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<p>1993 -12- 07 1994 -05- 24 TERU 1996 -06- 18 IBL 4002 491468 29/11/96 Terug 23/1/97 1997 -07- 21 1997 -12- 09</p>	
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ZENZELE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION: FAMILY RESOURCE ALLOCATION AND PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

J.M. Green
S.L. Spalding

Department of Dietetics and Home Economics
University of Natal
Pietermaritzburg

HSRC Co-operative Programme: Affordable Social Security
Subprogramme: Affordable Social Provision

General Editor: Ina Snyman

Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council
1992 (ASS/BBS-30)

The HSRC Co-operative Research Programme: Affordable Social Security is managed within the Group: Social Dynamics of the Human Sciences Research Council. The research is being undertaken by means of three subprogrammes of which Affordable Social Provision is one.

The main emphasis in the overarching programme as well as in the subprogrammes is on aspects of affordability, responsibility and accountability in the field of social security and the provision of social services.

Membership in Zenzele women's clubs and the factors that influence members' participation in these clubs constitute the subject matter of this report. Implications for development efforts in rural areas are spelt out.

The HSRC, particularly the committee for the Subprogramme: Affordable Social Provision, does not necessarily agree with the views expressed and the conclusions reached in the publication.

Committee members

Dr Ritha Ramphal (Chairperson), Mrs Celia Dawson, Prof. E.A.K. Hugo, Prof. L. Schlemmer, Mrs Elizabeth Sithole, Dr Ina Snyman (Programme Manager), Prof. M.A. van Zyl

Specialist consultants

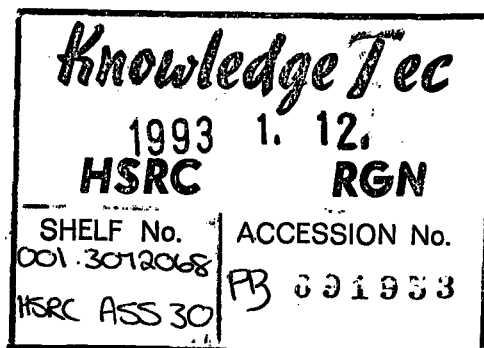
Dr D.B.T. Hackland, Dr Milla McLachlan, Dr J. Op't Hof

ISBN 0 7969 1372 2

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Electronic copy prepared by Elize Beukes

Printed by the HSRC Printers
134 Pretorius Street
PRETORIA
(Private Bag X41, Pretoria, 0001)



EKSERP

Die Zenzelebeweging wat hoofsaaklik in vroueklubs tot uiting kom, word gewoonlik beskou as 'n belangrike stimulus tot selfhulp en gemeenskapsontwikkeling, veral in landelike gebiede. Die vraag is egter hoe verteenwoordigend die klubs is van die omgewings waarin hulle aangetref word. Is dit nie bloot 'n klein groepie persone van 'n hoër sosio-ekonomiese klas vir wie die klub geleentheid bied tot uitlewing, sosiale verkeer en ontwikkeling van talente nie?

Die eerste doel van die navorsing was dus om vas te stel wat die verskille is, indien enige, tussen lede van die Zenzeleklubs in 'n sekere gebied en ander landelike Zoeloe-vroue van dieselfde omgewing.

Aan die ander kant word daar by baie van die Zenzeleklubs nuttige nie-formele opleiding aangebied, en 'n volgende vraag was dus waarom vroue wat aansluit, nie hulle bywoning volhou om minstens die opleiding te voltooi nie. 'n Volgende doelstelling van die navorsing was dus om vas te stel watter gebruike en strategieë landelike vroue se bywoning van die nie-formele opleidingsessies van die onderhawige Zenzeleklubs vergemaklik en bevorder.

Uit groepbesprekings, onderhoude en vraelyste het dit in die eerste plek geblyk dat lede van die Zenzeleklubs geredeliker (as nie-lede) gebruik gemaak het van spesifieke bestuursaktiwiteite soos beplanning, rekordhouding, ens. Dit was egter nie moontlik om te bepaal of hierdie aktiwiteite gegrond was op vaardighede wat in die Zenzele-opleidingsessies aangeleer is en of dit vroeër-ontwikkelde vaardighede was wat die vroue in staat gestel het om die opleidingsessies gereeld by te woon nie.

Kenmerke van lede met 'n hoë bywoningsyfer was egter hul toegang tot meer van sekere kategorieë hulpbronne en hul groter mate van gemeenskapsbetrokkenheid in vergelyking met die lede wie se bywoning laer was.

'n Neweproduk van die studie is die eksperimentele loodsing van die metingskale wat gebruik is, en wat in latere navorsing verder verfyn sal word.

ABSTRACT

The Zenzele movement, expressed mainly through women's clubs, is usually considered an important stimulus to self-help and community development, particularly in rural areas. However it begs the question whether these clubs represent the environments in which they operate. Do they not consist merely of a small group of persons from the higher socio-economic classes for whom the club provides an opportunity for self-actualization, social intercourse and the development of talents?

The first objective of the research was therefore to determine the differences, if any, between the members of the Zenzele clubs in a certain area, and other rural Zulu women from the same area.

On the other hand, useful non-formal training is being offered at many of the Zenzele clubs and a further question was therefore why women who join, do not continue their attendance, at least to complete the training. The second objective of the research was therefore to determine which practices and strategies facilitated and promoted rural women's attendance at the non-formal training sessions offered at the Zenzele clubs studied.

Group discussions, interviews and questionnaires revealed in the first place that the members of the Zenzele clubs more readily (than non-members) applied specific managerial activities such as planning, record keeping, etc. However it was not possible to determine whether these activities were based on skills taught at the Zenzele training sessions, or whether they constituted previously-developed skills that enabled women to attend the sessions regularly.

Characteristics of members who attended regularly were their greater access to certain categories of resources and their greater degree of community involvement compared with members who attended less regularly.

A by-product of the study is the experimental piloting of certain scales that were used, and which will be refined further in later research.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The rural population has tended to be neglected and systematically underdeveloped in the past but in recent years individual efforts have been made to rectify this situation. Non-governmental organisations and government departments have offered training courses on topics regarded as necessary for the upliftment of the rural population.

It is well known that people sign up for training courses, often attend for part of the time, but then drop out. The reason for this is not always known and cannot always be verbalised. The cause may relate to the home environment, to the course characteristics or to personal inadequacies. In order to assess the factors that would lead to increasing full attendance at informal training courses, women living in rural parts of inland Natal were questioned in this regard. Using a variety of approaches, some research has been conducted among rural farming populations. The results have provided guidance for the planning and direction of development policies and programmes. The aim of most of such programmes has been to improve the quality of life of rural populations. Rural development generally seeks to

- increase the quality of life and the life expectancy of the population;
- make family-planning tools available to those people who want them;
- increase food production in order to keep up with the growing population;
- compensate for the decrease in the percentage of the population involved in agriculture;
- reduce migration to the cities by making the rural population self-sufficient;
- increase the availability of education, especially for girls.

(Murray 1985)

Until fairly recently the role of women in rural families has been overlooked by scholars, researchers and developers. It has been assumed that women's roles lay solely in the management of the household tasks and that they might sometimes help with the farming (*cf.* Cloud 1988). Education for women was a low priority for the families themselves and also the developers.

Rural families have always existed as self-sufficient units, the economics of which have been vital to the survival of the family. Family members have provided the labour necessary to carry out food production, animal husbandry, the maintenance of a water supply to the home, home maintenance, child care, the passing on of family traditions and folklore, as well as various household tasks. In each society there was a specific division of labour to distribute the various tasks necessary for the maintenance of the family. This had been carried out according to traditional age and sex-related values. The assigning of these tasks has been a determinant of the status, rights and privileges of each member of the family and contributed to family life-styles (Dankelman & Davidson 1988). Attendance at training courses may fall outside the

ambit of these traditional roles for women and may reflect negatively on their attendance at such courses. The presence or absence of male heads of households should likewise influence women's traditional role assignment.

It was also felt that those with fewer resources or with poor resource allocation practices would have less time to devote to training courses that took them away from their traditional tasks. Resource allocation is essentially a decision-making process dealing with the distribution of the means for achieving alternative goals. Resource usage, and thus goal achievement, depends upon control over the allocation process. The extent or possibility of control over allocation, in turn, depends partially upon the allocating strategies or management techniques employed (Baker & Nelson 1987). It was therefore necessary to obtain information on the effective resource allocation strategies used by rural Zulu women in their productive family roles.

It was hoped to ascertain what constraints were present within the women's households which encouraged or discouraged their attendance at training sessions offered by a rural development association (Zenzele Women's Association, hereafter referred to as "Zenzele"). In this way aspects of household management which were beneficial to and associated with regular attendance at teaching sessions could be identified. These could then be included in the fieldworkers' training and thus make future members' training sessions more readily accessible and affordable for the target population.

1.1 Zenzele's *modus operandi*

Zenzele is a women's movement that aims to help women to identify their communities' needs and to find answers to the problems. It was selected for participation in this study because it used home-based methods to improve women's abilities, and it carried out several successful projects (Hulley, no date). As it was also one of the earlier intervention strategies, it was assumed to be well known within the communities and to have a wide potential membership.

Zenzele was established in 1974 when a delegation of the Federation of Women's Institutes of Natal and Zululand returned from an Associated Country Women of the World Conference in Perth, Australia, where they had been challenged to share their talents with less privileged women in South Africa. Assisted by personnel from the State Health Department (RSA), leadership courses were set up to train and motivate black women to begin Zenzele clubs in their own areas. In 1978 ten fieldworkers were selected from among the members of the clubs. These women were trained in health, hygiene, nutrition, first aid, handicrafts, cookery and club management. They were commissioned to return to their areas and paid to visit the clubs to give instruction through talks and demonstrations with reimbursement for expenses incurred (Hulley, no date).

The fieldworkers were encouraged and guided by their voluntary tutors to recognise the needs of their communities and to answer these needs. In this way, there have been numerous successful projects completed in the rural areas. Springs have been preserved, water sources protected, pit toilets introduced, flourishing vegetable gardens have been established, food preservation methods improved and sewing and other handicraft skills have been fostered which have led to the introduction of many income-generating opportunities (Hulley, no date).

Zenzele generally met on a monthly basis to work on their current projects. When possible the fieldworker would come to provide help or introduce a new project for the club to consider. Additional work meetings and social events were arranged while specialised training courses were held periodically at a central venue. For these latter courses, interested members from a number of clubs would combine to attend the classes. Recent courses related to preschool or crèche child-minder training, concrete block building, sewing school uniforms, preserving fruits and vegetables of the area, club management tasks, community vegetable garden development, outlets for obtaining credit, small business development, group buying schemes and others.

A study of the factors that influenced rural women's attendance at developmental training courses would not only have implications for the Zenzele (among whose members this study took place), but also for other organisations involved in rural development in South Africa.

This project was conducted in two parts: Firstly, a study was made of the management strategies of rural black women with particular emphasis on the strategies used by members of Zenzele. Secondly, a set of factors that encourage or inhibit attendance at non-formal group training courses would permit recommendations to be put forward to enable women to rearrange their domestic schedules and to suggest to them the resources needed to overcome handicapping factors, permitting them to attend such training courses on a more regular basis. A study of this nature would reinforce the importance of development attempts aimed at the women, as they are the central management figures in the rural homes.

2. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Literature relating to aspects of development involving African women, the subjects of this study, was studied and a comparison made between the literature and the region studied. The variables shown to be important in the literature have been highlighted here.

2.1 Development - a relieving or complicating force?

Schneider (1988) lists many direct causes of underdevelopment. Many of these factors can be seen in Africa today and this has led to a need for governments to take action to assist the rural peasants who are victims of this underdevelopment.

Adding to the rural poverty crisis which already exists, is the way in which urbanisation trends have been seen to break down the traditional family unit of production in the rural areas. Urbanisation has substituted the family relationship of mutual benefit in shared tasks within the home and in the field, for a competitive relationship between units of labour within the family (Charlton 1984:33).

Women are the primary food producers in the Third World, yet have very little or no say in the economics relating to food production. They are disproportionately highly represented among the poor, illiterate, and unemployed in the Third World (Walker 1988). Both Walker (1988) and Stevens and Date-Bah (1984) describe the barriers towards progress to correct the imbalance of power between women and men as

- a lack of technical training for women, since such training is always directed to the men who are identified as the farmers;
- a lack of modern technology which is mostly available to the men who have the training, as well as more contact with urban ideas and technologies;
- a lack of land-use rights and land ownership for women (Dankelman and Davidson (1988) estimate that women own one per cent of the world's land);
- women's lack of access to capital and credit;
- women's limited access to rural markets as they are restricted from entry to co-operatives or lack the means and support to form co-operatives;
- a lack of household technology (women spend 10 - 12 hours a day doing household-related tasks, apart from the time that they spend in the fields). Stevens and Date-Bah (1984) support this and suggest that women's work is laborious, time consuming and sometimes wasteful as they use rudimentary tools, lack institutional support, and are the victims of infrastructural problems.

These authors suggest that the focus be directed on improved but appropriate technology, tools and techniques to increase the women's outputs and their income, and to reduce some of the health hazards. For this to occur women should be freed from constraints that make their training in the above areas unlikely.

Zenzele tries in a small way to redress this situation, to remove barriers to progress by providing some farming training, by teaching credit usage and availability (and making available small loans to Zenzele groups for approved projects), discussing health and nutrition issues, improving household technologies, and teaching potential income-generating production skills.

In the areas studied, the women, especially those with some money, were found to take major charge of their own farming and home activities. The menfolk were living in the cities or were absent from the lives of most of the families. Those women with no means of financial support even through family members, were helped in their farming by the other women in the community but seemed to produce very little. Only two women complained that their husbands laid claim to their personal earnings.

The land on which the women's homes were built was granted to them by the local chief. In many areas, negotiations were under way between the chief and the Zenzele members for the provision of land for community gardens. These gardens were additional to the plots next to their homes. They would be farmed for profit rather than for direct subsistence for their families. In some cases, the women had determined where and how much land was required and were awaiting approval; in others they had asked for land and were awaiting approval for the idea, size and position of the gardens.

2.2 Women in the home

The rural woman is responsible for all the housework. She cleans and tidies the home, cooks all the meals and is responsible for child care (Stevens & Date-Bah 1984). Female children are prepared for marriage from the time that they are able to help in the home, where they are called upon to assist the mother (Anon. 1975). Men do not participate in the housework at all. Women usually fetch the water that is necessary for sanitation, preparation of food, waste disposal and gardening. Dankelman and Davidson (1988) calculated that East African farm women consumed up to 12 % of their total daily energy intake in fetching water. The containers that they carry, when filled with water, weigh up to 25 kilograms, and are sometimes carried a long distance. In most rural settlements all water used has to be carried to the place of its use by the women and female children, who fetch water from the river. Fuel for cooking and warming the house is fetched by the women, often on a daily basis. This may necessitate them covering large distances to collect wood or enough dung for fuel. Using wood and dung constitutes a slow cooking procedure which consumes a large part of the women's time each day (Dankelman & Davidson 1988).

