

**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN, 4041
SOUTH AFRICA**

**TRAINING FOR EMPOWERMENT: NON-FORMAL
TRAINING TO BUILD DEVELOPMENT CAPACITY
IN RURAL CBOs**

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**Rural-Urban Studies Programme
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PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study of rural non-formal training needs was commissioned by the School of Rural Community Development at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. The mission of the School is to provide a channel through which resources of the University of Natal could be focussed on the needs of rural people, with emphasis on rural community development. Within this mission, the School's objectives include human resource development through education and training, the promotion of rural community development strategies that cost-effective, efficient and sustainable, and the strengthening of community organizations through institution building.

The School strives to meet these goals by mobilising and coordinating the research and teaching mechanisms of the University around a rural development outreach effort. This effort tries to help put communities in position to master their own development needs. In this framework, the initial steps toward the present report were taken by the School's first Director, Professor S Sangweni. The middle and end phases of the research were overseen by Professor M Maema, his successor, with assistance from Dr P Ewang of the SRCD.

Funding and sponsorship were generously provided by Kagiso Trust, a major initiative of the European Union tasked to support development and upliftment of the disadvantaged and oppressed in South Africa. Kagiso Trust has had a major impact on donor and government policy around the delivery of development funding in relation to the non-governmental sector and to community organizations. Both the SRCD and Kagiso Trust contributed important insights to the setting up of the research.

The research and report writing were carried out by Rural Urban Studies Unit, part of the Centre for Social & Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban. Rural Urban Studies Unit is a research undertaking concerned with policy issues involving rural and urban relations, and has done extensive research into rural development. The work of the survey and data capture was done by Data Research Africa, using a questionnaire created by Rural Urban Studies Unit. Participatory workshops and interviews as well as data analysis were carried out by personnel of Rural Urban Studies Unit.

The goals of the study focussed on the potential role of CBOs in rural capacity building through rural non-formal training. The study attempted to identify ways to promote greater involvement of CBOs in the training delivery process, and to ascertain the actual availability of training in rural areas. With this information, the study further attempts to identify forms of training which are wanted in rural areas and could be delivered through CBOs.

Thanks and acknowledgement are due first to SRCD, Kagiso Trust, and the ten rural and peri-urban communities which participated in the study. Thanks are also due to DRA and all the people at University of Natal and in the communities, who did the actual fieldwork and contributed insights to the analysis. Special thanks are due to Richard Devey, who worked with a complicated dataset and ran the computer analysis, and to Sharon Klipp, who held the office together and oversaw the finances. It is our hope that the report of this research project will be of real use to the sponsors, to policy planners, to the community-based organizations and the non-governmental sector, and to the people on the ground whose lives may be made easier and more satisfying by the provision of effective non-formal training.

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CHAPTER 1: A PROBLEMATIC FOR RURAL TRAINING

'Elected representatives in local government structures and people in community based organisations will need to take advantage of training and capacity building opportunities if they are to maximise their communities' opportunities for development. Effective capacity building requires the interaction of experience-by-doing, access to resources, facilitation, mediation, and training. There are various training programmes available through different government departments, but access is limited compared to the large demand. Community and local government structures will need to obtain the services of non-governmental organisations and the private sector for capacity building...'

- Rural Development Green Paper, 1995

The provision of formal and non-formal training is an issue of critical importance to rural communities which is presently receiving relatively little consideration. It is likely that training is the cheapest, most cost-effective form of development assistance now available to be offered to impoverished rural communities. In particular, non-formal training has potential to play a central role in the development of institutional capacity in rural areas.

It now appears clear that national policy planning in the medium term tends to focus on the plight of the cities rather than on the predicament of the rural districts. Though RDP service delivery is gaining momentum, the RDP office has been closed. Urban problems still dominate planning priorities and impoverished rural communities in South Africa may be faced with overcoming their apartheid-determined marginalisation while being relegated to an unfavorable position for direct development assistance from central government. The importance of self-reliance and development assistance through training then becomes clear.

Expected shortfalls in provision of resources will be complicated by the crisis already being experienced in institutional capacity matching needed for communities to take up and use resources presently on offer. Ominously large amounts of designated funding are already hanging unused. There is a real danger that rural development efforts will stagnate and fail despite the efforts of government, communities and non-governmental structures.

The capacity of community-based organizations (CBOs) to help use development resources for the maximum benefit of their constituencies is therefore a crucial policy issue.

1.1 National debates

Most of the policy-related thinking around the training issue seems to relate to qualifications, to workforce issues and to productivity - that is, to increasing the qualifications of people as workers, both to fight high unemployment levels and to promote industrial growth, and, more broadly, to helping people who have been unable to obtain formal educational certificates to qualify. For these approaches, what is at stake is South Africa's overall economic development, and its global trade position in terms of comparative advantage. What needs to be explored is whether these approaches exhaust the importance of training to development, to improving the situation of the rural and urban poor, and to the R D P.

The recent White Paper on Education emphasizes the role of training in providing parallel qualification standards for people whose formal education needs to be supplemented. This initiative develops out of a line of policy which the ANC has been developing since before the national elections. By its nature, this approach to training and to adult basic education relies on increasing standardization and on bringing relevant training into line with formal structures and policies.

Other current approaches to training are more narrowly work-related or industrial, but share the concern for human development through promoting a capable and well educated civil society which is able to mobilize a capable, skilled and well informed workforce. In a recent issue of the journal DEVELOPMENT SOUTHERN AFRICA, Ismail (1995), McCarthy (1995) and Donaldson (1995) contribute to a capsule debate on how far improving general education and skills training will improve South Africa's export manufacturing position. In Donaldson's comments especially, the issue of relative cost-effectiveness for education and training as a means of skills development is emphasized.

What the recent policy contributions have in common appears to be an awareness that human resource development is likely to receive an increasing share of national budget resources and attention at policy level, and that the efficient use of scarce financial resources is vital. In this light, the central concerns are both human, in terms of individual qualifications, and economic, in terms of the individual's contribution to the general economy through workforce participation.

What is perhaps missing from these important debates is an urgent focus on the relation of training to civil society, and to institutional mobilization. Specifically, the possible relevance of an approach through training to capacity matching and capacity building seems to have received little attention. Yet nothing is more important to the national project of development, to the amelioration of the misery of the poor and disenfranchised, and to the success of the R D P.

1.2 Non-formal training delivery in rural KwaZulu/Natal

The present delivery process of rural training has been seriously distorted by apartheid. As a result, training content is sometimes stereotyped, and delivery is uncoordinated and appears to be highly uneven. In spite of the efforts of aware NGOs, CBOs are not often central to rural training. Usually, they remain passive recipients. Results of a research inquiry conducted by the Rural-Urban Studies Unit, Centre for Social and Development Studies (CSDS) for the School of Rural Community Development (Cross and Clark, 1992) indicate that in the KwaZulu/Natal region most rural training is still provided by state structures, including both state departments and parastatals. The private sector also plays a large role. Training from these sources tends to be narrowly channelled, ad hoc, and of limited content. It focuses on individual skills delivery, and is only now starting to address institutional capacity. Private sector bodies in particular tend to train for the needs of their own constituencies rather than for the needs of the communities.

Non-governmental organizations, church bodies and CBOs offer perhaps the best-focussed and most responsive training, and provide nearly all training related to capacity and institutional development. However, they are seriously

handicapped in the scope of their delivery by their relatively limited resources and their history of curtailed access to many areas, particularly in the old homelands. Research indicates that these shortfalls, together with the general lack of co-ordination and communication in rural training delivery, are presently identified by training NGOs as sources of frustration.

The result appears to be that overall rural training delivery is often spatially concentrated in particular communities or localities, with large areas and some vulnerable groups unable to access training on offer. In addition the training presently most available may not be what is most needed on the ground.

It appears that rural training may be falling short of what is needed, and may need to be re-prioritised. The issues here are the general accessibility and effectiveness of rural training, in relation to the issues of community capacity and the vital role of CBOs in mediating the community's relation to the outside world. Given present and future limitations on development resources, for effective rural training delivery it will be vital to bring CBOs fully into a central role, so that effective training can be made more generally accessible through an intermediary role for grassroots organizations. In capacity building, for CBOs to take on weight and draw support it is essential that they be in a position to deliver development benefits to their communities. For institutional development, provision of non-formal training can be identified as an inexpensive and widely desired benefit ideally suited to be used by CBOs to mobilize support. Where effective CBOs have not yet formed, training delivery may help to catalyse such organisation. The process of training delivery itself needs to be harnessed to increase CBO institutional capacity, and also help to mobilise communities around and through this process.

1.3 Non-formal training and capacity building

Re-prioritising capacity-building is in line with current national and international trends in theories of development, and is also important in relation to the urban bias which still affects development thinking in South Africa. This report argues that community-based structures are best situated to provide training to communities most in need. The focus is on the rural non-formal training situation as it appears to community members at ground level. The sections following outline the assumptions on which the project was based, and then sketch the rural training environment as it was revealed in the 1992 study of training delivery. Succeeding chapters examine kinds of training reaching the ground in the ten sample communities and profile the kind of people actually receiving training, before looking more closely at CBOs and their potential roles in development and training delivery. The last chapter sums up and puts forward policy recommendations.

The national policy planning environment appears in the medium term to be stressing productivity and local economic development. The new government's rural development strategy emphasizes the need for rural communities to justify their development needs, and to demonstrate that what they want will be cost-effective. This process will put a heavy burden on communities in terms of information collection, requiring training.

Expected shortfalls in provision of resources will be complicated by the crisis already being experienced in institutional capacity. The last few years have seen a major transformation in the paradigm for development funding of the

major funding and donor agencies, both local and international. Previously, the non-governmental sector operated as the major link between impoverished, under-developed communities and the development benefits which these communities sought to claim. Funding for development was largely directed into the NGO sector, which provided communities with funding and with development products.

There was increasing concern that the NGO sector was taking on a gate-keeping function. Funders were concerned that the channeling of development benefits through intermediary bodies such as NGOs promoted dependency of communities on the intermediary bodies (Cross, Clark and Bekker 1995).

The new model encourages channelling development benefits into communities through community-based structures. State, parastatal and non-governmental development agencies should, in terms of this model, be engaged by CBOs, and should be subject to the authority and control of community-based structures.

This model represents a breakthrough. However, its implementation has been held back by scarcity of strong civil society institutions on the ground. Under apartheid the mobilisation of civil society was interpreted as a threat to the status quo, and rural communities are impoverished and settlement is thinly scattered. Institutions are weak, and conditions of extreme poverty in remote rural areas make the establishment of viable civil society institutions very difficult. Growing awareness of the importance of rural civil society has resulted in attempts to help crystallise CBOs in many rural areas, but so far most of these CBOs are emergent structures, and still need to increase their capacity to deal with development.

One possible solution to this problem is to build on the gains made by existing CBOs, and channel development benefits through these organisations in a way that strengthens their capacity (Cross, Bekker, Clark and Wilson 1992). The idea is to create a feedback loop through the delivery of development benefits, where the delivery of benefits helps to mobilise community structures so that they are able to increase participation and deliver more benefits. (Uphoff 1986,1992).

This model raises the question of which forms of development benefits are best delivered to the most needy rural communities, where institutions of civil society are at their weakest. The thesis of this report is that skills training is the most effective form of development benefit to deliver, and the most likely to stimulate development of capacity in rural civil society. Training is also a form of development benefit which can be delivered by CBOs themselves and can contribute to improving the material base in rural areas. Training can raise household incomes by promoting self-employment, improving access to formal employment, and increasing the yield of rural production activities. Skills delivery has potential to promote economic growth at the micro-level, and contribute towards regional and national economic growth. At grass roots level, individuals can move up from being trained to becoming trainers, empowering themselves and their neighbours. Training initiatives can also set up vital links for information delivery.

In this light it may be vital for the future of South Africa's rural regions to promote national debate on the role of rural training. Such a debate might include both the direct role of training in rural welfare and its potential for promoting the capacity of CBO.

1.4

The non-formal training environment in KwaZulu/Natal

In 1992 the School of Rural Community Development commissioned an overview of the rural community development training environment from the Rural-Urban Studies Unit (Cross and Clark 1992). This project examined the training available to rural communities in Natal/KwaZulu. Interviews focussed on what these training organisations were delivering and what they were wanting to deliver, and what opportunities and obstacles they identified. Results indicated that there was a real need to get data on the training delivery conditions on the ground for rural training, and on the present scope of training delivery in this framework. It also appeared to be important to consider ways to help training delivery become more effective.

In this initial study, organisations in the sample were divided into nine categories:

- State departments
- Parastatals
- Specialist training institutions
- Outreach programmes of formal training institutions
- Production industry bodies
- Private sector initiatives
- Non-government and service organisations
- Church groups
- CBOs

Each of these groups appeared to be playing a specific and important role in the delivery of training, but their effectiveness in promoting real rural community development was often constrained by different factors which were difficult to address. The present study or community training needs takes off from the 1992 findings regarding the agencies involved in training and the process of training delivery.

Based on the 1992 study, a summary of the involvement of different sectors of training organisation is given in Table 1 in Appendix 1. The central role of the parastatals is clear in relation to nearly all fields. These large operations have access to significant resources, and deliver an important share of total training everywhere other than in health and education, where other government departments take the lead. The strengths and weaknesses of parastatals therefore merit close attention. Actual state departments take a relatively small role in training outside the specialised fields of education and health.

At the other end of the scale, service and non-government organisations and CBOs provide training strongly concentrated in specific areas. Institutional development and capacity building are available from non-government and service organisations, from church organisations and from CBOs as well as from parastatals, outreach programs and the private sector. In addition, they provide a major share of training in food crops and agriculture. Outside of these areas they tend to lower levels of activity in areas such as development training and administrative skills. However, non-government organisations specifically also provide significant financial and health training. On top of the NGO contribution, the community-oriented training given by the outreach programmes is relatively extensive, providing important shares of technical agricultural skills, money skills and administration as well as institutional development.

Between the state and the community-linked bodies are the private sector, the production industry and the specialist training institutions. Of these, the private sector offers the widest range of training. Private sector initiatives include significant shares of job skills, money and business skills training, but also make major contributions in institutional development, development training, administrative skills and in education skills. Specialist training institutions and the production industry are less broadly active. The production industry bodies make a major initiative only in regard to job skills, concentrating on those linked to the large farm sector. However, skills training linked to outgrower cash crops is in many ways the most effective rural non-formal training now available. The specialist training institutions are active in farmworker training, but also offer significant training in technical agricultural skills. Both support outgrower cash crops specifically.

It follows that for the sample at least, the production industry, the specialist training institutions and the state departments make most of their training effort in relatively narrow areas. Much of their significance to rural training is limited to these spheres. To a lesser extent, something of the same holds true for community-linked voluntary organisations.

A large share of the important training fields are then dominated by parastatals and the private sector, which have access to resources in funding, staffing and skills that smaller organisations largely reliant on donor funding have difficulty in meeting. It was only among the large parastatals that training organisations reported offering too many skills and covering too wide an area.

1.5 Barriers in the non-formal training environment

What appeared to be important from the 1992 training study was that the training structures closest to communities - especially the CBOs themselves, but also the smaller NGOs, the church-sponsored and community-aligned organisations - were the most responsive, but were also most severely limited by a shortage of resources and by the demands of staying small so as to remain responsive (Cross and Clark 1992).

The larger organisations delivered on scale, but being large were more concerned with bureaucratic targets, and often with specific departmental or industry concerns: especially in the agricultural industry, which has particular interests to promote in offering rural training.

This question of where to focus is complicated by sponsor demands. Many organisations were established to provide certain products for training bodies, and in spite of good intentions were bound by their funding links to provide those products even if they identified a need for other training provision.

Accountability and relations with funders

It has been remarked that the funding process often puts accountability in the wrong place from the standpoint of communities: organisations always have to account to the body which supplies their own funding, but rarely account to communities or to people they train (Cross, Clark and Bekker 1995). Some of the bodies funding training for community development are flexible and sympathetic, but some are rigid in relation to the demands of their own

constituents, who may be business or government or a particular industry or belief community. This applies both to smaller community-aligned operations and to large-scale state and industry providers of skills training. Definitions of successful training in these areas often appear to represent the funding agency's view of the world: for example, a high rate of former trainees who return to the training organisation in order to enroll for different courses is characteristically viewed by a training organisation and its funders as demonstrating the popularity and success of the training. In fact, it may indicate that the first skill learnt is not very useful to the trainee in his/her own home community, and the trainee is hoping to learn another skill of more immediate benefit. Cost and distance factors, and the information shortfalls that result, are another barrier.

The consequences of these structural, spatial and historical constraints are often uneven or incomplete delivery of training, or training which is not flexible enough to meet the needs of specific individuals or interest groups within the community.

Concentration and overconcentration

The trade-off between wider delivery and greater depth of skills on offer affects different categories of training agency differently. Larger agencies and parastatals spread standardized services widely, but the smaller training operations may develop a more individualised product. These smaller operations are often providing more and more services to the communities they are in touch with, any may also try to provide more and more specific skills. The problem here is that the population available to be trained in each community is limited, and therefore too small to justify getting together a wide range of skills. Unless this is done, however, demand is oversupplied. There can be too many members of one community trained to be block makers or candle makers, on the assumption from that they will be able to perform this service to their community to generate income. When too many members of a community learn the same skills, no one is able to make money using these skills.

The problem of making an effective mix of skills widely available across disadvantaged rural areas leads a number of smaller training operations to over-concentrate. A number of NGOs and related agencies seem to be supplying services in depth to a few communities, leaving the rural majority without links and without help. A few communities have been overserved, while there appear to be many seriously underserved communities in remote areas at the same time. Deep, thorough coverage does take place, but only in a few locations.

Training transmission

In order to be able to see training which reaches a limited number of people on the ground as effective training, providers often assume that training is getting passed on by the people who are trained. In practice, this seems to be rare. There is evidence that this situation is starting to change now, but there are few real incentives and change is slow.

All the actors in the training environment note a shortage of skills for doing the training and for training trainers. But problems around diffusion of skills have not surfaced in a clearly recognisable form. Few of the training operations in the 1992 sample put them forward as concerns that had been

identified for action. Because they were structural problems, most training bodies lived with them and treated them as obstacles to be dealt with when encountered.

1.6 Looking forward

The rationale for the present study is to look at how these obstacles to training delivery and to rural reconstruction affect the availability of training to people who need it on the ground. From here, it is hypothesised that a close focus on the role of CBOs may offer one possible way to deal with the structural problems of training delivery. The thinking here is that if CBOs, working with existing training operations, take up an increased delivery role at the most under-supplied points, more training might be provided on the ground throughout the rural districts, and responsiveness might be increased by grass roots involvement. At the same time, the capacity of the CBOs, and their role in rural mobilisation, might be increased considerably by the process of successfully delivering forms of training they can handle with the right kind of help.

Two important warnings need to be sounded in this respect, however. The first is that the prospects for training in the KwaZulu/Natal region appear to be substantially worse off than in other regions of South Africa, due to a chronic shortage of training opportunities in most sectors of the economy (Schreiner and Valodia 1993). This is exacerbated by the unstable political situation in the region, and the possibility that existing political structures in rural areas may interpret training (and particularly training aimed at promoting the institutionalisation of civil society) as a challenge to the existing power base.

Secondly, it is widely reported that urbanisation rates are higher in KwaZulu/Natal than in any other region of South Africa (Cross, Clark, Bromberger, Bekker and Christiansen 1995: forthcoming). The debilitating effects of urbanisation on the rural economy are therefore more keenly felt in this region than in any other, and the need for skills training and for empowerment in rural communities that much stronger.

It is in the light of these two concerns that the framing of the present project needs to be understood.

CHAPTER 2: STUDYING RURAL TRAINING DELIVERY

In post-apartheid South Africa, there is a great deal of activity going on in the field of rural training. The training sector is changing, reorienting, and working to meet the new developmental concerns. There is a wide range of training activity aimed at promoting material benefits, better incomes, higher agricultural yields, and institutional development. The Farmer Support Group (FSG) at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has done work toward restructuring and re-basing extension services, and there is talk of national plans to promote institutional development for rural communities. Various NGOs, government structures and university programs are working in the training field. An important emergent institutional actor in this arena is the School of Rural Community Development at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, which commissioned the present study.

2.1 Focus of the study

The present project was formulated to respond to issues around the expanding role of CBOs in rural development. The research brief was to address ways in which rural training delivery can help CBOs take control of the development process at grass roots, with the help of present training organisations in the NGO sector and in state structures.

The study was framed look broadly at the constraints around capacity-building at grass roots, so as to get a clearer idea of the outlines of training principles able to promote institutional capacity. In this sense, the research has not concentrated only on institutional development training for CBOs. In addition, research aimed to establish

- how much training is actually available to remote rural communities;
- what the spatial distribution of this training is;
- what factors constrain the access of communities and individuals to training.

The primary goal must be *the delivery of training that people on the ground want and need and can use immediately*: that is, appropriate training delivered in a manner that it is accessible to all areas and to all constituencies.

Two related objectives emerged from preliminary discussions with SRCD and Kagiso Trust as the project funders. The first was the need to target the point where CBOs work with their constituencies. This is the point where constituents expect CBOs to deliver benefits, something that will help them with their immediate needs.

Research suggests that one major problem for CBOs is actually identifying and delivering benefits that can draw community members into the developmental process. During research undertaken in the urban informal communities around Durban in 1990-1991, it was seen that real social mobilisation mainly takes place when CBOs are actually bringing benefits into the community (Cross, Bekker, Clark and Wilson 1992 and compare Uphoff 1994, Chambers 1982). The act of providing people with benefits validates leadership and creates unity of purpose and shared effort. This formulation identifies the need to look at the process of mobilisation in relation to capacity. CBOs in rural areas are short of benefits they can offer, because the rural areas are starved of resources

and are marginalised in trying to get access to the state. It is hard for them to set up an effective relationship with the outside world, one that will let them claim development benefits which they are able to give to their communities.

The third goal was the issues of *content* and *coverage*: whether people on the ground can get the skills that they really need in their area, and whether the training that is wanted and needed is available to all groups in the community who need it. The earlier SRCD training research identified the elderly, the youth, the unemployed and the disabled as vulnerable groups in need of training who may not be able to get it. These problems relate back to physical distance and rural isolation, and the research methodology was designed around space and distance as major determinants of relative training availability and training uptake.

2.2 Research design

Based on the 1992 study and on the workshops, the research problematic identified variations over space as a major factor affecting training delivery and limiting training uptake. The project conceptualised by the School of Rural Community Development and the research team from the Rural-Urban Studies Unit comprised two separate but interlocking phases: a study phase and an implementation phase. It is assumed that possible lines of approach emerging from the study phase will be debated and developed outward during the implementation phase. This report comprises the final product of the study phase only.

2.3 Framework

KwaZulu/Natal was identified as an appropriate area for a consultative rural training study because it contains one of the largest concentrations of impoverished rural people in South Africa, and because of the province's serious need for development and stability to help find a way out of its political impasse.

The empirical phase of the study looks at available skills training on the ground in rural areas in KwaZulu/Natal, focussing on the former homelands districts where training needs seem to be concentrated. The universe for the sample survey included both the rural and peri-urban areas, and for the consultative interviews and workshops included the training bodies and the CBOs as well.

Access to the rural parts of former KwaZulu for participative interviews and workshops as well as for the survey was problematic due to violence and political tension, but work was not delayed for these reasons.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been used to obtain information on how communities see training needs and on potential for using training to support CBOs and build capacity to deal with development tasks. Findings from the field phase have been fed back to the training community and CBOs through workshops and consultations in order to get greater depth and perspective on the results. The consultative interviews and coordinate participative field interviews ran concurrently, and overlapped with the survey and data analysis.

2.4 Research

The research design as detailed in the project proposal required a literature survey, a preparatory workshop to present the research plan to CBOs and key training agencies, and a series of consultative interviews with experts, clients, and involved agencies. The field study included participatory workshops, informant interviews and focus groups at ground level in the communities. The random sample survey was planned to take these results into account. A report-back workshop would then wind up the formal inquiry. In the event, further field interviews and discussions continued. Using the results of the literature review (see Appendix 1: Literature review) together with the findings of the 1992 SRC/D/RUSU study of non-formal training delivery in KwaZulu/Natal, the research team held the initial workshop in August 1994 with training organizations and representatives of CBOs to present the research plan and ask for comments. In accordance with the research plan, the team also carried out consultative interviews with members of CBOs and training agencies over the telephone and in their offices to obtain inputs in greater depth (see Appendix 5: Workshops and Consultative Results). Liaison was maintained with the CBO network through contacts at the University of Natal.

During the field phase, team members held workshops and focus groups and interviewed CBOs and members of rural communities in their home areas about local conditions, about training opportunities and needs and about training uptake. Approximately 60 interviews and small workshops were conducted on the ground, with a quota sample procedure. Information and perceptions from these interviews and from the sessions with training providers were used to structure the questionnaire from the sample survey, which was conducted in November 1994. After the completion of the draft report, a second report-back workshop was held for the CBOs and the training provision community at the University of Natal in May 1995. Results from this workshop were incorporated into the revised project report.

Several important priorities emerged from the workshops, including the pervasiveness of urban bias in training delivery, the need for continuing monitoring and evaluation of training interventions, and particularly the role of gender factors in training uptake. These issues were incorporated into the working problematic for the research inquiry.

2.5 Sample

The main problem in designing the questionnaire survey was to cover enough area to give some representation to the range of conditions across the space economy of rural KwaZulu/Natal, and at the same time to locate enough trained people to support some level of generalization from the results. The original study design as proposed for funding called for a sample of about 400 cases distributed across three sample regions in different parts of the province. Funding was delayed and costs escalated in the interim, cutting back the final survey sample to 299 cases in two sample regions. Not quite 40 trained people responded to the survey.

The problem of space factors and relative distance were dealt with through using strip samples rather than sample areas. The strips were designed to represent as far as possible the effects of distance on the availability of training (see Appendix 6: Field Investigations). Two strips were defined, each

about 50 kilometers long, and including five sample points approximately 10 kilometers apart. Each sample point contributed roughly 30 randomly chosen households within a five kilometer radius of the local centre used to identify the sample point. The survey located 39 trained people.

The first strip was located in the KwaZulu/Natal metropolitan peri-urban zone, and was anchored on MaQadini in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. This area is less than half an hour by taxi from Pinetown, and is close to the Valley Trust, a major NGO which is an important training provider for the Thousand Hills region. The peri-urban strip extends toward the less populated areas to the north, and was planned to finish in an isolated interior district near Wartburg. In reality, this strip had to deviate east from its intended course to avoid violence in the peri-urban interior at the time of the survey. As executed, this strip runs northeast to Appelsbosch, and detours closer to the developed coastal region than would ideally have been the case. The final peri-urban survey sample started at MaQadini and included Studam Bridge on the Umngeni River, Ogunjini Mission, and Montebelo before ending at Appelsbosch. Small sugar growers at Montebelo are included in this strip.

The interior strip was planned to include relatively isolated areas in former KwaZulu. It was anchored at Nkandla Village, a small community in north central KwaZulu about five hours from Durban, which has an important regional hospital and acts as a service centre. This strip ran northwest toward Nqutu and the Isandlwana battlefield, passing through the rural areas of Ndikwe, KwaZondi and Silutshana before ending at Ngwebini (see map).

The rural strip represented 150 households, through the person of one adult respondent each. The peri-urban strip included 149 households.

In the design of the survey methodology, it was hypothesized that a wide range of development indicators, from households and individual incomes through to rates of skills training uptake, would decline with distance from a service centre: Nkandla Village and MaQadini would then in principle score highest for these indicators, and Ngwebini and Appelsbosch would score lowest. This model appears to be oversimplified.

Neither sample strip in practice represents a smooth decline in accessibility from the anchoring service centre to the furthest outlying community. Partly because of deviations in the way the strips were laid out to avoid violence, but partly because of differential access to urban transport routes and different historical circumstances, relative access and relative development responded strongly to local circumstances as well as to linear distance from the service centres. Specifically, the old mission communities of Montebelo and Ndikwe showed levels of transport access, development and mobilization which had not been expected from their location, and Appelsbosch has much better access to urban transport than the remote inland area where the strip was originally planned to end. These factors have been allowed for in the analysis (see Appendix 7: Description of Sample). To represent the factor of local accessibility, a second categorization was constructed, based on relative transport access rather than on linear distance from service centres.

The sample survey interviewing and initial data capture were carried out by Data Research Africa, a reputable research firm, as subcontractors. The survey used a questionnaire designed by the research team at University of Natal. Data processing and analysis was done at Centre for Social & Development

Studies at University of Natal by members of the team.

CHAPTER 3: PEOPLE IN THE SPACE ECONOMY

Understanding the need for training in rural areas means understanding the severe problems facing rural communities. This section reviews some of the present problems facing rural South Africa, with a specific emphasis on the KwaZulu/Natal study region.

3.1 RURAL HISTORIES

The rural areas of South Africa bore the heaviest brunt of apartheid. Those areas designated by the 1913 Land Act for black occupation included tribal land held in trust, private black-owned land classed as "black spots", and old mission settlements located from the major economic centres. The black rural economy was used to supply labour and allow low wage levels, by filling the cash shortfall with home production (Wolpe 1972). Land deprivation overcrowded the rural communities and forced rural Africans further and further into dependence on scarce urban wages.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s urban labour absorption was slowing, and rural areas in the reserves (now designated "homelands") came to be viewed as reservoirs for labour which was surplus to needs of the formal economy (Surplus People's Project 1985, Yawitch 1981). A massive programme of forced removal was undertaken to relocate anyone whose labour was not needed to rural areas:

- influx control legislation between 1952 and 1986 led to the physical destruction of many urban communities, both formal and informal, and the removal of their residents to homeland rural areas. In addition hundreds of thousands of individuals were deported every year to rural areas because they had no formal jobs in the urban economy.
- evictions from farms in "white" South Africa over the two decades following the 1964 amendment to the Land Act which abolished labour tenancy saw over 1.1 million people evicted (Platzky and Walker 1985). These included labour and cash tenants, full-time workers and anyone else living without the landowners' permission on farms.
- removals from black freehold areas located in zones designated for white occupation - so-called "black spots" continued throughout the apartheid period.

All these removals put gross pressure on rural land and transformed the land economy. In 1985, it was estimated that some 750 000 people had been affected by forced removals in the KwaZulu/Natal region (Surplus People's Project, 1985). The consequence of this enormous displacement of people into densely-packed rural areas has been a severe strain on local production. The state began to intervene sporadically to prop up the collapsing black rural economy. The production economy declined further, and dependence on increasingly scarce wage jobs deepened.

Development interventions aimed at addressing this crisis in the homelands were top-down and maintained the status quo. So-called "betterment" schemes, supposed to rationalise land use, divided tribal areas into residential, arable and grazing land, and concentrated rural villages whose residents often have to walk long distances to tend their fields. The dumping of surplus

labour in the homelands has meant that land designated by betterment schemes for agricultural purposes has come to be used for residential purposes. Packing population onto the land has accelerated soil erosion and impoverishment, deforestation and the decline of agricultural yields. In grossly overcrowded communities cattle are becoming a liability and stock raising has declined. In the last ten years, betterment fields have increasingly been abandoned as families concentrate their production in homestead gardens.

3.2 THE RURAL PREDICAMENT

With the decline of the rural subsistence economy, and the consequent acceleration of rural-to-urban migration at a pace much faster than the expansion of the urban economy, rural South Africa became dependent upon remittances from migrant workers in town, and upon wages from farm labour in the commercial agricultural sector.

People who were able to get a foothold in town are today better off than those who remained in rural areas. The urban black population has better information about urban employment, and increasingly dominates the job market. Rural people now struggle harder than ever before to get jobs. This has had a serious effect on migrant labour, previously the main source of income for rural households. In the new rural economy, rural people who leave for towns and cities to find work are being forced to return to the rural areas, and the kind of wage work supporting rural families is now mainly local work instead of better paid urban jobs (May and Trompeter 1992, May 1996). Local employment opportunities consist mostly of low-paying jobs on adjacent white-owned farms, with a few jobs in small local factories. There has been a strong movement toward small business and informal earning as jobless families struggle to get access to the wages still reaching the rural community.

With unemployment at 50 - 60 percent in many urban and rural areas, the central supports of the household economy on the land and in town have both crumbled. The consumption-based rural economy based on urban earning has become unsustainable. There is more and more competition for fewer jobs with declining levels of pay. Rural people desperately need a land option, and training in small enterprise and any other income generating option which will help them deal with an economy whose two main supports - wage labour and agricultural production - are fast eroding.

Inevitably, this crisis in rural areas has created fertile ground for social upheaval and violence. Traditional authorities were often co-opted to enforce apartheid policies, and were often seen as the agents of the state. The legitimacy of tribal authorities has been undermined, increasing potential for conflict between civil society formations and traditional authorities.

