930 - 1000: Presentation of group reports on the discussions at 0900.

1000 - 1030: Tea/Coffee Break

1030 - 1045: Group formation, selection of rapporteurs and outline of group procedures:
- **Group 1:** Rural Livelihoods (Facilitator: Mr Samson Dlamini, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives).
- **Group 2:** Rural Infrastructure and Services (Facilitator: Mr Vusie Kunene, Ministry of Education).
- **Group 3:** Family and Social Institutions (Facilitator: Ms Christabel Motsa, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives).
- **Group 4:** Peri-Urban Poverty (Facilitator: Mr Bosco Khoza, Ministry of Housing and Urban Development).

1100 - 1230: Group discussions on:
- Policy implications of all previous discussions (including research findings) for poverty alleviation.
• Steps towards developing appropriate policies on poverty alleviation.
• Proposals on follow-up actions on the part of government, non-governmental organizations, donors and others to alleviate poverty.

1230 - 1400: Lunch Break

1400 - 1500: Presentation of group reports on the areas discussed at 1100.

1500 - 1600: Discussion of group reports and conclusions (including list of follow-up actions).

1600 - 1630: Closing Tea/Coffee.

NOTE: The above programme was followed very closely except for two changes:

(a) HE John Doble made official remarks at the beginning of the workshop on Day 1 after the official opening by the Minister. He also officially closed the workshop at the end of Day 2.

(b) Due to time pressure, the group reports scheduled for Day 1 were not presented at the plenary session. Instead, participants were given typed versions of the reports at the beginning of Day 2 and asked to send written comments to Mrs Felicity Mahundla who would then pass them on to the Facilitator to incorporate in the workshop report.
ANNEX 2: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Deputy Prime Minister's Office:
   1.1 Ms Jabu Dlamini, Director, Women-in-Development Programme
   1.2 Mr Isaac Mlipha, Community Development Officer

2. Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives:
   2.1 Mr Samson Dlamini, Senior Agricultural Economist

3. Ministry of Economic Planning and Development:
   3.1 Hon Albert H N Shabangu, Minister
   3.2 Mr Ephraim M Hlophe, Principal Secretary
   3.3 Mrs Joyce Dlamini, Under-Secretary
   3.4 Mrs Zandile Madlopha, External Assistance Unit
   3.5 Mr Sipho W Dlamini, Statistician, CSO Household Survey Section

4. Ministry of Education:
   4.1 Mr Vusie Kunene, Planning Officer

5. Ministry of Health and Social Welfare:
   5.1 Ms Gugu Made, Social Welfare officer

6. Ministry of Home Affairs:
   6.1 Ms Sanele Nxumalo, Gender officer

7. Ministry of Housing and Urban Development:
   7.1 Mr Bosco Khoza, Research and Development Officer
   7.2 Mr Steven Khumalo, Health Inspector
   7.3 Ms Lindiwe Madonsela, Planning Officer
   7.4 Mr Graham Alder, Consultant

8. Ministry of Natural Resources:
   8.1 Ms Sibongile P Myeni, Planning Officer
   8.2 Ms Thobile Dlamini, Assistant Planning Officer

9. National Development Strategy:
   9.1 Ms Nomathemba Dlamini, Coordinator
   9.2 Mrs Christabel Motsa, Gender Chairperson, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
   9.3 Sister Judith, Education and Training Chairperson, Principal of MITC-Emakhonweni.
10. Baphalali Swaziland Red Cross:
   1.1 Ms Claire Malone, Community Development Officer

11. Consultative Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (CANGO):
   11.1 Mrs Sarah Dlamini, Coordinator

12. Lutheran Farmer Development Centre:
   12.1 Ms Pamela Meggitt, Coordinator

13. LULOTE-BMEP:
   13.1 Mrs Nokukhanya Gamedze, Director

14. Save the Children Fund:
   14.1 Ms Lizzie Nkosi, Director

15. World Vision (Swaziland):
   15.1 Mr David Montague, Director
   15.2 Ms Nosipho Dlamini, Assistant

16. University of Swaziland:
   16.1 Mr Khanyakweza P Khumalo, Lecturer in Sociology
   16.2 Prof Matsebula, Associate Professor in Economics
   16.3 Prof John K Ngwisha, Associate Professor in Sociology
   16.4 Dr Patricia J Musi, Lecturer in Home Economics
   16.5 Dr Vakashile R Simelane, Lecturer in Economics

17. British High Commission:
   17.1 HE John Doble, High Commissioner
   17.2 Ms Trudi Crabb, Aid Project Administrator

18. British Council:
   18.2 Mrs Felicity T Mahundla, Director
   18.3 Ms Amanda Rose, Projects Officer

19. Overseas Development Administration (ODA), British Development Division in Southern
    Africa (BDDSA):
   19.1 Mr Jonathan Beynon, Advisor
   19.2 Mr John Gordon, Advisor
   19.3 Mr Eric Hanley, Advisor
20. European Union (EU):
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