In the region studied it was found that the adult women did all the cooking, but they were more likely to use paraffin or gas as fuel for cooking. They fetched water but in most areas there was piped water available, from taps attached to their own houses or those of their neighbours. Failing this, there were communal taps available or occasionally water springs close to the houses. Wood for fires was ordered, paid for in cash and delivered to their homes as there were very few trees available for chopping down in the area. If there was no cash, they "borrowed" from the neighbours and repaid the debt when money became available.

It has been customary for rural farming families to be large in order to provide the family with the necessary labour. However the greater the family size, the greater the demands on the woman, over and above the fact that her economic productivity is reduced while she is bearing and rearing children (Meuller 1984). The conflict between time spent on child bearing and rearing and the increasing demands of the family, creates a greater burden on the woman as the family size increases (Ebergbulan Njoku 1980:5).

Most women combine the activities of child minding and housework as the mother's presence is vitally important in the home because of the family values she represents. She transmits information and knowledge to her children and is responsible for their education in family history, tradition, custom and culture (Hishongwa 1983:15). However it has been found that a woman will reduce the time that she spends on housework in favour of wage earning activities. As the size of the land increases, young girls are left to do the housework so that adult women can be free to tend the land. In the past, most rural households have been autarchic, that is, they did not buy or sell labour, but this is changing (Meuller 1984). In this study it was evident that teenage girls seldom stayed home during school hours unless a child was ill and the adult woman was busy working elsewhere. However the teenage girls were the major child minders after school hours.

The rural woman's lifestyle does not allow much time for attending training courses where the benefits are not immediately evident. In addition, the young girls doing the household work would then be missing the opportunity of reaching a higher level of education than that of their mothers.

2.3 Women in agriculture

All women in this study had their personal vegetable and maize gardens situated close to their homes. Thus all managed to feed their families, at least partially, from their subsistence farming. Very few produced sufficiently to sell to others, so that marketing was not an issue. In addition, when a certain type of food was in season, virtually all families had access to the same products and there was no ready market.

Cloud (1988) reported on three types of agro-farming which highlight the differences in the roles of women. These are hoeing, ploughing and modern scientific agriculture. Hoe agriculture is extensively used in Africa where small plots are farmed. Both men and women are actively involved in this method but there are very distinct gender differences shown in the tasks carried out by the two sexes as they share the work load. Plough agriculture enables more land to be farmed at one time, but the women do not use animal traction. This is carried out by men. Modern scientific methods of farming involve the purchase of high yielding plant varieties, fertiliser and mechanised farm implements, all of which are usually not available to women (Cloud

1988).

The following pattern was followed in the areas of the study. Advice on seed purchasing was obtained from a salesperson at a major seed merchant's shop, and then only did the person delegated to buy seed for the group receive the information. Alternatively, some of the previous year's crop was kept for seed production and sown subsequently. Hoe ploughing was conducted by the teenage boys (not necessarily from the particular homestead), using animal traction. The girls followed behind, sowing the seed. Use of a tractor for ploughing was paid for in cash. The women paid an adult man to use his tractor to plough, if both finance and tractor were available. Otherwise the women or their daughters guided the hand plough and their older children (sons if available) pulled it.

African women are solely responsible for subsistence agriculture which is carried out using the hoe method. However it should not be assumed that this is their only form of involvement in farming. Women do heavy work and they also work long hours. They are assigned the tasks of sowing, weeding, crop maintenance, harvesting by hand and watering crops. In addition, women are solely responsible for the processing, preserving and storage of the harvested crops (Dankelman & Davidson 1988; Due 1987; Mead 1976). The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations calculated in 1985 that the women in the Third World were responsible for 80 % of the total agricultural production of these countries (Dankelman & Davidson 1988).

The International Labour Office in 1985 estimated that women were responsible for 60 % of the marketing of the crops produced by families in Africa (Dankelman & Davidson 1988). There are, however, very few crops that are sold in their raw state. In most cases, some processing is required. This is carried out by the women. This may take a long time, and require large amounts of energy. Processes such as threshing, drying, winnowing, peeling, grating, washing, sieving, and pounding are most often carried out using the traditional tools and technologies, often causing contamination of the product. Food processing and preserving both require appropriate technologies to be applied in order to make the processes worthwhile for the women and to ensure that they are making the best use of the products and obtaining the highest possible prices for their produce (Stevens & Date-Bah 1984).

In the areas studied, a very small part of the crop was sold by any family farmers. Most of the crop was consumed privately. However all grinding of maize was done by a tractor owner. Payment was in terms of cash or a portion of the mass of the maize processed. The women and adult children undertook the harvesting of all vegetable and maize crops with little in-house processing. This was one of the skills taught at Zenzele meetings.

2.4 Economic power - the deciding force

As a culmination of all the aforementioned factors, rural women have had to find some way of increasing their families' resources in order to meet the demands of the family. In recent times increased resources have essentially taken the form of earned money. The decision-making power concerning food matters for the family has always been vested in a woman, since she was the subsistence producer, but this power was eroded with the introduction of capitalism in the rural areas. In some areas this has led to a greater participation in cash crops, mainly by the men. A greater burden fell on the women who were then expected to work in their husband's fields. In other areas the lure of work in the cities removed adult men and young women from the country. This resulted in the essential participation of women in further income-generating activities in order to meet family obligations. Therefore women's roles multiplied, creating an overall decline in productivity in their traditional activities (Van Schaik 1988; Tadesse 1984).

It is however important that the women do not lose their present foothold in agriculture and other out-of-the-household activities altogether, as this would prolong their battle for equal rights (Van Schaik 1988). The solution is not to drive them out of productive work, but to permit them to improve their productivity and lessen the time and strain involved. It has been observed that when women are actively engaged in agriculture, they are more enterprising in selling their products than when they are excluded from agriculture (Anon. 1975).

Muir (1988:12) warns that "(t)he danger with some self-help projects is that, caught up in the enthusiasm of income-generation, the women are often over-worked. Also, by entering into work that conveniently uses women's traditional skills, women can be separated from the main-stream development processes and lose out on other training opportunities". However, since many of these crafts require little capital, they induce the involvement of women when capital is not available (McIntosh & Friedman 1988).

There are many benefits for women who earn their own money. A rural woman is quoted by Meer (1984:19): "There are many of us who would work even if we did not have to because we find staying at home boring and because the money that we earn gives us independence. We do not have to ask our husbands for anything."

If the women can carry out their income-generating activities at home, they are not seen as a threat to the household autonomy, as the housework, child care and income-generating activities can all be undertaken at the same place. It is important to note that if the activity of a woman has been found to give her economic independence, this seems to increase the respect from the household or family. Her economic power must not, however, seem to threaten the power of the husband, nor must female producer groups threaten the authority structures in the community. Otherwise support for these ventures wanes (McIntosh & Friedman 1988). Thus a

balance needs to be maintained between financial independence and dependence and between the internal and external work of women.

2.5 Family resource allocation

From the study of literature it can be seen that the new direction in development that considers the role of women in the household and in society has been vital. It is however not sufficient to simply redirect development efforts. Research must be carried out to document how the women of the Third World are able to cope with the multiple roles that they assume.

Managerial activities and processes aim to meet desired goals and purposes through the use of available resources (Rice & Tucker 1986:14). Different people have different approaches to management. Some have acquired skills which have become ingrained, and are used in all situations. Others have found themselves in situations that permit a limited range of responses, or are on one of life's plateaus that make managerial activities seem rather simple. Still other people avoid changes that would require them to alter their management practices. Some find it difficult to cope, and they may correctly or incorrectly blame uncontrollable factors in the situation (Deacon & Firebaugh 1981:3; Gross, Crandall & Knoll 1980:6-8).

Management helps people control the events of life and influences the outcome of situations. It may influence the quality of life of the individual and the family through the effective direction of resources towards goals. Management, therefore, involves the allocation of resources as related to the anticipation of future events. Decisions are needed to determine the quality and quantity of resources most appropriate to meet situations, solve problems and attain goals. Resources are necessary to solve all management problems. Conscious and unconscious use of resources determines the quality of life (Rice & Tucker 1986; Deacon & Firebaugh 1981).

The family's level of living and the satisfaction derived therefrom are thus dependent on the family's resources and their allocation. Within the framework of family resource use, the allocation of time within the rural household has been researched in Third World countries. It has become clear that the more the time spent by women on income-generating activities, the finer is the balance that has to be maintained between this activity and the household tasks. Women's resources and familial constraints should be studied prior to the introduction of income-generating activities to improve women's economic status and to set up as target the human factor - the rural woman and her knowledge, skill and time-use constraints (Balakrishnan, Firebaugh & Stafford 1986).

Resource allocation opportunities, such as the division of labour, do not become consciously recognised issues as they are hidden in many traditional societies. This does not alter the fact that the division of labour is based on gender for the

household-level resource allocation. These gender-based allocations play a major role in the allocation of power and exchange of other resources, such as education, income and discretionary time, within the home (Baker & Nelson 1987).

In their studies of the Third World, Baker and Nelson (1987) found that the women did not use resource allocation strategies that fitted into one model. They found that neither was one single strategy used by any one woman consistently, but that women employed strategy clusters. They tended to change the strategy used according to the context of the situation.

Five Third World strategies for resource allocation have been documented by Baker and Nelson (1987): traditionalism, fatalism, resource extension, commercialism and multiple survival techniques. To explain further:

- Women who practise *traditionalism*, allocate their resources without any change or alteration to their usual way of performing the task, and they do not question why they do the task. Their style of resource allocation would differ little from other families in the region.
- *Fatalism*, a sense of powerlessness, causes a woman to underutilise the opportunities that arise, as she does not think in terms of change for herself. Powerlessness would be indicated by no planning.
- *Resource extension* involves the use of everyday resources to deal with the constraints and limitations of the uncertainties beyond their control. Planning the few resources on hand would allow their maximum use.
- *Commercialism* is marked by dependent exchanges involving help, advice or services from others. This strategy reflects no thought about daily activities. These would simply be carried out in a random or unthinking fashion. It is especially prevalent where sufficient resources prevail.
- Women may design *multiple survival techniques* which contain clear, rational and successful uses of the available resources. These are economical in nature and include three systems as basic resources: informal work, community services and informal networks. They presuppose adequate resources available to the women (Baker & Nelson 1987).

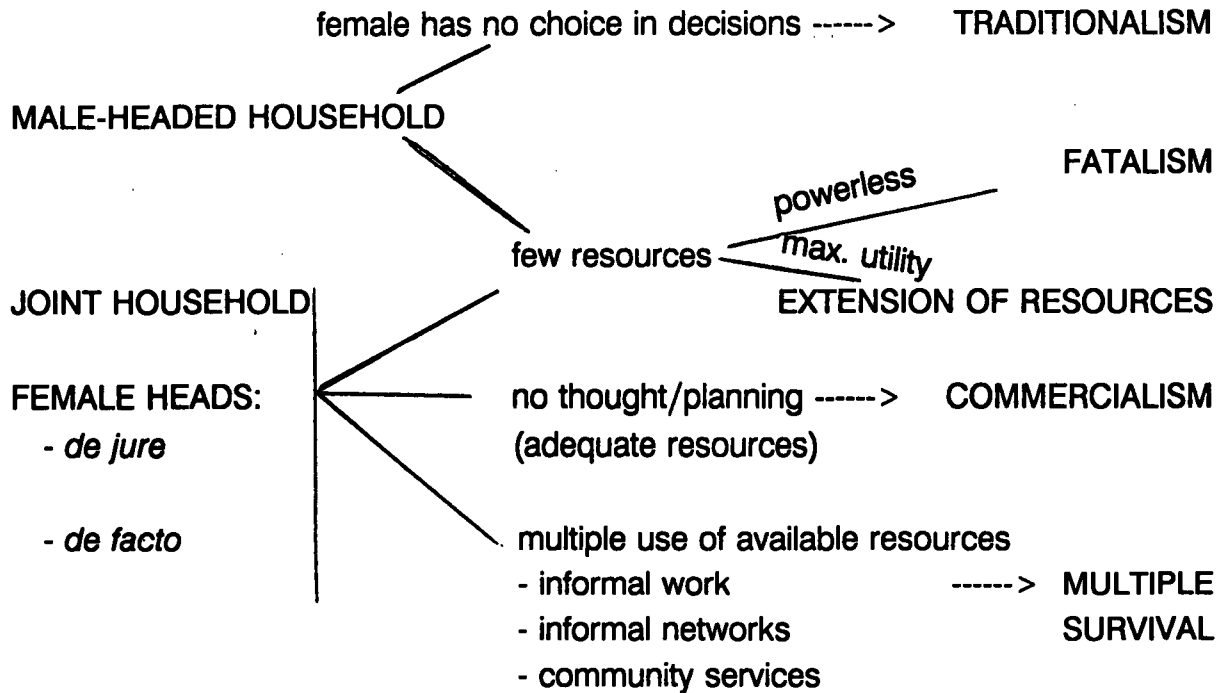


Figure 1: Theoretical model of resource allocation (Baker & Nelson 1987)

The theoretical model developed by Baker and Nelson (1987) has been diagrammatically represented in Figure 1. Male-headed households included families with resident husbands or adult males. *De facto* female heads of households referred to women who were effectively in control of their families because of the temporary or migratory absence of their legal husbands. *De jure* female heads of households included all families where the women were widowed, divorced, abandoned or had never married and consequently had no adult male support (Cloud 1988).

This theory also states that for male-headed households, a woman may have no choice in the decisions, and would simply do as she was told with either a fatalistic or traditional view of household management, depending on the level of resources available. If the family was headed by a male but had few resources, a woman may have the same strategies as female-headed households with few resources. These women could either feel helpless, showing a "fatalistic" approach, or may use their resources to their maximum utility, therefore displaying the strategy of "extension of resources".

2.6 Summary

It seems that developers and researchers have agreed with the traditional ideals of the African countries where women do not display a front-row involvement in family issues

and decisions. It has been a mistake for developers not to have gone beyond the apparent structure of the family management pattern to discover that, despite the role that the man plays as the head of the household, it is the rural woman who is responsible for the well-being of the family. She carries the burden of providing all the essential resources for the survival of her family, as well as meeting the demands of her husband in his quest to earn money for his own use by growing cash crops or by accepting urban employment.