3.2.1 Rural violence

Violence is arguably the major limiting factor on the chances for development in rural South Africa, and rural KwaZulu/Natal is subject to severe violence. Since the 1980s, violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region has been characterised as

'... endemic, sustained, and ... permeated throughout the region'
(Louw 1994: 17)

According to Hindson and Morris (1990), political factors promoting violence originate in and are sustained by social and material factors, most notable conflict over access to scarce resources. Groups and individuals appear to be attempting to control scarce resources in rural, urban and peri-urban communities, and to dispense them so as to acquire political influence. At community level, there can be conflict between and ANC and IFP, between local power structures trying to control the population, and conflict over resources.

Gwala (1992) identifies the major parties involved in violence as the youth, members of political parties, members of civics, members of local authorities and tribal authorities. He notes that violence in KwaZulu/Natal

' had been confined mainly to urban areas until early 1990... Large scale rural violence centred around the peripheries of large towns, like Durban and Pietermaritzburg... After February 2 1990 there was a dramatic upswing in the scale of violence ... comrades who had fled from urban violence had established themselves in rural areas. The local youth were activated against tribal authorities and the education system...The areas most affected were on the upper and lower South Coast: Umgababa through to Umthwalume and Umzumbe, and the Port Shepstone-Izingolweni areas. The Ndwedwe, Inanda, Mtunzini and Enseleni districts north of Durban were also affected, In the Natal Midlands the war has been concentrated mainly in the Richmond and Ixopo districts. In all these areas the pattern has been similar. Protests by the youth have challenged the tribal authority structures, which have invariably elicited counter-challenges, culminating in violence.'

Violence restricts infrastructural development, and undercuts civil society mobilisation and the formation of communal support systems. Skilled people are lost, economic assets are destroyed and the population becomes unstable and refugees migrate. In addition, fear and tension prevents civil society mobilisation around development, and infrastructure delivery is delayed or prevented.

Where youth or civil movements have clashed directly with tribal authorities, they have seldom been able to sustain any authority they have been able to assert, and some civil society organisations have more or less collapsed. In some instances, the comrades have taken over areas, only to be driven out again. In their place, tribal authorities weakened by the conflict have reasserted authority: but they are still lacking the capacity they need to be effective, and are now suspicious of civil society mobilisation.

Linked closely to the issue of violence is the major institutional crisis facing the rural areas of South Africa. KwaZulu/Natal probably faces the most severe institutional crisis in the country.

3.2.2 Institutional capacity

The single most serious obstacle to the chances for rural communities to engage in development work is probably the rural crisis in institutional

capacity. International experience underlines the point that marginalized communities without cohesive and effective organizations are much less likely to be able to claim development services they are entitled to. Most rural communities in KwaZulu/Natal have substantial capacity or potential capacity, but are usually short of the experience, information and connections needed to develop structures to deploy it. It is becoming clear that a large part of development work involves promoting structures on the ground able to deal with development delivery. Lack of institutional structures to serve as a conduit also helps to choke off the flow of information into rural communities which could otherwise help to open up the outside world to them.

3.2.3 The institutional framework

Local government in the former KwaZulu homelands districts involves Tribal Authorities. These structures have not been merged into province-wide administrative jurisdictions, and now fall under the Ministry of Traditional Affairs. In most other parts of the province local government involves structures which were previously fell under the Natal Provincial Administration. These areas have been inherited by the present Ministry of Local Government and National Housing. Merging the former provincial and homelands state structures is turning out to be very difficult.

3.2.4 Rural local government in KwaZulu/Natal

Rural local government has been hotly contested. Present local government structures are transitional, and are only beginning to come into operation. The system rests on clusters of magisterial districts making up Regional Councils. Representation is based on the party list system, so that no given rural locality can count on having a representative it can identify. Accountability looks very doubtful and local government under the transitional arrangements looks remote and unresponsive. It appears that real responsibility may remain with chiefs and tribal structures, but their role in government has been ruled unconstitutional and is now scheduled to be phased out. There is concern over whether unelected TA officials can hold any responsibility for development, which is a function of elected local government under the Constitution, and over how unelected TA members can be brought in. From the standpoint of the IFP and the TAs, a serious concern is not losing control over land relations, which is fundamental to their authority. Models for the final local government system in KwaZulu/Natal are still under discussion.

3.2.5 Communities in former Natal

'Black spot' communities on African-owned freehold land have in the past been largely ignored for service delivery because of their anomalous position in then-white Natal. However, many have effective organisational structures and good outside links through NGOs. In spite of the difficulties involved with landlord-tenant structures and fragmented land ownership, some 'black spot' communities are receiving services rapidly now. The position of other black communities such as mission areas which related uncertainly to white administrative structures is broadly similar, but internal institutionalization and outside links are often not as good as in the freehold areas.

For farm communities, including labour tenants, infrastructure provision has been conspicuously poor, but the formal agricultural unions have tried to

assist through development of service centres. How effective upgrading of farmworker settlements and transit camps as agri-villages will be remains to be seen. For the most part, the farm communities have very little by way of institutional structures, and there are now initiatives for adjoining TAs to become involved in representing them.

3.2.6 Communities in the former homelands

In former KwaZulu, the process of formulating development needs and relaying them to service delivery authorities has required TAs to determine needs, then pass requests up the chain to the Office of the Chief Minister, which would hand on implementation to various line departments. The system is reported to have tended to bypass and marginalize the TAs, and inevitably patronage relations have crept in, making development delivery partly dependent on personal connections to officials in Ulundi. Infrastructure has not been delivered equally to all areas, though some have received effective services. In addition, the struggle between IFP-supporting Tribal Authorities and ANC supporters in many areas has closed off opportunities for develop-capable institutions to form themselves at local level.

The Department of Traditional Affairs is trying to improve community contact by making available Community Development Officers to work with communities and help establish development committees under the TA umbrella. These committees would be involved in development management and would be able to identify development needs and raise funds. However, relations between these committees and line departments are uncertain at present, and development delivery may remain uncoordinated. There are also early indications of emerging tensions and schisms between the development committees and the parent Tribal Authorities, which look likely to compromise development initiatives in a number of areas.

Partly because of administrative fragmentation, many communities on the ground have begun to develop their own institutions to deal with development needs. Some of these development CBOs have established independent contact with NGOs and funding agencies. Some of these institutions cooperate well with the TAs. In other areas, Tribal Authorities have frowned on such initiatives or prevented them emerging.

3.3 THE SAMPLE POPULATION

The demographic and economic situation of the families in the study sample reflect both their geographic position in the region and the changing character of the rural economy. Education levels appear to have improved broadly, but areas which have had mission schooling still reflect its effects. Overall, households in the inner rural strip sample are significantly better off in terms of income and employment opportunities, but in the new rural economy labour migrancy appears to have declined even in outlying rural areas. The sample population shows less sign than anticipated of the familiar hollowing out resulting from loss of working age adults into the cities through labour migration.

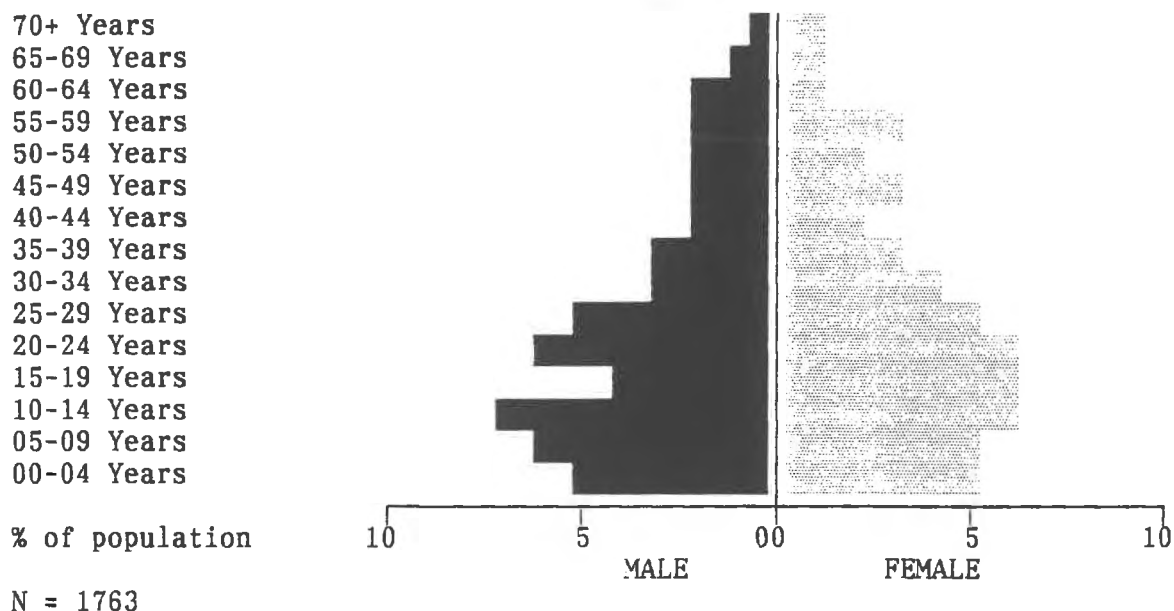
The population in these rural sample areas is still relatively old, but gender ratios are now coming close to equal in many communities as local employment becomes more and more dominant. Urban unemployment appears to be persuading discouraged migrant workseekers return from the cities to their

rural homes. Agricultural production remains strongly represented in most reporting areas, but in areas nearer to town seems to be more involved with the cash economy.

3.3.1 Demographics: population structure

Figure I shows the age/gender composition for the total sample population.

FIGURE I: AGE/GENDER PROFILE OF SAMPLE POPULATION



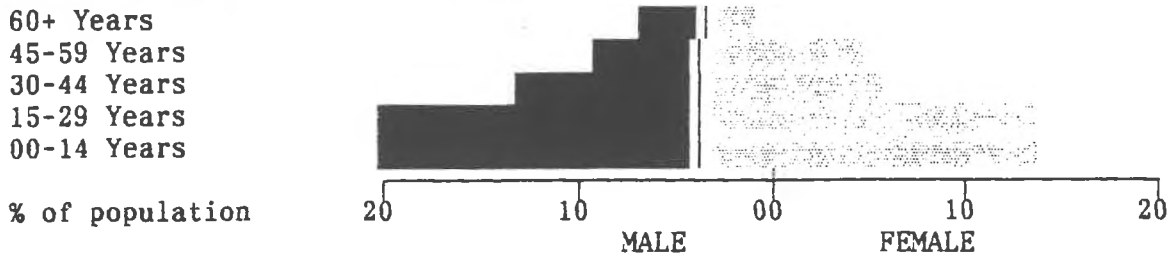
The age/gender pyramid for the total sample has the tall narrow structure common in rural populations which contain a strong representation of old people, and seems to show some under-counting of small children, usually found with rural surveys. There is some evident loss of men in the main working age cohorts of 30-50, and a slighter loss of women in the 35-45 age brackets, which seems to reflect working people who have moved into town with their youngest children. Labour migration by women seems to be increasing as migrancy by men has fallen (May 1992). At present, about 27 percent of all migrants in the total sample are women.

The effects of distance and of labour migrancy are more evident for the outer rural sample strip than for the inner sample. The age/gender pyramid for the outer strip (Figure II) shows a narrower pyramid and a more hollowed out structure than the pyramid for the inner strip (Figure III).

FIGURE II: AGE/GENDER PROFILE OF SAMPLE POPULATION: RURAL STRIP



FIGURE III: AGE/GENDER PROFILE OF SAMPLE POPULATION: PERI-URBAN STRIP



Loss of adult men and male youth seems to be greater for the outer rural sample. In contrast, the inner sample seems to show a relatively slight loss of men. Instead, there is a buildup of young men in the relatively mobile 20-24 years late youth cohort, who are probably working in town, looking for work or exploring the urban environment. There is also some absence of younger women in the remote rural strip in the 25-35 bracket, and a relatively high representation of older women. For the inner rural strip, the distribution for women is less smooth. There may be a slight loss of working age women of 35-45 years, who may be involved in industrial and commercial work or in domestic service jobs. There may also be a balancing absence of girls aged 0-9 years, who may be living with their mothers, or with outer rural relatives.

Masculinity ratios are given in Table 3.1. For the entire sample, masculinity is .96, only very slightly short of equal gender representation. For the remote strip it was 1.0, indicating an equal overall loss of females and males, and for the inner rural strip it was .92, showing some continuing loss of males over females. The greater representation of women in the inner rural strip may reflect the greater ease of getting land for women heads of household in these areas, along with the option for working women heads of household being able to commute to work while leaving their children in relatively stable circumstances not exposed to the worst urban risks. Women from 45-65 years, the common age range for working widowed heads of household, are slightly over-represented in the inner rural sample.

The overall pattern for the age/gender distribution suggests a rural sample population in keeping with recent population trends to reduced labour migrancy effects. Population appears less skewed toward old people and women than might have been the case in the 1970s and early 1980s. The inner rural strip in particular, where people can easily commute to the main job markets of Durban and Pinetown on a daily or weekly basis, is nearly normal in its population distribution. However, both sample strips continue to show some loss of working age adults and young children. This population movement probably reflects the attraction of urban services, as well as the continuing pull of living as close as possible to urban labour markets.

3.3.2 Demographics: household structure

Demographic data presented includes age and gender distribution for the outer rural and inner rural sample strips, as well as household size and structure and educational levels. The data are found in Tables 2-5 in the data appendix.

Households average medium to small in size in both sample strips, but there were more small families in the inner rural sample (Table 3.2). Most households for the whole sample included from 5 to 8 members, and households larger than 8 made up only 14-16 percent in either sample. Nearly a quarter of the inner rural sample households had fewer than 4 members, against 14 percent in the outer rural areas. The trend to small families is marked in the urban informal settlements, and seems to be spreading outward as rural families become more closely integrated with the cash economy.

Most of these households seem to be well-established, with the outlying sample's households appearing slightly older than those in the inner strip (Table 3.3). Seven percent of household heads in the outer rural sample were reported under 35 years of age and 14 percent were over 65, against 13 percent in the inner strip under 35 and 11 percent over 65. However, most of the sample households included only two generations (Table 3.4), suggesting that these rural families now tend to break up early, as soon as most young couples are able to leave their parental home. Three generation households and single-generation households were marginally more common in the inner sample areas. Extended family households now seem to be found more often where incomes are higher and/or where communities are more crowded and sites are difficult to find: higher incomes can enable families to retain children and grandchildren longer, and shortage of land to live on tends to hold back the age at which young families leave their parent households.

3.3.3 Human resources: education & training

Both rural and urban families throughout South Africa are strongly committed to education as a platform for competing to get scarce formal jobs and achieve long-term security for the family. However, with the exception of some areas where missions have been established, rural communities in KwaZulu/Natal generally have poor access to educational facilities (Krige 1988), though availability of schools is generally better in former KwaZulu than on white-owned farms, or in many black settlements on privately owned land. For the two sample strips within former KwaZulu, levels of functional literacy shown in the survey results were virtually identical. To some extent, this result is likely to be due to mission schools in some of the individual sample areas in both strips.

In general, younger people have higher levels of functional literacy (Table 3.5 and Table 3.6), but there was little difference between the sample strips. For people between the ages of 18 and 35, family members in both sample strips averaged 64 percent functionally literate. For older adults 36 years of age or older, the outer rural strip showed marginally higher average functional literacy at 44 percent than the inner rural strip, at 42 percent. At Ndikwe, where mission schooling was once available but the school has now closed, older adults showed slightly higher functional literacy than younger adults. Total functional literacy for the entire survey sample approximated 45 percent, leaving over half the adult population functionally illiterate.

For CBO development as well as for training delivery, low levels of literacy are a matter of concern. CBOs form in communities with low literacy, but CBOs short of literate members may have difficulty obtaining information they need and mobilizing around wider development issues, and are vulnerable to being taken over by elites. Most training organisations which offer technical skills only accept trainees who are functionally literate.

3.3.4 Human resources: Post-school qualifications and training

It follows that post-school qualifications are also scarce, reported by only 5 percent of the overall survey sample (Table 8). There are about one third more post-school qualifications overall in the inner rural strip than in the outer sample strip, but the differences are very small on a percentage basis. Most of these qualifications take the form of skills training certificates, with university degrees and formal diplomas found in only one percent of the sample population.

3.3.5 Economics: a profile of economic activity

In spite of the relatively small educational differentials between the outlying and inner rural samples, there are large differences in income levels reported between the two strips (Table 3.8). Mean incomes are much higher in the inner strip sample, and reliance on remittances is lower. Women's involvement in the labour force is significantly greater. Areas which have the highest dependence on farm work and the least access to work in industry and commerce appear to have the lowest incomes, but the relationship is not a simple one.

Income levels

Reported cash incomes from all sources vary significantly in relation to distance factors, relative accessibility and the space economy of the province, but these variations are not simple. Mean monthly household incomes averaged nearly R 1150 in the peri-urban strip as against about R 990 in the rural strip (Table 3.5), but there were large differences between individual sample areas.

Reported average mean monthly incomes reached nearly R1 150 in the peri-urban strip, but were lower at R990 for the rural strip: there was wide local variation. Modal incomes for both strips fell in the bracket R501-1000 per month.

Income sources

For the rural samples, remittances were still more important than local wages, at 40 percent of total reported income as against 35 percent. In the peri-urban samples, local commutation wages accounted for 56 percent of reported income, compared to 18 percent for migrant remittances (Table 3.6).

Economic activity

For the total sample, 55 percent of all adults over the age of 18 were formally employed, or actively seeking formal jobs. Another 9 percent reported themselves involved in informal sector or microenterprise activity including casual work, though these figures appear to be below the true population figure. About 23 percent were of working age but not economically active, and 10 percent had retired.

For the outer rural sample strip, less economic mobilization is evident. Formal work, informal work and casual work were all slightly lower in the remote strip. Labour force participation was also lower, and unemployment higher, though the differences were small.

About 50 percent of adults in the outlying sample were in formal work or looking for work, and 7 percent reported informal business activity or casual work. For the inner rural strip, the equivalent figures were 61 percent in formal jobs or seeking them, and 11 percent reporting informal economic activity and casual work. What appears from qualitative interviewing and other fieldwork to be relatively low figures for both microenterprise and casual work relate to perceptions of privacy, and to embarrassment at having to admit to doing casual work, which is often seen as admitting to severe poverty. Levels of microenterprise activity appear to have been as high as 70 percent of families in some inner rural areas. For the outlying areas, the equivalents are difficult to determine but appear to be lower.

About 26 percent of the outer strip people were of working age but not economically active, and nine percent had retired. For the inner strip, the equivalents were 17 percent of working age but not economically active, and 10 percent retired.

Labour force participation

Labour force participation is shown in Table 3.7 for the total sample, and in Table 3.10 by gender. For the inner strip it was consistently higher, at 62 percent, against 51 percent in the outlying strip. There was significant variation between local samples, but the highest rate in the outlying strip only equalled the lowest in the inner sample strip. In relation to gender involvement, labour force participation by men was only 6 percent higher in the inner strip, at 73 percent vs 67 percent, but the gap for women was much larger. About 52 percent of adult women in the inner sample strip were in the labour force, against 37 percent in the outer strip. The gap for women represents 15 percentage points, a differential of 40 percent. The result suggests how far women's move into the labour force is responsible for differences in income and employment between the sample strips.

Unemployment

Unemployment is a more complicated issue. The official unemployment rate, calculated against people who are either formally employed or actively looking for work, is 41 percent overall. For the outlying strip it is 39 percent, and for the inner strip 43 percent. The higher figure in the inner rural zone would seem to reflect the higher labour force participation by women, for whom the unemployment rate is higher. In fact, more adults are not working in the rural strip.

Formal work

Farm work was reported as the most common type of employment for both sample strips at 35 percent overall, but was more common in the outer rural strip at 39 percent than in the inner sample at 31 percent (Table 3.8). For the most part, farmworkers seem to earn less than R 200 per month. The next most important job category was factory jobs, at 17 percent overall, with little difference between the remote strip and the inner strip. Domestic work accounted for 14 percent overall, and was twice as high in the inner strip at 18 percent as in the outer sample at 9 percent. Domestic work and factory jobs seem to account for a large part of women's labour force participation in the inner rural strip sample.

Microenterprise

Small business activity is increasing in rural communities, and has already reached very high levels in the peri-urban sector. (Table 3.9, 3.10). However, returns to the household appear to be low to moderate in most cases. Activities involve commodity production, including brewing and small manufactures, construction, informal services, sale of vegetables, and local casual work (see Appendix 7, Household economic activity).

Home production

The production economy in both the rural and peri-urban samples continues to contribute to household food security, and most respondents rated it more important than microenterprise, though a great many preferred to do both. However, the land economy has been seriously squeezed by drought and overcrowding. Only where private sector support and training have been provided through outgrower schemes linked to processing contracts has home production moved into the cash sector. For the most part rural agriculture remains tied to the conditions of the old land economy (see Appendix 7, Household economic activity). Yields and costs tend to be low.

3.4 SUMMARY: VULNERABLE GROUPS IN THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Women make up 52 percent of the sample population, and are carrying more and more of the economic burden of household support. Their share of labour force participation is expanding, but they are moving into an unfavourable job environment, with rural employment stagnant or falling. Their formal sector opportunities are therefore limited. Peri-urban women have obtained work in factories and in domestic service, but women in remote rural communities have difficulty in reaching these jobs. Nearly as much as adult men who are responsible for supporting families and who face high unemployment, rural women need training for income substitution when they are unable to get work.

Only a minority of all rural and peri-urban adults were not economically active and labour force participation was very high, underlining the urgency of the rural search for viable income alternatives. Many retired people and elderly people free still involved in earning although formally counted as outside the labour force. The rural population was relatively old, and this relatively large cohort was often active in small business and the informal economy. The same appears to hold for disabled people. High unemployment looks likely to continue, and will determine the shape of rural training demand in the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER 4: TRAINING DELIVERY FROM GROUND LEVEL

Although large numbers of dedicated organizations are working to provide non-formal training into the rural situation, results from the study appear to confirm that the amount of training delivered on the ground is frighteningly low. At the same time, the goals of training appear to be mainly palliative and welfarist, with little attention to rural marginalization.

The main barriers to delivery on scale appear to be space relations, distance, and population density, linked to information processes in communities and capacity of existing training operations to train large numbers of rural people. On the ground, training uptake seems to be determined by how close to the community training is provided, with even small trips away from home discouraging participation. Distance and isolation also determine direct and indirect costs, and leave rural communities without information about training. Thin, dispersed rural populations mean an inadequate customer base for many promising microenterprises.

Both information and delivery problems seem to be linked to the province-wide shortage of delivery capacity needed for coping with rural training on scale, and suggest the need for a new approach which makes more use of local capacity and local skills.

In relation to the direction and objectives of training, the history of rural training delivery has been squeezed by rural power relations under apartheid, which have tended to exclude the few organizations with radical approaches to rural change from most areas. The same processes have rewarded agencies which have addressed mainly types of training leading to small improvements in household welfare, rather than attempts at rural mobilization through local institutions.

This chapter will concentrate on factors which constrain the rural population of KwaZulu/Natal from taking up the skills training available to them. Several factors operate here:

1. Lack of information about training opportunities
2. Difficulty of travelling to available training
3. Length of time that trainees have to be away
4. Perceived cost of training
5. Appropriateness of available skills training

Most of these factors relate to the space economy.

4.1 TRAINING REACHING THE GROUND

Results from the study tend to confirm the proposition that most of the training being delivered in rural and peri-urban areas is targeted on the household economy, but is not structured to make major changes in the way the household supports itself, raise income grossly, or change the way rural communities relate to the developed economy. Very little of the training which rural people in particular obtained was manpower training which could change their position in the job market, and entrepreneurial training at the time of study was only beginning to make an appearance. Developmental training around service delivery or land reform had hardly begun to appear. Most rural training appeared to be targeted on women, but also seemed to be

intended to improve the family's situation at the margin only.

Likewise, of the total amount of training supplied, very little as yet involved institutional development or local governance, or would contribute directly to helping rural people mobilize their own efforts or claim benefits to which they are legally entitled more effectively from government structures.

Part of the problematic which dictates mainly palliative types of training may involve objections from existing political and authority structures on the ground in many areas. At another level, state and parastatal agencies, as well as private sector training initiatives, funders and donors, have long experience of the difficulties of actually making a difference to rural poverty. Any delivery agency may understandably shy off from the risk of raising expectations, and be wary of the dangers of contributing to levels of training demand and accumulating claims on government which they would be unable to meet themselves or assist delivery agencies to meet.

However, it also appears that most rural training is geared to underpin stability rather than generate change. Current rural training operations were nearly all established under the apartheid regime, and necessarily became skilled in making small improvements in rural welfare without falling foul of power structures and being forbidden to operate. Within this stability-oriented paradigm, only a relatively small sector of the non-governmental and outreach sector, and later some parastatals such as the IDT, seem to have actively considered how to encourage real change in the structural relations of the marginalized rural sector to the developed economy. Up to the time of study, training had not yet become one of the major instruments for promoting a new rural order under the new government's rural development planning.

4.1.1 Levels of training uptake

The 1992 scan of rural skills training organisations (Cross & Clark 1992) shows a large number of organisations offering skills training to individuals and communities, while Stanford (1993) cites 222 training organisations within the DFR alone. Given the high number of skills training organisations within the KwaZulu/Natal region, the figures in Table 4.1 in Appendix 1 show disquietingly low rates of take-up by members of rural communities. Only some 13 percent of respondents in the survey reported that any member of their household had ever undertaken any non-formal training. Less than 2 percent of the population of remote rural areas, as represented by the rural sample strip, have had any skills training at all. The situation is not significantly improved closer to towns and cities, where only 2.5 percent of the population have undertaken skills training. It seems clear that take-up of skills training falls with distance from urban centres. At the same time, comparisons within the two sample strips suggest strongly that distance from service centres correlates falling access to training.

There are a number of exceptions, particularly in the old mission areas, and a number of small local training centres are scattered through the peri-urban zone. Though Nkandla is a service centre, it is still a remote rural village. Ndikwe's history as an old mission settlement has given it advantages in terms of education and outside contacts that the other rural sample areas do not enjoy (See Appendix 2). The Ndikwe community benefits from several non-formal training operations established through local initiative with outside funding support. Higher levels of skills training take-up in KwaZondi, relative

to Nkandla itself, reflects the presence of two KwaZulu government agricultural extension officers based in these two settlements (Cairns 1995), as well as the influence of the Ndikwe-based skills training opportunities: people come from KwaZondi to Ndikwe to undertake skills training.

These exceptions aside, the survey results suggest a gradual decline in training uptake from low levels to almost nothing, or to nothing at all in the case of the Nkandla sample strip. Ngwebini had the lowest levels of trained individuals - not one individual out of the 190 in the sub-sample population has been trained - while Montebelo had the highest, a little over 5 percent. Comparisons between the points on the strip samples are shown in Figure 4.1.

With the exception of Ndikwe and KwaZondi, which both have higher levels of trained individuals than Studam Bridge and Ogunjini Mission respectively, the rural sample strip scores consistently lower than the peri-urban sample strip. The peri-urban sample strip starts comparatively high at 4.06 percent, then drops to below 1.5 percent, with the exception of Montebelo; whereas the Nkandla sample strip starts low at 1.87 percent, climbs to a high point at Ndikwe of 4.62 percent, and then drops off rapidly to nothing at Ngwebini.

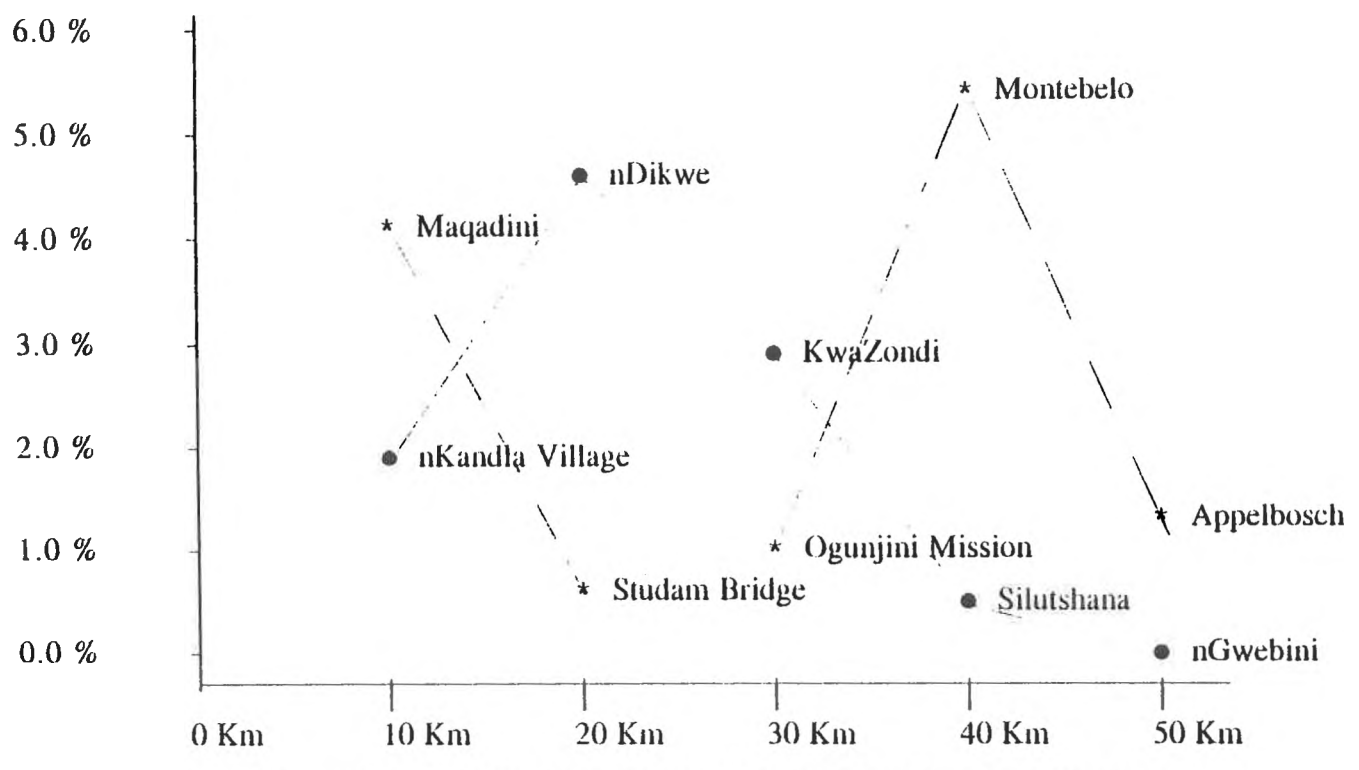
Both Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 suggest that spatial factors influence training availability: the further away from skills training opportunities, the less likely it is that members of a settlement will have undergone training, except in instances where specific local conditions combine to promote the accessibility of skills training. But even where training is locally available, relatively few people take it up. A number of constraints seem to intervene.

4.1.2 The content of training

The kinds of training actually reported by people who had obtained it is summarized in Table 4.2: it is important to remember that the survey located only a small sample of trained people, and the quantitative results for rural and peri-urban areas reflect broad trends only. Agricultural training in several forms is still the dominant type of training in rural areas, but the peri-urban training scene is more differentiated and more oriented to job skills.

In the rural sample strip, 88 percent of trained people reported that they had received home crop production training. For the peri-urban strip, the equivalent level was less than half as high, at 36 percent. Most of this training seems to aim at improving home food production. Little if any of it aimed to equip people being trained to grow cash crops or to access markets. In addition, 47 percent of rural trained people had had livestock husbandry training, while this kind of training seems to have disappeared from the peri-urban region.

The other side of agricultural training actually being delivered is technical agricultural training, at 17 percent of rural trained people and 14 percent of peri-urban trained individuals. Although it includes outgrower sugar training, this category of training is aimed mainly at improving the qualifications of farmworkers. It is a form of manpower training which contributes to higher productivity and better household income in the depressed farmworker constituency, and is the only form of job skills training currently making an impact in the remote rural sector. However, technical agriculture training directly benefits mainly the large commercial farm sector, and to some extent



X AXIS = DISTANCE OF SETTLEMENT FROM SERVICE CENTRE

Y AXIS = PERCENTAGE OF SETTLEMENT POPULATION WHO HAVE BEEN TRAINED

FIGURE 4.1: PERCENTAGE OF SETTLEMENT POPULATION WHICH HAS RECEIVED SKILLS TRAINING BY DISTANCE FROM SERVICE CENTRE

the national economy. How far it helps communities to develop their own economic activity is not clear, though there seems to be some spillover effect. In addition, farmworkers are a very strong constituency for land reform (Marcus et al 1995, Cross et al 1995). Improving their skills may boost chances for successful redistribution-based productivity.

The corresponding major sector of job and income-related training in the peri-urban region was construction and building training. This very strategic category is an important form of manpower training. It upgrades job skills, benefits the larger economy, helps deal with the need for housing delivery, contributes to local economic activity, and helps to fix capital in rural communities. Construction skills were mentioned by 32 percent of trained peri-urban respondents, but by none in the rural communities, where it appears that income levels are too low and the customer base too small to support a local building industry. Training in other job skills was mentioned by 6 percent of rural trained people, but by none in the peri-urban sector.

Crafts production and small manufactures training which can contribute into informal earning was received less often than agricultural training in the rural communities participating, at 35 percent of trained respondents. In contrast, this sector had expanded in the peri-urban communities to 59 percent. The general change in training emphasis from crops to home manufactures probably gives an accurate reflection of the shift from home food production into small business activity in the crowded peri-urban region generally. This kind of training contributes directly to local economic activity, but like the agriculture training was not accompanied by training in entrepreneurial skills, budgeting or marketing.

Training in institutional development was mentioned by 6 percent of the trained rural people, but was not picked up in the peri-urban sample at all. Instead, 10 percent of mentions went to health and personal improvement training, which were not reported from the rural communities.

Overall, the rural training scene was dominated by crop and livestock training directed to enhancing the productivity of the old homestead land economy with some new methods. Over 85 percent of the rural training recorded was directed at production processes, but most of this training was taken up by women and went into household consumption, with a small amount of income generation. Job-related training came third, with a little over ten percent of cases, far behind agriculture and behind small manufactures. Institutional development accounted for less than five percent of the total training reported, and the small sample reporting turned up no training aimed at local government, development and service delivery, or land reform. No entrepreneurial or marketing training was reported.

For the peri-urban sector, some important shifts had taken place. Less of the total training received was concentrated on household consumption, and more on income generation and the job market. However, local production training still accounted for most of the total training delivered, and entrepreneurial training was not picked up at all.

No single category of training dominated. Small manufactures linked to local selling ranked first but accounted for less than 40 percent of reported training. Job-related training concentrated on construction, a rapidly-expanding area, but also included training for farmworkers, and accounted for

nearly a third of all training. Crop production had fallen to about a quarter of reported cases and ranked third. Miscellaneous personal skills filled in the balance. No training was reported specifically for economic activity in the services sector, and no institutional or developmental training appeared in the sample.

Results from the workshops confirmed the general trend of the survey data. Agricultural skills were identified as most often supplied, along with crafts and small commodities. Job skills were not often mentioned.

4.1.3 Duration of training

Training for people in rural communities varied greatly in the length of the training period. Very few training courses took less than two weeks, and a minority ran as long as a year or more (Table 4.3). Training for rural residents seemed to run slightly longer on average than training in the peri-urban sector, but only peri-urban residents took training that continued for more than a year.

Twelve percent of reported training in the rural strip took less than two weeks, against five percent in the peri-urban strip. In all, about a third of reported training courses were completed in less than a month. For the rural respondents with training, a little over a third had finished their courses in one to six months, and a little over another third in six months to a year. In the peri-urban communities, half finished in a month to six months, and five percent took six months to a year. Fourteen percent were involved in training that took more than a year.

4.1.4 Training organizations identified

Training bodies identified on the ground centered as anticipated on the parastatal sector, but in rural areas CBOs played a leading role in training delivery. NGOs were very active in the peri-urban zone, but were not picked up in the rural communities.

Most respondents in the total sample did not have the information needed to identify any organization involved in training delivery (Table 4.4). Of the organizations identified by respondents who had received training (Table 4.5), parastatal agencies at either local or provincial level were mentioned by 82 percent of the rural respondents and 55 percent of the peri-urban group.

Government departments, especially in agriculture but also in health and other fields, were mentioned by 35 percent of the rural respondents and by 19 percent in the peri-urban category. Private sector, outreach and other specialized training institutions were not identified in the rural strip, but were cited by five percent of the peri-urban respondents who had received training.

For the rural communities, CBOs were very strongly represented among training organizations identified at 47 percent, but were less prominent in the peri-urban zone with 32 percent. The NGO category seemed to have a parallel position in the peri-urban areas to what CBOs occupied in the rural communities. NGOs were mentioned by half the peri-urban residents who had had training, but were not mentioned at all in the rural area samples.

Results seem to suggest that in outlying areas state and parastatal groups and the community's own structures are seen to dominate training delivery. Closer to the cities, the role of government is less and NGOs become prominent and active, with a smaller role for CBOs. However, very little training from the private sector and specialized training bodies was picked up even close to the urban core in the African peri-urban zone.

In this light, it would appear that the position of CBOs in the rural areas is particularly strategic. The government departments which are the other main deliverers of rural training traditionally aim mainly at incremental improvement in livelihoods, and have so far had very little to do with mobilizing communities through institutional development or trying to improve their overall standing in relation to the urban areas. Few other training organizations were identified.

However, CBOs on their own have only begun to move into an assertive role in training delivery and institutional development (see Chapter 6). Most probably have no such mission or capacity. Although workshops made it clear that many rural CBOs have links with development NGOs from which they can draw resources and brokerage, the NGOs themselves had less presence on the ground in the sample communities than was anticipated. Compared to the peri-urban areas, where the NGO role on the ground was sometimes so strong that it left little space for CBOs to develop competence, rural CBOs seem to have potential scope to expand into a wide territory in local development. Whether they can do this will partly depend on whether they have convincing benefits to deliver.

4.1.5 Skills present in the community

The future route for training delivery, and especially for the delivery of higher value skills, is both obstructed and assisted by the existence of a number of skills in the community at present. Many people have already been trained in some of the most commonly delivered small-commodities skills, and particularly in those that compete for a market. At the same time, a number of experienced and qualified urban workers are now unemployed and have been forced to return home. Because of the thin customer base and low incomes of rural communities, many of these people are not able to find a reliable market in their home communities for the skills they already command.

Skills already present in the sample communities include bricklaying, sewing, block making, roofing, plumbing, candle making, carpentry, construction of small dams, farm skills, radio and TV repairs, poultry husbandry, and bead making. Some, like sewing, may be oversupplied, while others are not common but require a larger and better paid market. People with skills they are not able to use report feeling frustrated, and want to find ways to use their training.

However, workshops and interviews make it clear that in a situation where the customer base is limited, people see it as unreasonable to ask them to teach their valuable skills to future competitors without any compensation. From their viewpoint, they have had to make an investment in finding and learning these skills, and they expect to use them to derive an income. The assumption often made by training organizations, that trained people pass on their skills, is not usually accurate. These skills represent training potential, but unless steps are taken to establish a framework for teaching skills within the community they are not likely to be transmitted.

From the standpoint of local skills gluts, some of the skills already on site may represent an obstacle. From the standpoint of promoting community capacity to transmit skills and control their own training, some of these skills are probably their communities' most important assets. If people with skills can be put in a situation where they become trainers and are able to teach, skills dissemination may become economic. However, where skills are not being used due to a thin local customer base, either using them or teaching them to others is tied to accessing markets, and to increasing economic activity to circulate more cash. This situation needs to be dealt through market assessment, and also through establishing local marketplaces linked to rings of rotating markets, so as to link more places into a single market context. Both of these alternatives offer opportunities for CBOs, and for training to help serve capacity building.

4.1.6 People's evaluation of training

A frank and reliable evaluation of training is not easy to obtain in rural communities: people are inclined to be courteous about what they have received in order to give credit to the good intentions of the organizers, and are also reluctant to admit that they have themselves invested in training that has not necessarily given them all of what they hoped for. Evaluations of training received in the rural and peri-urban samples were generally favourable, but sometimes fell apart as more information emerged. Workshop participants were likewise generally favourable, but were often doubtful about how well the training on offer could be applied by people in a rural situation. Peri-urban evaluations of their more complex training involvement were more critical than those coming from the rural communities, and men were inclined to be more critical and less understanding than women.

Table 4.6 shows what trained people reported about improvements experienced as a result of training. Over 80 percent of the rural people who had obtained training said they were satisfied there had been clear improvement as a result. In the peri-urban strip, the equivalent figure for relative satisfaction was 63 percent. No one in either strip was dissatisfied enough to report no improvement at all, but the number of people in the peri-urban communities who were ambivalent was significant.

However, in relation to being able to make effective use of the skills learned, levels of ambivalence became much higher (Table 4.7, 4.8). In the rural community samples, where the skills in question were usually agricultural, 58 percent of trained people said they were always able to use their training on their own, without assistance. The remaining 42 percent thought they could not always succeed without help, which would not always be readily available in their own community. For the peri-urban trained people, involved in a wider range of skills including construction, only 32 percent thought they were always able to use their training on their own. Over two-thirds found themselves frustrated at times, and nearly a third thought they were rarely or never able to use their training without outside help.

A similar pattern of responses occurred in relation to being able to obtain the necessary backup in supplies and equipment required to make use of training (Table 4.8). In the rural sample, 36 percent of the people with training reported that they had problems getting what was needed. But in the peri-urban zone, 73 percent of trained people said they generally had trouble obtaining needed supplies or equipment.

Results here seem to suggest that there were some problems with the targeting of training applications even in rural communities, where the context of family agriculture is a familiar one and most informal businesses are small scale and low tech. In the peri-urban region, real problems seemed to be emerging, with many forms of training turning out to be relatively hard to use as they were packaged at the time. Training operations may need to give more attention to putting technical training together with backup support in such a way that trained people can be helped to obtain tools, supplies and advice. Urban training providers may also need to investigate more closely the kind of context in which skills are used on the ground in communities outside the cities. Although some training operations did make a point of checking back with their clients to see how they were doing, results indicate that the majority did not. Many or most trained people had no further contact with the training agency after they completed the course, and workshops suggest that many felt cut off.

4.1.7 Training aspirations

People's own aspirations in relation to training fell into two main categories: first were income generation and microenterprise skills, and second was institutional training which could lead to effective claiming of development benefits and help develop leadership.

Survey results

Table 4.9 shows survey responses on the question of what kinds of training respondents would like to obtain. Aspirations were often uncertain due to lack of information, and 85 percent of the respondents in the rural sample said they did not know what kinds of training were available. In the peri-urban strip more people were able to answer, but 54 percent still said they did not have enough information.

Survey replies in the rural areas centred on small crafts and crop production. In the peri-urban zone the range of replies was wider, with small crafts, crop production and construction on top, followed by small business management, personal development and job skills. In both areas, expressed aspirations focussed on kinds of training known to be available, but microenterprise skills scored marginally ahead of crop production for food security.

Aspirations also reflected market conditions and local needs. Demand for crop production training was most concentrated at Ndikwe, where conditions are more favourable than in most of the semi-arid rural strip, and at Montebelo and Studam Bridge, where land is available and many families are involved in agriculture. Small crafts demand was strongly concentrated in Nkandla village, where there is a market. Demand for construction training was extremely strong at MaQadini, where high in-migration and high incomes lead to a very active local construction industry. With the exception of MaQadini and Studam Bridge in the Valley Trust's area, all these localities are also centres of training delivery, suggesting that local involvement in training delivery itself stimulates and helps to focus demand for training.

Participatory workshops

A more textured image of training aspirations came out of workshops, where participants were able to exchange information and develop ideas. Workshop results identified a range of specific types of training wanted by groups

within the community. One extremely strong demand was for training related to identifying development needs and obtaining development infrastructure.

Although construction skills did not appear in the survey results for the rural sample strip, workshops showed up a strong potential demand, including house building, bricklaying, block making, water tap maintenance and appropriate plumbing, electricity, carpentry, plastering, and painting. Many or most of these are relatively high value skills, which often need intensive training not usually available inside communities.

Skills related to crop production included small farming in general, chicken production, building of small dams, and barbed wire fencing. Many of these skills can be obtained locally in both rural and peri-urban communities, but there is little if any comprehensive training for small-farmer cash cropping.

A range of craft skills involved with both production and repairs also appeared, and the demand was spread widely and linked into microenterprise. These skills included sewing, knitting, baking, shoe repairs, radio repairs and candle making. Crafts skills were more widely available than repair work training, but the need for repairs training was very evident.

Enterprise and management skills identified included business management, financial management, project management, marketing, stock taking and project evaluation. Not many of these skills were locally available, but some had begun to be offered in the rural communities as part of institutional development. In addition, institutional development training itself was asked for particularly by people in CBOs.

Training aspirations of different groups

Skills aspirations differed between youth and older people and between men and women. Young people appeared in the workshop reports as oriented more toward job skills, or otherwise toward skills which could either develop into an informal enterprise or help toward getting a job or starting a professional qualification. Some of the types of training mentioned by young people were in clerical skills, driving, community health, community policing and practical nursing.

For married women, widows and single mothers, interest appeared to centre on home-oriented training which could also develop into microenterprise. Training aspired to included sewing, baking, cooking, crop production and child care, but also typing, business management, creche management and entrepreneurship. These kinds of training were consistent with gender roles and did not involve regular travelling but could also contribute to income generation.

Older men and unemployed men showed most interest in artisan-type training which could be used by individuals in a microenterprise context, and at the same time in training related to local governance, to micropolitics and to infrastructure development. In addition, demand for skills such as bricklaying, shoemaking, repair work and crop production was evident. Artisan and production skills seem to be looked at as possible substitutes for fulltime local or migrant employment for men trying to support families.

In addition, inquiries at workshops brought out communities' expectations on behalf of disabled people and the elderly, and interviews contributed

information on the aspirations of disabled people themselves. Like the disabled, elderly people have little physical strength and have difficulty travelling, but have active minds and need to contribute to household support. Interest in training for these social fractions emphasized craft skills, including repair work, knitting, typing, cashier work and shop management. Participants stressed the potential role of disabled people as personpower in the advancement of rural communities, and argued for the necessity of training to assist disabled people escape from helplessness.

Training aspirations in CBOs

Workshop participants from CBOs were not always certain of what capacity building skills would be: most CBOs in the rural strip were associations linked to small manufactures or home crop production, and most had not considered taking on other functions or building capacity. However, CBOs in both the rural and peri-urban strips also included development, water and electricity committees, informal traders' associations, community bank committees, farmers' associations, savings associations, and other groups which had developmental or development-related goals or were concerned with local economic mobilization. People from the development-related groups were sometimes able to specify forms of training that would contribute toward building capacity and confidence.

Forms of training identified by people in CBOs included minute taking, committee skills, leadership skills, financial management, report writing and communications skills. Direct training in local government issues was also mentioned. Workshops for CBOs put forward the need for these kinds of training as essential to empowerment, and for communities to escape marginality.

In addition, rural and peri-urban CBOs seemed to be interested in following the leadership model found in the urban shack settlements, in which leaders establish and validate their position by engaging authorities and development providers, carrying out a successful claiming exercise and bringing back infrastructure for their constituents (cf Ward & Chant 1989, Cross, Clark & Bekker 1995). CBO leaderships in both sample strips were anxious to receive the kind of training that would enable them to identify community developmental needs and present them to the right authorities. Up to the time of study, this kind of training had not come from outside NGO links, which were reported to give their counterparts advice and technical information, but not to provide training on the institutional development side.

4.2 CONSTRAINTS ON ACCESS TO TRAINING

I did my training in construction skills in Mtunzini, at a vocational college there. While I was finishing school, my father passed away: my mother did not know how we were going to live. She asked my headmaster at school if he knew of any place where I could go to learn a trade which I could use to earn a living. He replied that the only one he knew of was the vocational college in Mtunzini. This was very far away, and it was difficult for me to be away for such a long time [six months], but my family felt that

we had no choice. I was in residence at the vocational college for the duration of the training, during which time I was concerned about the well-being of my family.'

- Informal builder.

Obstacles cited by respondents to taking up the skills training available included both costs of transport to available training, as well as the costs of accommodation while at a training centre, and opportunity costs for people who had responsibilities at home or were involved in micro-enterprise.

4.2.1 Space & distance

The rural and peri-urban strips showed deep-lying differences in relation to distance factors and access to training. The peri-urban sample areas had access to a much wider spatial network of information and options, and were able to consider their choices over a wide area. For the rural samples, training opportunities largely began and ended inside the community.

People living in the rural sample areas rarely obtained training if it was not provided inside their own communities (Table 4.10). Only one person, or 6 percent of the trained rural people, had obtained training outside the community. Rural community members in general also had little knowledge of training opportunities outside their own communities. Only two percent of respondents were able to identify any other place where training might be available (Table 4.10). Hardly anyone was able to estimate how long it would take to travel to the nearest place where training was available (Table 4.12), and only one respondent could estimate what the trip might cost (Table 4.13).

For the rural areas, distance factors were important as reasons given by people who had tried to get training for their failure (Table 4.14), but for rural people who rarely considered going away from home to obtain training they were less dominant than in the peri-urban zone, where travel was a real consideration. About 18 percent of the rural areas respondents who had tried and failed to obtain training said the course was given too far away, and 9 percent said they did not know in what area they could find the training they wanted (Table 4.15).

For the peri-urban sample areas, the picture was different. Though most training was still being obtained in the community, 23 percent of the trained people had been trained outside (Table 4.10). Some 27 percent of respondents were able to identify an outside locality or agency where training was available (Table 4.11). About 23 percent could estimate the travel time needed, and 27 percent thought they knew the cost.

Space-related factors were named by 84 percent of people who had tried and failed to get training as reasons for failing, indicating that people readily consider travelling as an option but will not go further than they think feasible (Table 4.14). Marginally more peri-urban than rural people said they gave up on getting training because it was too far away, but fewer reported they did not know where to find what they wanted (Table 4.15).

4.2.2 Information factors

Information about training available to people on the ground was limited in all the communities participating, and particularly limited in the rural

communities. It was noted above (see 4.2.1) that only a negligible number of remote rural respondents were able to say where training was available outside their own locality. In addition, more than three quarters of the rural respondents had no information at all about where training could be found (Table 4.11). About 85 percent were unable to name any training organization or agency (Table 4.4). Even among people who had received some form of training, nearly 30 percent could not identify any training body, including the one they had dealt with (Table 4.5). Most disturbing, 85 percent of rural respondents said they did not know enough about what kinds of training could be obtained to be able to identify the kinds of training they wanted and needed (Table 4.9).

This general pattern appeared in the workshops and individual interviews as well. Rural participants expressed frustration over their lack of knowledge about what training they could get, and how and where to get it.

For the sample strip closer to the city, half of all respondents could say where training was available, and more people cited areas outside the community than mentioned their own locality (Table 4.11). About 40 percent could name some training organization, and among people who had obtained training all the respondents could identify at least one training body (Table 4.4, 4.5). Nearly half of all respondents were able to identify a kind of training that they wanted, though a majority still thought they lacked the information they needed to make a choice.

As Table 3.5 and 3.6 indicates, the difference in information commanded by people in the rural and peri-urban strips is not related to differences in levels of literacy, which appeared close to identical in both strips and for both younger and older people. While some may be due to mass media access, much of the difference seems to be due to the relative frequency of direct contact with other localities and the developed economy.

4.2.3 Money constraints

Financial problems were widely put forward in workshops as a reason why training was difficult or impossible to obtain. However, most training is not expensive. In some cases there may be reason to doubt that money, in the strict sense of cash shortfalls, was the underlying factor. For some people considering training, the issue of money may code concern over whether the training they can obtain is worth its entire financial and non-financial cost.

Problems related to finances were often put forward in workshops as a reason for not becoming involved in training, and were often given as a reason for having failed to obtain training after having tried to get it. At the same time, finances were less often cited in total as well as in each strip than were the distance-related reasons (Table 4.16, 4.15). Particularly for the rural communities, money-related problems were a third less common than space-related problems as a reason for failing to get training. In the communities closer to the city, money problems were cited significantly more often although incomes were higher and amounts paid often lower. However, money factors still fell behind distance-related factors.

There are two main points where difficulties with money affect access to training. The factor of direct costs is important, but is not the only consideration. Where money is cited as a barrier, indirect costs may be involved as well.

No one in the rural communities participating gave money as a reason why training was easy or difficult to obtain, but a combined 23 percent in the peri-urban areas did refer to cost factors (Table 4.17). Table 4.18 shows that many people in rural KwaZulu Natal obtain training free of charge: 71 percent of the trained people in the rural strip and 50 percent in the peri-urban strip said no payment was required. Eighteen percent of the trained people in the rural strip sample said their training had cost more than R 250 (Table 4.19).

In the peri-urban strip fewer people had obtained training for free, but in spite of higher incomes only ten percent had paid R 250 or more. People in the peri-urban zone seemed to have a lower threshold for expenditure on training. They may see the benefits as smaller relative to the cost, and perceive unaffordability as cutting in earlier. If so, it suggests that peri-urban people tend to value the kinds of non-formal training they can get less than do rural residents. Alternatively, some of the peri-urban residents may be carrying more indirect costs which raise the total outlay involved in getting training, or may have more competing options for how to use their income to improve their situation than are open to rural people.

The second point for training costs relates to the costs of transport and accommodation. As noted above, transport costs are negligible for nearly all rural people obtaining training, but costs are closely linked to distance, and sometimes become a factor for peri-urban residents who travel to get training. Depending on the location and duration of the course and whether the person being trained receives free accommodation, transport and accommodation can add significantly to the overall cost of obtaining training. The same would hold true for any additional cash costs incurred through being absent from home, but actual expenditure here seems to be unusual.

In the majority of cases, direct spending on non-formal training seems to be low or non-existent, but ten or fifteen percent of cases (Table 4.19) were high value training. These were most likely to be the ones that involved travel. They often provided job skills, particularly construction work in the peri-urban zone, but sometimes involved small crafts skills or other training categories. For the more expensive kinds of training, direct expenditure can be significantly increased by hidden costs clustered around travel. But for the majority of people in either strip, who were obtaining training locally and in the conventional categories of crops, livestock and crafts, training was often free of charge or for very low charges. To people being trained in these categories, both direct and indirect costs involved in training usually looked less important in relative terms than other factors.

4.2.4 Opportunity costs

Financial costs involved with getting access to training may often be less important than the opportunity costs and transaction costs involved, which are not actually paid in cash (Table 4.20). These cost factors are constructs, and represent what the individual or household has to give up as a tradeoff or as part of the effort required in order to take up training. They involve factors like leaving children at home without supervision or the difficulty of arranging for someone else to provide care, or time away from urgent domestic tasks or small business operations.

Like the money costs, opportunity costs crop up most clearly when training is not local and travel away from home is involved. They affect the peri-urban areas particularly, and specifically the people interested in taking up high value training courses that involve a long absence or regular travel: as noted above, less than a third of training courses reported took less than a month in either the rural or the peri-urban samples (Table 4.3).

In the rural sample communities, none of the reasons given by trained people as to why training was easy or difficult to access concerned opportunity costs: as noted above, very few rural residents who obtain training leave their homes to do it, though regular daily absences also incur opportunity costs. But in the peri-urban communities, 19 percent of reasons given had to do with opportunity costs (Table 4.17). However, for people who had tried and failed to get training, opportunity costs accounted for 56 percent of reasons overall, with 45 percent in the rural communities and 63 percent in the peri-urban category (Table 4.14).

At this level, opportunity costs were still less significant than either cost factors or distance factors. However, discussion in workshops and key informant interviews suggest that some of the concerns which respondents expressed about the financial costs of training actually involved opportunity costs rather than cash outlay.

4.2.5 Constraints for training organisations

Very serious problems face the training organizations themselves as they try to reach out to the scattered rural population. Not only is it difficult for the training organizations to make contact with large numbers of rural people who want training, but it is also extremely difficult to deliver the range of training which is needed on an economic, well-targeted and realistic basis. In addition, the root problems of rural development are very resistant to well-intended interventions, and training organizations are very aware that it is important not to raise expectations that cannot be fulfilled.

For the training organizations, the problem of making contact with their constituency of people who want training is complicated by the economics of training delivery. Difficulties begin when training reaches beyond agriculture and food security and tries to provide technical skills. For most technical skills, classes of a minimum size are needed to justify significant expenses in materials and instructor time. For bricklaying, one authoritative estimate began with 30 students and R 9000 in bricks, before adding in other expenses and instructor time. In many cases, students coming from outlying areas are provided with subsidized accommodation at training centres which make facilities available.

Even when subsidized, this kind of high-value skills training is difficult to provide on site, inside rural communities. On the other side, the demand for brick houses in rural areas is also slow as of now, so the payoffs are limited and the downside risk of disappointment and wasted resources is serious.

Even where expensive materials, developed facilities and a high-income market are not involved, economic rural delivery of income generating skills by any outside agency usually requires a minimum number of students at a single point being trained in a single skill. For any one community, the results tend to be gluts of specific skills in a limited local market. The same does not

apply to personal skills such as health training, or to institutional capacity development. However, it is clear that training for income generation is the key factor in the rural training process as a whole.

Large training delivery organizations such as the state departments and parastatals deal with the problems of delivery on scale across wide areas by offering fairly standard products, and often by concentrating on agricultural production. Although decision makers have begun to recognize the need to shift into entrepreneurial training and away from palliative technical courses alone, the form of delivery in the large operations is not easy or simple to transform. One problem here is that few if any of the large state and quasi-governmental organizations understand the problematic of small-scale commercial farming, and are still groping to find ways to stop teaching large farm sector practice which is not economic or sustainable for small semi-commercial farming. Similar problems are likely to apply to some extent in small-scale construction enterprises and other fields, where appropriate technology may be needed.

In contrast, the private sector has been conspicuously successful in providing effective training for small outgrowers linked by contracts to processing facilities. Their experience underlines the need to provide both accessible, appropriate training and reliable access to outside markets as the key to increasing local economic activity around given enterprises.

Smaller non-governmental organizations with a progressive agenda and training commitment have often been prevented from reaching most of the rural constituency by apartheid and by KwaZulu Natal's provincial politics. In the communities where they were able to operate, they have often responded by delivering more and more services through a dialogue with local organizations. These efforts have challenged the status quo, encouraged institutional capacity, provided a wealth of options for the communities involved and satisfied outside sponsors that real assistance was being given to rural people in need of it. However, they have done this on a basis that may not be cost-effective or replicable. Larger NGOs have been less likely to overconcentrate, but may have less flexibility.

In this light, the response to problems of scale and distance from the training community itself have been understandable, but has not really addressed the problem in the remote areas. Even the largest training operations are geared to deliver to relatively small numbers of trainees, and have good reason to be wary of glutting the skills market in isolated rural settlements. They have responded in one of three ways:

- * by concentrating intensive, flexible and expensive efforts on delivery in a few areas
- * by providing a few standard training products on scale but with marginal impact
- * by providing high-value training only to people who succeed in identifying and locating a training organization and are able to make extended stays outside their communities.

From the standpoint of the rural communities, this response is marginal to their needs. People in the neglected rural communities are looking for training they can access, that will lead to local economic development. Training needs

to help provide income through access to a customer base and give communities access to development, and help to mobilize leadership. It is clear that training located outside communities is of limited help to most of the potential training constituency. Outgrower training provided through the sugar and timber industries is probably the only form of income generation training available at present that meets these conditions. Training in institutional development is now beginning to be supplied, but as of the time of study was not reaching the ground in enough cases to be of real assistance.

4.3 SUMMARY: TRAINING DELIVERY AND TRAINING DEMAND

At the time of study, the training being delivered into rural and peri-urban communities was only starting to make an impact on potential demand. Accessible training was being provided only in a limited number of fields.

The key problem for rural development, and therefore for rural training, is low cash flow combined with thin and dispersed settlement in rural areas, which makes it difficult to develop the kind of customer base which can sustain enterprises. These problems occur in peri-urban areas, but are far more formidable in the outlying rural districts.

The problem on one side is that of bulking up training demand, to concentrate enough students so that delivery becomes feasible, and on the other of bulking up market demand, so that production has a reliable outlet and reasonable levels of return. Concentrating training demand in rural areas is difficult because of the need to deliver within communities, while not oversupplying thin local markets with identical enterprises. Access to markets has begun to be addressed under the new rural development strategy, but will require both policy initiative and local collective action at grassroots level.

Rural communities were receiving little training, and what was being received did not address important areas such as institutional development and outside contact. High-value training was difficult to obtain. What was available in mass training was still received by few people, and had limited impact on underlying problems.

Little information on available training was making its way down to ground level in the rural sample strip. In the peri-urban areas, more information was available and people were willing to consider travelling, but most training was still taken up locally and the overall level of training delivery was only marginally higher. Opportunity costs and transaction costs seem to mount up when training is only available outside the community.

At present, moving to increase skills delivery in a number of areas where demand can be identified is doubtful. Interviews with training providers and workshops with communities, informal trader groups, small business people and people who want training indicate that a number of skills are already present in rural communities. In many cases, unemployed people with urban skills have returned home unable to get work in the cities, and find themselves frustrated when they are unable to reach enough people who need their services to establish reliable businesses. People who already have training either do not use their skills, or find work only intermittently, on a part-time basis.

Several possible conclusions emerge in relation to income-generating skills.

- * Although they are in demand, it is doubtful that bricklaying, and similar high value skills with limited markets, are appropriate for delivery in rural areas unless the rural housing subsidy can be brought on line quickly.
- * Rural markets and available technologies need to be better researched and more closely matched, and a systematic overview of training provision in relation to development needs is desirable.
- * It is not economic for training organizations to try to meet the entire demand for rural skills training on scale. Future approaches need to make more use of skills already found in rural communities in order to provide trainers and training, and will need to use local capacity to do it.

Attention needs to be given to systematic training to expand the sectors of the rural economy where local demand potentially exists, and where rural communities have competitive advantage for outside markets. Some kinds of agricultural production and natural resources products may have more potential than some of the products where rural aspirations may currently be unrealistic.

Institutional training around claiming and development, and entrepreneurial training directed to identifying and reaching markets, are likely to be more strategic in the medium term than delivery of skills training for which no reliable outlet is available. The future role of CBOs, which is beginning to come into focus, looks likely to be vital.

Information on economic and training opportunities also needs to be delivered into isolated rural communities, where necessary through radio and the mass media. In addition to working with local skills and working to establish people within the community as trainers, delivery organizations will need to look at bringing training in key skills into communities. More attention needs to be given to mobile training units, and to developing mixed training initiatives which provided transport at intervals to training centres and otherwise visit beneficiaries in their own communities. Resources will need to be made available to help training organizations deal with these needs.

At the same time, rural communities will have to help define and meet their markets through individual effort and through collective action. An important area is in land reform and housing delivery, which have potential to release high levels of cash flow, and where rural communities are entitled to benefits that so far have been obtained in very few localities. Current policy thinking around connecting rural production and services by means of rotating markets will be central to making income generation efforts viable. Connectivity in itself is important to overcome rural isolation, and links need to be established between CBOs in different communities, to help local initiatives exchange information through exchanging visits.

A new paradigm for developmental training delivery is not easy to foresee. A basic disjuncture exists between the volume and form of service which the training community is now structured to provide, and the much greater scale of rural need for training in income generation, development brokerage, institutional development, literacy, numeracy, and entrepreneurial skills.

However, real potential is located in the CBOs and in trained community members, which can be actualized given appropriate support.

CHAPTER 5: WHO TAKES UP TRAINING?

The study inquiry is based on space-related differences in training delivery and training uptake in communities on the ground. This chapter concentrates on people who have received training, and presents a profile of the rural training population in relation to distance factors and socioeconomic conditions.

As noted in Chapter 4, the overall difference in levels of training being taken up between the rural and peri-urban samples was smaller than anticipated, at 1.9 and 2.5 percent. However, differences in local training uptake - between isolated areas and those with good accessibility - were clear and distinct.

Some local centres showed relatively strong mobilization, with effective leadership and participation, and had a fruitful relationship with training organizations. Areas like Ndikwe and Montebelo appear as rural centres of excellence, but their reach seems to be only local. Training appeared to drop off rapidly over a distance of five or ten kilometers from local centres with training assets. Trained people reported that the main reason they succeeded in getting training was that it was available close to home. Within these distance-related limits, it is possible to ask who is receiving training.

5.1 A PROFILE OF THE TRAINED POPULATION

Partly because of differences in rural and peri-urban power structures, the people who were taking up training seemed not to be the same population in the rural and peri-urban samples. At the same time it needs to be remembered that the random survey sample only turned up 39 trained people in a sample of nearly 300 cases, which included 1801 people. Interpretations based on this small sample of trained people have to be taken as tentative.

5.1.1 Demographics of trained people: age

Non-formal training is a kind of adult education: that is, it concentrates on people who have already passed school age. The rural population is relatively old. For both sample strips, 45 percent of the sample population was under the age of 20, and 6 percent were over the age of 60. About 6 percent were reported disabled. The potential training population is mostly mature adults, about 55 percent of the sample, and does not break off at retirement age. For this population, aged 20 or more, less than 4 percent had received training of any reported kind (Table 5.1). On average for both strips, training was strongly concentrated in the 25 to 35 year age bracket, adults in their prime working years, and trailed off to people aged 60 or more.

However, the demographic signature of the deep rural training constituency is different from that in the peri-urban areas. The population being trained in the outlying rural areas is older than that in the peri-urban zone (Figure IV-VI).

Training in the rural strip was taken up by one person in the late twenties, became strong among those in their thirties, concentrated among people aged 40 to 49 years, then dropped off gradually as people became older. Peri-urban training was concentrated among people aged 20 to 39, and then dropped rapidly.