As westernisation and urbanisation increase, the multiplicity of the roles of the rural woman will increase. There is no longer any doubt that the women are the housewives and are concerned with the production of goods and services for the immediate consumption of the family - a task for which they are solely responsible in the household.

The rural women in Africa are also farmers. They are subsistence farmers who produce and process the food necessary for the survival of their families. In addition a woman may cultivate crops for retail purposes in order to increase her income.

The size of the women's families is a hindrance to them. It has been traditional to have large families to provide the labour necessary for farming, but the large family size may also add to the stresses placed on the woman who is expected to provide the essentials for the survival of this growing family labour force.

With the growing rates of urbanisation, the number of men who have migrated to the cities has increased, leaving the women behind. Women-headed households are left with greatly reduced labour resources, and even where the husband returns periodically, the wife is still at a disadvantage. There are only a few financial resources available in the rural areas where regular employment, competitive shopping facilities, banking services and ready markets for products are limited.

The solution to these problems seems to lie in the empowerment of the women. In this the major consideration should be that rural women will probably remain responsible for the tasks in the home, the provision of the food required for the family and the financial resources needed.

As a woman begins to earn, she is immediately assigned respect by the family, and in fact it seems that this is the only way in which she can gain respect, since her traditional unpaid tasks, although still expected of her, do not bring respect. Economic power also increases the bargaining power within the marriage, but for female household heads it is of greater importance that a woman be an earner, not only to gain respect, but in order to survive. If she can earn extra money, it is more likely that in time she will be able to earn credit, for which some sort of surety is required. Unfortunately a lack of education makes women vulnerable to the pitfalls of credit.

An excellent way of reaching and empowering such women is through the channels of women's groups. Here the women can work together and support each other. Their pooled resources also contribute to greater scope for improvement. These

groups can be established in the rural areas, making it possible to train the women in their own environment as it is often impractical to remove them from their homes.

The multiplicity of the roles of women in rural societies has come to the attention of developers and researchers, but the ways in which the women cope with these roles have not been extensively documented. **In the light of the role of the women in the rural societies, it seems that the resource allocation strategies of rural women need to be studied and applied to development programmes. Understanding the constraints of her home situation and her way of restructuring her tasks in order to cope with the additional demand of having to attend a training course, will benefit developers because the woman's ability to cope with her roles may determine her ability to attend and complete such courses.**

3. THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The first proposed aim of this project was to obtain a general overview of women's managerial practices in the home, and to investigate whether members of a developmental association had benefited from their membership. The second aim was to identify two sets of factors:

- (i) those that promoted and facilitated the rural women's attendance of informal group training sessions, and
- (ii) those that hindered their attendance.

The study was conducted in two parts: The first was a survey of Zulu women's lifestyles and managerial strategies to see whether Zenzele members were representative of the general Zulu female population; the second attempted to discover the family management factors that encouraged or limited the participation of rural Zulu women in the Natal Midlands in group courses offered to them to improve the quality of life of their families. More specifically, the objectives were:

3.1 Management strategies

To ascertain the rural Zulu women's household management strategies and the differences between those who were members of the Zenzele Women's Association and those who were not members; and to analyse the management strategies used by the women to arrange their household tasks - with the use of managerial resource usage theory as suggested by Deacon and Firebaugh (1981) and of Baker and Nelson's (1987) five categories of resource allocation.

3.2 Factors influencing attendance

To discover whether the number of demands made on a woman, the resources available to her, some selected variables related to the learning situation and her participation in household production may be used to determine her attendance at group learning situations. An assessment will be made as to which of the above variables encourage and which limit her participation in a development course.

4. METHODS USED

The data for this study were collected from randomly chosen Zenzele clubs under Mrs L. Maphanga, a fieldworker whose area covered the rural areas of the Natal Drakensberg and its foothills. Mrs Maphanga had been trained at fieldworkers' training courses during the previous three years and was considered to be experienced.

The researchers and interpreters visited these areas to conduct group discussions with all women who arrived for the specially called meetings. At each venue the women were divided into groups of members and non-members of Zenzele clubs, each under the guidance of a researcher and an interpreter. The conversations were recorded and pertinent points were noted on the prepared forms (see Appendix A). Resource allocation and management strategies were elicited from each group through the use of questions, topics and suggestions for action. Individual responses were recorded for some questions while other questions elicited the whole group's final point of view (see Appendix A). A brief rationale for the questions selected is included in Appendix B.

A trial run of the procedures was conducted at Ncwadi (which was not included in the final sample). After the pilot study, the questionnaires and research methodology were altered appropriately.

At regular intervals Mrs Maphanga would arrange workshops to which three to five clubs in an area were invited in order to teach them a specific skill. To identify the factors influencing attendance at meetings and courses, additional data were collected at such workshops through the use of questionnaires (see Appendix C). These were translated into Zulu to facilitate the easy collection of data as some of the women were unable to speak or read English. The questionnaires in Appendix C have been numbered A1, A2 and B for the purpose of clarification for this report. Questionnaire C(A1) was completed at the start of the course, while Questionnaire C(A2) was completed just before the end of the day. Questionnaire C(B) was completed at a follow-up meeting.

Mrs Maphanga and a Zulu assistant were taught to assist the women to complete

the questionnaire. They were also shown the cues to use in answering any questions put to them. The researchers were present at the Zenzele meetings during which the questionnaires were completed and they were available to help those women who understood English.

4.1 Methodology relating to management strategies and Zenzele membership

The groups for the discussions were established by dividing the women into two sections: members, and poor attenders together with non-members. The data from the group discussions were analysed according to the women's reactions to questions relating to their family structure, resource availability, resource allocation and managerial abilities. To determine specific resource allocation strategies, practical situations and problems were posed to stimulate discussion. The theoretical basis for the practical questions was based on the model in Figure 1. The specific resource allocation strategies were assessed in term of whether they were evident in the women's responses to the practical situations presented. See Appendix A for the actual questions posed. The managerial processes shown in Figure 2 were also identified from the women's responses.

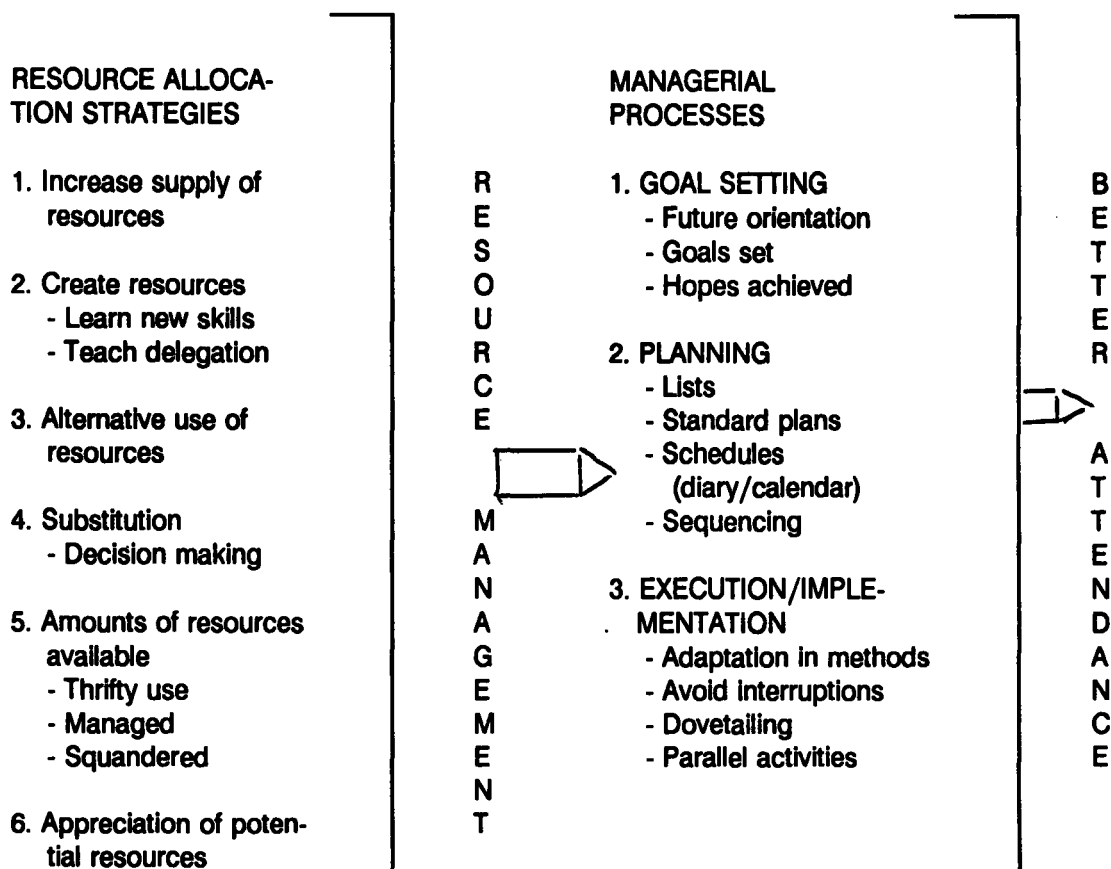


Figure 2: Theoretical basis for managerial strategies

It was suggested that the resource allocation strategies employed by rural women were based primarily on who was responsible for the various decisions in the household (Baker & Nelson 1987). Therefore, it was important that the household head be documented to assess which of Baker and Nelson's (1987) classification of resource allocation strategies applied to each woman. These strategies were classified as traditionalism, fatalism, extension of resources, commercialism, and multiple survival (see Section 2.5).

The structure of the families and related life-style variables were determined using such factors as whether the father lived at home, who was responsible for money handling and food purchasing, who provided financial resources to the family, the role of the males in the households and whether this changed when they were absent.

The resources available were assessed and included finance (determined by the number of earners per family), education, craft skills, attitudes, and knowledge of community resources. Time as a resource was excluded as this was not possible to determine without extensive additional study.

Abilities related to resource usage included increasing the total supply, creating new ones, converting resources, alternative uses, substitution and awareness of

resources available.

The management strategies included goal setting (priorities, future orientation, intermediate goals, activities), planning (lists, standard plans, schedules, sequencing), and implementation (self-reported effectiveness, controls, delegation, dovetailing, parallel activities) (see Appendix A).

All the women were assigned to categories for their family structure, financial resources, general managerial ability, and their participation in informal work and informal support networks. This allowed for the testing of Baker and Nelson's theory (1987) on relationships between family structure, resource level and managerial strategies.

The data were analysed simply by using frequencies and percentages as the group discussion format did not permit full individual documentation for quantitative purposes. The rationale for the questions is contained in Appendix B. This also explains which questions related to the variables mentioned here.

In addition, discussion was solicited on the constraints limiting attendance or membership of Zenzele club meetings and training sessions.

4.2 Methodology relating to resource allocation and attendance

The data from the seven Zenzele clubs were treated in such a way as to enable identification of the clubs to which the women belonged but the data from the different clubs were treated as a unit. These data were then divided into two groups for the analysis. Those women who indicated that they attended more than 50 % of meetings were assigned to the first group, leaving those who stated that they attended less than 50 % of their Zenzele club's meetings in the second group.

A representative score for the demands, resources, course variables and household production was developed for each woman. See Appendix D for the specific calculations of each score.

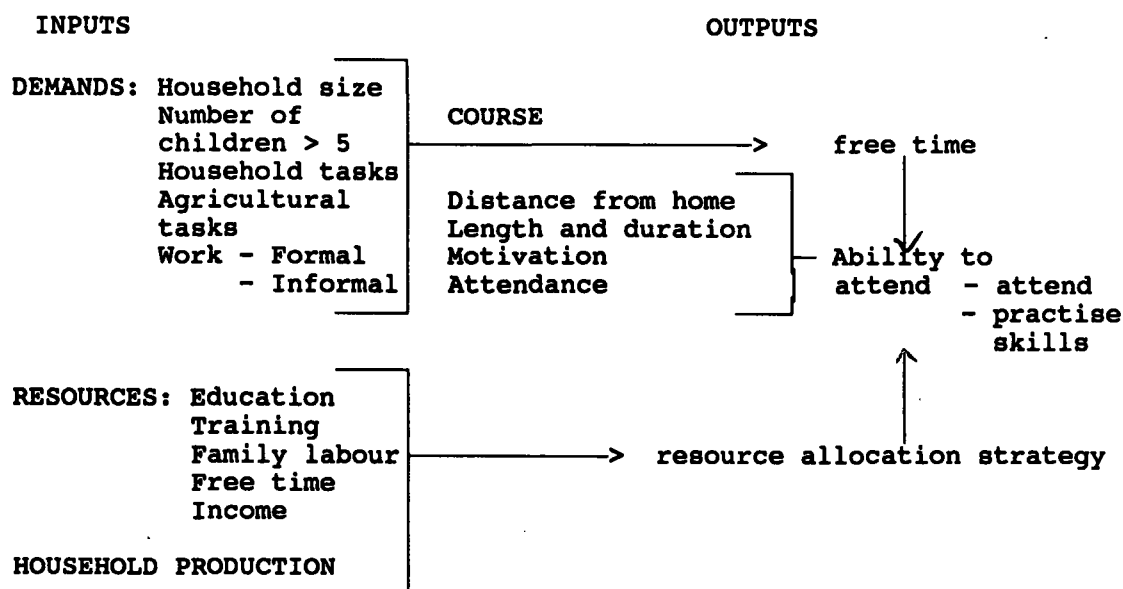


Figure 3: Theoretical framework specific to the research methodology

Figure 3 illustrates the theoretical framework upon which the methodology for this subproblem was based.

Each parameter was determined from the appropriate responses. The number of roles for each woman was added. These roles reflected participation in household tasks, agricultural tasks, and formal and informal employment. If the women indicated that they participated in housework or cared for animals or grew vegetables or fruit, or if they were formally employed or sold items that they purchased for resale, grew or made themselves, they were assigned marks for their role involvement.

Two subscores - household size and the number of children under five years old in the household - were added to the subscore for the women's roles within the household, to produce a score for the family DEMANDS placed on the women. The household size was taken as the number of people living in a woman's home each day. (Those household members who lived away from home during the week or month were not included in this figure.) This figure, as well as the number of children in the household who were less than five years old, was divided by the maximum number for that score for the sample for more equitable comparisons.

The score for the RESOURCES available was obtained from the sum of the subscores for education (the education of a woman as a ratio of the highest education for the sample), the amount of potential adult family labour, free time available and the household income. The family labour subscore was obtained by the sum of the numbers of women, men, girls and boys as predetermined percentages of the total potential labour force within the household. This was based on the ratio of 80:10:7,5:2,5 respectively according to the recommendations of McSweeney (1979).