Results here seem to suggest that peri-urban non-formal training has moved into the youth market, while rural training so far has not reached this

constituency. However, these differences are not likely to relate to training alone. They relate to gender differences and probably to rural political struggles.

5.1.2 Demographics of trained people: gender

Overall, women predominate strongly among people receiving training. Though rural women were trained only in areas where it was available in their own communities, in the rural samples women represented 82 percent of trained people (Table 5.2). But in the peri-urban samples, this relation did not hold. In addition to being younger, 52 percent of peri-urban trained people were men.

It appears that the training population shifts very strongly as training comes closer to towns and cities, and the types of training available nearer the cities attracts more men. One reason is that the range of training types is wider (see Chapter 4). Rural training concentrated on agriculture, sewing and stock raising. Only the livestock training, sugar farming and farmworker training appeared aimed at men, though women took up much of it and the demand for large and small stock training as opposed to chicken production was apparently low.

Peri-urban training covered more fields, but a major area was in construction. This training is aimed at men, delivers an income, and addresses a strong market in many areas. The market for informal services and products is also stronger, and provides returns which are attractive to men looking to substitute small business for formal employment. However, there is no clear evidence that peri-urban training is actually delivering the rewards that appear to be possible (see Section 5.2 below), though a strong contribution looks likely.

Gender participation in training relates to socially defined gender roles. Adult women try to contribute to the support of their families, with food security as their main concern and income security close behind. They are still expected to make their contribution at home as far as possible, and most of their labour is unpaid. The kinds of rural training being supplied contribute relatively small amounts of food and income into the household at a relatively high cost in labour time. They also help to smooth out unforeseen shortfalls of money coming into the household. This kind of training fits women's socially defined needs, though it may not give the best possible returns.

For men, training is often seen as a substitute for wage work in a context of high rural unemployment. Interviews and workshops show men generally, and also some younger women, looking for more economic and career-oriented kinds of training which can make a bigger difference to their incomes. Job equivalency training is found more often in peri-urban areas, especially in the construction sector. One reason why few rural men take up training, while male peri-urban youth are active, is the difference in information and transport determining access to the job-related training required by male gender roles as the supporters of the family.

This same pattern is reflected in relation to who in the household obtains training (Table 5.3). In the rural community samples, over half the trained people were married women, while nearly a quarter were female heads of household. Less than one in five were male household heads. Only one son or

daughter had obtained any training, and no grandchildren or other household members showed up in the small trained sample.

For the peri-urban zone, men heads of household were the category most often trained, at 38 percent. The majority of these heads of household were unemployed. Married women represented less than a quarter of trained people, level with children of the head as the youth component appeared in the sample. No female heads of household were picked up at all, though there were a small number of other household members. In addition to shifting toward men, in the peri-urban sample training appears to be moving down from the generation supporting the household to a generation not yet in position to be fully responsible for family support. Female household heads, who are younger and socially more isolated in the peri-urban zone and sometimes have difficulty making reciprocal child care arrangements, appear to be losing out on training.

5.1.3 The socioeconomic situation of trained people

In workshops and interviews men saw training in the image of formal work, and fewer men than women appeared willing to take up training that allows only minor improvements in income and welfare. However, even so it is difficult to show that either rural or peri-urban training is actually making a large difference to incomes, and Chapter 4 reflected ambivalence among trained people about the outcomes of their training.

Employment

Most rural training appears to be going to people who are formally unemployed, but trying to find a source of income (Table 5.4/54), though this pattern was less clear in the rural communities. For the rural strip, only 18 percent of trained people were formally employed, but 12 percent of the people with training described themselves as formally self-employed. This category represents the upper end of the range for local alternatives to formal wage work. There was no one in the lower categories of informal work or casual work, but a fairly large representation of the elderly at 18 percent retired people. This grouping seemed to be looking for earning sidelines. Nearly half of all trained people were housewives, who seemed to be trying to improve the productivity of their home economy.

Only one person, or six percent of the rural trained sample, was unemployed and actually looking for work. It is possible that unemployed trained people have used their training to find work. However, there are significant numbers of qualified and experienced people remaining unemployed in the rural communities, and their presence goes against a strong relationship between training and success in the job market. Rural employment is steady or falling and the township population has the inside track for formal urban jobs, leaving people from the remote rural areas at a disadvantage. Results of the study give no evidence to confirm that rural non-formal training had more than a limited direct relation to the job market.

For the peri-urban samples, the picture was compatible with job market aspirations and the search for income. Nearly 40 percent of the sample was either unemployed or involved in informal business or casual work, and more trained people were employed at 33 percent. Housewives made up only 24 percent, and retired people had declined to five percent of the total. None of the trained people in either sample said they were disabled.

The rural samples turned up three people who were formally employed, including one civil servant, one artisan, and one security guard (Table 5.5). Of these, the artisan is probably the only one who could easily have been helped in obtaining a job by available types of non-formal training. In spite of the presence of technical agricultural training in the trained population, there were no factory workers or farmworkers employed at the time who had received non-formal training.

In the peri-urban strip, farmworkers and factory workers accounted for most of the six trained people who were employed, but they were joined by one driver. Any of these people could have obtained jobs or improved their earnings through their training.

Literacy

Literacy levels for the trained population are given in Table 5.5. At 82 percent, people with training in the rural population were mostly able to read and write, while the peri-urban trained population reported only two thirds literate. It appears that the more educated group in the rural population has been taking up training, while in the peri-urban area training is also likely to be taken up among people who do not otherwise have the educational qualifications to stand well in the job market.

Individual incomes

Lastly, personal incomes from all sources of trained and untrained adults are given in Table 5.7. In both samples strips, training was found more often among people who did not have any personal income. Most trained people who did have individual incomes were receiving R 200-600 per month, and almost none had incomes equivalent to an urban male wage.

In the rural community samples, about one-fifth fewer trained people had personal income than in the general population, linking training to the search for income supplementation in a marginal situation. In the peri-urban strip, the difference was a little smaller while the total share of adults with individual incomes was slightly larger. About one-sixth fewer trained than untrained people had personal incomes, reflecting the greater concentration on cash income in the peri-urban economy.

These differences were not large, and the rural trained people who did have income seemed to be doing better. Median rural incomes, for trained people who had them, were in the vicinity of R 410, against about R 320 for the general adult population. Peri-urban median income in the general population was around R 360, against about R 370 for the trained people, though slightly more peri-urban trained people had incomes over R 600.

The difference may be due to more youth non-literate people in the peri-urban trained population, but it also suggests that training oriented to men and to the job market did not always deliver strong cash returns. Overall, and especially in the cash-driven peri-urban economy, it does not appear that non-formal training is enabling people without formal employment to reach job equivalency. Considering that most of the people who took up training had no formal jobs, training appeared to help in providing some kind of income in a number of cases, but as of the time of study training was only a partial answer to unemployment.

FIGURE IV: AGE PROFILE OF TRAINED POPULATION

N = 38

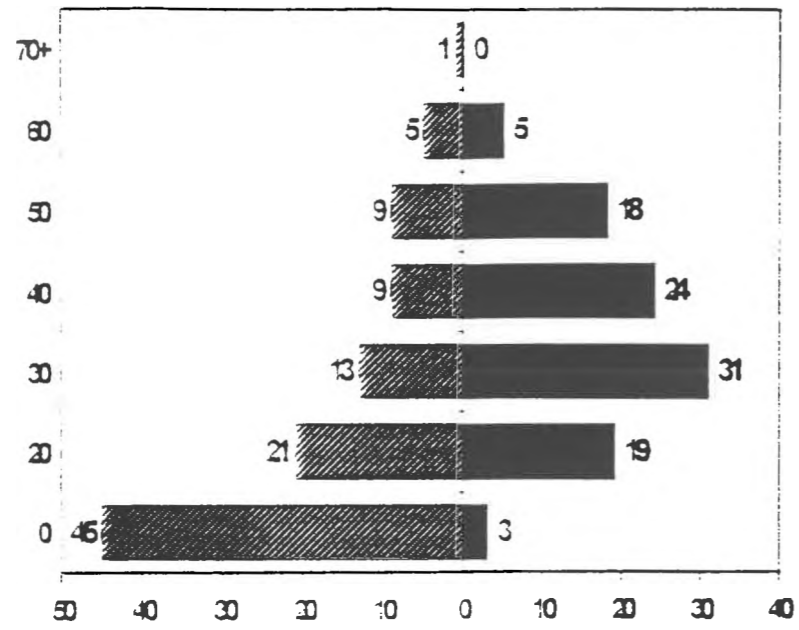
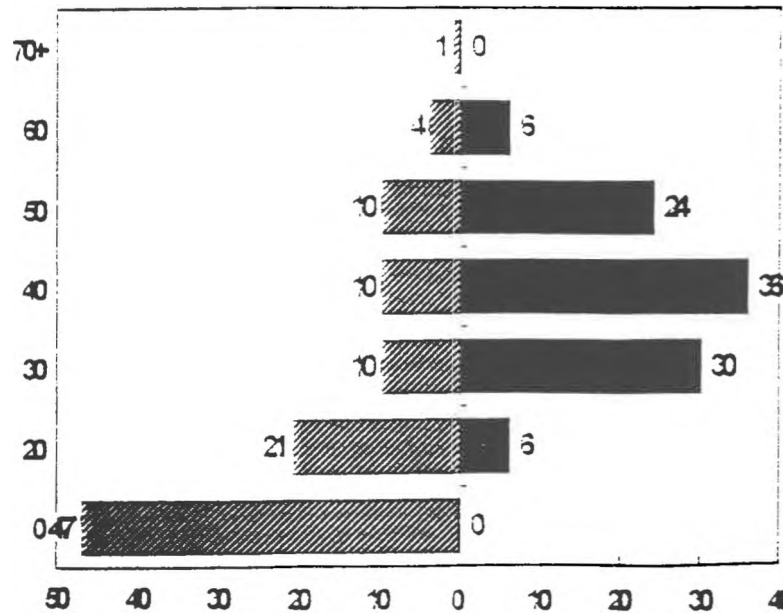


FIGURE V:
TRAINED POPULATION, RURAL STRIP

N = 17,892



N = 21,871

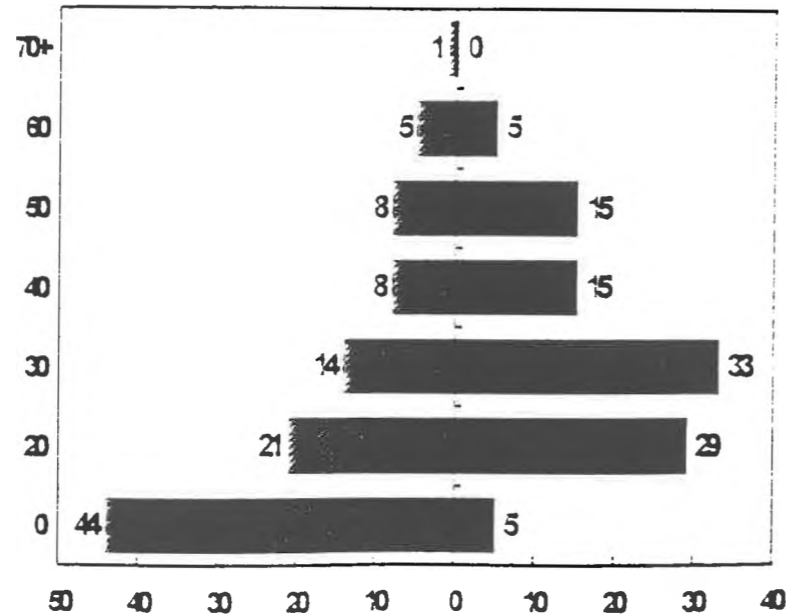


FIGURE VI:
TRAINED POPULATION,
PERI-URBAN STRIP

5.1.4 Gender factors in training: uptake & skills obtained

The upcoming sections look at how training is distributed between male-headed households and different categories of women-headed households. It is widely accepted that female-headed families are at risk of disadvantage, and often make a more precarious living than their male-headed counterparts. More recently, it has become clear that not all female-headed families face the same risks.

Older households headed by widows with grown children are fully accepted in the community, and often have incomes as high as or higher than those of male-headed families. In contrast, households headed by young single mothers or abandoned wives suffer a stigma, are in a weak position in the job market, and often report poverty-level incomes. Households with women de facto heads, where the husband is absent for long periods as a migrant worker, are not stigmatized but are socially weak and often have trouble making ends meet on irregular remittances. The differences between male-headed and female-headed households, and among types of female-headed household, relate to poverty and potentially relate to training.

While there are no gross differences among these households in rates of training uptake (Table 5.8), they differ in relation to who is trained, what training is taken up and what is paid for it, as well as in training knowledge and aspirations.

For all four forms of household, between 11 and 15 percent had some member who had taken up training: the rate was highest for de facto female-headed households, and lowest for widows. However, the household head was likely to be the trained person in all kinds of female-headed households (Table 5.9). Rates ranged from 87 percent for de facto female heads to 75 percent among widows and 67 percent among young female heads, against 58 percent for men heads living at home. That is, the more a woman head of household is short of social resources or people in the household who can substitute for her when she is away, the less likely she is to obtain training.

Types of training obtained showed a similar variation (Table 5.10). All the households headed by widows reported crop production training if they had taken up any, against 88 percent of the de facto female-headed households, 41 percent of the male-headed households, and one of the households headed by younger women, or 33 percent. Small crafts production was taken up by two thirds of the households with resident men heads, by a quarter of the widow-headed households, just over one in ten of the de facto female-headed households, and by none of the three households headed by younger women which had taken up training. Livestock training, often to do with chickens, was taken up equally by half the widows' families and half the de facto female-headed families, but by less than one in ten of the male-headed households and none of the four households headed by younger women.

Construction training was only taken up in households with male heads resident, though more of the de facto female-headed households than male-headed households took up technical agriculture training. Instead of skills relating to the traditional economy, the families of the younger women took up institutional development and health skills.

It appears that households with men heads living at home prioritized small enterprise first, then crop production and then construction and other job-related skills. Widowed heads and de facto female heads stuck closely to the old land economy, while the few households of younger women which took up training seemed to show a youth-related pattern of atypical choices apparently different from the priorities of older married women.

5.1.5 Gender factors in training: knowledge & aspirations

Knowledge of skills training also differed by type of household (Table 5.11). Households headed by widows and by younger women were most likely to be able to name a training organization, and were most likely to refer to government departments. De facto female-headed households had less information, but were most likely to name local NGOs and CBOs. Male-headed households had least information and no strong pattern for type of training organization cited. Results would seem to suggest that interest in training was most sharp among women-headed households that were otherwise in a weak position socially and/or economically: also, that young women on their own with children may have acquired the most information about training but were least able to obtain it.

Training aspirations gave a slightly different picture (Table 5.12). Young female household heads were most likely to be able to name an aspiration at 48 percent, with small business, crop production and job skills, including construction, coming first. Widowed heads were next best able at 36 percent, and favoured small crafts by a wide margin, and then construction and job skills. Just over 30 percent of male-headed households could cite an aspiration, and gave a wide range of choices. De facto female-headed households were most hesitant about naming an aspiration, and only 25 percent gave a choice. Small crafts and small business came in just ahead of crop production.

In relation to aspirations, women-headed households expanded from the old land economy into small business and job skills. The demand from women-headed families for construction training is interesting in that more of the total construction demand was coming from women's households than from men's, although no women-headed households had received any construction training. In addition to the agricultural training they were getting, there appear to be areas of training involved with microenterprise and the job market which the families of women wanted but at the time of study were not able to get.

5.1.6 Gender factors in training: costs & payment

Some of the constraints affecting women-headed households wanting to take up training appear in relation to cost factors. Tables 5.13 and 5.14 show how payment and cost of training was distributed across household types. Training taken up by female-headed households was consistently more likely to be free of charge: all the widows' households, three quarters of the de facto female-headed ones, and two out of three households of younger women had not paid for their training. For the households with resident male heads, six out of ten had paid.

For the male-headed households, the amount paid was likely to be either relatively low, under R 50 in 21 percent of cases, or fairly high, with another

21 percent paying more than R 250. For the women's households, cost fell in between if there was any cost, but only the de facto female headed households, with some financial resources, reported significant costs. About 26 percent had paid between R 100 and R 250, and one younger female-headed household had paid R 51-100.

It would appear that cost factors may be a strong factor helping to close off more expensive kinds of training for people in women-headed households. Families with male heads living at home knew less about training and were less likely to have unfulfilled training aspirations than women-headed households. They were about equally likely to have obtained training of some kind, but were better able to pay for higher-value training and had more often obtained training outside the area of agriculture. Respondents in female-headed families had most often obtained agricultural training free of charge, but said they wanted small business and job skills that were more difficult to get.

5.2 SUMMARY: VULNERABLE GROUPS IN THE TRAINING CONSTITUENCY

Rural non-formal training overall at the time of study appeared to be concentrating mainly on people who were not working for wages: this constituency included either women who were full time at home with their families, or unemployed people. It appears that because of the political tensions common in Tribal Authority districts, youth, and particularly male youth, are being excluded from training as well as discouraged from participating in CBOs.

Peri-urban training appears to be going mainly to people looking to the job market or to job equivalency, while rural training addresses minor improvements in the household's internal support strategies. This constituency concentrates on male youth. The trained population remains a small fraction of the potential training constituency, and as male heads of family began to take over the training constituency close to the cities, proportionately fewer married women and women supporting children were taking up training.

One reason appears to be that for women in the highly monetized peri-urban environment, small incremental improvements in household support strategies with a high cost in unpaid labour were not worthwhile: the rural forms of training may only be appropriate to a poorer population, and peri-urban training needs to look more to different income strategies for women. At the same time, peri-urban residents were more likely than rural people to have tried and failed to get training which they wanted (see Chapter 4), and were less likely to have yet obtained above-average personal incomes if they had done training.

More than women, men in general and particularly peri-urban men heads of household often seemed to speak of and treat training as an alternative to formal employment, while women saw it as a contribution to a diversified household economy. Men's training aspirations focussed on business options and high-value job-related skills, and training uptake in male-headed households involved more outlay than for women-headed households.

Training uptake in rural areas has to be seen in terms of benefits to individuals and to the household, in relation to their circumstances, their role relations and the respect in which they are held in the community. There is

some reason to think that men who want to invest in training in the hope of cash returns are being disappointed, and that both men and women who want to move into the area of small business and entrepreneurship are being frustrated by the unavailability of entrepreneurship training.

This kind of training needs to be matched to scoping or exploration exercises done in conjunction with NGOs and outreach operations, which could help communities to locate specific outside markets in which local products such as cultivated food or green environmentally-friendly commodities might hold some competitive edge. New government planning for rotating markets and other mechanisms to improve market access need to be part of future rural training plans for both entrepreneurship and cash agriculture.

In this context, overall training delivery to vulnerable groups varied. Women still dominated the training constituency, but seem to lose out on higher value training which is less affordable and usually requires travel to training centres. Households headed by women received agricultural training, but reported an unsatisfied demand for higher-value income-related training and for entrepreneurial training.

Adult men's participation in training seemed to be dependent on the prospects of obtaining a significant income, and was strong in the peri-urban areas. Most of the men who obtained training were unemployed. However, rural youth in general, and particularly male youth, appear as a vulnerable group in relation to training, and had difficulty getting access to either income-generating training or training-related structures in the TA areas.

Training was often obtained by the elderly in rural areas, but seemed less common for this constituency in the peri-urban zone. Lastly, the two sample strips turned up no training participation by the disabled, although they were readily identified in workshops as a constituency which would be helped by training and which could make a significant contribution to the community if given some help.

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN RURAL TRAINING

It is widely agreed that organization at the grass roots level is a vital part of empowerment, and central to promoting development (cf Chambers 1983, Esman & Uphoff 1984, Uphoff 1994). Communities that are able to interrogate the development delivery process are usually the ones to receive services, and communities with effective local organizations are the ones able to obtain and use information, and to demand accountability from local government and local leaderships. In addition, planning data is now being produced in depth for the nine provinces by a number of government and parastatal agencies, which are anxious to make this information available to communities. To link up with social, infrastructural and economic development, communities need to develop institutions with capacity to engage with government and the private sector. It now seems clear that NGOs are a vital part of this process, but cannot substitute for community-based organizations as a channel for information and benefits (cf Farrington & Bebbington 1994). Training uptake and training delivery through the CBOs themselves will be vital to success.

Against this background, questions have been raised about capacity in CBOs, of the kind needed to deal with both issues of training and issues of development. CBOs form themselves often to deal with perceived needs at grass roots level, and some types of CBO are widespread in rural areas (Table 6.1). Probably most CBOs help members and communities to deal with basic needs problems in a post-agrarian poverty economy. However, only a minority are reported to be directly involved in development delivery or in training provision. It appears that this training role becomes more important as distance from urban centres increases, while the opposite may be true for development interventions.

Although in deep rural areas CBOs are probably the main potential lifeline for community development, it appears that the further they are from urban centres, the more obstacles CBOs may face which make it difficult for them to mobilize their full potential capacity. Most of these problems have to do with rural politics and with access to information.

6.1 CBOs IN RURAL AND PERI-URBAN COMMUNITIES

CBOs can be defined for the purposes of the training study as institutionalized groups which are formed at grass roots level to promote the interests of their members and their communities. This definition includes both ad hoc groups such as dance clubs or bulk buying associations, and formalized structures such as civic associations or school committees.

Most CBOs seem to form when people come together to pool resources to deal with problems or improve opportunities. Many emerge from the initiative of one or two people who have identified a problem or task, and have mobilized a group with common interests around the set objective. Others are part of institutional structures, and are regularly formed or renewed by appointment or election. Both types of groups tend to be task oriented. In some cases, the task involved is basically one of observing mutual help or social recreation, as with church groups and youth clubs.

Alternatively, CBOs can be catalyzed by outside intervention. Farmers' associations are often promoted by agricultural officers to help mobilize cultivation activity, and development committees have often been initiated by

NGOs trying to help communities secure development benefits. Many of these outside-initiated groups are oriented towards claiming benefits from government or other parties, though most have more or less task orientation as well. Water committees and development committees fall into this category. Some but not all of these outside-initiated groups develop their own identity and dynamism, but others remain institutionally weak and dependent on the outside agency.

Other groups mobilized around claiming of benefits take shape independent of outside prompting. Cases where groups have been formed to demand restoration of community land historically given to the white commercial farming sector are a recent case in point. However, it appears that most CBOs involved in claiming resources come into being when a channel of communication has been established with the outside economy, rather than developing entirely as a result of an internal community process. Perhaps most often, this process involves infrastructural development, and features an NGO as facilitator, and often as a principal actor as well.

People participating in the research identified a wide range of CBOs in their home communities.

Table 6.1.a

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SAMPLE SURVEY COMMUNITIES
Multiple frequency distribution, percent of respondents mentioning

Organization	Total Sample	P Urban Strip	Rural Strip
Burial societies	89	78	99
School committees	86	76	96
Stokvels	79	78	79
Community garden groups	43	36	50
Development committees	43	62	23
Farmers' associations	30	19	41
Mothers' prayer unions	15	9	13
Water committees	11	19	3
Political parties	8	16	5
Sewing groups	6	7	5
Choirs & singing groups	5	1	3
Church groups	4	5	3
Neighbourhood assembly of household heads	4	-	8
Tribal Authorities	3	3	2
Women's associations	2	3	1
Men's associations	1	1	1
Civic associations	1	2	1
Informal traders groups	1	1	1
Youth groups	1	1	1
Bulk buying clubs	1	2	-
Ingoma dance clubs	1	1	1
Study groups	1	1	1
Taxi associations	1	1	-
N	299	149	150

Other types, such as landlords' associations, literacy groups, sports clubs and social drinking societies, appear in the qualitative data. Groups of comrades, the political youth associations aligned with the ANC, were not separately mentioned even in areas where they were common and accepted. They seemed not to be identified as a kind of CBO, although some respondents saw Tribal Authorities as a CBO type.

Counted in another way, groups mobilized around cash resources were mentioned by over 80 percent of all respondents, groups involved with education by nearly as many, agriculture-related groups by over half, and development-oriented groups by nearly half. Religious-oriented groups, those related to small business, those involved with local governance, and those involved with social exchange and recreation were much less often mentioned: all except the religious associations scored less than ten percent of mentions. However, these groups were not necessarily much less common than those most mentioned and best known. Instead, the social and religious groups may often be smaller and less known in their communities than some of the others. Particularly, development associations seem to be much more visible than their actual membership would indicate, and religious groups less visible in proportion to their numbers (see 6.1 below).

Nearly all rural communities seem to host savings associations and stokvels of different kinds. These organizations were reported from all the sample areas without exception, but were more often referred to in the outer strip sample communities. Civil institutions - civic committees and TAs, as well as school committees and neighbourhood-level assemblies - were as a category most often reported in the remote sample strip, together with religious groups and ad hoc task oriented groups. These task oriented groups were dominated by agricultural clubs, but also included informal traders' groups, taxi associations, sewing groups, bulk buying clubs and study groups (Table 6.1).

Results seem to suggest that the outlying communities, with lower incomes and marginal access to markets and supply centres as well as to formal employment, were more likely to mobilize CBOs to deal with making a living, and with economic needs generally. Fewer were involved with claiming systems. Only 23 percent of respondents from the rural strip referred to development committees, and only three and five percent to water committees or political parties respectively. In the peri-urban strip, 62 percent of respondents mentioned development committees, 19 percent water committees, and 16 percent political parties. It appears that relatively few CBOs in the rural districts are involved with dealing with the outside world or securing benefits from government, while most concentrate on localized survival needs.

Numerous peri-urban NGOs provide brokerage, and community members have more urban experience to help them deal with the outside world. In many cases, the same holds true for former so-called 'black spot' communities in rural areas, where NGOs have been able to operate freely and have brought in funds and established channels to help communities provide their own services or demand help from the provincial government. By comparison, qualitative interviews suggest that the remote rural communities in the former KwaZulu homeland have less familiarity with channels for dealing with the outside world, are served by fewer NGOs, have rarely been in direct contact with developers, and are much less confident in relation to claiming infrastructural development.

The process of enlarging the frame of reference for CBO activity along the lines discussed by Castells (1979), from purely material issues to wider questions of collective consumption and social action, appears to be interactive. That is, it depends on the establishment of a dialogue process, and requires first the existence of benefits to be obtained and channels through which they can be reached.

In the peri-urban areas, development delivery has been going in on scale. Till the recent local government redelimitation, which transferred the peri-urban TAs outside the Durban Metro authority and placed them directly under the provincial departments, service provision could be accessed through urban claiming systems, specifically by way of the funding resources of the Port Natal eBhodwe Joint Services Board. These mechanisms could be tapped to bring development services into communities, and were relatively accessible to community groups which organized to take initiatives.

In the rural areas of former KwaZulu, claiming mechanisms were much less accessible, and were not directly open to CBOs forming to take action on their own. Service provision was both nominally and in practice the responsibility of Tribal Authorities, though these structures were usually bypassed by the line departments of the former Ulundi homelands government, now merged into the provincial structures (May 1991, McIntosh 1993). Though these mechanisms made a real effort to provide services to impoverished rural areas, delivery was slow and sporadic. Up to the time of study few CBOs had become directly involved in the service delivery process, though in some cases the development committees being formed under the auspices of the Tribal Authorities have begun to become more closely involved. Under these conditions, CBOs remained relatively local in their outlook, and associated with economic and social concerns.

6.1.2 Membership of CBOs

The actual ranking of CBOs in terms of relative size differs from their ranking for public visibility. About a quarter of the adults of 16 years or more were in the total sample were reported to be members of CBOs (Table 6.2). The actual percentage of membership was about 27 percent in the rural strip, slightly higher than the 24 percent found in the peri-urban samples. Individual community samples ranged from about one in six to about one in three adults as CBO members, with KwaZondi, Nkandla, Montebelo, and Ndikwe at the high end and Studam Bridge, Ogunjini, Appelsbosch and Ngwebini at the low end. In terms of actual reported numbers, savings clubs accounted for the large majority of the total CBO membership, followed by religious groups, task-oriented groups, and civil institutions. Political groups, development bodies and cultural groups trailed in members identified, in spite of the high public profile of the development groups relative to other kinds of CBOs.

If membership is considered at the household level (Table 6.3), only a minority of rural and peri-urban households had no CBO members. For the total sample, 62 percent of households reported that someone belonged to a CBO. Membership was more general in the rural strip, with 69 percent of households containing at least one CBO member, against 54 percent in the peri-urban strip.

Nkandla and Ndikwe reported membership levels of nearly 80 percent overall, and Montebelo nearly 90 percent. The lowest level of membership was at Ogunjini, where only 40 percent of households included a CBO member.

At household level task-oriented groups showed up as more common in the peri-urban strip than religious groups, though savings clubs remained the dominant type of CBO. However, the high peri-urban ranking for task groups was mainly due a strong concentration at Montebelo. In the rural strip, savings clubs, religious groups and civil institutions all ranked ahead of task-oriented groups.

These results suggest how pervasive CBOs are in rural society, and indicate some of the potential for mobilization to occur through existing and new CBOs.

6.2 C B O INVOLVEMENT IN TRAINING

For all the areas, only about one in six or seven CBOs were reported in the survey data to assist with training. However, these average figures masked wide variation between individual sample areas (see Table 6.4). It seems to be significant that the same areas which had the highest percentages of trained people (MaQadini and Montebelo in the peri-urban strip, Nkandla, Ndikwe and KwaZondi in the rural strip) were also those where 20 to 40 percent of respondents reported that CBOs did assist with training. It appears that in areas where training was being accessed by perhaps three to six percent of the population, the CBOs were often involved in the process of delivery. Conversely, in the more isolated areas where less than two percent of the population seem to have obtained training, CBOs were unlikely to be involved.

On these results, there may be reason to believe that CBOs are drawn into training in areas where training initiatives are reaching the ground even at a relatively modest level, while in areas where little training has been obtained there is little or nothing to start the process. There would seem to be grounds to hypothesize that CBO involvement in training is a spontaneous part of the process at local level once it begins to rise above a relatively low threshold.

6.2.1 Training & CBO formation

The CBOs most likely to be involved in training functions were task-oriented, and particularly concentrated on agriculture. Other kinds of CBOs which sometimes reported involvement in training included civil, development, religious and cultural associations. They took in development and water committees, and craft and business-related groups such as sewing clubs and informal traders' associations, as well as choirs, men's and women's associations, church groups and youth groups, and Tribal Authorities.

Qualitative interviews and workshops suggest is fairly common for outside agencies delivering training or other services into communities to catalyze the formation of groups which receive training, but it also happens that people who have identified a need come together to form groups of their own to look for or disseminate training. In the agriculture-related CBOs that were most common, cases of CBO formation often involved contact with extension workers, centering on farmers' associations and community garden groups. These groups could form on a spontaneous route, on the example of groups already in operation, and go from there to request official assistance. Or, alternatively, they could form in response to an initiative from the agricultural officers, as training providers looking to help form counterpart organizations to help them deliver their message.

A third route for CBO involvement opens up when existing task-oriented groups identify a need for training, and try to find a way to get what they need. This route may be least common, and seems to succeed mainly when there are already assistance organizations in touch with the community who can be asked to help with sourcing assistance, as Valley Trust has sometimes done for groups in the Thousand Hills communities it serves, and as other NGOs do for communities they work with.

In this light, there are grounds to see the involvement of CBOs in training as part of the feedback process of incremental competence building discussed by Uphoff, where local organizations which successfully deal with their initial tasks can gain confidence and move on to take up new functions. In this way, training involvement can help CBOs as new institutions to develop their capacity, serving as an important form of institutional development.

6.2.2 CBOs & local knowledge

However, the question of CBOs and capacity on the ground goes beyond the CBOs themselves, and into the community. Delivery of training by CBOs is usually a process which requires brokerage on the part of some outside agency which is in contact with the training constituency. One reason is that local skills are not being taken up into non-formal training initiatives.

In the peri-urban zone there have been for some time examples of literacy training organized largely or completely from within the community, paid with community contributions and staffed by community members: these cases involve CBOs, and can point the way forward. As well as literacy for adults, skills found among community members often include construction and agricultural skills, sewing, repairs, furniture manufacture, various kinds of personal services and life skills, and some basic business skills. The presence of these skills in communities represents local capacity. However, it seems to be unusual for CBOs to make use of this kind of capacity on an organized basis.

Few community groups in the more remote sample areas had reached the point of being able to provide skills training entirely from within their own resources. Not all of the skills being looked for were available within remote communities, and there was a general reluctance to trust local knowledge, which combined with a reluctance among skilled people to instruct future competitors without adequate compensation. CBOs and community members tended to see skills training as better sourced from outside, and very few community groups, even those in close contact with the urban world, had the contacts needed to know how and where to find outside trainers entirely on their own.

As non-formal training is seen at the moment, the process of brokerage seems to be an integral part of the process of involving community groups in training. For many skills, this will continue to be the case in the medium term. In addition, outside contacts are valuable in themselves, and particularly offer the key to services delivery. However, it also appears that skills which are available inside outlying communities are not being picked up by CBOs as often as they need to be, and that communities are often held back by lack of confidence from working intensively with the capacity they already possess.

6.3 OPPORTUNITIES FOR C B O FORMATION

There are a number of contexts in which rural CBOs form in rural areas. They tend to develop either in response to outside contact, or around local needs. How far they are able to develop toward problem-resolving competence and development management depends on the opportunities and constraints facing them, and on the cohesiveness of the community and its history of self-organization.

6.3.1 Leadership

The degree to which CBOs are dependent on specific leaderships varies, but is often significant. Committed and dynamic leaders very often make the difference between success and failure. Groups usually try for democratic structure, but it seems that not many leaderships are fully elective in the formal sense. Many or most seem to obtain a mandate from a group meeting after first establishing their leadership position. Smaller groups may not survive the departure of their founding leaders. More solidly institutionalized groups are able to elect or designate new leaders and continue to function. Others identify too many leaders and split apart, a common risk for church groups and some committee structures.

Qualitative interviews indicate that some leaderships become autocratic, and fall into corrupt practices. Corruption is generally feared by CBOs, and often seems to happen when leaders conduct dealings with outside bodies in secret, without informing ordinary members or providing full accountability. Lack of transparency and the risk of corruption are linked to the risk of elites taking over control of grass roots organization.

Uphoff (1992a,b, 1994) has argued that corrupt, arbitrary or sectional and self-interested leadership is a serious obstacle to CBOs building their own capacity and expanding their functions to take on important community-level tasks. His research in Sri Lanka with CBOs involved in irrigation work has suggested the approach of promoting representatives rather than leaders. This approach is one of intensified participation. It involves facilitators helping CBOs to discuss the kind of people needed to represent their interests in a democratic, accountable and transparent framework, until the requirements for the position are fully thrashed out and group members have built awareness of the sort of person appropriate as a representative rather than a leader. If the process goes well, the CBO's list of people put forward for positions of responsibility avoids conflict by tactfully leaving out members or powerful elites, or group members likely to use leadership arbitrarily or establish personal control. The role of training here, for the CBOs, the facilitators and the representatives, may turn out to be critical.

CBO leadership was not measured quantitatively for the present study. However, qualitative interviews with CBOs confirm that it is an important dimension of CBO development. Ineffective, self-promoting or corrupt leadership are reported to have caused some otherwise viable CBOs to collapse. The transparency of leadership decisions, and the feedback provided to ordinary members and how they are equipped with information and involved in decision making, have been a regular stumbling block for CBOs in rural areas. To be effective in dealing with development processes, CBOs have to become self-sustaining, and be able to grow into new functions. How successful CBOs would be in engaging with training is likely to depend partly on how firmly

they have institutionalized, and whether they are able to hand on their authority within the structure and continue operating.

6.3.2 Networks and social cohesion

A second major factor in CBO formation and survival is social cohesion. It seems to be widely accepted now that local organizations in disadvantaged communities form out of the raw material of social networks. Existing social connections at grass-roots level provide the building blocks of organization, and where groups are expected to form from among strangers or from people too far apart to keep up regular face to face contact, their chances of success are seriously reduced. Probably the main purpose of networks cultivated by rural families is to provide an emergency safety net for food and money in the face of the unexpected, but the fabric of contact built up in this way enables CBOs to crystallize.

Measurements of network cohesion can serve as a substitute measure for social cohesion in the general sense. The relative cohesion of social networks in the different survey sample areas in relation to financial support networks are given in Table 6.5 for food support networks in Table 6.6, and for provision of casual work through network connections as an emergency income safety net in Table 6.7. Because of the expected relation between CBO formation and social resources in the form of networks, the results are worth considering.

Though there was little gross difference between the sample strips regarding the percentage of households that had no network connections to fall back on, there were some differences in how the network was built up. Connections which provide actual food resources in an emergency are the oldest form of network support, and have in the past been the most vital. Since food is not necessarily repaid immediately, this kind of reciprocity is usually only available from the closest social connections, where people have confidence that the relation will continue to their own next emergency. In the new rural economy, more reciprocal help is provided through cash, sometimes as long-term aid but probably more often as an informal loan needing to be repaid fairly quickly. Both these kinds of help involve close associates, and often rely on links between families of equal economic standing. Casual work is more likely to be a form of charity or clientship relation, which involves a less mutual relation between the very poor and the better off. Of all of them, cash assistance, which requires a somewhat less close network, seems to have become most common and most strategic.

Seven percent of the remote strip sample and nine percent of the inner sample said they could sometimes find casual work when they needed it. For food support, 63 percent of the remote strip and 61 percent of the closer strip sample reported that they had someone to turn to. For aid in cash, 67 percent of the outlying sample and 66 percent of the inner strip sample said they had network resources.

Families in the outlying strip were more likely to be able to rely on unrelated neighbours to help with food or money in a pinch, suggesting greater local cohesion and mutual reliance. For the inner rural strip, the reverse was true. Families in the closer strip, where residential mobility is much higher and neighbourhoods tend to be unstable, relied less on neighbours, restricting themselves more to relatives. In addition, there were incipient signs that pooling of resources within the co-resident family unit could be unravelling.

Inner sample strip families sometimes tended to treat others in the same household as a backup resource, that is, as economically close to but separate from themselves (Table 6.5). To the extent that these results indicate greater individualization or atomization in the more mobile, partly urbanized inner rural population, they would seem to foreshadow a lower incidence of CBOs in the inner rural periphery.

Network resources also showed substantial differences between individual sample communities, which seemed to relate to institutionalization at CBO level. The old mission areas of Ndikwe and Montebelo probably showed the most civil mobilization, with high levels for CBO formation. Both also showed very strong financial and food support network development. Montebelo also reported better access than any other sample to networks supplying casual work as an emergency safety net, though Ndikwe, a much poorer community, was no better off than other areas for casual work. Qualitative results suggest a similar pattern for Groutville and Izingolweni, other old mission areas with high levels of education, strong social cohesion, and strong CBO mobilization. However, Ogunjini, another mission area, does not show the same level of advantage for mobilization, for CBOs or for networks.

6.4 CONSTRAINTS ON CBO FORMATION

There are a number of factors which hold back grass-roots institutionalization around development in rural KwaZulu/Natal. The most basic and pervasive influences are probably poverty and low levels of literacy, but access to information and connections and local power relations are widely recognized as major obstacles. In addition, local factors that vary widely such as leadership and social cohesion are closely involved in producing the root conditions for CBOs to form and to reproduce themselves.

There are also a number of generic problems involved with adapting CBOs to tackle development objectives. Groups form with difficulty in rural situations where people have little or no experience of trying to improve their lives, and doubt that they can be effective, or fear the consequences of trying. Where they do develop, they are most likely to mobilize around bread and butter issues, and few have major development plans or important interventions in the balance of power as their goals. Small organizations can be short-lived. They do not always have a clearly defined purpose, and are often dominated by individuals. This kind of CBOs can collapse easily if there are disagreements or if they do not make some successes relatively quickly. Small local groups frequently are not able to develop transparent procedures including record keeping, and also run a high risk of corruption.

Forming local organizations can also be difficult in an institutional climate that is often hostile, in terms of resistance from local elites or local authority structures that see their position under threat from any organized action group which may change power relations and access to resources. Elites may resist or suppress CBOs, or may take them over so as to direct them away from addressing any fundamental change.

6.4.1 Information & linkages

The information barrier and lack of outside channels which prevent communities from identifying opportunities to act on their own behalf are now seen at a policy level as critical in relation to rural planning. CBOs in the

more remote areas have difficulty in defining a possible role for training since there is no clarity on what training could be obtained, where it could be sourced from or what assistance might be available to help obtain it (see Chapter 5). This information is sometimes supplied by NGOs, but not all communities are in touch with outside organizations and not all NGOs are able to supply this kind of input.

The shortfall in information from the developed economy around training and economic opportunities is worsened by the isolation of CBOs in different localities in relation to each other. Discussions during the second report-back workshop, which presented the preliminary project findings to representatives of CBOs and NGOs, stressed the point that CBOs which do have some training involvement are working alone, unaware of what other groups in similar situations are doing. One summary project report on workshops held with CBOs in the field noted:

There is a general lack of proactive NGOs to assist CBOs in initiating training programmes, since [most] CBOs are still in a crawling stage at the moment. There is also a lack of innovative leadership [in the CBOs themselves]. This is also aggravated by a general lack of exposure to training ideas and initiatives as well as [other relevant forms of experience] on the part of the many CBO leaders. As a result of this aloofness the leaders don't know what other CBOs are doing in other sub-regions.

This lack of connections between the CBOs themselves leaves them unable to develop initiatives through an exchange of experiences.

Shortfalls in information and contacts are most usually supplied by NGOs operating in the community, and sometimes by private sector initiatives, outreach programmes from universities or other institutions, or assistance from government or parastatals. However, only government and parastatal initiatives have in the past penetrated freely into TA communities. NGOs and outreach programmes have often been blocked from operating in the former homelands. Although some NGOs - including Operation Hunger, LIMA, ACAT, the Valley Trust, Insika, and a number of others - have had an effective track record working inside former KwaZulu, most NGOs, and especially those from the progressive movement, were found to be concentrated in urban areas, in the old 'black spot' freehold tenancy communities and in the old mission areas.

Where NGOs do operate, there have sometimes been problems with gatekeeping and the creation of dependency. Many NGO operations promote CBO formation to obtain counterpart structures to help them distribute their services, and there have been cases when the NGOs seem to have used the new CBOs as mechanisms to help the NGO collect the information it needs to arrange or provide services. In these cases the new committees have often not been given access to decision making or budgets, and empowerment and institutional development have not been prioritized as highly as the kind of rapid delivery that impresses sponsors.

6.4.2 Poverty

As shown in Chapter 4, rural families are poor, and peri-urban families are better off only by comparison. Neither cultivation and stock-raising nor small business provide effective income generation. Poverty and low levels of

functional literacy make community self-organization difficult, and undermine the confidence of existing CBOs. There are few material payoffs other than those involved in service delivery for CBOs to form around, and involvement in training that is not delivered into the community or does not provide immediate material payoffs tends to be flattened by the various costs involved.

From the standpoint of the CBOs themselves, several community groups identified lack of funds as a reason why they were not able to get involved in training, since they assumed there would be costs to meet. However, interviews with NGOs several times noted that the Kagiso funding model, where funds were offered to communities so that they could hire the NGOs to provide training, was not well understood and not always effective on the ground: community members tended to want to keep the money for other purposes, and continued to expect training to be supplied from outside free of charge or at very low costs.

Results cited in Chapter 4 indicate that communities are likely to see some kinds of training as a high priority. There is also evidence from the experience of the IDT and other agencies that offering communities a budget to spend is an effective way to kickstart institutional development processes. However, given the shortfalls of information on kinds of training available and its practical usefulness to families needing income, the kind of tradeoffs implied by the funding model are not likely to place training as a first budget priority until examples of successes have become widely visible.

6.4.3 Violence

The widespread violence taking place at the time of the study is reflected in Table 6.8, which shows that serious violence had recently been more common in the peri-urban sample strip than in the more remote strip in central former KwaZulu. Violence has a number of constraining effects on CBOs. Communities where violence is serious experience worse marginalization, and CBOs are unable to organize themselves under conditions of serious disorder. Service delivery is delayed or prevented. All civil institutions, including both CBOs and TAs, are undermined. Patronage becomes the only effective institution, sectional allegiances are promoted over community affiliation, and space is created for criminals or warlords to establish control over civil society and interrupt any kind of institutional development process.

The coherence of the social base, expressed in network connections, is damaged when people are unable or unwilling to support each other in the face of unpredictable risks. Local-level strategies for household support that involve small selling become increasingly risky, suppressing local economic activity. People become afraid to travel, work their land, or attend meetings. Under these conditions, either CBO development or initiatives around training delivery are likely to dry up.

6.4.4 Politics

Power relations around entrenched interests, existing institutional structures, politics and violence also play a role in closing off new initiatives from people on the ground and the outside agencies trying to help them, along the lines originally sketched by Chambers (1983) and Korten (1977). Local elites regularly try to prevent the emergence of organizational structures that could help more marginal community members to gain greater control of local

resources. Surrounding the elites in most rural communities, networks of clientelism and patronage restrict access to resources and protect vested interests. Local politics centre around elites and around officials who hold formal positions of power.

Elites comprise well-established and well-off families with business interests and powerful connections. They often include chiefs and TA officials, but as McIntosh (1994) has pointed out, chiefs are often uneducated and may be relatively poor, with no business income. Although TAs are usually closely involved with local elites, it is also possible for chiefs and TA personnel to be marginal people in many ways, whose only asset is in traditional forms of power.

The balance of power at community level also involves IFP and ANC politics. TA officials owing allegiance to the successors of the former Ulundi homeland government have been encouraged to uphold the IFP stake in community politics by maintaining and if possible expanding their local role. Attempts by traditional authorities to hold their position come up against a gradual shift in the alignment of power along age and gender lines. The old-style politics of rural African communities has involved older men as holders of power maintaining control over women and youth through their control of land and other social resources needed to support the household. As education and the job market have increasingly come to dominate household support, a realignment of power has been pushing to break through in rural areas.

The role of CBOs in this context - as a possible vehicle for youth and women to obtain direct access to important resources, and change the rural balance of power - is extremely delicate and contentious. CBO mobilization is often kept under close control to prevent the emergence of rival power structures, and in most TA communities CBOs are only allowed to form if they operate in touch with TA structures and under their auspices. In many or most communities it is still very difficult for women to get access to land or permissions needed to undertake any kind of activity, and results from the project research suggest strongly that youth organization at the CBO level is being discouraged informally but effectively. Another project report from the field remarked,

Unfortunately, CBOs lack the capacity to deal with social problems. CBOs face a number of challenges, including difficulties of mobilizing and holding public meetings. There is a general feeling that alternative structures are only tolerated if their activities are not perceived as threatening the existence of the traditional institutions... Few workshop participants [agreed with leadership claims that] leaders know the development needs of their constituencies through holding meetings at which these needs are deliberated. The youth is of the opinion that such public meetings are not effective since young people are not welcome at these meetings. As a result, the aspirations of the younger generations are marginalized. The main reason is that younger people are perceived as undisciplined and radical, and [inclined to] defy tribal values. Therefore, age becomes a problem for many people, and these meetings end up being perceived as political gatherings...

Some younger workshop participants also argued that traditional leaders were more concerned with playing a controlling role than in determining development needs or arranging for service delivery.

their own capacity. This can be done with the support of the training bodies, by using their own trained members as trainers, and concentrating on appropriate technologies for which markets can be identified.

This kind of exercise might begin with a procedure of community-based needs and market assessment, done in partnership between CBOs, the training bodies and local power structures, with policy support from government. Power structures might be bought in by the provision to them of development-related training, and by working through links with the approved development committees. Once local and regional economic opportunities had been estimated at community level, arrangements could be looked at for training in areas less likely to glut than specialist income-generating skills, including development brokerage and urban skills, entrepreneurial training, project management, literacy, numeracy, agriculture as microenterprise, health and child care, personal development, and further institutional development.

CHAPTER 7: RETHINKING RURAL NON-FORMAL TRAINING

The study has identified several priority areas which need to be addressed if non-formal training operations are to fulfill their potential to be a vehicle for rural reconstruction. Research results seem to confirm the starting assumption that training is potentially one of the most efficient and cost-effective forms of development intervention. In this light, non-formal training needs to be reevaluated critically, to redefine its objectives and establish a proactive role in relation to the policy environment for rural development.

7.1 TRAINING IMPACT

Research identifies a significant gap in training delivery on the ground in rural communities: it seems that relatively few rural people have received non-formal training of any kind. In rural KwaZulu/Natal less than two percent of the rural sample population reported receiving training. Results also suggest that the potential demand for training is very large, but this demand is not focussed because of lack of information, and is not being met. Finally, the main fields in which training is now being supplied are useful to the household, but have mainly palliative effects on the underlying problems of rural development. Training was only starting to address rural change and a developmental society.

7.1.1 Space & distance

Training delivery and uptake are different in peri-urban areas from what is found in outlying rural communities. Rural communities show up as receiving less training per person and much less training in total. They also receive only a few kinds of training for the most part. In addition, they receive very little information about training or about market opportunities.

These differences are related to population density and to relative distance from centres of economic activity, but also to the way the space economy has brought some areas into the mainstream while leaving others isolated. Training is channelled into localities and communities that are accessible to the outside, and that have links to outside organizations.

More important than distance to urban centres, many communities are relatively cut off by lack of access to local service centres. These isolated areas appear to be poorest and most marginalized. Because of the small size of their accessible customer base, they have limited chances to develop local economic activity around microenterprise. They are often worst hit by unemployment, and have also received least training and have the least access to information about training opportunities.

7.1.2 Training constituencies and demand

The new rural economy relies less on migrant labour and subsistence cultivation, and more on local employment and local entrepreneurial activity against a background of crippling unemployment levels. Women are entering the labour force.

Against this background, non-formal training is being taken up mainly by rural women and by peri-urban men. Most training goes to people who are not employed and have no income. The areas of most active training demand were

around income-generating skills that could partly offset unemployment, and there was a very large demand for skills to help communities obtain development infrastructure and services.

Men tended to want higher-value income equivalency training, while women's gender roles lead them to accept training that offers only marginal returns at a high cost in labour time. Younger people particularly want to move into income-generating training that offers a possible route to wage-equivalent incomes, but rural youth seem to be excluded from becoming involved in training or in development structures.

7.1.2.1 Rural training

Training in outlying rural communities is taken up mainly by women in their mature working years. Relatively few men take up training. Training access is limited to the community itself, since gender roles still make travel for women unacceptable. Relatively little training is available on this basis, and most of what is received comes from the parastatal sector and government departments. Cultivation, and sewing and crafts, are the main kinds of training delivered, followed by stock raising.

Partly because training delivery into rural communities is inherently uneconomic, its content was limited and appeared relatively inflexible. Workshops complained of local gluts in income-generating skills.

The training delivered shows little direct impact on household income, but participation in training goes with more intensive cultivation activity, and seems to boost household food security. However, there is little evidence that training at this level spins off other consequences that lead to empowerment. Likewise, training operations allowed to operate in most rural areas under apartheid were usually forced to come to terms with the status quo.

7.1.2.2 Peri-urban training

Person for person, communities in advantaged peri-urban areas were only slightly more likely to have received training. However, because of the more concentrated and accessible population a much larger volume of training flows into the peri-urban zone. More kinds of training were available and were being taken up, and people in peri-urban areas were much more aware of kinds of training available and able to make informed choices. Many more peri-urban people had formed ambitions to be trained, and had reached out to get the training they wanted. Many had tried to get training outside their own home communities, and about a quarter had succeeded.

The peri-urban training constituency centered on male youth, and prioritized earning opportunities. More than half the people who had received training in the peri-urban areas were men, and were under the age of thirty. Much more of this training related to work or microenterprise. Consequently, the share of training going to women had shrunk. Peri-urban training was mostly supplied by NGOs and outreach programmes, and was fairly responsive to the changing economy.

7.1.3 Effectiveness of current rural training delivery

Effects of training are difficult to separate out or measure: people who take up training are likely to be more motivated and better organized than the general population. Most people who had received training said they thought

there had been a real improvement, but many people who had obtained higher-value technical training also said they were often or usually unable to use their skills due to shortfalls in equipment, supplies and backup support.

However, the rural constituency which had received training connected to food security was more likely to be growing more crops than people who had not received training. Although training was taken up mainly by people who did not have an income, in rural areas personal incomes were higher for trained people if they did have income. In the peri-urban areas, the apparent difference in individual income was smaller, but the training constituency was also younger and had not moved far into their earning years. However, it is not clear how far training now available is helping younger people work toward wage equivalency incomes in an economic situation of high unemployment and tight competition.

7.1.4 Evaluation

For the peri-urban areas, training has differentiated to meet some of the demand for income opportunities, but it appears that the volume of training on offer is still well short of what would be taken up if places were available. For the rural areas, training remains behind the curve, delivered in low volume and directed to a subsistence demand which is now changing. Gains which have been achieved to date are real, but seem to be marginal to the size of the demand and the needs of rural development.

Demand for income-generating skills was being addressed in part, but demand for entrepreneurial skills and for institutional and developmental skills had hardly started to obtain a response. However, perceptions were changing among decision-makers, and a movement by training organizations into entrepreneurial skills had begun. At the time of study, nothing in this line was yet reported from the ground.

The central problem was incompatible operating requirements from communities and from training providers. The training community needs to bring together enough students wanting one skill to justify high training costs in any one small rural community. They hold back from advertising or trying to stimulate a higher volume of demand they would not be able to fill: consequently, few people find out how to access specialised training. The communities need a range of skills, delivered into the same community over time, to a small number of people so as to avoid oversupplying a limited market. This disjuncture probably cannot be overcome using existing delivery models, and needs a new approach.

7.2 REORIENTING RURAL TRAINING

A new vision of rural training is beginning to emerge out of the new government's basket of policy initiatives aimed at rural marginality. Water delivery, land reform, housing subsidies, and plans for rural markets and local economic development are creating an awareness of factors underpinning rural disadvantage, and are releasing energy in the training community. However, the response so far appears piecemeal, and obstacles are very real. Expectations inside communities are fragile, and real debate is needed to find ways forward.

7.2.1 Community-based organizations in rural training

CBOs are already an important element in the delivery of training into rural areas. Community-based organizations are often identified by people on the ground as training providers, but at present their role appears to be relatively passive. They often operate as ground-level counterpart organizations for outside government and non-government structures which want to supply training. They rarely have access to the budget and staff shortage problems confronting training delivery bodies, and rarely seem to be able to take a controlling role.

CBOs need to reach a position where they can actualize their potential, and ways need to be found past the problem of bulking up demand which holds back training organizations from delivering a wider range of training into remote communities. Using locally available skilled people as trainers through the intermediation of CBOs may be the only economic solution to the problem of supplying training into thinly populated rural communities, where the need is for local delivery in depth that is not economic for training providers. This process should match well into the Uphoff model of developing local organization competence incrementally, by developing a representative structure and dealing with successively larger tasks.

Efforts to encourage CBOs to take direct control of their own development have not been successful in most cases. Most areas do not have a partnership relation with NGOs, and capacity at ground level remains more potential than actual, partly because CBOs still have little actual control or discretion in their relation with outside organizations. CBOs are frustrated by their position, and want training in leadership, management and project skills to help develop their own institutional capacity.

At the time of study, communities had not understood the model of receiving funds to hire outside organizations to deliver training, and the situation on the ground may not be ready for this approach until CBOs themselves have received training and have worked by stages into a sense of greater efficacy. Communities still see training as an entitlement, which is not always available but comes from outside and does not need to be hired. Offered training budgets or funds to hire NGOs, communities tend to want to prioritize the money themselves for other purposes. Budgets supplied to CBOs are an effective means of developing local capacity, but probably cannot be tied to training unless successes have become clearly visible and targeted forms of training are on line. More debate is needed over how to fund rural training to best promote CBO development.

7.2.2 Rural power relations & training

Differentiation of skills into institutional and development fields is held back by rural politics. The barriers involved with IFP /ANC politics are particularly resistant because they are rooted in the local level struggle for control between youth and the established power structure run by older men: control by men over women's labour is also involved. Existing power structures and administrative bodies are often reluctant to allow training operations to offer courses that would move constituents to organize themselves independently. Because of KwaZulu Natal's political history, they are especially wary of initiatives that could lead to youth organization. As a result, rural youth are

being held back from participation in training as well as from contributing to rural reconstruction through CBOs.

Some resolution of this tension will be necessary to allow local organizations to develop in civil society which will be capable of absorbing and passing on training. Possible lines to pursue would involve buying in existing power structures through providing them with development training, and building on the link between Tribal Authorities and development committees already defined by provincial government.

7.2.3 Skills delivery for a developmental rural economy

Categories of training which are now being supplied into rural communities centre on subsistence agriculture, with some small production skills. In the changing rural economy, entrepreneurial skills are needed, along with skills that will help rural people get more control of their relation to the developed urban economy, and to help break their isolation and reach markets. These skills include literacy and numeracy, institutional development and leadership, urban contact and development brokerage, market management, water management and sustainable development, in addition to a range of production skills and job skills. Delivery needs to be more interactive, with more use of mobile training, transport assistance, and options of the training-and-visit type.

Since land is still the main asset of rural communities, agricultural skills need to be repackaged around cash crops, and work needs to be done around marketing links into urban informal settlements and other possible outlets, as well as around rural rotating market rings along the lines laid down in the new rural development policy. New outgrower connections able to supply private sector training on an economic basis need to be encouraged where possible. No economic skills will work without markets: to bring these together, a skills package needs to be developed around local economic development, which will allow communities working with outside help to assess their potential markets and identify their most competitive products.

7.2.4 Delivery through community capacity

To bring these skills down to the ground in a situation where the training community is short of resources and cannot deliver on an economic basis can probably only be done through CBOs. Training organizations have often assumed skills transmission, but have seen themselves as the main direct skills providers. This model correctly targets skills transmission as the vital link, but has not given attention to ensuring a framework of process and incentive for on-transmission of skills to become viable. Results show people with skills are not inclined to create competition by teaching income-generating skills to others unless given a reasonable incentive.

The present approach needs to expand toward developing in-community skill training capacity in association with CBOs. Trained people in rural communities represent local capacity, and can teach their skills if given recognition and compensated for their efforts. Signs are positive that CBOs involved in training obtain recognition and support.

7.2.5 Reorienting rural non-formal training approaches

To bring these training functions on stream will require effort from both the government sector and the non-government organizations, and will probably require increased donor funding. The training community needs maximum scope

to deploy its experience and develop responses to the needs of a new, developmental rural economy. Promoting this kind of activity will need a policy lead from government as well as initiative from the training community. It is likely to require coordination and a clearing-house function at provincial level, with links to non-government and government bodies, as well as to donors. Increased information flow both within the training community and among rural communities and CBOs will be an important factor.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

New training initiatives need to deal with household reproduction through diversifying income sources, and need to address the isolation of rural communities and their relation to the outside developed economy. People on the ground want respect, and an escape from their sense of helplessness. Training volume needs to expand without overstraining training organizations, and without oversupplying traditional skills and constituencies.

1. Training needs to be seen as a process which builds capacity and has a developmental trajectory, rather than as a one-off intervention that repeats indefinitely without structural effects.
2. Training needs to shift its focus from direct skills delivery to helping to train and compensate community members as trainers, and to training CBOs to deliver training.
3. Training needs to expand beyond individual skills which glut easily, and into developmental and urban contact skills with a larger constituency.
4. Training packages need to be developed for CBOs around assessing market scope and competitive advantage, to help communities locate potential for local economic development which can be addressed with further training and can become a snowballing process.
5. CBOs need to be given space and resources to move into an active intermediary role in training delivery, based on mobilizing skills already in the community and skills being delivered from outside, and on organizing the teaching of these skills to community members so as to build their competence incrementally.
6. CBOs involved in training need to get support to help them make contacts among themselves, and exchange visits in order to build enthusiasm and spread ideas and techniques.
7. Power structures need to be offered training benefits to carry out developmental functions, and given incentives to cooperate with CBOs in bringing in-community training on line.
8. Close contact with outside training organizations needs to be maintained to help provide shelter for emergent CBOs, and avoid elite interception of benefits where possible.

On top of these options, there is a need for a systematic overview of rural training in relation to community development options under the new government, and a national and regional debate stimulated among communities and training organisations.

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APPENDIX 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review

A scan of the international and local literature was carried out to incorporate contemporary international trends in relation to capacity building and institutional development. This included a scan of academic journals, training materials utilised by skills training organisations, reports on the training environment, and studies of the rural environment.

There exists very little literature on the subject of training delivery to and by CBOs. Patel and Ballard (1993) emphasise the importance of skills training as a means of empowerment of community members (including CBOs), and stress that community members must be involved in the design of training programmes, but do not mention CBOs as key providers of training. This study is characteristic of most of the available literature on skills training in KwaZulu/Natal: there is a perception that skills training is the responsibility of training organisations located outside the community, and that the role of CBOs is limited to ensuring that training organisations are dictated by CBO agendas.

Three other relatively recent reports deal with the specific issue of skills training in the KwaZulu/Natal region. Stanford (1993) and van Heerden (1990) examine the spatial availability of skills training and the different types of skills training which are offered in the two major urban centres of the KwaZulu/Natal region, the Durban Functional Region and Pietermaritzburg respectively. Both reports are concerned with a wide range of available skills training, including training of relevance to the formation and mobilisation of CBOs; but neither is specifically concerned with the role of CBOs in delivering training. Both studies also do not examine remote rural areas.

The emphasis placed by Schreiner and Valodia is considerably wider. Both vocational training offered by the formal (i.e. within the framework of technical colleges and technikons) and informal (anything not delivered by technical colleges or technikons) training sectors are discussed in terms of their location within a broader framework for economic growth within the region. Schreiner and Valodia's work is thus not directly concerned with the role of skills training in CBO formation, or the role which CBOs could play in the delivery of training, but rather with the long-term impact of skills training on the economic growth of the region. Nonetheless, many of the key important theoretical precepts which underlie this study are relevant to the present investigation.

Supplementing Schreiner and Valodia's wider perspective are a number of reports from state and parastatal bodies which attempt to outline the existing skills training environment. Hirschowitz, the Human Sciences Research Council, and the National Training Board provide broad overviews of the skills training environment in South Africa, outline some of the obstacles which confront the skills training industry, and propose policy to deal with these issues. The broad direction of policy seems to be in line with national economic goals of deregulating business and industry, and placing skills training in the control of the employer sectors, rather than in the hands of potential employees.

Literature on the content of training is divisible into two categories. On the one hand, several training organisations provided the researchers with copies

of curriculae which they offer. On the other, a wide range of material is available in libraries and commercial outlets which is aimed at management training at the middle-management levels of commerce and industry: Nilson (1992) is a good, comprehensive example. Some of this material may be useful to CBOs.

The context within which rural training takes place is more widely documented. The Development Bank of Southern Africa (1991), Cross, Bekker and Bromberger (1992) and May (1992) provide comprehensive information about the state of rural areas, and the economic, environmental and social conditions within which rural training initiatives take place. Other works deal with the impact of different forces on rural conditions, for example Møller and Russel (1990) on the legacy of labour tenancy. Though it deals with metropolitan KwaZulu/Natal rather than with rural conditions, Cross, Clark, Bromberger, Bekker and Christiansen (1995 forthcoming) summarises the research team's thinking on migratory processes, which have had a major impact on rural areas¹.

There is little material available on CBO formation in rural areas. Accordingly, the research team have utilised where relevant work on the formation of community-based structures in urban and metropolitan areas. Lowe (1986) summarises the influential work of Manuel Castells, while Mayekiso (1993), Shubane (1994) and Swilling (1993) deal with the role played by community-based structures in urban areas in development of their communities. Much of the research team's own thinking on the strengthening of CBOs through the delivery of development benefits directly to communities through such structures is derived from earlier research (Cross, Bekker, Clark and Wilson 1992; Clark 1991). Some of Oosthuizen's work on CBOs with links to the African Independent Churches has been undertaken in conjunction with members of the research team (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker and Evans 1992; Cross, Oosthuizen and Clark 1993; Oosthuizen and Clark 1994).

Mention must also be made of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (African National Congress 1994). Research into this programme was necessitated by the fact that this will constitute the framework for development in post-apartheid South Africa. It is therefore a valuable touchstone for the understanding of community development as expressed throughout this report.

1 Patel and Ballard (1994) cite another paper by two of these authors, but incorrectly describe their thinking on the subject of rural-to-urban migration.

APPENDIX 2: DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Space relations

Read from left to right, the two sample strips in the tables in Appendix 1 represent sample points at approximately ten-kilometer intervals from a service centre: so that Ngwebini and Appelsbosch represent the points furthest from the service centres of, respectively, Nkandla Hospital and the Valley Trust. In the design of the survey methodology, it was hypothesised that a wide range of development indicators, from household and individual incomes through to rates of skills training uptake, would decline with spatial distance from a service centre: so that Nkandla village and Maqadini would score highest in regard to these indicators, and Ngwebini and Appelsbosch would score lowest.

As will be seen in the tables in Appendix 1, this prediction has not been borne out by the survey data. The results from three settlements appear anomalous: these are Montebelo and Appelsbosch in the Thousand Hills sample strip, and Ndikwe in the Nkandla sample strip. All these areas are old mission settlements. Additional fieldwork undertaken in these areas indicated the importance of specific local factors in promoting higher levels of rural development and civil society mobilisation than was predicted.

Because of the orientation of the Thousand Hills sample strip, Montebelo lies relatively close to the northwestern boundary of the old Durban Functional Region, and is closer to towns and cities than either Appelsbosch or Ogunjini Mission. The easiest route giving access to Montebelo runs through Appelsbosch, and it seemed likely that Appelsbosch would score higher than Montebelo on basic development indicators. However there are a number of important factors which give Montebelo a relative advantage over Appelsbosch.