Subscores for accessibility, motivation and attendance were totalled to produce the

COURSE score. Accessibility of the training course was calculated according to the distance of the workshop (training course) from the women's homes (time taken for them to travel to the workshop) and the mode of transport. The length and duration of the workshop was standard for all the workshops and was not included in the course score. The women's motivatedness to attend the workshops was gauged from their positive or negative responses to a question regarding their enjoyment of the workshop. The attendance of the women was determined from their own statements in this regard.

The HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION score was calculated from the positive responses to the care of animals, the growing of food for the family and the participation of the women in home crafts. These aspects were additional to the basic expectations of what housework involved.

A discriminant analysis program was run to determine if there was any significant difference between the various scores for the women in the two attendance groups. The reasons the women reported for not attending the last meeting that they missed, were documented. This analytic technique was chosen for this study since it addressed the problem of how well two or more groups of individuals could be separated, given measurements for these individuals were available on several variables. This technique did not require the data to be in standard form or to have a zero mean and unit variance prior to the start of the analysis, since the outcome was not affected in any way by the scale of the individual variables (Manly 1986:87).

A multivariate analysis was also conducted to determine which of the original variables mentioned above were responsible for significant differences between the two groups of course attenders.

5. SUMMARY OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

5.1 Characteristics of the homes of the rural women

In order to illustrate the background from which the women came, it is necessary to describe the general life-style of the respondents' families in the areas studied. The variables shown to be important by the literature have been highlighted here.

5.1.1 Factors in the household

The women were found to be solely responsible for the housework in their households. They cleaned and tidied their homes, did the washing, prepared all the meals and took care of the children. Even the older women who had retired and were submissive to the tribal family rule of the son, were often responsible for the care of

the grandchildren, weeding the crops and tending the small livestock. Female children were called upon to assist the mother at times but in general the women delegated very few of their responsibilities to their children. The males who were present in the households, and those who visited occasionally, did not participate in the housework at all, and in fact, very few did much to help in the house.

The women or their school-going children fetched all the water necessary for household use. Some of the areas had piped water and taps. Where the women did not actually have a tap but used a neighbour's or a communal tap, they themselves were responsible for fetching water.

Some wood was required in every household. Some households used gas or paraffin for cooking, but it was the task of the women to chop and collect wood from the surrounding area. Many households ordered and paid for the wood when it was delivered.

In all the areas there were crèches which were run by the local Zenzele club. These offered alternative child care for the women who belonged to the association. These crèches seemed to be well supported by those women who could afford to pay the monthly fee of about R6,00. This helped to free the women to attend meetings, and to carry out household tasks without the additional task of child minding. It is reported in the literature (Cloud 1988) that often the child care was left to the older female children but in this study it seemed that girls who were not at school usually left the area to find employment, and school-going girls were seldom withdrawn from their classes to mind children.

5.1.2 Factors in agriculture

Most of the women in the area were involved in gardening on their own properties, and at least half of the sample were also involved in community gardening. Most of the work was carried out manually by the women. Some of the women had decided that it was better to pay the money to hire a tractor to do the ploughing than to use the method of animal traction. The men in these areas had very little to do with the gardening, some of them helping with the ploughing only. It seemed that the women were able to produce almost sufficient food from their gardens to feed their families. The most commonly grown vegetables were potatoes, cabbages, onions, pumpkins, squashes, and *amadumbes*. Fruit trees were also grown by the women and the fruit was preserved or made into jams and jellies.

Very little use was made of innovative farming methods and there seemed to be very little deviation from traditional and customary farming methods. Most of the women also farmed with chickens and goats. There were a few cattle to be seen in the area.

5.1.3 Development effects

There was evidence of family changes owing to the effects of urbanisation which the women indicated had led to a great deal of dissatisfaction in their lives. They felt isolated from the business of the men. Most of the women did not know how much their husbands earned in the cities and many suspected that their husbands had other "wives" there with whom they shared their money. This also led to a heavier load on the women to maintain the households, and to protect and provide for their families while the husbands and almost all adult offspring were away in the cities and industrial areas where there was a market for their labour.

The only men that were to be found resident in the households were those who were on pension, were ill or were unemployed. Only two women said their husbands worked in the area; the one was the local tractor and truck owner and ran the wood supply and ploughing activities, while the other was the headmaster of the local primary school.

There was a definite transition as one travelled from the cities into these outlying areas as there was no electric power (though some individual generators were present) and very little modern machinery or household technology. Even if the women were to be creative and commence income-generating activities, they would be restrained by the distance that they lived from the retailers of the materials they might require, and even if they were to use locally available materials, they were so far removed from their potential markets that they would find this a difficult venture. A few women were innovative and had ventured to begin their own businesses but they could only make small numbers of items before flooding the local market. The constraints of their household responsibilities and their isolation from the First World resources and markets made it very difficult for these women to become even partially self-supporting.

5.1.4 Economic power

It seemed that when the men lived at home, the women were given more economic power. For example, women with healthy husbands at home, purchased some of the household food. Where the husbands lived elsewhere but visited the household fairly regularly, it seemed that they maintained control over the wife by making her economically dependent. These men gave the women very little money for free use. They usually purchased a month's food and supplies in town and brought these with them when visiting. These women did not seem to have any say about what their husbands bought as monthly rations, and these seldom varied.

The women seemed to have the freedom to carry out and organise their own household tasks, without the interference of the men, irrespective of whether the men

were at home or not. The isolation of the women in these areas also meant that they had no access to savings facilities, although this was not always necessary. Very few women actually had any amounts of money to store or invest.

6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLES

The demographics of the women present at the group discussions and the workshop training sessions were similar. It seemed that the women who responded to the questions were a fairly homogeneous group age, educational level and family size. The same clubs were used for both parts of the study. The descriptions follow independently, however, because the subsequent data analysis was conducted separately.

6.1 Discussion groups

Thirty-six women from six group interviews conducted in the rural areas of Inzinga, Donnybrook, Pholela and Bulwer comprised the sample for the discussion groups. The sample included all those women who had arrived by the time that the discussions began. The women were mainly from *de jure* or *de facto* female-headed homes, with few males (28 %) being present in the communities. Of the 36, 23 were members of Zenzele, the rest, 13, were non-members.

None of the women were formally employed (possibly because these discussions were held during the week) but seven women produced goods on a regular basis and had developed distribution routes of varying sophistication for their products. Both the average and modal educational level for these groups was Standard 2-5. (Possibly the better educated working women and teachers were not present in these groups - see Table 1.) Their age was not determined as research had shown that this was irrelevant for the study of resource allocation, and some women were uncertain of their ages.

Three of the women in the sample were old-age pensioners. Two of these women represented half of the traditional households in the sample, which could possibly indicate that the older women still adhered to the old tribal custom of living with one of their sons. Prior to this age, it seemed that whether from *de facto* or *de jure* female-headed homes, women remained the head of the household until a son was able to take over. The younger women, mothers and daughters-in-law seemed to remain minors within the family and subservient to the *gogo's* (grandmother's) management. They seemed very passive within the families, doing only what they were told. Few (2) of these women took part in the surveys or seemed to be members of Zenzele.

Table 1: Sample characteristics of discussion groups

VARIABLE	RESPONSE n = 36	
FAMILY TYPE		
	%	
	FEMALE HEAD	33,3
	<i>DE JURE</i>	36,1
	JOINT	5,5
	TRADITIONAL	11,0
	MALE HEAD	14,0
FATHER LIVES IN		
	YES	27,8
	NO	36,1
	VISITS	27,8
	VISITS SOME	8,3
EMPLOYMENT		
SALARIED:	FULL-TIME	0,0
	PART-TIME	0,0
INFORMAL:	REGULARLY	47,2
	OCCASIONALLY	5,5
OWN BUSINESS		19,4
NO EMPLOYMENT		27,8
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
	NONE	15,1
	< STD 1	13,6
	STD 2 - 5	50,0
	STD 6 - 8	13,6
	STD 9 - 10	7,8
	MORE	0,0

6.2 Workshop participants

The women, comprising a sample of thirty, were all members of seven Zenzele clubs in the Donnybrook and Inzinga areas of the Natal Midlands. Data were collected from a series of workshops held at venues in these areas.

The demographic factors were similar for the women in both groups (regular and irregular attenders)(see Table 2). Their ages ranged from 20 to 75, the average age being 45. The average age of the women in the group of low attenders was found to be 41 years, while the average age for those who attended more regularly was 47 years.

The average educational level was Standard 6-8 while the modal level was Standard 2-5.

The average size of the household was about 5,7 people, ranging from 1 to 13 members. In more than half the homes represented, there were no adult males living at home. In more than half the sample, the respondent was the only adult woman at home during the day. Only one household had no children. Nine of the women (30 %) were formally employed (four were full time). The rest of the women stated that they were not formally employed. Only one woman was self-employed. Nine of the respondents (33 %) indicated no earners in their households. These areas, especially the Inzinga region, were fairly remote rural areas where the men were either employed on the surrounding farms or migrated to the cities to find employment, returning on a monthly basis to visit the families. There was very little evidence of material wealth and minimal cash income or cash flow.

There was an even distribution of women from the seven Zenzele clubs assigned to each group (high and low attendance). Exactly half of the women fell into each of the two groups. The women who participated in the workshops travelled between ten minutes and two hours in order to attend the meetings. Most of them walked to get there.

Table 2: Sample characteristics of workshop participants

VARIABLE	RESPONSE	
	n = 30	
AVERAGE AGE (YEARS)		45
EMPLOYMENT		
SALARIED:	FULL-TIME	13,3
	PART-TIME	13,3
	WORK OCCASIONALLY	3,3
	NO EMPLOYMENT	70,0
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
	NONE	3,4
	< STD 1	0,0
	STD 2 - 5	48,3
	STD 6 - 8	31,0
	STD 9 - 10	13,8
	MORE	3,4
FAMILY		
	AV. HOUSEHOLD SIZE	5,7
	CHILDREN UNDER 5	46,7
	NO SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN	20,0
	MALES AT HOME	36,0
	NO EARNERS IN FAMILY	30,0
	ONE EARNER IN FAMILY	36,7
	MORE THAN ONE EARNER PER FAMILY	33,3

Because the same people did not participate in the discussion and the workshop sections of the study, the results and their discussion have been treated separately, namely in Sections 7 and 8.

7. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AND ZENZELE MEMBERSHIP

The management strategies of the women (members and non-members of Zenzele) **in the discussion groups** are discussed according to the family structure influences, resource usage, and the managerial processes used. Thereafter, the results of testing Baker and Nelson's theory (1987) are reported. The household structure, the income and its distribution among the members of the household, the division of labour, organisational strategies, decision-making modes, goal setting and planning were discussed through the use of structured sets of topics relating to the women's homes, families and activities (see Appendix A and B).

7.1 Family structure

Among the 13 women in the group of non-members of Zenzele (Group 2 in Table 3) were two irregular attenders and one new member. The other women (23) were members of Zenzele (Group 1 in Table 3) and indicated that they attended meetings regularly. A comparison of data on six women who attended both the workshops and the discussion groups confirmed their regular membership.

The average education level was Std 2-5 for both groups. The membership group was demographically fairly homogeneous. However the non-members seemed more diverse in that there were some much older or younger than the average age (approximately 18-80 years but difficult to judge). In addition some non-members were involved in cottage industries, and others were apparently without income while the members tended to fit a middle-class homogeneity.

Female-headed households dominated the community. Sixty-six per cent of the total group of 36 women stated that husbands visited once a month or less often, or were completely absent. The Zenzele women were found to represent proportionately more female-headed households than those in the other group (73,9 % against 61,6 %). There were, therefore, proportionately fewer men available to influence household activities on a daily basis (than would be expected in a traditional household) and members could be expected to have more autonomy in their homes. Zenzele members also reported more support from men, including sons and sons-in-law, who lived away from home (43,5 % against 23,1 %). There was a greater diversity of family structures among the non-members in that 38,5 % of the husbands lived at home and the same percentage had apparently abandoned their families.

Table 3: Family structure from group discussions

VARIABLE	RESPONSE	GROUP 1* n = 23	GROUP 2** n = 13
FAMILY TYPE			
	FEMALE HEAD	34,8	30,8
	<i>DE JURE</i>	39,1	30,8
	JOINT	0,0	15,4
	TRADITIONAL	8,7	15,4
	MALE HEAD	17,4	7,7
FATHER'S STATUS			
	LIVES IN	21,7)	38,5)
	DOES NOT LIVE IN	34,8)	38,5)
	VISITS	30,4)	23,1)
	VISITS SOMETIMES	13,0)	0,0)
	EXTERNAL MALE SUPPORT	43,5	23,1

* GROUP 1 = Zenzele members

** GROUP 2 = Non-members

These areas were very rural and in remote parts of inland Natal. In the furthest areas, the people could only reach the shops by the use of the daily bus service, or when closer to the main roads, by minibus. These services were considered expensive, travel was time consuming and therefore menfolk were not expected to return home more often.

7.2 Family roles in resource allocation

The handling of money seemed to depend more on the presence or absence of the husband than on membership of Zenzele. Sixty-five per cent of the Zenzele women and 61,5 % of non-members handled at least some money in their households. Zenzele members indicated that they handled slightly more money than the non-members but this may have been influenced by the fewer menfolk present in the members group. In both groups all the women whose husbands lived at home, also handled money in the household (possibly because there was more money available in these cases).

Table 4: Family roles from group discussions

VARIABLE	RESPONSE	GROUP 1* n = 23	GROUP 2** n = 13
		%	%
MONEY HANDLED BY WOMEN:	YES	21,7	38,5
	NO	30,4	38,5
	SOME	30,4	15,4
	LITTLE	0,0	7,7
	SON ONLY	4,3	0,0
	OLD-AGE PENSION	13,0	0,0
TOTAL WOMEN HANDLERS***		65,2	61,5
FOOD PURCHASES	WIFE ONLY	47,8	69,2
	HUSBAND ONLY	21,7	0,0
	WIFE SOME	4,3	0,0
	BOTH	8,7	7,7
	SON ONLY	8,7	0,0
	OTHERS	8,7	23,1
TOTAL WOMEN PURCHASERS***		60,9	76,9
DIVISION OF LABOUR MALE ROLE	RESTS	21,7	15,4
	N/A	21,7	38,5
	ILL	4,3	0,0
	PARTICIPATES	21,7	15,4
	WORKS	30,4	30,8
MALE ROLE CHANGES	YES	26,1	15,4
	NO	43,5	46,2
	N/A	13,0	38,5
* GROUP 1 = Zenzele members	YES SOME	8,6	0,0
** GROUP 2 = Non-members	OTHER	4,3	0,0
** Totals from 2 decimal places			

Overall, the women were the ones who purchased the food in the families (52 % in the members group and 69 % of the non-members). However in the members group it seemed that the number of men who lived at home, did not influence the matter of who purchased the food. The discussions seemed to indicate that the men who worked and earned money outside of the community were the ones who purchased the food for the family once a month. The women seemed to have very little say in the choice and variety of these foods when this system was followed. More men in the households represented by Zenzele members purchased food. This may be linked to the fact that the women in the group who were non-members either had a high income (therefore had the finance available to purchase food for themselves) or an absence of a regular income. They were widows or women who received no

financial support from absent husbands and therefore had to purchase all the food their households needed.