Montebelo is an old Roman Catholic mission area, where the mission established hospitals and schools. A traditional social climate appears to have prevailed in Montebelo, as a consequence of which the area has experienced none of the disruption to the educational system which has been characteristic of many rural, peri-urban and urban areas. In the opinion of one key informant in the area,

'This has meant that most people from the area have completed their schooling and been better able to get jobs in town.'

In addition, the hospital has become the point of entry for several primary health care-related development projects such as spring protection programmes, and community garden clubs. The community health worker responsible for the initiation of these projects stressed the importance of crystallising CBOs to run and maintain these projects. CBO activity partly accounts for relatively higher levels of civil society mobilisation in Montebelo.

By contrast, although Appelsbosch has easier access to the city than Montebelo, it has lower levels of development and civil society insitutionalisation. Attempts through the hospital to initiate development projects in the settlement similar to those encountered in Montebelo have been less successful, although these are relatively recent initiatives, those in Montebelo are of longer standing. Given its relative ease of access to the city, the performance of Appelsbosch in regard to development indicators is not surprising; but the local advantages which Montebelo possesses result in the more remote latter settlement performing somewhat better.

More remarkable still is Ndikwe, an extremely small community located in the KwaZulu hinterland. Ndikwe is very poor, but in regard to key development indicators Ndikwe outperforms nearly every settlement in the two sample strips, the sole exception being Montebelo. There are several reasons: Like Montebelo, Ndikwe is an old Roman Catholic mission area, with the result that mission-school education has been accessible to the residents of the settlement. The effect is similar to that of Montebelo: better-educated Ndikwe residents have a relative advantage when it comes to accessing job opportunities in town. In addition, Ndikwe is located in a fertile valley on a ridge formed by the confluence of two rivers., which favours agricultural production.

On the human resources side, a local clergyman has promoted civil society mobilisation around development issues, such as the formation of bulk-buying clubs for local farmers, and a retired school teacher has initiated a community-based skills training organisation, utilising donor funding from overseas. Other local initiatives have also been effective. One person born in the area has subsequently become a leading member of a national church-affiliated development institution. This person has facilitated contact between residents of Ndikwe and major national and international development and funding bodies. And finally, according to local residents, the Tribal Authority is sympathetic towards development: the chief has initiated and supported an adult education programme, and has not resisted the institutionalisation of civil society.

The combination of these factors has resulted in a community which, regardless of spatial isolation, has been able to organise and promote development. Although it is fundamental to the argument in this report that spatial factors are a major constraint on access to training and indeed all forms of rural development, the settlements of Montebelo and Ndikwe both show how local factors can assist communities to overcome such obstacles.

APPENDIX 3: FIELD INVESTIGATION

Field interviews

The original study design as proposed for funding called for a sample of about 400 cases distributed across three sample regions in different parts of the province. Funding was delayed and costs escalated in the interim, cutting back the final survey sample to 299 cases in two sample regions. Not quite 40 trained people responded to the survey. Individual and group interviews accompanied the field surveys in order to obtain participation in depth from communities and CBOs. These interviews included workshop-format interactive exercises.

The individual and group interviews and workshops asked respondents to trace their experience of training, if any, or to offer comments upon any training of which they knew. Essential themes included factors constraining training access and effectiveness from the household and community standpoint; respondents' experiences of the design of training interventions; and their understanding of the potential role of CBOs in delivering training. The flow of information was designed to be mutual, and the researchers briefed community members interested in receiving training on what forms of training were available, and from where such training might be obtained.

Survey

Random-sample field surveys were carried out in two general regions of Natal in order to estimate overall training availability, uptake, and utilization, as well as desired forms of training from the standpoint of potential training recipients.

An interview schedule was designed comprising a number of modules. The modules were intended to capture information about household demographics, economic activities, agricultural production, and experience of training, as well as what forms of training were considered to be appropriate. The interview schedule was piloted in a test study, and modifications made to the original draft, before the final field survey phase commenced.

Survey work was structured in a linear spatial format, anchoring each strip in a relatively accessible area and proceeding outward to more remote areas, crossing community and tribal boundaries as necessary to obtain a broad cross-section of rural residents. Since the proposed project was in no way conceived of as an evaluation exercise, sample areas were not limited to districts where recognized NGOs or private sector training operations were active.

The anchor points of the two sample regions included a remote inland region in the northwestern KwaZulu/Natal midlands, and a peri-urban/semi-rural area on the northwestern periphery of the Durban Functional Region. Both of the two strips drawn from these anchor points were fifty kilometers long: interviewing took place at points located at ten kilometer intervals on the strips. At each point, thirty respondents were interviewed, giving a total of 300 respondents.

Interviews were carried out by a reputable market research and survey company with extensive experience of conducting field surveys throughout

KwaZulu. The research team from the Rural-Urban Studies Unit were involved in briefing the field team, and in the checking of completed questionnaires. Ten percent of completed questionnaires were checked back by the market research quantity, who also handled the capture of data. Final computerised analysis of the data was done by the researchers from the Rural-Urban Studies Unit in conjunction with the computer technician of the Centre for Social and Development Studies.

APPENDIX 4: WORKSHOPS AND CONSULTATIVE RESULTS

Preliminary workshop

The initial phase of the present project was a workshop to present the findings of the 1992 study of the availability of training for rural community development, and to introduce the present project. The workshop was held to obtain feedback from training organisations and CBOs on the proposed methodology of the present project, and on possible areas for urgent enquiry. The preliminary workshop was held at the University of Natal, Durban, on 26 August 1994. The workshop was attended by nineteen people, comprising representatives of the School of Rural Community Development, the research team from the Rural-Urban Studies Unit, and members of skills training organisations, CBOs, and non-governmental organisations.

The main outcomes of the workshop may be summarised as follows:

What is known about training

Compared to credit schemes and infrastructural provision, the workshop found that well-delivered skills training is the most cost-effective form of promoting rural development. However, a number of very difficult and deep-rooted problems affect rural training. Five were found by the workshop to be critical:

- * Since rural training is best delivered close to the community, the role of CBOs is critical: but CBOs do not often have the capacity to cope with rural training.
- * Those training organisations which do have the capacity tend as a rule to be inflexible, impersonal and non-participatory in their approach.
- * Rural skills training programmes need to balance the requirement to meet diverse training needs in small populations.
- * Funding for rural training often locates responsibility for training far from rural communities and their felt needs.
- * Increasingly, rural residents want infrastructure and services equivalent to those in urban areas, despite the fact that these are difficult and expensive to establish and deliver.

The workshop targeted a number of vulnerable groups - women (particularly those with small children), the elderly, the poor, youth, and those unable to afford to travel to training centres.

In addition, a number of important training needs are rarely offered by current training initiatives. These include basic numeracy and literacy, as well as information about interaction with state and urban-based bureaucracies and institutions. The workshop suggested strongly that people take up available training because it is all that is available, rather than because it is appropriate to their needs.

Challenges facing rural training initiatives

Five important challenges facing rural training initiatives were raised:

- * The workshop recommended that the School of Rural Community Development needs to work closely with CBOs to improve its

training. Closer co-operation between rural communities and universities is also required, particularly in regard to the issue of graduates returning to their home communities with their newly-acquired knowledge.

- * Training interventions must not be piecemeal or once-off interventions: they should be part of an integrated process which offers a wide range of options to rural communities.
- * Training interventions need regular monitoring and evaluation to allow them to develop.
- * Training organisations need to interact with one another rather than compete.
- * Biases toward urban development and male-dominated development need to be addressed.

Ways to meet these challenges

Five ways to meet the challenges outlined above were proposed by the workshop:

- * Low male attendance rates on rural training courses need to be understood and countered.
- * CBOs need to adapt, moving towards autonomy, possibly by generating their own capital. Each CBO should ideally form a unit which is responsible for skills training both within the CBO and the community. An umbrella CBO skills training organisation should also be formed. The CBO/NGO interface needs to be addressed as a possible area of friction.
- * The basic motivation of skills training organisations should be to take training to the people, through involvement with CBOs, establishing community-based training centres, and using mobile training units.
- * Differing rural community needs and ways of addressing these must be established.
- * Researchers and academics in the rural training field need to move beyond information-gathering into hands-on experience.

Consultative interviews

The workshop was followed up by participant client and expert interviews in order to consult widely and obtain fully considered inputs from training delivery organizations and from CBOs. Consultation included expanding present models of training delivery and evaluation to achieve a more broad-based process. Additional questions were sought for inclusion in the proposed field survey and in the field interview and workshopping process.

The consultative interviews put the operational hypotheses framed in the previous chapter to people involved in the delivery of rural training, and obtained feedback from them. The results of these interviews are incorporated into the sections of the report which follow.

APPENDIX 5: TRAINING ORGANISATIONS

Characteristics of each type of organisation

1.1 State Departments are government departments of either the national South African state or the former 'homelands' and self-governing territories. These state departments addressed many functions: training was not usually the most important one. State departments are large and hierarchical in structure. Decision-making and policy-formulating structures are located far from the community level, and the target population of their training programmes are one component of their clientele.

State departments engage in development training initiatives amongst communities through intermediaries, and not through organisations rooted in the communities themselves. Links to communities are limited, and while some formal and informal feedback from grassroots levels is said to reach their policy levels, their chief allegiance is to state policy: they are not accountable to rural inhabitants.

1.2 Parastatals are bodies set up by the state to assist with a particular sector of activity. In most cases, education and training is one component of a parastatal's operations, and the target populations of training programmes are one component of the parastatal's clientele. The exceptions are those parastatals with a mainline training function.

Parastatals are responsible to state departments, and depend on them for their financing. No clear channels of communication with communities or procedures are usually provided, and the extent to which inputs from the community level actually influence policy is doubtful.

1.3 Specialist training institutions offer formal skills training to the public. They are not universities or technikons but medium-sized formal institutions. These organisations serve the interests of commerce, industry and agriculture for whose skilled personpower needs they undertake training. Not all of the people whom they train are involved in these sectors, because many of their trainees are unemployed (although the stated goal of training such people is to accommodate them in these sectors - see also Schreiner and Valodia 1993). The agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors are represented on the management structure, while access to the policy-formulation and decision-making structures by their trainees is through indirect channels. The specialist training institutions interviewed do not appear to maintain regular or structured contacts with rural communities.

1.4 Outreach programmes of formal training institutions are established within formal tertiary education structures such as universities and technikons. They are not concerned with the mainline function of these institutions and are aimed at a wholly different population. For this reason these programmes are treated as a separate group. Community representatives sit on their steering committees, giving them direct access to the organisation. They have close links to the CBOs for whom they perform most of their services. These organisations are funded mostly from donations.

1.5 Production industry bodies are bodies which serve the needs of specific sectors of agricultural production. As a rule, training is only one component of their activities. Their sponsors are the main actors in the sector

they serve, and training is mostly restricted to producing skilled personpower for employment in these sectors. Very few production industry bodies report maintaining contacts with rural communities.

1.6 Private sector initiatives are development schemes located in the private sector. Private sector initiatives aim their interventions at a target population which is a sub-category of the consumers of their services throughout South Africa. They report few links to community-based and church organisations. A private sector initiative's most important link may be to its parent company, which is the source of most of its funding. Contact with communities is said to be direct, but the extent to which messages travel back up to policy level is uncertain.

1.7 Non-government and service organisations include all NGOs located outside a community which offer services to communities. The services they offer are of a wide range, and include training. They may be either national or regional organisations. Regional branches of national bodies have a fair degree of autonomy while operating within a broad policy vision originating at the national level. The service organisations interviewed have community representatives serving in the organisation, giving them direct access to the decision-making process. National non-government organisations do not usually have community members serving on the board, but report that they have structures which are located at the community level which enable communities to have indirect access. Smaller service organisations are often link to the CBOs with whom they work. Most of their funding is from donations.

1.8 CBOs are organisations of community members based in the communities they serve. They often employ the services of persons from outside the community who have skills and expertise which they wish to access. They tend to be small in size, with the exception of large CBO networks which bring together under one umbrella several smaller CBOs. Because of their small size, they formulate policy and make decisions within their own structure and remain in constant contact with the communities they serve. It is however possible that there is a difference between the needs perceived at the community level, and those articulated by community members involved in the CBOs. CBOs maintain few formal links, and their most important links are with other CBOs and with the non-government and service organisations and parastatals with whom they work.

1.9 Church organisations are community-related organisations which are affiliated to one of the mainline churches. Many are similar in structure to CBOs, with one vital difference: their policy is formulated outside the organisation by their parent church. This is the source of their funding and the most important of the links which they maintain, though they also maintain links with non-government and service organisations, CBOs, and other church organisations. Nearly all church organisations are small.

APPENDIX 6 : TRAVEL COSTS IN THE SPACE ECONOMY

The prospects for effective rural training delivery outside the community need to be seen in relation to the cost and distance factors involved with rural travel (Table A.6.1). The space economy of KwaZulu Natal concentrates the webbing of its transport routes around the densely settled economic core, and has relatively few roads connecting the small, scattered and semi-isolated rural centres, where costs escalate. People in the peri-urban zone can move cost-effectively over a relatively wide area, and reaching the regional metropole is not expensive: for all the peri-urban strip samples, the reported average cost of travel to Durban was just over R 10, or less than one percent of mean household monthly income. For the rural samples, it averaged over R 70, more than 7 percent of mean household cash income: Johannesburg was not much more expensive.

For the peri-urban sample communities, the average reported cost of reaching their local service centre was R 4.35, and for all the communities except Appelsbosch it was less than R 5. In the rural areas, excluding Nkandla village which is itself the local service centre, the average cost was R 6.77. For people in the rural strip, their local service centre is usually the only place outside their community they can travel to without incurring significant costs: even local centres like Melmoth, Eshowe and Babanango are likely to cost R 20-50 for a single trip. Once beyond their local service centre, the cost gradient of reaching the next centre tends to increase steeply. Rural people's opportunities for moving around outside their own communities carry high enough costs in time and distance translated into money to make outside training highly problematic for most families.

In contrast, in the peri-urban zone, with many more available routes and a thick network of transport services, cost gradients appear to be flatter, and nearly any coastal destination can be reached for less than the R 10 needed to go to Durban. Pietermaritzburg cost an average of R 30 but was rarely visited, and only Johannesburg, at nearly R 150, was expensive. A much larger share of the population than in the rural areas can consider travelling if they will achieve objectives they identify as worthwhile.

Easier and more frequent outside travel in the peri-urban region has profound implications for the delivery and uptake of training. Information flow, costs, and accessibility of training options to women are all determined first by location and distance factors.

APPENDIX 7: HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Household income in all the sample areas was dominated by wage earning, but the critical difference between rural and peri-urban was located in how much of the income came from local - commutation - wages, as opposed to migrant remittances (Table 3.6). Migrant workers are generally believed to send home no more than 20 to 30 percent of their total pay, while commuters may bring home 50 to 60 percent or more. But at the same time, local work in rural areas is usually concentrated in low paying jobs and particularly in farm work, while in the areas close to the cities better paid jobs are more often available (Table 3.8). To some extent, population movement in the space economy of KwaZulu Natal can be seen as an effort by rural families to escape being trapped in the farm economy as much as to avoid unemployment.

In the rural strip, local earning was high at Nkandla where some town work was available, and remittances were proportionately low. All the other rural areas showed remittances ahead of local wages. Informal earning was reported highest at KwaZondi, where local wages were lowest in proportion. In the peri-urban strip, local wages were extremely high as a share of total income in the old mission communities, which have a tradition of economic self-reliance and where migrant remittances were very low. MaQadini showed a more typical peri-urban pattern with local wages more than double migrant remittances, and Studam Bridge reflected the rural pattern, with remittances leading at 40 percent and local earning trailing at 35 percent. Peri-urban informal earning was reported very high at Appelsbosch, where a number of commutation routes pass through the area and bring customers.

State transfers and pensions accounted for a relatively low reported share of household income and did not vary much between strips or between areas. However, informal earning and small business was reported at six percent in the rural strip and nearly ten percent in the peri-urban samples, and seems to represent an expanding share of total income. Other income sources were reported at three percent of total income for both rural and peri-urban strip samples.

In the rural sample areas, relative access to transport as a factor in income and employment was complicated by the inability of the more accessible areas to provide jobs to unemployed people arriving. Some of the more accessible areas in the rural strip seemed to have numbers of unemployed people looking for work, and reflected high levels of joblessness and relatively low average household incomes. Ndikwe with about R 650 per month and KwaZondi with roughly R 750 showed up as the poorest areas, far behind Silutshana, a more remote area with higher levels of migrant work and average income of about R 1050. Nkandla village as a local service centre also drew in unemployed people it was not able to employ, and reported average household income of R 900.

In the peri-urban strip, the more accessible areas also had better access to jobs and income (Table 3.5). MaQadini as the area with best and fastest transport to urban centres recorded the highest average income in the sample, at just over R 1300 per month. MaQadini has had high in-migration, but has a significantly better position in relation to job information than the rural centres, and levels of unemployment remained relatively low in spite of jobless people arriving. The old mission communities followed, with Montebelo recording just under R 1290, Appelsbosch an average income of about R 1140, and Ogunjini, the least accessible, an average of roughly R 1100. The poorest

peri-urban area, and the one with the highest out-migration, was Studam Bridge. This sample in the remote Mngeni Valley had an average household income of about R 890.

Figures for mean incomes conceal differences in the shape of the income distribution in the different sample communities. The largest share of reported household monthly incomes in both strip samples fell in the interval R 501-100, but poverty was more widespread and serious in the remote strip (Table 3.4). In the rural strip 41 percent of households had total cash incomes in the poverty bracket below R 500, against 26 percent in the peri-urban strip. At the high end of the income distribution the figures reversed. About 20 percent of the rural sample had incomes of R 1001 or more, compared to some 40 percent of the peri-urban strip. The peri-urban samples also showed about 12 percent of households with elite incomes of R 2001 or more, while the rural strip reflected only 4 percent in this category.

Elite rural incomes occurred only at Nkandla, which also had the widest income spread and the largest share of poverty level incomes as the disadvantaged arrived in search of advantages. In the peri-urban zone, Ogunjini had the greatest share of poverty in the R 1-500 bracket, ahead of Studam Bridge. Montebelo and Appelsbosch had the narrowest range of incomes and the least outright poverty, reflecting the combined advantages of mission communities with longstanding access to education and reasonable outside access. Partly resembling Nkandla, MaQadini as a community adjacent to the local service centre had a fairly large poverty sector together with the highest share of elite incomes (Table 3.2).

Employment & economic activity

Within the rural samples, formal employment was highest in the rural samples with the higher total incomes, and lowest at Nkandla village (Table 3.7). For the peri-urban samples, the highest total employment was at Appelsbosch at 42 percent, higher than MaQadini at 35 percent. However, the Appelsbosch workers included a significantly larger share of farmworkers with low-paid jobs than the MaQadini sample: MaQadini also had more factory workers and white-collar workers, and the only significant grouping of professional people (Table 3.8). In the rural sample, Silutshana had the largest share of factory workers at 24 percent, accounting for much of the community's relatively high average income. In the peri-urban sample, employment for Studam Bridge at 53 percent was more strongly dominated by farmworkers than in any of the rural samples, partly explaining the community's low overall income level.

Informal economic activity

Small business represents the local economy generating income and work, and is particularly strategic for the planning of training. However, informal economic activity is difficult to estimate from survey data, and usually requires extensive participant studies to collect accurate figures. Small business is regarded as very private, and people are still very afraid of official persecution if they are caught without formal permission to operate: one respondent earnestly denied that anyone in the household was involved in small business, at the same time that another household member was observed selling beers to the public from the next room.

Available figures for the study of 4-5 percent involvement (Table 3.9) appear very much undercounted in relation to the levels of informal activity reflected

in workshops and in-depth interviewing. This holds particularly for the peri-urban sample where such activity is intensive and general. Much the same is true for casual work at 3-5 percent (Table 3.10). Casual work is intermittent by its nature, and a direct question is often turned aside because doing casual work for neighbours is now associated in people's understanding with admitting to poverty and hardship.

On the limited available figures, retail selling of food is the first ranking activity, followed by small manufactures or petty commodity production, and then by retailing drinks, with informal curing, construction and others trailing. Workshop participants mentioned street trading, taxi services, operating creches and child care services, block making, and various kinds of repair work, as well as selling agricultural produce, used and new clothing, commodities from the natural resource base such as medicines and thatching grass, and a range of other products. In many or most areas, selling drinks is probably the leading form of home economic activity, and informal curing and the sale of natural medicines are extremely common. Construction work also appears to be expanding rapidly in many areas, and especially in the peri-urban region where money and skills are often found.

Although a large share of local retailing may involve resale of food and commodities bought in from the developed economy, a high proportion of the informal activity discussed in workshops revolved around different forms of local production or local services. These include sale of home brewed drinks, locally manufactured concrete blocks, locally grown vegetables and natural resources products, and services such as repair work, construction, transport, ploughing and agricultural work. All of these activities show a wide scope both for local economic development and for the contribution of training.

Casual work includes various kinds of domestic service, less skilled construction work such as digging house sites, and collecting and selling natural resources such as thatch or firewood when cash is short. These kinds of intermittent activity ordinarily need less skill and training than regular business activities, but training may offer ways to expand casual work along more sustainable and more entrepreneurial lines.

APPENDIX 8: THE PRODUCTION ECONOMY

Although stockraising is losing importance and cultivation has been declining in both rural and urban areas, the old land economy remains important to both rural and peri-urban families (Table A.8.1). It remains by far the most significant economic sector for rural non-formal training. Though the importance attached to microenterprise is growing, most families in both sample strips continued to see cultivation as more important than selling activity, though most peri-urban community samples and two of the rural ones also preferred to be able to do both at the same time. The exception was Appelsbosch, a very crowded area with a very strong microenterprise sector, and the only sample that prioritized selling over cultivation.

On the same lines, in choosing the best use to make of a substantial loan the rural sample population as a whole placed farming second, after investment in a new house and ahead of education and training (Table A.8.2). In the peri-urban samples, farming came third, after education and training. But in both strips, small business came lower down, in fifth place after personal improvement.

Household production has been stressed by drought, lack of land and rising costs. Fifteen percent of rural sample households and 19 percent of peri-urban households said they were not cultivating, and 14 and 16 percent respectively said they had no cultivable land at all. This still leaves a substantial cultivation economy.

Households in the rural sample strip were still likely to have more than one substantial maize field (Table A.8.3), but in the peri-urban zone nearly two thirds had no maize field at all. The peri-urban cultivation economy has compensated with more intensive use of smaller garden plots, and the peri-urban households were more likely to have either a small kitchen garden or a larger homestead garden than the rural families. Peri-urban cultivation land was also much more likely to be located next to the homestead, while many people had to walk to get to rural betterment fields (Table A.8.4). However, in spite of crowding, very few families reported that they were sharing land with another household (Table A.8.5).

Peri-urban households were more likely than rural households to estimate that they had the capacity to cultivate several more fields than they had at present (Table A.8.6): these estimates relate to peri-urban land pressure, and the smaller size of average peri-urban fields today. However, responses to a question about aspiring to acquire more land were negative in about three quarters of both rural and peri-urban cases (Table A.8.7).

A fairly wide range of crops is still grown in rural areas, but the peri-urban crop array is more extensive because of the movement away from staple maize and into higher-value vegetables (Table A.8.8). Outside of ten households growing commercial sugarcane at Montebelo, few families cultivated with plans to sell (Table A.8.9). Those that did sell came only from Montebelo and Appelsbosch in the peri-urban strip. However, these few families were drawing fairly substantial incomes from their sales, with Montebelo incomes ranging up to R 250 per month and Appelsbosch's two farm enterprises obtaining up to R 500 per month (Table A.8.10). Other families usually sold only when asked, and would have only incidental income from crop production.

APPENDIX 1: TABLES

Note: All column percentages are rounded, may not add to 100%.

TABLE 1: SECTORS IN WHICH TRAINING ORGANISATIONS OFFER TRAINING

	<i>STATE DEPARTMENTS</i>	<i>PARASTATAL ORGANISATIONS</i>	<i>SPECIALIST TRAINING INSTITUTIONS</i>	<i>PRODUCTION INDUSTRY BODIES</i>	<i>PRIVATE SECTOR</i>	<i>SERVICE ORGANISATIONS AND NGOS</i>	<i>OUTREACH PROGRAMME OF FORMAL INSTITUTION</i>	<i>COMMUNITY- BASED ORGANISATIONS</i>	<i>CHURCH ORGANISATIONS</i>
Crops/stock		X				X		X	X
Technical agricultural		X	X	X				X	X
Job skills		X	X	X	X				
Money skills		X			X	X	X		
Business skills		X			X				
Institutional development		X			X	X	X	X	X
Development training			X			X	X	X	
Administration skills		X			X		X		
Health	X					X			
Education					X				

N = 850

Source: Cross and Clark (1992)

CHAPTER 3: PEOPLE IN THE SPACE ECONOMY

TABLE 3.1: FUNCTIONAL LITERACY LEVELS OF YOUNGER ADULTS (18 - 35 YEARS)

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>		<i>NKANDLA STRIP</i>		<i>1000 H STRIP</i>							
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>						
Functionally literate	364	64	166	64	198	64						
Functionally illiterate	209	36	95	36	114	36						
TOTAL	573	100	261	100	312	100						
	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE</i>		<i>NDIKWE</i>		<i>KWA -ZONDI</i>		<i>SILUT -SHANA</i>		<i>NGWE -BINI</i>		<i>NKANDLA STRIP</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Functionally literate	30	68	29	51	38	75	37	63	32	64	166	64
Functionally illiterate	14	32	28	49	13	25	22	37	18	36	95	36
TOTAL	44	100	57	100	51	100	59	100	50	100	261	100
	<i>MAQADINI</i>		<i>STUDAM BRIDGE</i>		<i>OGUNJINI MISSION</i>		<i>MONTE- BELO</i>		<i>APPELS -BOSCH</i>		<i>1000 H STRIP</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Functionally literate	42	70	32	52	46	75	42	71	36	64	198	64
Functionally illiterate	18	30	29	48	30	25	17	29	20	36	114	36
TOTAL	60	100	61	100	76	100	59	100	56	100	312	100

TABLE 3.2: FUNCTIONAL LITERACY LEVELS OF OLDER ADULTS (36 + YEARS)

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	204	43	109	44	95	42
Functionally illiterate	271	57	141	56	130	58
TOTAL	475	100	250	100	225	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	17	36	28	57	19	40	21	40	24	45	109	44
Functionally illiterate	30	64	21	43	29	60	32	60	29	55	141	56
TOTAL	47	100	49	100	48	100	53	100	53	100	250	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	14	30	30	61	26	54	17	31	8	30	95	42
Functionally illiterate	33	70	19	39	22	46	37	69	19	70	130	58
TOTAL	47	100	49	100	48	100	54	100	27	100	225	100

TABLE 3.3: POST-SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF ADULTS (18+ YEARS PLUS)

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	994	95	489	96	505	94
Skills certificate	38	4	14	3	24	4
Teaching/nursing diploma	13	1	6	1	7	1
University degree	1	<1	1	<1	0	-
Technical diploma	1	<1	1	<1	0	-
Other diploma	1	<1	0	-	1	<1
TOTAL	1048	100	511	100	537	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	87	96	104	98	94	94	108	96	96	93	489	96
Skills certificate	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	14	3
Teaching/nursing diploma	1	1	0	-	2	2	1	1	2	2	6	1
University degree	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1	0	-	1	<1
Technical diploma	0	-	0	-	1	1	0	-	0	-	1	<1
TOTAL	91	100	106	100	99	100	112	100	103	100	511	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	91	85	105	95	120	97	108	96	81	98	505	94
Skills certificate	11	10	5	5	2	2	5	4	1	1	24	4
Teaching/nursing diploma	5	5	0	-	1	1	0	-	1	1	7	1
Other diploma	0	-	0	-	1	1	0	-	0	-	1	<1
TOTAL	107	100	110	100	124	100	113	100	83	100	537	100

TABLE 3.4: TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME: ALL SOURCES

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
R 0	2	1	1	1	1	1
R 1 - R 100	4	1	1	1	3	2
R 101 - R 500	93	31	59	39	34	23
R 501 - R 1000	111	37	58	39	53	36
R 1001 - R 1500	47	16	19	13	28	19
R 1501 - R 2000	20	7	7	5	13	9
R 2001 - R 3000	13	4	3	2	10	7
R 3001 - R 4000	5	2	1	1	4	3
R 4001 +	4	1	1	1	3	2
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
R 0	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R 1 - R 100	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R 101 - R 500	14	47	13	43	11	37	11	36	10	34	59	39
R 501 - R 1000	10	33	11	36	12	41	11	36	14	47	58	39
R 1001 - R 1500	4	13	3	10	5	16	3	9	4	13	19	13
R 1501 - R 2000	0	-	1	3	1	3	4	14	1	3	7	5
R 2001 - R 3000	1	3	0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3	3	2
R 3001 - R 4000	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
R 4001 +	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
R 0	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R 1 - R 100	1	4	1	3	0	-	0	-	1	3	3	2
R 101 - R 500	8	29	9	31	10	34	3	9	4	13	34	23
R 501 - R 1000	8	30	11	36	7	22	11	39	16	54	53	36
R 1001 - R 1500	4	15	7	22	6	19	8	26	3	10	28	19
R 1501 - R 2000	2	8	2	6	3	9	3	10	3	9	13	9
R 2001 - R 3000	2	7	0	-	3	10	3	10	2	6	10	7
R 3001 - R 4000	1	4	0	-	1	3	1	3	1	3	4	3
R 4001 +	2	8	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	3	2
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE 3.7: VOCATIONAL STATUS OF ADULTS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Formal employment	330	32	156	31	174	34
Formal self-employment	9	1	7	1	2	<1
Informal sector	35	4	14	3	21	4
Employed formal and informal	2	<1	1	<1	1	<1
Casual work	42	4	15	3	27	5
Housewife	168	17	103	20	65	13
Retired	98	10	48	9	50	10
Scholar	54	5	30	6	24	5
Unemployed - seeking	229	23	98	19	131	25
Not economically active	53	5	31	6	22	4
TOTAL	1020	100	503	100	517	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Formal employment	20	23	32	31	31	31	38	35	35	35	156	31
Formal self-employment	3	3	0	-	3	3	0	-	1	1	7	1
Informal sector	4	5	4	4	2	2	1	1	3	3	14	3
Employed formal and informal	0	<1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1	1
Casual work	5	6	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	15	3
Housewife	22	25	18	17	19	19	25	23	19	19	103	20
Retired	6	7	9	8	12	12	10	9	11	11	48	9
Scholar	5	6	5	5	6	6	11	10	3	3	30	6
Unemployed - seeking	18	20	25	24	18	18	16	15	21	21	98	19
Not economically active	6	7	8	8	7	7	7	6	3	3	31	6
TOTAL	89	100	104	100	100	100	110	100	100	100	503	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Formal employment	36	35	28	26	40	34	36	33	34	42	174	34
Formal self-employment	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	3	2	<1
Informal sector	4	4	1	1	5	4	3	3	8	10	21	4
Employed formal and informal	0	<1	-	0	-	0	-	1	1	0	-	1
Casual work	4	4	9	8	6	5	7	6	1	1	27	5
Housewife	7	7	17	16	11	9	17	16	13	16	65	13
Retired	9	9	13	12	10	9	17	16	1	1	50	10
Scholar	10	10	2	2	5	4	4	4	3	4	24	5
Unemployed - seeking	25	25	31	29	34	29	23	21	18	22	131	25
Not economically active	7	7	6	6	7	6	1	1	1	1	22	4
TOTAL	102	100	107	100	118	100	109	100	81	100	517	100

TABLE 3.8 (continued): FORMAL OCCUPATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS OF WORKING AGE

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farm labourer	8	21	17	53	12	28	10	25	10	30	57	31
Domestic	6	16	5	16	8	19	8	20	6	18	33	18
Factory worker	8	21	6	19	3	7	8	20	5	15	30	16
Driver	0	-	2	6	4	9	4	10	4	12	14	8
Security	0	-	1	3	3	7	5	13	2	6	11	6
Artisan	3	8	0	-	5	12	1	3	1	3	10	5
Shop assistant	2	5	0	-	3	7	0	-	4	12	9	5
Professional	6	16	0	-	1	2	1	3	1	3	9	5
Gardener	1	3	0	-	3	7	1	3	0	-	5	3
Hotel worker	2	5	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	3	2
Clerical	1	3	0	-	1	2	1	3	0	-	3	2
Civil servant	1	3	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	1
TOTAL	38 100		32 100		43 100		40 100		33 100		186 100	
No formal job as % of total adults	64		62		69		64		62		60	

TABLE 3.9: INFORMAL SECTOR ACTIVITIES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Multiple frequency - % of responses