Compared with non-members the Zenzele members indicated a high occurrence of changes in the household management systems when the men returned home. This figure may be biased as the households represented by the members had more men returning regularly to their households. Therefore change was more likely to be noticed than when the men were resident. Twenty-three per cent of the non-members found the questions regarding the change in their roles when the man returned not applicable, indicating a greater number of *de jure* female-headed homes.

There was very little overall change recorded in the roles of women in household activities when the men returned to the households. However similar proportions of men in each group carried out work when they were at home, but this number was small. The majority of men rested, visited or did minor tasks around the home.

7.3 Resource usage

Regarding the use of resources, the Zenzele members showed a significant ability to increase their resources and to learn new skills, thus making use of opportunities to increase their resources (see Table 5). There was also greater delegation of tasks within these households. These factors were determined by the women's responses to the group discussions. For example, the women's response to the questions on how they could improve their income, grow more vegetables and purchase food more efficiently and cheaply, were used to gauge their desire and potential ability to increase their income. The women were also asked whether they were in fact learning new skills and if not, did they wish to be in situations where they could learn new skills. The discussions on the preparation of breakfast, tasks which could not be carried out while the women were away from home, and who cared for their children were used to determine whether the women practised task delegation.

The two groups did however have a similar score for substitution in management (gauged by the women's discussions on whether food prices were lower in town or in their own areas, their decisions on whether it was cheaper to pay the taxi or bus fare and shop in "town" or to pay the local higher prices; and also the discussions related to the use of labour from outside the household). The non-members also showed a significant desire to learn new skills. Generally, delegation was practised by approximately a third of the women in each group, and a similar percentage substituted resources to compensate for scarcity. This meant that few women had a

conscious awareness of these concepts and used them in their daily work. In fact, the women were proud that when home, this was their domain and their responsibility to be in charge.

The non-members group had significantly greater percentages of women with high and with low or no funding sources. This may be explained by more live-in husbands on the one hand, and the greater absence of men on the other. Overall the women seemed to have a medium to low level of income based on the types of problems they encountered. The Zenzele women seemed to have a more homogeneous income available to them because of the greater numbers of males who worked away from the household but visited or sent food/money regularly. On average the Zenzele women had a perception of greater amounts of goods available to them than the non-members. However there were no complaints about a real lack of goods in either group, just of money. Most of the women were involved in gardening and indicated that keeping animals and livestock was relatively widespread.

There were some management activities reported for both groups of women. However, there were comparatively more members who managed their homes well and used recognised management strategies (see Table 5). Both groups showed a low level of appreciation of potential family and community resources, but there was a greater awareness of community resources among the women who were not members of Zenzele. This may be related to their income and the nature of the group. Those with higher incomes apparently had received more education, certainly had more financial resources available to them and were more aware of community services. Those with little income may have been compelled by their circumstances to use the available external resources. More of these women were not members of Zenzele.

Table 5: Resource usage from group discussions

VARIABLE	RESPONSE	GROUP1* n=23	GROUP2** n=13
INCREASE SUPPLY		%	%
	YES	86,2	30,8
	NO	18,2	15,4
	YES SOME OWN BUSINESS	0,0	15,4
	THOUGHT ABOUT	9,1	38,5
CREATE NEW RESOURCES NEW SKILLS		4,5	0,0
	YES	86,4	38,5
	NO	4,5	23,1
DELEGATE	DESIRE	9,1	38,5
	YES	40,9	30,8
SUBSTITUTE	NO	59,1	69,2
	YES	36,8	38,5
AMOUNT AVAILABLE - MONEY	NO	63,2	61,5
	HIGH	13,6	23,1
	MEDIUM	50,0	30,8
	LOW	27,3	15,4
	LACKING	9,1	30,8
- GOODS	HIGH	13,6	7,7
	MEDIUM	50,0	53,8
	LOW	36,4	15,4
	LACKING	0,0	0,0
HOW MANAGED	NONE	22,7	38,5
	SOME	40,9	46,2
	WELL	36,4	15,4
APPRECIATION OF RESOURCES	NONE	27,3	30,8
	FAMILY	27,3	23,1
	COMMUNITY	22,7	30,8
	BOTH	22,7	15,4

* GROUP 1 = Zenzele members

** GROUP 2 = Non-members

7.4 Managerial processes

Overall, the Zenzele women were more goal oriented than the women who were not members. This was especially evident in the area of income and the attitude that these women expressed towards the use of their available income, no matter how inadequate this was perceived to be. However in the areas of gardening, carrying out

tasks while cooking breakfast and completing the tasks which could not be carried out while the women were away from home attending the discussions, there was also evidence of greater goal orientation among the members (see Table 6).

Table 6: Managerial processes from group discussions

VARIABLE	RESPONSES	GROUP 1* n=23	GROUP 2** n=13
a. GOAL SETTING		%	%
GARDEN	YES	27,3	23,1
	NO	72,7	76,9
INCOME	YES	54,5	23,1
	NO	45,5	76,9
PORRIDGE	YES	27,3	23,1
	NO	72,7	76,9
TASKS	YES	59,1	46,2
	NO	40,9	53,8
b. PLANNING LISTS			
	YES	40,9	23,1
	NO	18,2	46,2
	NO SAY	9,1	0,0
	SOMETIMES	13,6	7,7
	OTHERS	18,2	23,1
STANDARD PLANS			
	AUTOMATIC	31,8	15,4
	CONSCIOUS	13,6	7,7
	NONE	54,5	76,9
SCHEDULES			
	DIARY	22,7	7,7
	CALENDAR	22,7	30,8
	LOOK	9,1	0,0
	REMINDED	13,6	23,1
	OTHERS	18,2	15,4
	NONE	13,6	23,1
TIME AWARENESS			
	YES	36,4	23,1
	NO	63,6	76,9
c. EXECUTION			
DOVETAILING	YES	50,0	66,7
	NO	50,0	33,3
PARALLEL	YES	4,8	54,5
	NO	90,5	45,5

* GROUP 1 = Zenzele members

** GROUP 2 = Non-members

Comparatively more women who attended Zenzele made lists to help them with shopping. They regularly also made far greater use of standard plans (automatic and conscious) than the other women. Since it was obvious from the interviews that the women did not understand such concepts at all, these principles were apparently practised unconsciously and were possibly an inherited part of active housework (patterned previously from their mothers' example).

The Zenzele women had higher scores for the use of schedules. Twenty-three per cent of them used diaries or notebooks, and 23 % wrote on calendars to remind them of events. A further 9 % used calendars merely to look at, while 14 % had other household members to remind them of important days or dates. Several (18 %) needed reminding by others in the community. In the non-membership group, more women (31 %) wrote on calendars, a few (8 %) used diaries or notebooks, but many more relied on the community grapevine, family reminders or radio news. More Zenzele members used written records of dates, events and reminders, whereas the non-members more often needed to be reminded or assisted by other household members. It should be noted that Zenzele fieldworkers were trained in and practised in the use of diaries and records, and that the fieldworker for these areas reported that she had trained the women in the use of calendars, diaries and notebooks.

There was also a considerably greater awareness of time among the women who attended Zenzele. They reported concrete plans on when they would do future tasks, rather than "tomorrow sometime". This may also have been a concept developed by the training carried out through Zenzele.

In the area of execution of management plans Zenzele members seemed to carry out less dovetailing of activities and hardly any simultaneous activities. However this proved a very difficult area to gauge as no one had any concept of these and other management execution principles. These results were obtained after the discovery of some universal activities and much difficult discussion.

7.5 Resource allocation theory

Here the researchers set out to discover whether the women employed management strategies in terms of Baker and Nelson's (1987) five categories of resource allocation. Although household structure formed the basis of the theory, it was found irrelevant to the classification of the women in this sample. It seemed that women in traditional households either did not attend the group discussions or else there were very few traditional households left. The high level of male migrant labour in the communities concerned may have caused the lack of traditional households in the sample. Absent or live-in husbands had no influence on attendance or membership of Zenzele. Therefore, although the household structure was explored further, it did not form a major basis for the theory tested.

The variables analysed were the household structure, the level of resources present and the resource allocation mode relating to the goal orientation and the organisational ability of the women within their households. Women from traditional households (4) were Zenzele members but were also either older members without dependents, or very young women with little responsibility within the family. It is not clear at what stage the change from young dependent woman to head of household occurs.

The women with few resources tended to be non-members of Zenzele. Thirty-one per cent of the non-members and 9 % of the regular members were classified as having few resources and most of the women were not goal oriented, but felt that there had to be "something" they could do to improve the situation (but did not know what). These women were considered to have a non-fatalistic attitude but were not yet making full use of their available resources, and were therefore not yet extenders of resources.

Most of the Zenzele members had adequate resources, yet the dichotomy suggested by the theory was absent. Most women appeared to be placed somewhere on a continuum between the extremes of "no thought or planning called commercialism" and "multiple use of available resources or multiple survival". Zenzele members were significantly further along this continuum towards better resource allocation than the non-members.

In the *de jure* women-headed households, even when a son was present he did not automatically take over the decision-making role or the financial control, although generally there seemed to be fewer resources available in these families. Some seemed to receive gifts of cash or kind from family members but with no control passing from the giver. However most decisions were apparently made according to community norms.

Joint households were very scarce, attributed to the lack of menfolk in the families. The two women in joint households were very different. One was educated, young and with small children; the other was middle-aged, less educated with teenage children. The first woman's husband visited the home at the end of the month and was not highly educated; the other's lived at home and was a successful businessman. The only common denominator seemed to be the generally greater amount of financial, skilled and managerial resources of these women.

De jure and *de facto* women heads of households who made up the greater number of family types in the samples, had a wide variety of potential financial resources, as well as various resource allocation strategies and support systems. Women in these roles were frugal (with resources) but they did not always plan. The lower the resource level though, the fewer the management strategies apparently available to the women. They also then tended to revert to the traditional ways without questioning whether there were better ways of doing things. However, these women

seemed to avail themselves of community and wider kin networks for support, and also used such organisations as Zenzele to teach them managerial skills.

The theory of Baker and Nelson (1987), that resource allocation strategies depend on the structure of the family and the level of resources available, therefore appeared to be partially valid for the samples used in the study. Traditionalism was seldom evident, and the expected clear dichotomies between a lack of managerial action and effective management were absent. These states appeared to be the extremes of a scale according to the resources available. Very low resource levels did however limit the resource strategies employed.

8. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: FACTORS INFLUENCING ATTENDANCE

The women who attended meetings and courses frequently, attended more than 50 % of the time. The data were classified into four categories, namely the demands placed on the women in their homes, the resources available to them, selected course variables and their involvement in household production, as described in the method (see Appendix E for the relevant tables and graphs).

8.1 Demand scores

The women in both groups averaged an identical number of roles in their households. This score was calculated by assigning to the women a score for their involvement in housework, agricultural activities, and formal and informal employment (see Figure 4 in Appendix E). More of the women in the high attendance group participated in the housework for their households, and in formal and informal employment. There were no differences in their agricultural or household tasks. Only one woman from the entire sample, who was in the low attendance group, did not participate in agricultural tasks. The women's involvement in agriculture was ascertained from their responses to the questions on whether they grew food for their family and whether they looked after animals. Twenty-three (77 %) of them participated in both tasks.

Seventy-three per cent of the women in the low attendance group and 87 % in the high attendance group sold goods to bring in money for the household. Four women (13 %) did not earn any money themselves.

The women in both groups had, on average, the same number of children younger than five years, but those in the low attendance group had more households with no children younger than five years. However, the final score for the demands placed on the women revealed that women in the low attendance group had comparatively fewer demands placed on them. It may be said that the women who attended fewer

meetings had slightly fewer demands to cope with in their homes, but this was not significantly different for the two groups (see Figure 5 in Appendix E).

8.2 Resource scores

The resource scores included the size of the family with its potential for labour, the amount of discretionary time available, the women's education and training and the number of earners per household. According to McSweeney (1979) women do 80 % of the work in the home and its surroundings. Therefore the number of school-going boys, school-going girls, males and females living in the household was calculated and the data manipulated to provide a subscore for the amount of labour available for help in the household.

The households represented by the two groups of women were found to have the same average composition in terms of the number of boys, girls and men in the household. However **there were far more adult women in the households represented by the women in the low attendance group. This indicates that there was more potential female labour available to the households represented in the low attendance group. This should have enabled the women in this group to leave their homes with greater ease than the women in the other group who did not have the alternative labour available in the household to perform tasks while they were away.** This apparently did not occur, since the women in the low attendance group attended less than 50 % of the meetings. Some of the women in the high attendance group were the only adult females in their households, yet they attended more meetings - very probably for the social aspects (see Figure 6 in Appendix E).

It was found that although the women in the low attendance group had a great deal more discretionary time available to them than the women in the high attendance group, on average they attended fewer meetings per month. However the women in the two groups generally assumed equal positions in the groups that they attended. The number of community activities that the women attended was taken as an indication of their discretionary time, because the concept was impossible to define accurately in a manner that was not interlinked with the cultures and values of the researcher and the sample. When these two indicators (of discretionary time and community activities) were combined to create a score for the amount of free time that the women had at their disposal, there was no difference between the scores. This indicates that the women in each group were equally able to attend the meetings, if attending the meeting was determined by the amount of discretionary time available to them (see Figure 7). The women in the group which attended more frequently were therefore also more involved in other community groups and in household tasks and production.

It should however be stressed that the concept and judgement of time as reported in the above data, are very difficult to record and recall accurately since many of the women did not properly understand the questions on time spans. The Zenzele chairladies agreed that the women in their areas had a very vague concept of time.

The households represented by the women in the low attendance group had comparatively more earners per household than the households represented by the high attendance group (see Figure 8). Their low attendance therefore could not be explained by their having to carry out essential time-consuming tasks at home since they had the means to purchase more goods and services. Moreover, 40 % of the low attenders indicated that they were not involved in housework, compared with the 20 % in the high attendance group. These women (low attenders) were probably part of extended families, in which others carried out these tasks and provided income.

Education could not be used as a variable to assess the attendance of the course since most of the women in both groups had, on average, attained between Standards 2 and 5 in their education. For this sample, the level of education of the women was not a determinant for attendance at meetings.

The final resource scores show that the women in the low attendance group had slightly more resources than those in the high attendance group (see Figure 9). The data indicated however that there was a wider range of values for the women in the high attendance group. The women in the low attendance group, therefore, were a more homogeneous group in terms of the resources available to them. There was a slight tendency for the women who had a greater number of adult women in their households and those with more earners per household, to attend meetings less regularly than those with fewer women and fewer earners per household. The same proportion of regular and irregular attenders earned money through the informal sale of goods.

8.3 Course scores

The course score, calculated from the accessibility and motivation subscores as well as from the attendance of the women at Zenzele meetings, was significantly lower for the low attendance group than for the high attendance group.

The accessibility scores were calculated by using the mode of transport, travel time and cost of access. Infrequent attenders were more likely to use bus transport than to walk to the course venue (see Figure 10). Although it took a shorter time, it would add to the cost of attending the course and discourage regular attendance. In other words, it was easier but more expensive for the women in the low attendance group to attend the meetings.

Motivation was found to be the same for all the women who attended. They all stated that they enjoyed and benefited from the meetings.

The statistical analysis revealed that there was a greater variance for the course score but less variation in the values for the other variables, for example age and resources (see Table 7). Since the probability that the situation being tested would occur increases as the probability figure tends to negative infinity, the value for the course score was found to be the only significant probability (Clarke 1987).

Since this score included the variable of course attendance, this result could have been predicted. However, because of the composite nature of this score, the access to the learning situation, and the attendance of the women differed significantly for the two groups.

8.4 Household productivity scores

The household productivity score was determined using data on craft practices, vegetable gardening, and animal care. The average scores for involvement in household production were similar for both groups except that, on average, the women who attended more frequently indicated a greater involvement in the four household roles, especially in the area of informal employment. The average number of women who grew food for their families and looked after animals was similar for the two groups; however the rate of production and sale of home-made goods was greater for those women with more regular attendance (87 % as against 73 %). This could be the result of the Zenzele training meetings that they had attended so regularly.

Two women (13 %) in the low attendance group and one (7 %) in the high attendance group did not grow food for their families; all the other women in the sample were involved in this activity. Six women (40 %) in the low attendance group did not own animals, while all those in the high attendance group looked after animals thereby indicating that they had a potential supply of animal products for household use. The score calculated from the sum of these three subscores was lower for the low attendance group but not significantly so (see Figure 11).

8.5 Composite scores

The final scores for each parameter are reflected in Figure 12. Low attenders tended to have fewer demands on their time but slightly more (financial) resources; they were more likely to travel to the course by bus, and they were less productive in their households.

Combining the variables to form the scores had an equalising effect which disguised the individual differences between the two attendance groups. Discriminant analysis conducted on the category scores showed that only the course score could be used to assign the women to two groups based on their attendance levels.

The variance (the measure of dispersion in a sample) for the variables measured in the subproblem was greatest for the course factors and lowest for the age of the women. The variance in the scores for the resources available to the women was very small, while the only significant probability found was that for the course variables (see Table 7).

Table 7: Discriminant analysis values using score values

	Degs of freedom	Variance	Probability	Mean	Standard deviation
Demands	1	1,83	0,187	3,46	0,366
Resources	1	0,38	0,544	1,41	0,1358
Course	1	18,88	<0,001	1,81	0,1149
HH products	1	1,73	0,199	3,23	0,558
Age	1	0,26	0,612	43,60	6,11

More specific treatment of the data was therefore conducted, using the raw data, and produced the following results. The women were divided into four groups, depending on their attendance at Zenzele meetings. Discriminant analysis using the raw data and dividing the women according to the four attendance quartiles showed a significant difference between the lowest quartile and the upper two attendance groups (see Appendix F). A one-way analysis of variance revealed that five factors were significant in distinguishing between the groups of women. **The women's attendance at Zenzele meetings was significantly lower if they were less involved in agricultural tasks; if their mode of transport to the meeting was by bus; if they had more free time available; if there was a lower involvement in other community group meetings per week, and if they had fewer responsibilities for the care of animals.** On the other hand, the factor which most encouraged a woman's participation was found to be a multifaceted role in the home and the community.

These findings reveal the possibility that with less agricultural involvement and fewer animals present in the households of the low attendance group, their financial resources may have been limited, despite the greater numbers of earners present in these families. They possibly also felt that there was less necessity to attend the Zenzele training sessions because there was less need to improve their knowledge of these activities. Travelling to the courses by bus meant that training courses were further away from their homes and therefore entailed greater expense and effort to attend. On the other hand, their lower community involvement and more free time implied possibly less managerial ability or more time available. This time may not have

in this study (see Appendix F).

8.6 Managerial strategies and attendance

The researchers set out to ascertain the management strategies that the women employed so that they could rearrange their household tasks in order to attend the meetings. The family structure, the goal orientation and the organisational ability of the women were determined.

Of the sample households represented, 53 % in the low attendance group, and 80 % in the high attendance group were supported by males. Just over half of the households in the low attendance group were headed by males, with an almost equal number of joint- (26 %) and female-headed (20 %) households. The high attendance group, however, showed that the vast majority of households falling into this group were headed by males, suggesting some financial support.

Women in both groups reported making most of the secondary decisions, but this figure was greater for women in the low attendance group. This could be attributed to the fewer men present in these households.

The majority of women in the low attendance group carried out the tasks that they were told to carry out for any given day. Although some of the women in the high attendance group indicated that they carried out the tasks that they were told to do, the majority of them said that they followed a generally independent routine. This is not consistent with the results obtained from the analysis of the household heads and of the making of decisions. Therefore it has to be assumed either that the women did not understand the questions, or that the questionnaire did not allow clear answers to be given. During the subsequent group discussions it became apparent that the question had been misunderstood.

More women in the low attendance group than in the high attendance group indicated that they had not completed the tasks that they wanted to complete before they left for the meeting that day. The majority of the women in both groups indicated that they intended completing the unfinished tasks the following day. The validity of this response is questionable, since their concept of "tomorrow" was very vague. A better defined question would have provided a more accurate indication of the women's intention to complete the tasks. In addition, housework is a continuous process. Possibly the housework is never satisfactorily completed because there is always something else to do (see Figure 13 in Appendix E).

The majority of the women in the sample assumed their families would have an evening meal that night. However, all the women in the high attendance group who indicated that there were more than one woman in the household, also indicated that they intended utilising this potential labour, so that someone else in the household would prepare the evening meal. Only 43 % of the women in the low attendance

would prepare the evening meal. Only 43 % of the women in the low attendance group, in which more households reported having more than one adult woman, indicated that the evening meal would be prepared by someone else. Therefore, though there was more alternative labour available, the women in the low attendance group did not use the potential labour available within their households.

More of the women in the low attendance group accomplished the goals that they had set in answering Questionnaire C(A2). However since 40 % of the women in the sample did not answer the question on the setting of goals for using the knowledge and skills that they had gained, it is possible that they did not understand the concept of goal setting or they did not plan ahead. Therefore they could not project what they would do with the new knowledge and skills in the future. Perhaps the regular attenders had enjoyed the workshop for its companionship with others.

To summarise the resource allocation strategies: There was an indication that very few women followed a routine, while almost half of the women stated that they had not completed all the tasks that they wished to complete before leaving for the meeting that day. This was especially true for the group of women who attended meetings less frequently. The same women made little use of the alternative female labour available in their households. Therefore these women made less use of the available resources and achieved below the level of fulfilment in household tasks that they desired. In contrast, this same group of women showed that they were better at subsequently achieving the goals they set for themselves.

The attempt to apply a resource allocation theory to assessing whether the women's resource allocation strategies affected their attendance at group learning sessions proved less successful, mainly because of the poor understanding of the questionnaire and its technical terminology.

However the major reasons given for irregular attendance were personal ill health (50 %), other tasks and duties (10 %), poor weather, unrest and forgetfulness.

9. CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY

The conclusions are presented initially from the findings deriving from the discussion groups on the effect of Zenzele membership on members' managerial activities and the relevance of a resource allocation theory by Baker and Nelson (1987). Conclusions are then presented relating to the resource allocation factors that influenced attendance at non-formal training courses.

9.1 Management strategies

Membership of Zenzele did correlate with management techniques of planning, time

awareness, and community ascendancy over internal "home and extended family" responsibilities. These greater managerial and resource allocation strategies among Zenzele members also included the awareness of personally increasing resources, learning new skills, delegation and the management of scarce resources. From the research design **it was not possible to determine whether those who attended Zenzele regularly did so because they had better managerial ability or whether they became better managers because of their membership of - and regular attendance at - Zenzele.**

The resource allocation strategies of conscious goal setting, dovetailing and parallel activities, the substitution of resources and use of standard plans (conscious routines which lead to better time management) were not evident in either group - neither was a mental orientation towards goal achievement within a time frame nor the conscious use of strategies. While some women used efficient management techniques, they were often unaware of the effects of the strategies used, and explained: "This is just the way it gets done." This indicates that many of the accepted ways of doing housework and family care were efficient within a traditional environment but not adaptable at the conscious level. Teaching these skills should lead to better use of available resources and was successful through Zenzele membership to a limited extent.

It seemed that the work of fieldworkers like those in the Zenzele Association either improved their regular members' capabilities or attracted women with superior managerial ability, and therefore made development affordable for those who could least afford to pay for their training. However it also seemed that non-members formed a more diverse group - exhibiting extremes of managerial practices, with both more and less effective and efficient actions.

The relation of resource allocation strategies to the applicability of Baker and Nelson's (1987) five categories of resource allocation was not applicable to the respondents in this study. More specifically, the constraints that the male head of the household exerted on the resource allocation practices of the women were seldom evident.

There were apparently few limitations on the particular style of resource allocation that the women used. When the men lived at home, the aging women (over-70s) would perhaps fit the mould of traditionalism where all their needs were met by the man, whether it was a husband or an eldest son. There was no questioning of the women's role in the household, it was prescribed and accepted. But by no means could all the families where men lived at home be classified as traditional. However there was some evidence that those with limited resources used fewer managerial strategies.

9.2 Factors influencing attendance

It can be concluded that the demographic factors were almost homogeneous for the women in the sample Zenzele population - middle-aged, head of household, with some financial resources available (often from their own earnings). **The final average scores for the groups showed that the women who attended Zenzele meetings more frequently had a slightly greater number of demands placed on them by their households, they tended to be more productive in their homes, were more involved in informal work and showed a marginally lower score for the number of resources available to them.**

The discriminant analysis conducted on the four parameters as well as on age, indicated that only the course score could be used to classify the women into two groups based on their attendance levels. The variable that contributed to this result was the mode of travel. **Having to take a bus or taxi reduced the attendance rate.**

The following factors, identified by a discriminant analysis of the raw scores, were found to promote attendance at training sessions.

- Wealth and involvement in terms of animals and agricultural production (possibly related to the topics taught at Zenzele): Less wealth in terms of animal and plant production may limit participation in a learning situation such as that of the Zenzele meetings.
- A multifaceted role at home and in the community: An already busy woman, involved in community affairs, was able to manage her activities better; her discretionary time was used productively; greater awareness of managing both home and community activities was also evident.
- Distance from the meeting place: Women who lived close enough to the meeting place avoided the expense of bus or taxi fares and were able to attend more regularly. Travelling time did not seem to influence attendance.

Neither age, education level, household size nor number of preschool children was a determinant of training perseverance in non-formal situations, possibly because of the influence of extended family circumstances. All areas had crèches run by Zenzele women, so child care was not a problem preventing attendance.

Through regular attendance at Zenzele training sessions, some changes were evident, *inter alia* that "normal" household duties were more likely to be put on "hold" and fitted in at a later stage in order to catch up. **Regular attendance of Zenzele did correlate with the better management techniques of planning and delegation but not of dovetailing or goal setting.**

It was felt that the greatest deterrent for women's attendance of training courses outside their home environments was the great personal pride and importance attached to mothering and caring for their households. Even when the family structure and division of labour roles differed from traditional expectations, the women's role was seen as "to be in control" of the home, to the detriment of any outside commitments.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

Management techniques need to be taught, and as shown by this study are to a limited extent being taught successfully by Zenzele. This should improve attendance at training sessions since the women with better managerial practices were better able to complete, postpone and prioritise demands within the household.

It is essential that attitudes be oriented away from the immediate family if further skills development and training are to be conducted effectively. This will only be achieved if women are taught to set longer term goals that are of major importance even when "squeezed" out by immediate concerns.