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Retail - food	43		46		39	
Craft/home industry	29		39		22	
Retail - drink	26		16		33	
Informal medicine	3		-		6	
Landlord	3		8		-	
Construction	3		-		6	
Other	3		8		-	
N	31		13		18	
	NKANDLA VILLAGE	NDIKWE	KWA -ZONDI	SILUT -SHANA	NGWE -BINI	NKANDLA STRIP
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Retail - food	33	66	50	100	-	46
Craft/home industry	33	-	50	100	50	39
Retail - drink	-	33	25	-	-	16
Landlord	-	-	-	-	50	8
Other	33	-	-	-	-	8
N	3	3	4	1	2	13
	MAQADINI	STUDAM BRIDGE	OGUNJINI MISSION	MONTE- BELO	APPELS -BOSCH	1000 H STRIP
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Retail - food	-	-	34	-	63	39
Retail - drink	-	-	17	50	50	33
Craft/home industry	50	-	50	-	-	22
Informal medicine	-	-	-	50	-	6
Construction	50	-	-	-	-	6
N	2	0	6	2	8	18

TABLE 3.10: CASUAL LABOUR UNDERTAKEN BY HOUSEHOLDS
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	TOTAL SAMPLE %	NKANDLA STRIP %	1000 H STRIP %
Construction work	43	42	44
Selling thatch	36	47	11
Domestic work	21	11	44
Medicinal plant selling	14	16	11
Minding children	11	16	-
Fetching firewood	7	5	11
Cultivation	7	11	-
Selling firewood	4	-	11
N	28	19	9
Not doing casual work (as % of adults)	97	96	98

	NKANDLA VILLAGE %	NDIKWE %	KWA -ZONDI %	SILUT -SHANA %	NGWE -BINI %	NKANDLA STRIP %
Selling thatch	-	67	67	75	67	47
Construction work	50	-	-	100	33	42
Minding children	-	33	-	-	67	16
Medicinal plant selling	-	-	100	-	-	16
Cultivation	-	33	-	25	-	11
Domestic work	50	33	-	-	-	11
Fetching firewood	-	33	-	-	-	5
N	6	3	3	4	3	19
Not doing casual work (as % of adults)	93	93	97	97	96	97

	MAQADINI %	STUDAM BRIDGE %	OGUNJINI MISSION %	MONTE- BELO %	APPEL- BOSCH %	1000 H STRIP %
Construction work	100	67	50	-	-	44
Domestic work	-	-	-	50	100	22
Fetching firewood	-	33	-	-	-	11
Selling firewood	-	-	50	-	-	11
Medicinal plant selling	-	-	-	50	-	11
Selling thatch	-	-	-	50	-	11
TOTAL	1	3	2	2	1	9
Not doing casual work (as % of adults)	99	99	97	98	98	99

CHAPTER 4: TRAINING DELIVERY FROM GROUND LEVEL

TABLE 4.1: FREQUENCY OF MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD UNDERGOING TRAINING: TRAINEES ONLY

	TOTAL SAMPLE N	NKANDLA STRIP N	1000 HILLS STRIP N
Self	26	15	11
Other	13	2	11
TOTAL	39	17	22
As % of total household sample	13	6	7
As % of total individuals	2.21	.96	1.24

	NKANDLA VILLAGE N	NDIKWE N	KWA -ZONDI N	SILUT -SHANA N	NGWE -BINI N	NKANDLA STRIP N
Self	2	8	5	0	0	15
Other	1	0	0	1	0	2
TOTAL	3	8	5	1	0	17
As % of total household sample	6	1	3	2	<1	-
As % of h/holds in sample strip	11	1	5	3	1	-
As % of total individuals	.17	.45	.28	.06	-	.96
As % of individuals in survey area	1.87	4.62	2.89	.51	-	-
As % of individuals in sample strip	1.90	.33	.89	.56	.11	-

	MAQADINI N	STUDAM BRIDGE N	OGUNJINI MISSION N	MONTE- BELO N	APPELS -BOSCH N	1000 H STRIP N
Self	3	1	0	7	1	12
Other	4	0	2	3	1	10
TOTAL	7	1	2	10	2	22
As % of total household sample	7	2	1	1	3	1
As % of h/holds in sample strip	15	5	1	1	7	1
As % of total individuals	.39	.06	.11	.56	.11	1.24
As % of individuals in survey area	4.06	4.06	.58	1.03	5.37	1.35
As % of individuals in sample strip	2.52	.80	.11	.22	1.14	.11

TABLE 4.2: SKILLS IN WHICH TRAINEES RECEIVED INSTRUCTION: TRAINEES ONLY
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	TOTAL SAMPLE %	NKANDLA STRIP %	1000 HILLS STRIP %
Crop production	59	88	36
Small crafts production	49	35	59
Livestock husbandry	21	47	-
Construction	18	-	32
Technical agricultural	15	17	14
Job skills	3	6	-
Institutional development	3	6	-
Health	3	-	5
Personal improvement	3	-	5
N	39	17	22

	NKANDLA VILLAGE %	NDIKWE %	KWA -ZONDI %	SILUT -SHANA %	NGWE -BINI %	NKANDLA STRIP %
Crop production	-	100	100	-	-	88
Livestock husbandry	-	38	100	-	-	47
Small crafts	100	-	20	100	-	35
Technical agricultural	-	25	20	-	-	17
Job skills	33	-	-	-	-	6
Institution development	-	13	-	-	-	6
N	3	8	5	1	0	17

	MAQADINI %	STUDAM BRIDGE %	OGUNJINI MISSION %	MONTE- BELO %	APPELS -BOSCH %	1000 H STRIP %
Small crafts	14	-	50	100	50	59
Crop production	14	-	-	70	-	36
Construction	57	100	-	-	50	32
Technical agricultural	-	-	-	30	-	14
Health	14	-	-	-	-	5
Personal improvement	-	-	50	-	-	5
N	7	1	2	10	2	22

TABLE 4.3 DURATION OF TRAINING: TRAINEES ONLY

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
< 2 weeks	3	8	2	12	1	5
2 weeks - 4 weeks	9	23	3	18	6	27
5 - 8 weeks	7	18	2	12	5	23
9 - 13 weeks	7	18	3	18	4	18
14 - 26 weeks	3	8	1	6	2	9
27 - 52 weeks	7	18	6	35	1	5
53 - 104 weeks	3	8	0	-	3	14
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
< 2 weeks	0	-	2	25	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	12
2 weeks - 4 weeks	0	-	1	13	1	20	1	100	0	-	3	18
5 - 8 weeks	0	-	2	25	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	12
9 - 13 weeks	3	100	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	18
14 - 26 weeks	0	-	1	13	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
27 - 52 weeks	0	-	2	25	4	80	0	-	0	-	6	35
53 - 104 weeks	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
< 2 weeks	0	-	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	5
2 weeks - 4 weeks	2	33	0	-	0	-	3	30	1	50	6	27
5 - 8 weeks	1	17	0	-	0	-	3	30	1	50	5	23
9 - 13 weeks	1	17	2	100	0	-	1	10	0	-	4	18
14 - 26 weeks	2	34	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	9
27 - 52 weeks	0	-	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	5
53 - 104 weeks	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	30	0	-	3	14
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.5: TRAINING ORGANISATIONS NAMED BY RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE RECEIVED TRAINING

Multiple frequency: percentage of responses

	TOTAL SAMPLE %	NKANDLA STRIP %	1000 HILLS STRIP %
Parastatal -local	36	41	32
CBOs	33	47	32
Parastatal - not local	31	41	23
State -local	23	35	14
NGOs - local	21	-	36
NGOs - not local	8	-	14
State - not local	3	-	5
Training institution	3	-	5
Don't know	13	29	-
N	39	17	22

	NKANDLA VILLAGE %	NDIKWE %	KWA -ZONDI %	SILUT -SHANA %	NGWE -BINI %	NKANDLA STRIP %
CBOs	100	25	40	100	-	47
Parastatal -local	100	38	20	-	-	41
Parastatal - not local	100	25	40	-	-	41
State -local	100	25	-	100	-	35
Don't know	-	38	40	-	-	29
N	3	8	5	1	0	17

	MAQADINI BRIDGE %	STUDAM MISSION %	OGUNJINI %	MONTE- BELO %	APPELS -BOSCH %	1000 H STRIP %
NGOs - local	86	100	-	-	-	36
Parastatal -local	-	-	50	50	50	32
CBOs	-	100	-	50	-	32
Parastatal - not local	14	100	50	20	-	23
NGOs - not local	14	-	-	10	50	14
State -local	14	-	-	20	-	14
State - not local	-	-	50	-	-	5
Training institution	14	-	-	-	-	5
N	7	1	2	10	2	22

**TABLE 4.6: TRAINEES' ASSESSMENT OF TRAINING: IMPROVEMENT AFTER TRAINING
(TRAINEES ONLY)**

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, clear improvement	28	72	14	82	14	63
Probably some improvement	8	21	3	18	5	23
Not much improvement	3	8	0	-	3	14
No improvement	0	-	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, clear improvement	3	100	6	75	5	100	0	-	0	-	14	82
Probably some improvement	0	-	2	25	0	-	1	100	0	-	3	18
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, clear improvement	6	100	1	50	2	100	4	40	1	50	14	63
Probably some improvement	0	-	1	50	0	-	4	40	0	-	5	23
Not much improvement	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	20	1	50	3	14
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.7: TRAINEES' ASSESSMENT OF TRAINING: INDEPENDENCE FROM ASSISTANCE AFTER TRAINING (TRAINEES ONLY)

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	17	44	10	58	7	32
Yes, usually	7	18	3	18	4	18
Maybe sometimes	6	15	1	6	5	23
Not very often	7	18	3	18	4	18
No, help was needed	2	5	0	-	2	9
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	2	66	3	37	5	100	0	-	0	-	10	58
Yes, usually	1	34	2	25	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	18
Maybe sometimes	0	-	1	13	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
Not very often	0	-	2	25	0	-	1	100	0	-	3	18
No, help was needed	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	3	50	1	50	0	-	3	30	0	-	7	32
Yes, usually	2	33	1	50	0	-	1	10	0	-	4	18
Maybe sometimes	0	-	0	-	1	50	3	30	1	50	5	23
Not very often	0	-	0	-	1	50	2	20	1	50	4	18
No, help was needed	1	17	0	-	0	-	1	10	0	-	2	9
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.8: TRAINEES' ASSESSMENT OF TRAINING: ABILITY TO OBTAIN NECESSITIES TO PERFORM SKILL (TRAINEES ONLY)

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	17	44	11	65	6	27
Sometimes	6	15	3	18	3	14
Not really	16	41	3	18	13	59
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	3	100	3	38	4	80	1	100	0	-	11	65
Sometimes	0	-	2	25	1	20	0	-	0	-	3	18
Not really	0	-	3	38	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	18
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, always	3	50	0	-	1	50	2	20	0	-	6	27
Sometimes	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	30	0	-	3	14
Not really	3	50	2	100	1	50	5	50	2	100	13	59
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.9: FORMS OF TRAINING RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know what is available	208	70	128	85	80	54
Small crafts production	26	9	9	6	17	11
Crop production	22	7	7	5	15	10
Construction	16	5	1	1	15	10
Personal development	8	3	2	1	6	4
Small business management	8	3	0	-	8	5
Technical agricultural	4	1	2	1	2	1
Job skills	3	1	0	-	3	2
Institutional development	1	<1	1	1	0	-
Health	1	<1	0	-	1	1
Literacy	1	<1	0	-	1	1
Pass on skills	1	<1	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know what is available	22	85	73	23	77	25	86	28	90	30	100	128
Small crafts production	6	20	1	3	1	3	1	3	0	-	9	6
Crop production	2	7	3	10	2	7	0	-	0	-	7	5
Technical agricultural	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	3	0	-	2	1
Personal improvement	0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3	0	-	2	1
Institutional development	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Construction	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know what is available	11	54	39	14	45	22	71	14	45	19	61	80
Small crafts production	4	14	2	7	2	7	5	17	4	13	17	11
Crop production	1	4	3	10	1	3	8	27	2	7	15	10
Construction	7	25	4	13	0	-	1	3	3	10	15	10
Small business management	2	7	2	7	2	7	0	-	2	7	8	5
Personal improvement	2	7	3	10	1	3	0	-	0	-	6	4
Job skills	0	-	1	3	2	7	0	-	0	-	3	2
Technical agricultural	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	7	2	1
Health	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Literacy	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Pass on skills	1	4	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE 4.10: SPATIAL LOCATION OF TRAINING RECEIVED: PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN TRAINED ONLY

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
In community	33	85	16	94	17	77
Outside community	8	15	1	6	5	23
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
In community	3	100	8	100	4	80	1	100	0	-	16	94
Outside community	0	-	0	-	1	20	0	-	0	-	1	6
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
In community	7	100	1	100	0	-	10	100	0	-	18	82
Outside community	0	-	0	-	2	100	0	-	2	100	4	18
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.11: WHERE TRAINING IS AVAILABLE

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	187	64	116	78	71	50
Available locally	62	21	30	20	32	23
Other - rural area	12	4	2	1	10	7
Other - city	29	10	1	1	28	20
TOTAL	290	100	149	100	141	100
Missing cases	9		1		8	

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	21	70	19	63	18	62	29	94	29	100	116	78
Available locally	8	27	11	37	10	34	1	3	0	-	30	20
Other - rural area	1	3	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	2	1
Other - city	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	29	100	149	100
Missing cases									1		1	

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	11	41	13	46	18	67	7	23	22	76	71	50
Available locally	5	19	2	7	1	4	22	73	2	7	32	23
Other - rural area	3	11	7	25	0	-	0	-	0	-	10	7
Other - city	8	30	6	21	8	30	1	3	5	17	28	20
TOTAL	27	100	28	100	27	100	30	100	29	100	141	100
Missing cases	1		3		3				1		8	

TABLE 4.12: PERCEIVED TRAVEL TIME TO TRAINING CENTRES IN MINUTES

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	262	88	147	98	115	77
Less than 10 minutes	18	6	2	1	16	11
10 - 14 minutes	3	1	0	-	3	2
15 - 29 minutes	6	2	0	-	6	4
30 - 44 minutes	8	3	1	1	7	5
45 - 60 minutes	2	1	0	-	2	1
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	29	97	30	100	28	97	30	97	30	100	147	98
Less than 10 minutes	0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3	0	-	2	1
30 - 44 minutes	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	16	57	20	65	26	87	28	93	25	83	115	77
Less than 10 minutes	4	14	8	26	2	7	0	-	2	7	16	11
10 - 14 minutes	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	3	1	3	3	2
15 - 29 minutes	5	18	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	6	4
30 - 44 minutes	3	11	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	7	5
45 - 60 minutes	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	1	3	2	1
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE 4.13: PERCEIVED COSTS OF ONE ROUND TRIP TO A TRAINING CENTRE

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	257	86	148	99	109	73
No cost	1	<1	0	-	1	1
R 5.00 or less	24	8	0	-	24	16
R 6.00 - R 20.00	14	5	2	1	12	8
R 21.00 - R 50.00	2	1	0	-	2	1
R 51.00 +	1	<1	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	30	100	30	100	28	97	30	97	30	100	148	99
R 6.00 - R 20.00	0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3	0	-	2	1
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	15	54	18	58	22	73	29	97	25	83	109	73
No cost	1	4	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R 5.00 or less	10	36	9	29	2	7	1	3	2	7	24	16
R 6.00 - R 20.00	2	7	4	13	4	13	0	-	2	7	12	8
R 21.00 - R 50.00	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	3	2	1
R 51.00 +	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE 4.14: REASONS FOR FAILURE TO GET ACCESS TO TRAINING: UNSUCCESSFUL APPLICANTS ONLY

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Training expensive	10	33	3	27	7	37
Too far away	6	20	2	18	4	21
Didn't finish course	3	10	1	9	2	11
Course was full	2	7	1	9	1	5
Didn't know where	2	7	1	9	1	5
Not available	2	7	1	9	1	5
Transport expensive	2	7	0	-	2	11
Too busy to train	1	3	0	-	1	5
No reason given	2	7	2	18	0	-
TOTAL	30	100	11	100	19	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Training expensive	2	100	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	3	27
Too far away	0	-	1	50	0	-	1	25	0	-	2	18
Didn't know where	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25	0	-	1	9
Not available	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25	0	-	1	9
Didn't finish course	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	9
Course was full	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	100	1	9
No reason given	0	-	0	-	1	50	1	25	0	-	2	18
TOTAL	2	100	2	100	2	100	4	100	1	100	11	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Training expensive	4	67	1	50	1	33	1	25	0	-	7	37
Too far away	0	-	0	-	1	33	1	25	2	50	4	21
Transport expensive	1	17	0	-	1	33	0	-	0	-	2	11
Didn't finish course	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	25	2	11
Didn't know where	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25	1	5
Not available	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25	0	-	1	5
Course was full	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25	0	-	1	5
Too busy to train	1	17	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	3	100	4	100	4	100	19	100

**TABLE 4.15: SPATIAL REASONS FOR FAILURE TO GET ACCESS TO TRAINING:
UNSUCCESSFUL APPLICANTS ONLY**

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spatial factors	23	76	7	64	16	84
Non-spatial factors	5	17	2	18	3	16
No reason given	2	7	2	18	0	-
TOTAL	30	100	11	100	19	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spatial factors	2	100	1	50	1	50	3	75	0	-	7	64
Non-spatial factors	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	100	2	18
No reason given	0	-	0	-	1	50	1	25	0	-	2	18
TOTAL	2	100	2	100	2	100	4	100	1	100	11	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spatial factors	6	100	1	50	3	100	3	75	3	75	16	84
Non-spatial factors	0	-	1	50	0	-	1	25	1	25	3	16
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	3	100	4	100	4	100	19	100

**TABLE 4.16: FINANCIAL REASONS FOR FAILURE TO GET ACCESS TO TRAINING:
UNSUCCESSFUL APPLICANTS ONLY**

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Financial	19	63	5	45	14	74
Non-financial	9	31	4	36	5	26
No reason given	2	7	2	18	0	-
TOTAL	30	100	11	100	19	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Financial	2	100	1	50	1	50	1	25	0	-	5	45
Non-financial	0	-	1	50	0	-	2	50	1	100	4	36
No reason given	0	-	0	-	1	50	1	25	0	-	2	18
TOTAL	2	100	2	100	2	100	4	100	1	100	11	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Financial	6	100	1	50	3	100	3	75	2	50	14	74
Non-financial	0	-	1	50	0	-	1	25	2	50	5	26
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	3	100	4	100	4	100	19	100

TABLE 4.17: REASONS WHY TRAINING WAS EASY/HARD TO ACCESS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No reason	18	45	11	65	7	31
Shortage of money	2	5	0	-	2	9
Busy during course	1	3	0	-	1	5
Course was free	3	8	0	-	3	14
Venue was nearby	10	25	5	29	5	23
Course was not full	3	8	1	6	2	9
Good facilities	1	3	0	-	1	5
Difficult course	1	3	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No reason	1	33	5	63	5	100	0	-	0	-	11	65
Venue was nearby	2	66	2	25	0	-	1	100	0	-	5	29
Course was not full	0	-	1	13	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No reason	1	14	0	-	2	100	3	30	1	50	7	31
Shortage of money	2	29	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	9
Busy during course	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	10	0	-	1	5
Course was free	3	43	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	14
Venue was nearby	1	14	0	-	0	-	4	40	0	-	5	23
Course was not full	0	-	1	100	0	-	1	10	0	-	2	9
Good facilities	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	10	0	-	1	5
Difficult course	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	50	1	5
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.18: PAYMENT REQUIRED FOR TRAINING

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	16	41	5	29	11	50
No	23	59	12	71	11	50
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	3	100	0	-	1	20	1	100	0	-	5	29
No	0	-	8	100	4	80	0	-	0	-	12	71
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	3	43	0	-	2	100	5	50	1	50	11	50
No	4	57	1	100	0	-	5	50	1	50	11	50
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.19: COST OF TRAINING REPORTED: TRAINEES ONLY

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	23	59	12	71	11	50
R001-R050	6	16	0	-	6	27
R051-R100	2	5	0	-	2	9
R101-R150	2	5	2	12	0	-
R151-R200	0	-	0	-	0	-
R201-R250	1	3	0	-	1	5
R251-R300	3	8	2	12	1	5
R301 +	2	5	1	6	1	5
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	0	-	8	100	4	80	0	-	0	-	12	71
R101-R150	0	-	0	-	1	20	1	100	0	-	2	12
R251-R300	2	67	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	12
R301 +	1	33	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	4	50	1	50	0	-	5	50	1	50	11	50
R001-R050	1	17	0	-	0	-	5	50	0	-	6	27
R051-R100	2	33	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	9
R201-R250	0	-	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	5
R251-R300	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	50	1	5
R301 +	0	-	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

TABLE 4.20: ROLE OF OPPORTUNITY COSTS IN EASE OF ACCESS TO TRAINING

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 HILLS STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Opportunity costs not a problem	17	44	6	35	11	51
Opportunity costs were a problem	4	11	0	-	4	19
No reason given	18	45	11	65	7	31
TOTAL	39	100	17	100	22	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Opport costs not a problem	2	35	66	3	38	0	-	1	100	0	-	6
No reason given	1	33	5	63	5	100	0	-	0	-	11	65
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Opport costs a problem	2	29	0	-	0	-	1	10	1	50	4	19
Opport costs not a problem	4	31	57	1	100	0	-	6	60	0	-	7
No reason given	1	14	0	-	2	100	3	30	1	50	7	31
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	10	100	2	100	22	100

CHAPTER 5: WHO TAKES UP TRAINING?

TABLE 5.1: COMPARISON BETWEEN AGE PROFILE OF SETTLEMENT AND TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE ALL TRAINED		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRAINED		1000 H STRIP ALL TRAINED	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
00-14 Years	34	-	36	-	33	-
15-19 Years	11	3	11	-	11	5
20-24 Years	12	3	12	-	12	5
25-29 Years	9	16	9	6	9	24
30-34 Years	7	18	5	18	8	19
35-39 Years	6	13	5	12	6	14
40-44 Years	4	13	5	24	3	5
45-49 Years	5	11	5	12	5	10
50-54 Years	4	5	5	6	3	5
55-59 Years	5	13	5	18	5	10
60-64 Years	3	-	2	-	3	-
65-69 Years	2	5	2	6	2	5
70+ Years	<1	-	<1	-	<1	-
N	1763	38	892	17	871	21
Missing cases		1				1

	NKANDLA VILLAGE ALL TRA		NDIKWE ALL TRA		KWA -ZONDI ALL TRA		SILUT -SHANA ALL TRA		NGWE -BINI ALL TRA		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
00-14 Years	38	-	33	-	33	-	37	-	37	-	36	-
15-19 Years	12	-	11	-	9	-	10	-	13	-	11	-
20-24 Years	11	-	13	-	14	-	14	-	6	-	12	-
25-29 Years	5	33	9	-	10	-	8	-	8	-	9	6
30-34 Years	5	33	5	13	5	20	4	-	7	-	5	18
35-39 Years	5	-	6	25	1	-	6	-	7	-	5	12
40-44 Years	4	33	5	13	4	40	5	-	6	-	5	24
45-49 Years	7	-	4	13	6	20	5	-	5	-	5	12
50-54 Years	6	-	6	13	6	-	2	-	3	-	5	6
55-59 Years	5	-	6	25	4	-	6	100	3	-	5	18
60-64 Years	3	-	2	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	2	-
65-69 Years	1	-	1	-	2	20	3	-	4	-	2	6
70 + Years	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	<1	-
N	160	3	173	8	173	5	196	1	190	0	892	17

TABLE 5.1 (continued): COMPARISON BETWEEN AGE PROFILE OF SETTLEMENT AND TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
00-14 Years	33	-	30	-	32	-	31	-	41	-	33	-
15-19 Years	11	-	11	-	10	-	12	11	7	-	11	5
20-24 Years	13	14	11	-	14	-	10	-	11	-	12	5
25-29 Years	11	14	14	100	8	-	10	22	10	-	9	24
30-34 Years	5	14	6	-	11	-	7	22	12	50	8	19
35-39 Years	7	29	8	-	4	-	6	-	7	50	6	14
40-44 Years	2	-	2	-	5	50	3	-	4	-	3	5
45-49 Years	6	-	5	-	5	50	4	11	5	-	5	10
50-54 Years	6	14	4	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	3	5
55-59 Years	3	-	5	-	5	-	8	22	3	-	5	10
60-64 Years	2	-	4	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	3	-
65-69 Years	2	14	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	5
70 + Years	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	<1	-
N	172	7	172	1	193	2	186	9	148	2	871	21
Missing cases								1				1

TABLE 5.2: COMPARISON BETWEEN GENDER PROFILE OF SETTLEMENT AND TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE ALL TRAINED		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRAINED		1000 H STRIP ALL TRAINED	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	49	37	50	18	48	52
Female	51	63	50	82	52	48
N	1763	38	892	17	871	21
Missing cases		1				1

	NKANDLA VILLAGE ALL TRA		NDIKWE ALL TRA		KWA -ZONDI ALL TRA		SILUT -SHANA ALL TRA		NGWE -BINI ALL TRA		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Male	46	33	50	13	50	-	53	100	51	-	50	18
Female	54	67	50	87	50	100	47	-	49	-	50	82
N	160	3	173	8	173	5	196	1	190	0	892	17

	MAQADINI ALL TRA		STUDAM BRIDGE ALL TRA		OGUNJINI MISSION ALL TRA		MONTE-BELO ALL TRA		APPELS -BOSCH ALL TRA		1000 H STRIP ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Male	47	71	53	100	44	100	49	22	51	50	48	52
Female	53	29	47	-	56	-	51	78	49	50	52	48
N	172	7	172	1	193	2	186	9	148	2	871	21
Missing cases								1				1

TABLE 5.3: HOUSEHOLD STATUS OF TRAINED INDIVIDUAL

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spouse of head	14	37	9	53	5	24
Male head	11	29	3	18	8	38
Child of head	6	16	1	6	5	24
Female head	4	11	4	24	0	-
Daughter-in-law of head	1	3	0	-	1	5
Brother of head	1	3	0	-	1	5
Grandchild of head	1	3	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	38	100	17	100	21	100
Missing cases	1				1	

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spouse of head	1	33	4	50	4	80	0	-	0	-	9	53
Female head	0	-	3	38	1	20	0	-	0	-	4	24
Male head	1	33	1	13	0	-	1	100	0	-	3	18
Child of head	1	33	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male head	4	57	0	-	2	100	1	11	1	50	8	38
Spouse of head	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	44	1	50	5	24
Child of head	2	29	1	100	0	-	2	22	0	-	5	24
Daughter-in-law of head	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	11	0	-	1	5
Brother of head	1	14	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	5
Grandchild of head	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	11	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	9	100	2	100	21	100
Missing cases							1				1	

TABLE 5.4: COMPARISON BETWEEN VOCATIONAL STATUS OF ADULTS IN SETTLEMENT AND TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	ALL TRAINED		ALL TRAINED		ALL TRAINED	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Formal employment	32	26	31	18	34	33
Formal self-employment	1	5	1	12	<1	-
Informal sector	4	5	3	-	4	10
Employed formal and informal	<1	-	1	-	<1	-
Casual work	4	5	3	-	5	10
Housewife	17	34	29	47	13	24
Retired	10	11	9	18	10	5
Scholar	5	-	6	-	5	-
Unemployed - seeking	23	13	19	6	25	19
Not economically active	5	-	6	-	4	-
N	1020	38	503	17	517	21
Missing cases		1				1

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Formal employment	23	33	31	25	31	-	35	-	35	-	31	18
Formal self-employment	3	33	-	-	3	20	-	-	1	-	1	12
Informal sector	5	-	4	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	3	-
Employed formal and informal-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	<1
Casual work	6	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	3	-
Housewife	25	33	17	50	19	60	23	-	19	-	20	47
Retired	7	-	8	13	12	20	9	100	11	-	9	18
Scholar	6	-	5	-	6	-	10	-	3	-	6	-
Unemployed - seeking	20	-	24	13	18	-	15	-	21	-	19	6
Not economically active	7	-	8	-	7	-	6	-	3	-	6	-
N	89	3	104	8	100	5	110	1	100	0	503	17

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA		ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Formal employment	35	57	26	-	34	50	33	11	42	50	34	33
Formal self-employment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	<1	-
Informal sector	4	14	1	-	4	-	3	-	10	50	4	10
Employed formal and informal-			-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	<1
Casual work	4	14	8	-	5	-	6	11	1	-	5	10
Housewife	7	-	16	-	9	-	16	55	16	-	13	24
Retired	9	14	12	-	9	-	16	-	1	-	10	5
Scholar	10	-	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	5	-

Unemployed - seeking	25	-	29	100	29	50	21	22	22	-	25	19
Not economically active	7	-	6	-	6	-	1	-	1	-	4	-
N	102	7	107	1	118	2	109	9	81	2	517	21
Missing cases								1				1

TABLE 5.5: FORMAL SECTOR OCCUPATIONS OF TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No formal job	29	76	14	82	15	71
Farm labourer	3	8	0	-	3	14
Factory worker	2	5	0	-	2	10
Driver	1	3	0	-	1	5
Civil servant	1	3	1	6	0	-
Security	1	3	1	6	0	-
Artisan	1	3	1	6	0	-
TOTAL	38	100	17	100	21	100
Missing cases	1				1	

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No formal job	2	66	6	75	5	100	1	100	0	-	14	82
Civil servant	0	-	1	12	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
Security	1	33	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
Artisan	0	-	1	12	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	6
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No formal job	4	57	1	100	1	50	8	89	1	50	15	71
Farm labourer	2	29	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	50	3	14
Factory worker	1	14	0	-	0	-	1	11	0	-	2	10
Driver	0	-	0	-	1	50	0	-	0	-	1	5
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	9	100	2	100	21	100
Missing cases							1				1	

TABLE 5.6: FUNCTIONAL LITERACY LEVELS OF TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	28	74	14	82	14	67
Functionally illiterate	10	26	3	18	7	33
TOTAL	38	100	17	100	21	100
Missing	1				1	

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	3	100	7	87	4	80	0	-	0	-	14	82
Functionally illiterate	0	-	1	13	1	20	1	100	0	-	3	18
TOTAL	3	100	8	100	5	100	1	100	0	-	17	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Functionally literate	6	83	1	100	1	50	4	44	2	100	14	67
Functionally illiterate	1	17	0	-	1	50	5	55	0	-	7	33
TOTAL	7	100	1	100	2	100	9	100	2	100	21	100
Missing cases							1				1	

TABLE 5.7: COMPARISON BETWEEN TOTAL PERSONAL INCOMES FROM ALL SOURCES OF ALL ADULTS AND TRAINED INDIVIDUALS

	TOTAL SAMPLE ALL TRAINED		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRAINED		1000 H STRIP ALL TRAINED	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
R 0000	54	62	56	65	52	59
R 0001 - R 0200	8	-	10	-	6	-
R 0201 - R 0400	20	23	20	17	20	27
R 0401 - R 0600	6	8	5	12	6	5
R 0601 - R 0800	5	3	5	-	6	5
R 0801 - R 1000	4	3	4	-	4	5
R 1001 - R 1500	2	-	1	-	3	-
R 1501 - R 2000	<1	-	<1	-	<1	-
R 2001 - R 2500	<1	3	<1	6	<1	-
N	1020	39	503	17	517	22

	NKANDLA VILLAGE ALL TRA		NDIKWE ALL TRA		KWA -ZONDI ALL TRA		SILUT -SHANA ALL TRA		NGWE -BINI ALL TRA		NKANDLA STRIP ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
R 0000	61	67	57	50	59	80	57	100	48	-	56	65
R 0001 - R 0200	8	-	15	-	6	-	7	-	13	-	10	-
R 0201 - R 0400	13	-	20	25	23	20	15	-	28	-	20	17
R 0401 - R 0600	8	-	3	25	4	-	10	-	2	-	5	12
R 0601 - R 0800	2	-	4	-	2	-	5	-	6	-	5	-
R 0801 - R 1000	2	-	2	-	4	-	4	-	2	-	4	-
R 1001 - R 1500	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-
R 1501 - R 2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	<1	-
R 2001 - R 2500	1	33	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	<1	6
N	89	3	104	8	100	5	110	1	100	0	503	17

	MAQADINI ALL TRA		STUDAM BRIDGE ALL TRA		OGUNJINI MISSION ALL TRA		MONTE-BELO ALL TRA		APPELS -BOSCH ALL TRA		1000 H STRIP ALL TRA	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
R 0000	52	29	55	100	54	50	45	80	54	50	52	59
R 0001 - R 0200	3	-	13	-	6	-	4	-	4	-	6	-
R 0201 - R 0400	24	57	17	-	20	50	25	10	12	-	20	27
R 0401 - R 0600	4	-	5	-	7	-	6	-	12	50	6	5
R 0601 - R 0800	5	14	4	-	7	-	11	-	8	-	6	5
R 0801 - R 1000	6	-	5	-	4	-	6	10	10	-	4	5
R 1001 - R 1500	5	-	3	-	3	-	5	-	1	-	3	-
R 1501 - R 2000	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	<1	-
R 2001 - R 2500	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	<1	-
N	102	7	107	1	118	2	109	10	81	2	517	22