Group co-operative activities seem to be more successful nearer the urban centres with their greater resources of materials, information and influence. The cost of travel reduces the benefits of any co-operative endeavour, whether it be attending training courses; selling produce, crafts or clothing to other communities; buying in bulk or purchasing products for local resale. The women are less likely to work together if the benefits are considered nebulous. Greater community involvement and mutual support and secure, if meagre, financial resources, as gained through Zenzele membership and attendance, help to improve attendance at training courses. **Any developmental attempts should train the women where they are in the rural areas. Travel to a central meeting place reduces attendance.**

Further research would be needed to determine the cause and effect of the statement: A wider range of managerial skills would lead to sustained attendance and greater success at non-formal training sessions. Such future analysis of home management practices in relation to resource allocation strategies may be useful in predicting whether the same factors apply to formal training programmes as to non-formal ones. Once refined, the instrument might also be a useful tool in assessing an applicant's suitability for becoming a fieldworker or in predicting the applicant's ability to finish a formal training session with minimal absenteeism.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES**(i) INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

GROUP INTERVIEW HELD ON :

VENUE :

TRANSLATORS :

OTHERS PRESENT :

GROUP ATTENDANCE [] HIGH OR [] LOW

WOMEN IN GROUP DISCUSSION :

A =

B =

C =

D =

E =

(ii) CHECK LIST FOR STRATEGY PARAMETERS

BAKER AND NELSON'S (1987) THEORY		RESPONDENTS				
MALE CONTROL	TRADITIONAL	A	B	C	D	E
LOW INCOME	POWERLESS	A	B	C	D	E
	MAX. UTILITY	A	B	C	D	E
ADEQUATE RESOURCES	NO PLANNING	A	B	C	D	E
	EXTENSION OF RESOURCES	A	B	C	D	E
A. FAMILY STRUCTURE						
MALE HEADED		A	B	C	D	E
DE FACTO FEMALE HEADED		A	B	C	D	E
DE JURE FEMALE HEADED		A	B	C	D	E
JOINT HEADED		A	B	C	D	E
B. RESOURCE USAGE STRATEGIES						
INCREASE TOTAL SUPPLY						
CREATE NEW RESOURCES	LEARN NEW SKILLS	A	B	C	D	E
	DELEGATE	A	B	C	D	E
SUBSTITUTE AMOUNTS AVAILABLE		A	B	C	D	E
	WELL MANAGED	A	B	C	D	E
APPRECIATION OF RESOURCES AVAILABLE	SQUANDERED	A	B	C	D	E
	IN FAMILY	A	B	C	D	E
	IN THE COMMUNITY	A	B	C	D	E
C. MANAGERIAL PROCESSES						
GOAL ORIENTED		A	B	C	D	E
PLANNING	LISTS	A	B	C	D	E
	CALENDAR	A	B	C	D	E
	SCHEDULES	A	B	C	D	E
	STANDARD PLANS	A	B	C	D	E
	SEQUENCING	A	B	C	D	E
EXECUTION/IMPLEMENTATION	AVOID INTERRUPTIONS	A	B	C	D	E
	DOVETAILING	A	B	C	D	E
	PARALLEL ACTIVITIES	A	B	C	D	E
	TWO ACTIVITIES AT SAME TIME	A	B	C	D	E
	ACTIVITIES AT THE SAME TIME AND PLACE	A	B	C	D	E
	ACTIVITIES THAT GO TOGETHER	A	B	C	D	E
	PARALLEL ACTIVITIES	A	B	C	D	E

(iii) DISCUSSION TOPICS**1. (TO BE ADDRESSED TO THE WHOLE ASSEMBLED GROUP AS THE CRITERIA FOR DIVIDING THE WOMEN INTO TWO GROUPS OF ATTENDERS FOR THE REMAINING DISCUSSION TOPICS)**

- 1.1 How often are Zenzele meetings held?
- 1.2 How often do you women attend Zenzele club meetings?
Every time, sometimes, not very often.

Once divided into groups:

2. What is the most important reason why you attend Zenzele?

or sometimes stay away?

Are members expected to attend meetings or just pay their money?

3. Why is everyone(all the women who live nearby) not a member of Zenzele?**4. VEGETABLE GARDENING:**

- 4.1 Do you all grow vegetables? Where are these gardens?
- 4.2 Do you grow enough vegetables in your gardens?
- 4.3 How could you grow more?
- 4.4 How do you get the seeds?
- 4.5 Who ploughs your land?
- 4.6 Do you sell any of the things you grow?
- 4.7 To whom do you sell these goods?

5. INCOME:

- 5.1 Does your husband live at home? How often does he come home?
- 5.2 Does your husband give you money to spend on yourself?
- 5.3 Who buys the food for your family?
- 5.4 How often is food bought?
How often do you buy food?
- and clothing?
- 5.5 Does it cost more to buy goods locally than in town?

6. MEN'S ROLES:

- 6.1 What do the men do when they come home home?
- 6.2 Does he give instructions for the week - like what needs to be done while he is away, in the fields, at home, outside?
- 6.3 Does he tell you what to do?
- 6.4 Why did you say "someone tells you what to do" in the earlier questions?

7. ROLE OF MONEY:

- 7.1 Do you earn your own money? What do you do?
- 7.2 Where do you store your money?
- at home, in a bank, building society, with family, none?
- 7.3 Do you ever receive goods instead of money in return for goods?

8. HOW CAN YOU INCREASE YOUR MONEY?

9. PLANNING ACTIVITIES:

- 9.1 Do you write down or make a list of what you want to buy each day, week or month?
- 9.2 How do you know what day and date it is today?
- 9.3 What important events will happen next week? How do you remember?
- 9.4 Do you use a diary or calendar to mark important dates?

10. CHILD CARE ACTIVITIES:

- 10.1 Where are your children now while you are here?
- 10.2 If they are not at school, who looks after them?

- 11.1 What would you be doing now if you were not at this meeting?
- 11.2 When will you do these tasks if they still have to be completed?
- 11.3 What would you have done this afternoon if you had not come to this meeting?

12. DELEGATION:

- 12.1 When you cooked porridge this morning, what else did you do while it was cooking?
- 12.2 Who washed the dishes? When did they do them today?

13. UTILITIES:

- 13.1 From where do you collect your water?
- 13.2 and your firewood?
- 13.3 What fuel do you use for cooking?

GROUP DISCUSSION

- 14. Why are the poor unsuccessful?
- 15. What would help you attend more meetings?
- 16. What would help someone who seldom attends to come to Zenzele meetings more regularly?

17. ZENZELE

- 17.1 What topics taught at Zenzele do you like best?
- 17.2 What do you like least?
- 17.3 Are the topics relevant?

APPENDIX B: RATIONALE FOR INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDE QUESTIONS

The questions on the interview schedule are intended to cover the following theoretical considerations, as briefly outlined below.

A. FAMILY STRUCTURE	QUESTIONS
1. Marital status and father-child responsibilities	5.1/ 5.3
2. Power and division of labour:	
2.1 Men's roles when at home	6.1
2.2 How the presence of males alter the management structure	6.3/ 6.4
2.3 How the orders change when a male is present	6.2
B. RESOURCE USAGE STRATEGY	
1. Increase total supply of resources	4.6/ 7.2/ 7.3
2. Create resources - Learning new skills - Teaching delegation	2 4.4/ 10/ 11/ 12.3
3. Substitution	5.5
4. Amounts of resources available: - Well managed - Squandered	5.3/ 5.5/ 8 5.6/ 8
5. Appreciation of resources available - In family - In the community	4.4/ 8/ 10 4.4/ 8/ 10
C. MANAGERIAL PROCESSES	
1. GOAL SETTING: Is there a futuristic orientation?	8
2. PLANNING	
i. Future orientation	4.3
ii. Lists	9.1/ 9.2
iii. Standard plans	9.1/ 9.2/ 11
iv. Schedules - diary/calendar	9.3
v. Sequencing	11.2/ 11.3
3. EXECUTION/IMPLEMENTATION	
i. Avoid interruptions	12.2
ii. Dovetailing	12.1
iii. Parallel activities	12.1
iv. Two activities at the same time	12.1
v. Activities at the same time and place	12.1 12.1/ 12.3
vi. Activities that go together	

D. SUGGESTIONS FOR AFFORDABLE SOCIAL PROVISION

The discussions which will be initiated by Questions 3, 14, 15 and 16 will be used to record any deficits, requests and suggestions put forward by the groups as they discuss the topics.

APPENDIX C: ENCODED WORKSHOP QUESTIONNAIRES

Appendix C(A1)

CODE:

HOME ECONOMICS HONOURS RESEARCH PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Title (e.g. Miss/Mrs) :

First name :

Surname :

Zenzele club :

.....

Interviewer: Date: Attended (Y/N) :

Please read the questions carefully and answer them as well and as truthfully as you can. Please do not ask or discuss anything with anyone except Mrs Maphanga, Mrs Khumalo and me.

1. Please fill in whether you do these activities or not.
Please put a tick in the block that is appropriate.([])

<p>1.1. Do you work for wages?</p> <p>If yes, how often?</p>	<p>Yes [] No [0]</p> <p>[4] 5 - 8 hours a day [3] 2 - 4 hours a day [2] 1 - 2 hours a day [1] occasionally [0] never</p>
<p>1.2. Do you grow food for your family?</p>	<p>Yes [1] No [0]</p>
<p>1.3. Do you sell vegetables/ fruit?</p>	<p>Yes [1] No [0]</p>
<p>1.4. Do you sell items you make for money?</p>	<p>Yes [1] No [0]</p>

1.5. Do you sell other goods?	Yes [1] No [0]
1.6. Do you care for (look after) animals?	Yes [1] No [0]
1.7. Do you sell products from the animals?	Yes [1] No [0]
1.8. Do you do housework in addition to working for wages or selling goods for money?	Yes [1] No [0]
<p>1.9. Free time is the time when you either do nothing and you just relax, or you do the things you enjoy, but you do not have to do.</p> <p>What do you do with your free time?</p> <p>[1] Just sit [2] Visit friends or family [3] Sew [4] Knit [5] Crochet [6] Read [7] Watch television [8] Listen to the radio [] Other - please say what</p> <p>.....</p> <p>[9] Cook [10] Work [11] 2+3+4+5+6+8 [12] 2-6 [13] 2+3 [14] 4+8+9 [15] Make grass mats [16] 5+6+8 [17] 5+6 [18] 3+4+8+9 [19] 5+8 [20] 3+8</p> <p>How much free time do you have each week? hours</p> <p>How much free time do you have each day? hours</p>	

2. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

- [0] None
- [1] Up to Standard 1
- [2] Standard 2 - 5
- [3] Standard 6 - 8
- [4] Standard 9 - 10
- [5] More - say what:

3.1. Who, in your household, says what work is to be done?
(Tick as many as you need to.)

- [1] Husband
- [2] Wife
- [3] Grandmother
- [4] Grandfather
- [5] Aunt
- [6] Uncle
- [7] Other - please say who:
- [8] Wife and brother
- [9] Husband and wife
- [10] 1+3+4
- [11] 1+3
- [12] 3+5

3.2. Who says who will do what tasks?
(Tick as many as you need to.)

Coded as for 3.1.

- [] Husband
- [] Wife
- [] Grandmother
- [] Grandfather
- [] Aunt
- [] Uncle
- [] Other - please say who:

4. How do you get to Zenzele meetings?

- [1] Walk
- [2] Bus
- [3] Car/taxi
- [4] Other - please say how:

How long does this take you?

5. How often do you go to Zenzele meetings?

- [4] Every time
- [3] Most meetings
- [2] Fairly often
- [1] Seldom

When last were you not able to attend and why was this so?

.....
.....

6. How do you decide what activities to do each Tuesday?
Tick the one statement that is true for you.

Do you

- [1] do the same activities every day of the week?
- [2] do certain activities on Thursdays?
- [3] see what has to be done for that day?
- [4] do what you are told to do for that day?
- [5] do whatever activities you feel like doing?
- [6] have a routine to follow, but also do anything that has to be done in addition to the usual things?

7. Did you finish all the tasks that you wanted to finish before it was time to leave for this meeting?

- [1] Yes
- [2] No

What did you not finish doing?

When will you do these tasks ?

- [1] Sometime
- [2] Tomorrow
- [3] Next week
- [4] Never
- [5] When I have a chance

8. Did you do anything else on the way here?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

What did you do?

9. Do you plan to do anything on the way home?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

If so, what will you do?

10. Do you know what you will be having for supper tonight?

[1] Yes

[2] No

Will it be the same as last night?

[0] Yes

[1] No

Who will prepare it?

[0] I will

[1] Other

11. Please fill in the following table, giving the following information about EVERYONE who lives in your home.

Relationship to you	Sex	Age	Is this person away all			Occupation
			day	week	month?	
ME						

12. Do you attend any other meetings where people come together to chat, work, listen to someone talk, help each other or learn?

[] Yes

[] No

Please fill in this table:

Group name or type	Main activity	How often does this group meet?	how often do you attend?	What is your role?
			[4] Every time [3] Most [2] Fairly often [1] Seldom	[1] for member [2] for greater role
			[4] Every time [3] Most [2] Fairly often [1] Seldom	[1] for member [2] for greater role

**THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS -
YOU HAVE BEEN A GREAT HELP!**

APPENDIX C(A2)

CODE:

HOME ECONOMICS HONOURS RESEARCH PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE**ADDITIONAL QUESTION**

Dear

Just before you leave, please could you answer one last question. As before, if you tear off this page, your answer will remain anonymous, as your code is on the next page.

Thank you,

S. SPALDING

13. You have learnt something new today. Before the next meeting do you want to

[1] finish your item?

[2] make another?

[3] make lots more?

[4] sell some?

[5] teach someone else what you learnt?

[6] do nothing more with it?

[7] 1+5?

[8] 2+5?

[9] 5+6?

[10] 2+3+4+5?

14. Do you enjoy learning the things that you do at these meetings?

[1] Yes

[0] No

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP.

APPENDIX C(B)

CODE:

HOME ECONOMICS HONOURS RESEARCH PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Title (e.g. Miss/Mrs):

First Name:

Surname:

Zenzele club:

Interviewer: Date: Attended (Y/N):

15. Since the last meeting have you

- [1] finished your item?
- [2] made another?
- [3] made lots more?
- [4] sold some?
- [5] taught someone else what you have learnt?
- [6] done nothing yet but will do something in the future?
- [7] 1+5?
- [8] 2+5?
- [9] 5+6?
- [10] 2+3+4+5?

16. Did you finish all the tasks that you wanted to finish before it was time to leave for this meeting?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

What did you not finish doing?

.....

When will you do these tasks?

- [1] Sometime
- [2] Tomorrow
- [3] Next week
- [4] Never
- [5] When I have a chance

17. Did you do anything else on the way here?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

What did you do?

.....

18. Do you plan to do anything on the way home?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

If yes, what will you do?

19. Do you know what you will be having for supper tonight?

- [1] Yes
- [0] No

20. Will it be the same as last night?

- [0] Yes
- [1] No

Who will prepare it?

- [0] I will
- [1] Other

20. How did you get to this Zenzele meeting?

- [1] Walk
- [2] Bus
- [3] Car/taxi
- [4] Other - please say how:

How long did this take you?

**THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS -
YOU HAVE BEEN A GREAT HELP!**

APPENDIX D: SCORE CALCULATIONS

SCORE PARAMETER CALCULATIONS DETERMINED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE IN APPENDIX A

GROUP 1 = ATTEND < 50% OF MEETINGS, 2 = ATTEND > 50%

DEMAND PARAMETERS

- a household tasks = Yes to Question 1.8
- b agricultural tasks = Questions 1.2 + 1.6
- c formal employment = Yes to Question 1.1
- d informal employment = Questions 1.3 + 1.4 + 1.5 + 1.7

To calculate number of roles = a + b + c + d

DEMAND SCORE = number of roles (number of children <5)/max. for households + household size/max.