TABLE 5.8: ANYONE IN HOUSEHOLD TRAINED BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

	<i>MALE HEAD</i>		<i>DE FACTO FEMALE</i>		<i>WIDOWED FEMALE</i>		<i>YOUNG FEMALE</i>		<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
	Yes	24	13	8	15	4	11	3	12	39
No	162	87	47	85	29	89	22	88	260	87
TOTAL	186	100	55	100	33	100	25	100	299	100

TABLE 5.9: TRAINING TAKE-UP BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD: TRAINEES ONLY

	<i>MALE HEAD</i>		<i>DE FACTO FEMALE</i>		<i>WIDOWED FEMALE</i>		<i>YOUNG FEMALE</i>		<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
	Self	14	58	7	87	3	75	2	67	26
Other in household	10	42	1	13	1	25	1	33	13	33
TOTAL	24	100	8	100	4	100	3	100	39	100
As % of total trained		62		21		10		8		100

TABLE 5.10: TYPE OF SKILLS TRAINING UNDERTAKEN BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD: TRAINEES ONLY

Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>MALE HEAD</i>	<i>DE FACTO FEMALE</i>	<i>WIDOWED FEMALE</i>	<i>YOUNG FEMALE</i>	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Crop production	41	88	100	33	59
Small crafts production	67	13	25	-	49
Livestock husbandry	8	50	50	-	21
Construction	29	-	-	-	18
Technical agricultural	17	25	-	-	15
Job skills	4	-	-	-	3
Institutional development	-	-	-	33	3
Health	-	-	-	33	3
Personal improvement	-	13	-	-	3
N	24	8	4	3	39

TABLE 5.11: KNOWLEDGE OF SKILLS TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

	MALE HEAD		DE FACTO FEMALE		WIDOWED FEMALE		YOUNG FEMALE		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Don't know	135	75	37	71	21	64	15	60	208
State - local	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	<1
State - not local	12	7	2	4	4	12	3	12	21	7
Parastatal - local	6	3	1	2	1	3	2	8	10	3
Parastatal - not local	3	2	2	4	3	9	1	4	9	3
NGOs - local	9	5	6	12	2	6	2	8	19	7
NGOs - not local	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	<1
CBOs	11	6	4	8	0	-	1	4	16	5
Training institution	3	2	0	-	2	6	1	4	6	2
TOTAL	181	100	52	100	33	100	25	100	291	100

TABLE 5.12: SKILLS TRAINING ASPIRATIONS BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	MALE HEAD		DE FACTO FEMALE		WIDOWED FEMALE		YOUNG FEMALE		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Don't know what is available	129	70	69	41	75	21	64	17	68
Small crafts production	13	7	5	9	7	21	1	4	26	9
Crop production	17	9	3	6	0	-	2	8	22	7
Construction	11	6	2	4	2	6	1	4	16	5
Personal development	6	3	1	2	1	3	0	-	8	3
Small business management	3	3	2	3	6	0	-	2	8	8
Technical agricultural	3	2	0	-	1	3	0	-	4	1
Job skills	1	1	0	-	1	3	1	4	3	1
Institutional development	1	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1
Health	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	<1
Literacy	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	<1
Pass on skills	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	4	1	<1
TOTAL	186	100	55	100	33	100	25	100	299	100

TABLE 5.13: NECESSITY OF PAYMENT FOR SKILLS TRAINING BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD: TRAINEES ONLY

	MALE HEAD		DE FACTO FEMALE		WIDOWED FEMALE		YOUNG FEMALE		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Yes, had to pay	14	58	2	25	0	-	1	33	17
No, training was free	10	42	6	75	4	100	2	67	22	56
TOTAL	24	100	8	100	4	100	3	100	39	100

TABLE 5.14: COST OF SKILLS TRAINING BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD: TRAINEES ONLY

	<i>MALE HEAD</i>		<i>DE FACTO FEMALE</i>		<i>WIDOWED FEMALE</i>		<i>YOUNG FEMALE</i>		<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Did not have to pay	10	42	6	75	4	100	2	67	22	56
R 001 - R 050	5	21	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	13
R 051 - R 100	1	4	0	-	0	-	1	33	2	5
R 101 - R 150	2	8	1	13	0	-	0	-	3	8
R 201 - R 250	0	-	1	13	0	-	0	-	1	3
R 251 - R 300	3	13	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	8
R 501 +	2	8	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	5
TOTAL	24	100	8	100	4	100	3	100	39	100

CHAPTER 6: CBOs IN RURAL TRAINING

TABLE 6.1: LOCAL ORGANISATIONS NAMED BY RESPONDENTS

Multiple frequency - percentage of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	100	100	100
Civil institutions	99	100	87
Task-oriented groups	80	96	64
Development institutions	36	33	44
Religious groups	24	27	21
Political groups	8	5	11
Cultural groups	1	1	1
N	299	150	149

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE %</i>	<i>NDIKWE %</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI %</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA %</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	100	100	100	100	100	100
Civil institutions	100	100	100	96	100	100
Task-oriented groups	100	100	100	100	3	96
Development institutions	47	60	40	19	-	33
Religious groups	23	10	10	19	73	27
Political groups	-	-	-	-	27	5
Cultural groups	-	-	-	-	3	1
N	30	30	29	31	30	150

	<i>MAQADINI %</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE %</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION %</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO %</i>	<i>APPEL- BOSCH %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	100	100	100	100	100	100
Civil institutions	89	100	100	100	27	87
Task-oriented groups	100	42	17	100	30	64
Development institutions	32	35	73	27	57	44
Religious groups	18	7	40	13	27	21
Political groups	4	3	7	3	37	11
Cultural groups	4	-	-	-	-	1
N	28	31	30	30	30	149

TABLE 6.2: PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS (15+ YEARS) IN SAMPLE POPULATION WHO BELONG TO CBOS

Multiple frequency - percentage of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	12	13	11
Religious groups	4	5	4
Task-oriented groups	3	3	3
Civil institutions	3	3	3
Political groups	1	2	1
Development institutions	1	1	1
Cultural groups	<1	-	<1
N	1156	571	585

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE %</i>	<i>NDIKWE %</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI %</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA %</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	12	9	13	19	11	13
Religious groups	6	3	7	5	3	5
Civil institutions	6	2	5	2	2	3
Task-oriented groups	3	9	4	-	-	3
Political groups	2	4	1	-	3	2
Development institutions	1	2	1	-	-	1
N	100	116	112	124	119	571

	<i>MAQADINI %</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE %</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION %</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO %</i>	<i>APPEL- BOSCH %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Savings clubs	15	11	6	13	8	11
Religious groups	5	3	5	3	1	4
Civil institutions	2	2	2	5	2	3
Task-oriented groups	2	-	1	9	2	3
Development institutions	-	-	2	-	1	1
Political groups	-	-	-	-	5	1
Cultural groups	1	-	-	-	-	<1
N	116	121	131	129	88	585

TABLE 6.3: HOUSEHOLDS WITH MEMBERS BELONGING TO CBOS
Multiple frequency - percentage of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
No-one in household belongs	38	31	46
Savings clubs	46	49	44
Religious groups	18	22	13
Task-oriented groups	13	11	15
Civil institutions	10	13	7
Political groups	5	7	3
Development institutions	2	3	1
Cultural groups	1	-	3
N	299	150	149

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE %</i>	<i>NDIKWE %</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI %</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA %</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>
No-one in household belongs	23	30	21	35	47	31
Savings clubs	40	33	52	74	43	49
Religious groups	20	13	28	19	30	22
Civil institutions	20	7	21	10	7	13
Task-oriented groups	10	33	14	-	-	11
Political groups	7	17	3	-	10	7
Development institutions	3	7	3	-	-	3
Cultural groups	-	-	-	-	-	-
N	30	30	29	31	30	150

	<i>MAQADINI %</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE %</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION %</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO %</i>	<i>APPEL- BOSCH %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
No-one in household belongs	46	58	60	13	50	46
Savings clubs	61	42	26	57	33	44
Task-oriented groups	7	-	13	50	7	15
Religious groups	18	13	20	13	3	13
Civil institutions	7	6	-	13	7	7
Development institutions	-	-	10	-	3	3
Political part	-	-	-	-	13	3
Cultural groups	4	-	-	-	-	1
N	28	31	30	30	30	149

TABLE 6.4: CBOS ASSIST WITH OR PROVIDE TRAINING

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP							
	N	%	N	%	N	%						
Don't know	27	9	10	7	17	11						
Yes	46	15	23	15	23	16						
No	225	75	117	78	108	73						
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	148	100						
	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	4	13	2	7	2	7	0	-	2	7	10	7
Yes	6	20	8	27	8	28	1	3	0	-	23	15
No	20	67	20	67	19	66	30	97	28	93	117	78
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100
	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	7	25	5	17	2	7	2	7	1	3	17	11
Yes	9	32	1	3	0	-	12	40	1	3	23	16
No	12	43	24	80	28	93	16	53	28	93	108	73
TOTAL	28	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	148	100

TABLE 6.5: HOUSEHOLD FOOD SUPPORT NETWORKS: ALL HOUSEHOLDS BY SURVEY AREA

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No-one	113	38	56	37	57	39
Other relative	75	25	34	23	41	28
Neighbour	69	23	45	30	24	16
Other person in household	28	9	11	7	17	11
Friend	11	4	4	3	7	5
Work colleague	1	<1	0	-	1	1
Stokvel/burial society	1	<1	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	298	100	150	100	148	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No-one	9	30	10	33	14	48	11	36	12	40	56	37
Neighbour	10	33	11	37	5	17	8	26	11	37	45	30
Other relative	9	30	6	20	8	29	10	32	1	3	34	23
Other person in household	2	7	2	7	1	3	0	-	6	20	11	7
Friend	0	-	1	3	1	3	2	7	0	-	4	3
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No-one	13	46	7	23	15	50	8	28	14	47	57	39
Other relative	9	32	13	42	7	23	8	28	4	13	41	28
Neighbour	1	4	4	13	5	17	9	31	5	17	24	16
Other person in household	2	7	5	16	2	7	2	7	6	20	17	11
Friend	2	7	1	3	1	3	2	7	1	3	7	5
Work colleague	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Stokvel/burial society	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	29	100	30	100	148	100

TABLE 6.6: CONNECTIONS THAT GIVE CASUAL WORK: ALL HOUSEHOLDS BY SURVEY AREA

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	7	2	6	4	1	1
Not very often	14	5	6	4	8	5
Sometimes	11	4	5	3	6	4
Not at all	267	89	133	89	134	90
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	1	3	0	-	3	10	0	-	2	7	6	4
Not very often	3	10	2	7	0	-	0	-	1	3	6	4
Sometimes	2	7	0	-	0	-	2	7	1	3	5	3
Not at all	24	80	28	93	26	90	29	93	26	87	133	89
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Not very often	1	4	3	10	1	3	2	7	1	3	8	5
Sometimes	2	7	1	3	0	-	3	10	0	-	6	4
Not at all	25	89	26	84	29	97	25	83	29	97	134	90
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE 6.7: EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE IN AREA

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE</i>		<i>NKANDLA STRIP</i>		<i>1000 H STRIP</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Don't know	1	<1	0	-	1	1
Yes, severe	71	25	0	-	71	49
Yes, minor	57	20	20	14	37	25
No violence	155	55	118	86	37	25
TOTAL	284	100	138	100	146	100
Missing cases	15		12		3	

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE</i>		<i>NDIKWE</i>		<i>KWA -ZONDI</i>		<i>SILUT -SHANA</i>		<i>NGWE -BINI</i>		<i>NKANDLA STRIP</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Don't know	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Yes, severe	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Yes, minor	2	7	0	-	2	7	2	7	14	52	20	14
No violence	26	93	26	100	26	93	27	93	13	48	118	86
TOTAL	28	100	26	100	28	100	29	100	27	100	138	100
Missing cases	2		4		1		2		3		12	

	<i>MAQADINI</i>		<i>STUDAM BRIDGE</i>		<i>OGUNJINI MISSION</i>		<i>MONTE-BELO</i>		<i>APPELS -BOSCH</i>		<i>1000 H STRIP</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Don't know	1	4	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Yes, severe	0	-	12	40	29	97	14	48	16	53	71	49
Yes, minor	7	26	6	20	1	3	10	35	13	43	37	25
No violence	19	70	12	40	0	-	5	17	1	3	37	25
TOTAL	27	100	30	100	30	100	29	100	30	100	146	100
Missing cases	1		1				1				3	

APPENDIX 6: TRAVEL COSTS IN THE SPACE ECONOMY

TABLE A.6.1: MEAN COSTS OF TRAVEL TO URBAN CENTRES
Mean cost in Rands

	<i>NKANDLA STRIP Rands</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP Rands</i>
Pietermaritzburg	78.77	30.22
Durban	73.28	10.59
Nkandla	10.10	N/A
Hillcrest	N/A	6.45
Nqutu	12.89	N/A
Botha's Hill	N/A	5.88
Melmoth	27.74	N/A
Babanango	17.03	N/A
Stanger	N/A	9.48
Eshowe	38.26	N/A
Verulam	N/A	6.98
Johannesburg	94.78	149.16

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE Rands</i>	<i>NDIKWE Rands</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI Rands</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA Rands</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI Rands</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP Rands</i>
Nkandla	2.00	7.55	7.03	13.10	17.40	10.10
Nqutu	17.83	22.21	12.75	6.81	5.67	12.89
Babanango	18.88	30.06	11.47	12.13	14.00	17.31
Melmoth	16.90	31.37	17.10	32.85	51.41	27.74
Eshowe	35.16	38.25	26.38	31.43	56.81	38.26
Durban	76.67	74.00	78.69	69.38	67.31	73.28
Pietermaritzburg	68.21	108.00	N/A	88.89	57.50	78.77
Johannesburg	99.60	106.50	99.17	86.61	84.17	94.78

	<i>MAQADINI Rands</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE Rands</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION Rands</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO Rands</i>	<i>APPELS -BOSCH Rands</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP Rands</i>
Botha's Hill	3.36	4.87	20.29	N/A	N/A	5.88
Hillcrest	3.71	6.07	17.71	15.00	N/A	6.45
Verulam	21.00	28.60	3.10	4.30	6.14	6.98
Stanger	28.00	32.00	10.47	7.70	3.93	9.48
Durban	8.54	10.74	10.20	10.43	12.90	10.59
Pietermaritzburg	25.94	25.92	37.60	20.00	41.67	30.22
Johannesburg	140.44	122.86	185.63	N/A	120.00	149.16

APPENDIX 8: THE PRODUCTION ECONOMY

TABLE A.8.1: PRODUCTION PRIORITIES OF RESPONDENTS

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	24	8	8	5	16	11
Selling more important	55	18	28	19	27	18
Cultivation more important	102	34	56	37	46	31
Both are important	113	38	54	36	59	40
Neither is important	5	2	4	3	1	1
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	2	7	2	7	1	3	1	3	2	7	8	5
Selling more important	6	20	3	10	6	21	7	23	6	20	28	19
Cultivation more important	12	37	40	13	43	11	38	10	32	10	33	56
Both are important	10	33	11	37	10	34	12	39	11	37	54	36
Neither is important	0	-	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	4	3
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't know	4	14	4	13	1	3	0	-	7	23	16	11
Selling more important	6	21	5	16	6	20	3	10	7	23	27	18
Cultivation more important	10	31	36	10	32	12	40	9	30	5	17	46
Both are important	8	29	12	39	11	37	17	57	11	37	59	40
Neither is important	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.2: POTENTIAL USE OF LOAN
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>			
Build a new house	63	66				59
Education and training	33	31				36
Use to farm	33	34				31
Personal improvement	27	29				24
Open small business	12	13				11
Not interested	3	1				5
Don't know	9	7				12
N	299	150				149
	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE %</i>	<i>NDIKWE %</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI %</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA %</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>
Build a new house	73	73	52	61	70	66
Use to farm	33	47	20	44	19	34
Education and training	33	33	24	35	27	31
Personal improvement	40	23	27	35	20	29
Open small business	17	7	17	10	13	13
Not interested	-	-	3	-	-	1
Don't know	3	3	10	6	10	7
N	30	30	29	31	30	150
	<i>MAQADINI %</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE %</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION %</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO %</i>	<i>APPELS -BOSCH %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Build a new house	61	58	47	67	63	59
Education and training	46	32	40	33	27	36
Use to farm	30	60	34	30	10	31
Personal improvement	29	19	30	23	20	24
Open small business	8	3	24	6	14	11
Not interested	4	6	3	-	13	5
Don't know	11	19	7	10	13	12
N	28	31	30	30	30	149

TABLE A.8.3: HOUSEHOLD LANDHOLDINGS
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>Number of plots</i>	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Small kitchen garden	0	48	53	44
	1	49	43	55
	1>	3	4	1
.....				
Larger home garden	0	83	89	78
	1	16	11	21
	1>	<1	-	1
.....				
Maize field	0	49	34	64
	1	32	33	31
	1>	19	33	5
.....				
Pump irrigated land	0	100	99	100
	1	<1	1	-
.....				
Orchard land	0	98	99	97
	1	2	1	3
.....				
Commercial timber land	0	100	99	100
	1	<1	1	-
.....				
Sugar land	0	98	99	97
	1	2	1	3
.....				
Community garden plots	0	96	98	95
	1	4	2	5
.....				
Wetlands plot	0	99	98	100
	1	1	1	-
	1>	<1	1	-
.....				
Unirrigated arable land	0	100	99	100
	1	<1	1	-
N		299	150	149

TABLE A.8.3 (continued): HOUSEHOLD LANDHOLDINGS

		<i>NKANDLA</i>	<i>NDIKWE</i>	<i>KWA</i>	<i>SILUT</i>	<i>NGWE</i>	<i>NKANDLA</i>
	<i>Number of plots</i>	<i>VILLAGE</i>		<i>-ZONDI</i>	<i>-SHANA</i>	<i>-BINI</i>	<i>STRIP</i>
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Small kitchen garden	0	50	50	52	52	60	53
	1	47	47	48	39	37	43
	1>	3	3	-	10	3	4
.....							
Larger home garden	0	90	93	90	90	80	89
	1	10	7	10	10	20	11
.....							
Maize field	0	23	30	41	26	50	34
	1	47	33	35	29	23	33
	1>	30	37	24	45	27	33
.....							
Pump irrigated land	0	100	100	100	100	97	99
	1	-	-	-	-	3	1
.....							
Orchard land	0	100	100	100	100	97	99
	1	-	-	-	-	3	1
.....							
Commercial timber land	0	100	100	100	100	97	99
	1	-	-	-	-	3	1
.....							
Sugar land	0	100	100	100	100	97	99
	1	-	-	-	-	3	1
.....							
Community garden plots	0	100	97	100	97	97	98
	1	-	3	-	3	3	2
.....							
Wetlands plot	0	100	97	97	100	97	98
	1	-	-	3	-	3	1
	1>	-	3	-	-	-	1
.....							
Unirrigated arable land	0	100	100	100	100	100	97
	99	1	-	-	-	3	1
.....							
N		30	30	29	31	30	150

TABLE A.8.3 (continued): HOUSEHOLD LANDHOLDINGS

		MAQADINI	STUDAM	OGUNJINI	MONTE-	APPELS	1000 H
			BRIDGE	MISSION	BELO	-BOSCH	STRIP
	<i>Number of plots</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Small kitchen garden	0	39	45	47	33	53	44
	1	61	48	53	67	47	55
	1>	-	7	-	-	-	1
.....							
Larger home garden	0	75	74	77	73	90	78
	1	21	26	23	27	10	21
	1>	4	-	-	-	-	1
.....							
Maize field	0	79	55	53	47	90	64
	1	21	39	30	53	10	31
	1>	-	6	17	-	-	5
.....							
Orchard land	0	100	100	90	93	100	97
	1	-	-	10	7	-	3
.....							
Sugar land	0	100	100	100	87	100	97
	1	-	-	-	13	-	3
.....							
Community garden plots	0	93	90	100	97	93	95
	1	7	10	-	3	7	5
	1>	-	-	-	-	-	-
.....							
N		28	31	30	30	30	149

TABLE A.8.4: PROXIMITY OF MAIN LANDHOLDING TO HOMESTEAD

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Next to homestead	194	65	78	52	116	78
2 - 5 minutes away	37	12	29	19	8	5
6 - 10 minutes away	16	5	16	11	0	-
> 10 minutes away	7	2	6	4	1	1
No agricultural land	45	15	21	14	24	16
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Next to homestead	14	47	13	43	10	34	20	65	21	70	78	52
2 - 5 minutes away	10	33	3	10	9	31	5	16	2	7	29	19
6 - 10 minutes away	3	10	7	23	3	10	2	6	1	3	16	11
> 10 minutes away	0	-	2	7	2	7	2	6	0	-	6	4
No agricultural land	3	10	5	17	5	17	2	6	6	20	21	14
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Next to homestead	22	79	20	65	28	93	27	90	19	63	116	78
2 - 5 minutes away	0	-	7	23	0	-	1	3	0	-	8	5
> 10 minutes away	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
No agricultural land	6	21	3	10	2	7	2	7	11	37	24	16
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.5: SHARING OF LAND WITH ANOTHER HOUSEHOLD

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP							
	N	%	N	%	N	%						
Yes	1	<1	0	-	1	1						
No	298	99	150	100	148	99						
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100						
	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
No	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100
	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
No	28	100	31	100	30	100	29	97	30	100	148	99
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.6: NUMBER OF FIELDS HOUSEHOLD WOULD BE ABLE TO CULTIVATE

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
One	73	25	37	26	36	25
Two	88	31	48	33	40	28
Three to five	80	28	32	22	48	34
More than five	22	8	22	15	0	-
None	25	9	6	4	19	13
TOTAL	288	100	145	100	143	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
One	5	17	7	25	10	36	7	23	8	29	37	26
Two	11	37	7	25	6	21	12	39	12	43	48	33
Three to five	5	17	8	29	8	29	6	19	5	18	32	22
More than five	7	23	3	11	4	14	6	19	2	7	22	15
None	2	7	3	11	0	-	0	-	1	4	6	4
TOTAL	30	100	28	100	28	100	31	100	28	100	145	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
One	6	21	6	21	7	23	10	33	7	27	36	25
Two	6	21	12	41	12	40	7	23	3	12	40	28
Three to five	7	25	8	28	8	27	13	43	12	46	48	34
More than five	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
None	9	32	3	10	3	10	0	-	4	15	19	13
TOTAL	28	100	29	100	30	100	30	100	26	100	143	100

TABLE A.8.7: ASPIRATIONS TO ACQUIRE MORE LAND

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP							
	N	%	N	%	N	%						
Yes	75	25	36	24	39	26						
No	219	73	109	73	110	74						
Don't know	5	2	5	3	0	-						
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100						
	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	10	33	7	23	5	17	6	19	8	26	36	24
No	16	53	22	73	24	83	25	81	22	73	109	73
Don't know	4	13	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	3
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100
	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	8	19	4	13	7	23	11	37	9	30	39	26
No	20	71	27	87	23	77	19	63	21	70	110	74
Don't know	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.8: CROPS GROWN BY SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Maize	77	80	73
Beans	52	49	54
Pumpkins	46	46	45
White potatoes	27	28	25
Cabbages	17	15	20
Sweet potatoes	10	5	15
Tomatoes	10	7	13
Spinach	7	7	7
Madumbies	4	5	3
Onions	4	3	5
Carrots	4	3	5
Chilli	4	3	5
Groundnuts	3	1	5
Sugarcane	3	-	7
Peas	2	1	3
Mango	1	-	1
Paw-paw	1	-	1
Sorghum	1	1	1
Beetroot	<1	1	-
Sweet sorghum	<1	-	1
Imbumba	<1	-	1
Indlubu	<1	1	-
Wheat	<1	1	-
Not growing crops	17	15	19
N	299	150	149

TABLE A.8.8 (continued): CROPS GROWN BY SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE</i> %	<i>NDIKWE</i> %	<i>KWA -ZONDI</i> %	<i>SILUT -SHANA</i> %	<i>NGWE -BINI</i> %	<i>NKANDLA STRIP</i> %
Maize	87	80	72	90	70	80
Beans	47	43	48	52	53	49
Pumpkins	63	57	35	39	37	46
White potatoes	23	30	17	36	33	28
Cabbages	27	17	3	19	7	15
Tomatoes	7	10	7	7	7	7
Spinach	7	7	-	19	3	7
Madumbies	-	3	-	13	3	5
Sweet potatoes	3	7	3	10	3	5
Onions	3	10	-	-	-	3
Carrots	3	7	-	3	-	3
Chilli	-	7	3	3	-	3
Beetroot	-	-	-	-	3	1
Peas	-	-	-	-	3	1
Groundnuts	-	3	-	-	-	1
Sorghum	-	3	-	-	-	1
Indlubu	-	-	-	-	3	1
Wheat	-	-	-	3	-	1
Not growing crops	10	17	17	7	23	15
N	30	30	29	31	30	150
	<i>MAQADINI</i> %	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE</i> %	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION</i> %	<i>MONTE- BELO</i> %	<i>APPELS -BOSCH</i> %	<i>1000 H STRIP</i> %
Maize	71	83	83	87	40	73
Beans	46	53	73	73	27	54
Pumpkins	57	47	53	43	27	45
White potatoes	32	27	20	23	23	25
Cabbages	14	17	20	30	20	20
Sweet potatoes	18	10	20	20	10	15
Tomatoes	7	13	23	13	7	13
Spinach	11	7	3	3	10	7
Sugarcane	-	-	-	33	-	7
Groundnuts	4	10	7	7	-	5
Onions	4	3	-	13	7	5
Carrots	4	7	10	7	-	5
Chilli	-	-	13	3	7	5
Madumbies	4	3	-	7	-	3
Peas	-	-	-	10	7	3
Sweet sorghum	-	-	-	3	-	1
Imbumba	4	-	-	-	-	1
Mango	-	-	3	3	-	1
Paw-paw	-	-	3	3	-	1
Sorghum	4	3	-	-	-	1
Not growing crops	25	13	10	7	43	19
N	28	31	30	30	30	149

TABLE A.8.9: SALE OF PRODUCE
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
Maize sold	<1	-	1
Vegetables sold	<1	-	1
Other crops sold	4	-	8
No sale of produce	97	100	7
N	299	150	149

TABLE A.8.10: MONTHLY INCOME FROM CROP SALES: SELLERS ONLY

	<i>MONTEBELO</i>		<i>APPELSBOSCH</i>		<i>TOTAL SELLING PRODUCE</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
R 000 - R 100	2	25	0	-	2	20
R 101 - R 150	1	13	0	-	1	10
R 151 - R 200	3	38	0	-	3	30
R 201 - R 250	1	23	0	-	1	10
R 251 - R 300	0	-	1	50	1	10
R 301 - R 400	0	-	0	-	0	-
R 401 - R 500	0	-	1	50	1	10
R 501 +	1	13	0	-	1	10
TOTAL	8	100	2	100	10	100

TABLE A.8.11: TOTAL COST OF ONE SEASON'S CULTIVATION

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	112	38	46	31	66	44
R001-R050	67	22	12	8	55	37
R051-R100	60	20	43	29	17	11
R101-R150	16	5	15	10	1	1
R151-R200	19	6	15	10	4	3
R201-R250	11	4	9	6	2	1
R251-R300	5	2	3	2	2	1
R301-R350	2	1	1	1	1	1
R351-R400	3	1	3	2	0	-
R401-R450	1	<1	0	-	1	1
R451+	3	1	3	2	0	-
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	9	30	9	30	10	35	7	23	11	37	46	31
R001-R050	3	10	0	-	4	18	1	3	4	13	12	8
R051-R100	6	20	7	23	7	24	15	48	8	27	43	29
R101-R150	3	10	5	17	4	14	2	7	1	3	15	10
R151-R200	5	17	1	3	1	3	4	13	4	13	15	10
R201-R250	3	10	3	10	1	3	0	-	2	7	9	6
R251-R300	1	3	1	3	0	-	1	3	0	-	3	2
R301-R350	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R351-R400	0	-	2	7	1	3	0	-	0	-	3	2
R401-R450	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
R451+	0	-	1	3	1	3	1	3	0	-	3	2
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE-BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No cost	12	43	14	45	12	40	10	33	18	60	66	44
R001-R050	10	36	10	32	15	50	10	33	10	33	55	37
R051-R100	4	14	5	16	2	7	5	17	1	3	17	11
R101-R150	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
R151-R200	1	4	1	3	1	3	1	3	0	-	4	3
R201-R250	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	3	0	-	2	1
R251-R300	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3	2	1
R301-R350	1	4	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
R351-R400	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
R401-R450	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3	0	-	1	1
R451+	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.12: HOW FIELDS ARE TILLED
Multiple frequency - % of responses

	<i>TOTAL SAMPLE %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>					<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>
By hand hoe only	49	37					61
By hoe and oxen	6	6					5
By hoe and own tractor	5	7					3
Ox-span, own oxen	13	25					1
Ox-span, own & others' oxen	1	1					2
Own tractor only	1	-					2
Others' tractor only	5	6					4
TOTAL	237	150					149
	<i>NKANDLA VILLAGE %</i>	<i>NDIKWE %</i>	<i>KWA -ZONDI %</i>	<i>SILUT -SHANA %</i>	<i>NGWE -BINI %</i>	<i>NKANDLA STRIP %</i>	
By hand hoe only	33	33	45	35	40	37	
By hoe and oxen	17	-	7	6	-	6	
By hoe and own tractor	7	10	3	6	10	7	
Ox-span, own oxen	23	20	31	29	20	25	
Ox-span, own & others' oxen	-	-	3	-	-	1	
Own tractor only	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others' tractor only	10	3	3	6	3	6	
TOTAL	30	30	29	31	30	150	
	<i>MAQADINI %</i>	<i>STUDAM BRIDGE %</i>	<i>OGUNJINI MISSION %</i>	<i>MONTE- BELO %</i>	<i>APPELS -BOSCH %</i>	<i>1000 H STRIP %</i>	
By hand hoe only	54	58	83	60	50	61	
By hoe and oxen	11	16	-	-	-	5	
By hoe and own tractor	-	3	3	7	3	3	
Ox-span, own oxen	-	3	-	-	-	1	
Ox-span, own & others' oxen	7	3	-	-	-	2	
Own tractor only	-	-	-	10	-	2	
Others' tractor only	4	3	-	13	3	4	
TOTAL	28	31	30	30	30	149	

TABLE A.8.13: ADEQUATE LABOUR TO WORK EXISTING LAND

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	96	32	44	29	52	35
No	171	57	97	65	74	50
Don't know	32	11	9	6	23	15
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	8	27	7	23	9	31	11	35	9	30	44	29
No	19	63	21	70	19	66	20	65	18	60	97	65
Don't know	3	10	2	7	1	3	0	-	3	10	9	6
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	10	36	10	32	10	33	15	50	7	23	52	35
No	12	43	15	48	18	60	15	50	14	47	74	50
Don't know	6	21	6	19	2	7	0	-	9	30	23	15
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100

TABLE A.8.14: MEANS FOR IMPROVING YIELD

	TOTAL SAMPLE		NKANDLA STRIP		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not interested	24	8	7	5	17	11
Don't know	1	<1	0	-	1	1
Buy more supplies	79	26	47	31	32	21
Pay to use other's land	38	13	22	15	16	11
Obtain more labour	16	5	12	8	4	3
Borrow other's land	128	43	58	39	70	47
Sharecropping	13	4	4	3	9	6
TOTAL	299	100	150	100	149	100

	NKANDLA VILLAGE		NDIKWE		KWA -ZONDI		SILUT -SHANA		NGWE -BINI		NKANDLA STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not interested	2	7	2	7	1	3	1	3	1	3	7	5
Don't know	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Buy more supplies	11	37	9	30	10	34	11	35	6	20	47	31
Pay to use other's land	4	13	5	17	2	7	5	16	6	20	22	15
Obtain more labour	1	3	2	7	1	3	6	19	2	7	12	8
Borrow other's land	9	30	11	37	15	52	8	26	15	50	58	39
Sharecropping	3	10	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	3
TOTAL	30	100	30	100	29	100	31	100	30	100	150	100

	MAQADINI		STUDAM BRIDGE		OGUNJINI MISSION		MONTE- BELO		APPELS -BOSCH		1000 H STRIP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not interested	5	18	3	10	2	7	0	-	7	23	17	11
Don't know	0	-	1	3	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	1
Buy more supplies	8	29	3	10	8	27	9	30	4	13	32	21
Pay to use other's land	3	11	4	13	4	13	4	13	1	3	16	11
Obtain more labour	0	-	2	6	1	3	1	3	0	-	4	3
Borrow other's land	11	39	16	52	13	43	14	47	16	53	70	47
Sharecropping	1	4	2	6	2	7	2	7	2	7	9	6
TOTAL	28	100	31	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	149	100



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