RESOURCE PARAMETERS

- e family labour = [(number females home/max. females home) x 4 + (males home + boys/2 + girls x 3/4)/max. other labour]/household size
- f free time = [(attendance/potential meetings per week) x (role/no courses) + free time per week]/demand score
- g income = no earners/household size
- h education = education/5

RESOURCE SCORE = family labour + free time + income + education = e + f + g + h

COURSE PARAMETERS

- i motivation = Question 13
- j attendance at Zenzele = Question 12/4
- k accessibility = (speed x time)/speed for car/max. score

COURSE SCORE = motivation + attendance + accessibility = i + j + k

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION PARAMETERS

- l goods and services = number for Question 1.9.1
- m food = Question 1.2
- n animals = Question 1.6

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCED GOODS AND SERVICES = l + m + n

APPENDIX E: SUMMARY OF RESULTS

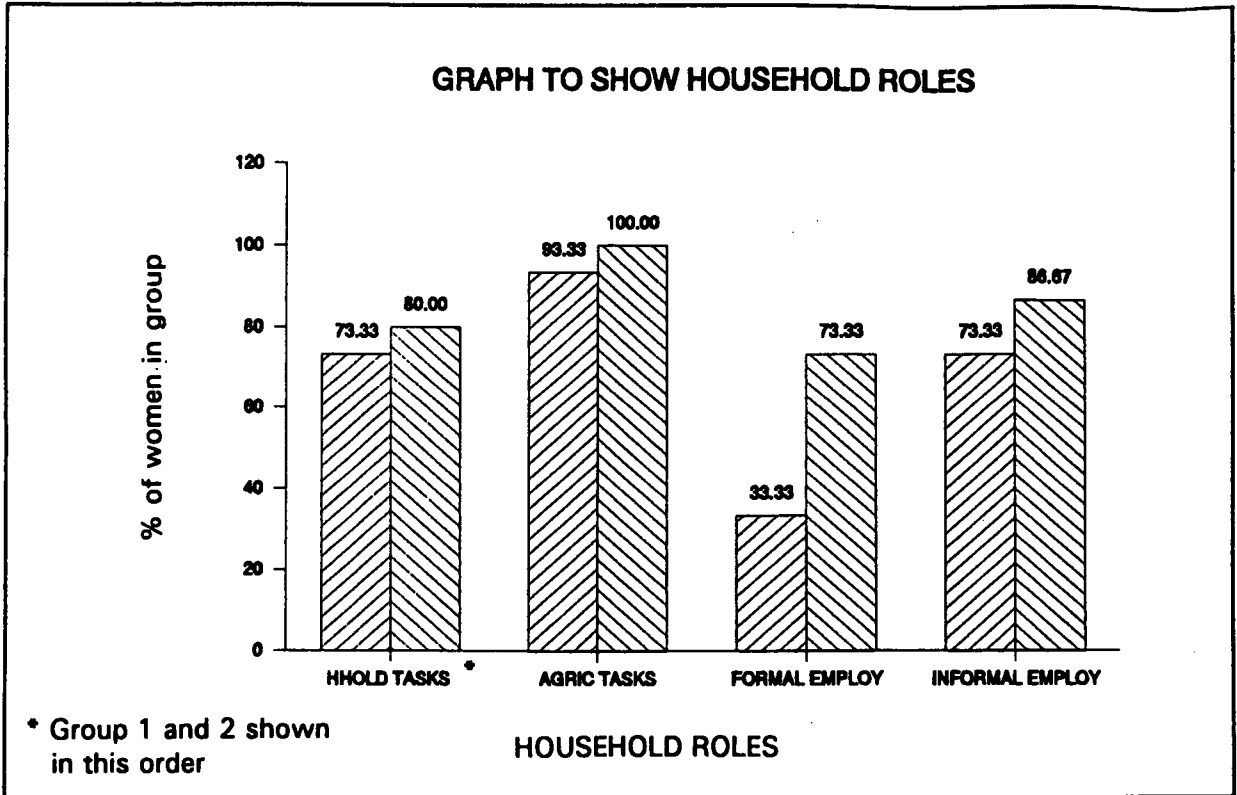
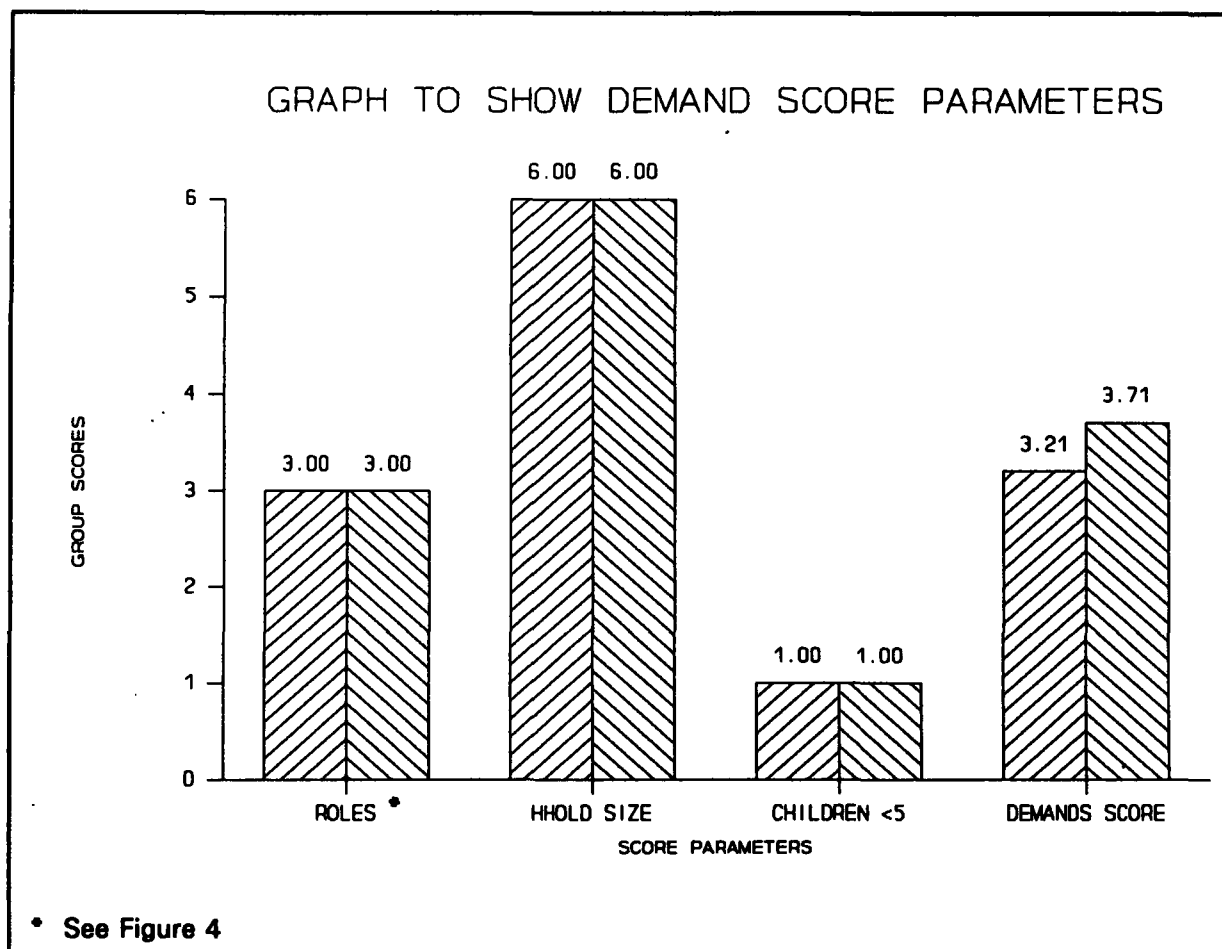
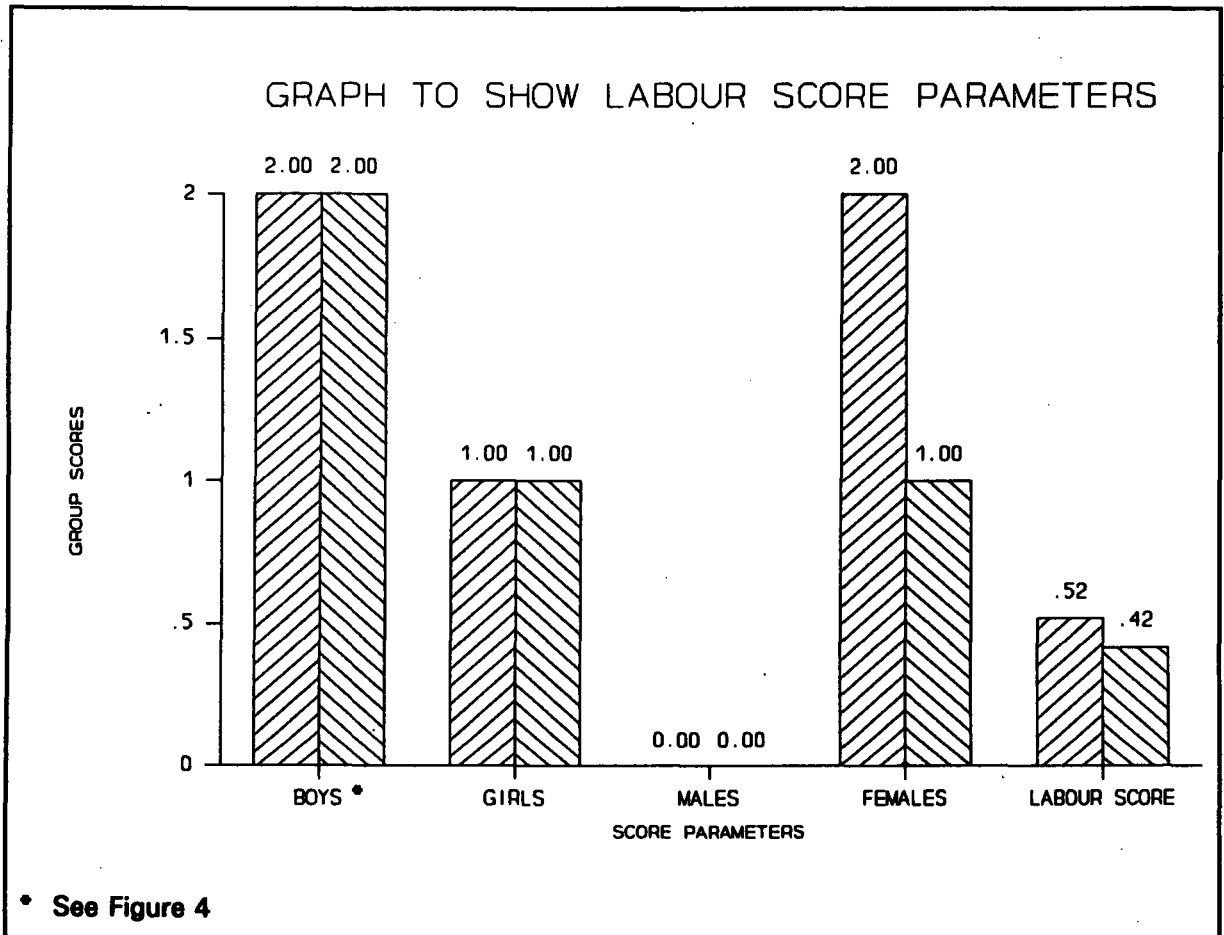


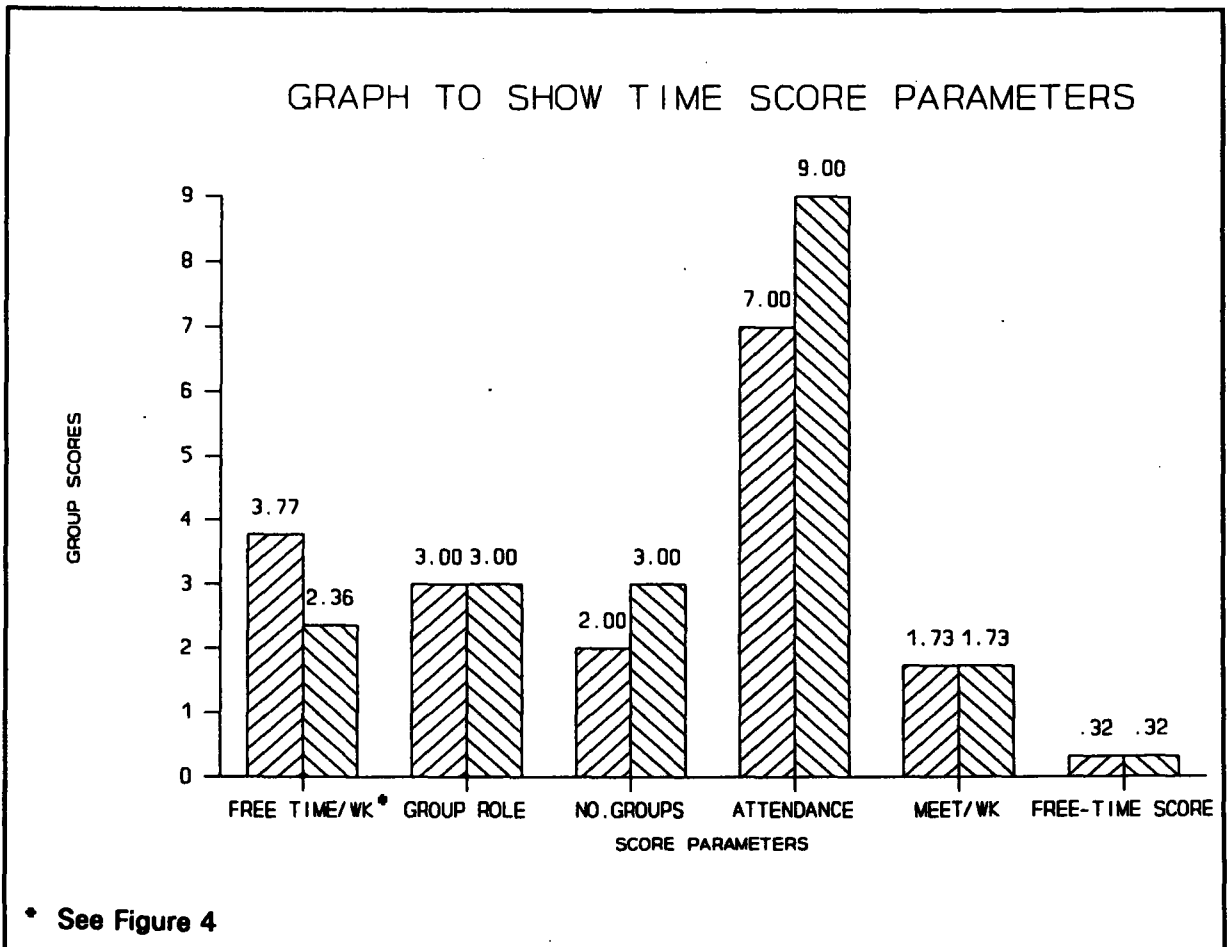
Figure 4 : The participation of the women in household roles (lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)



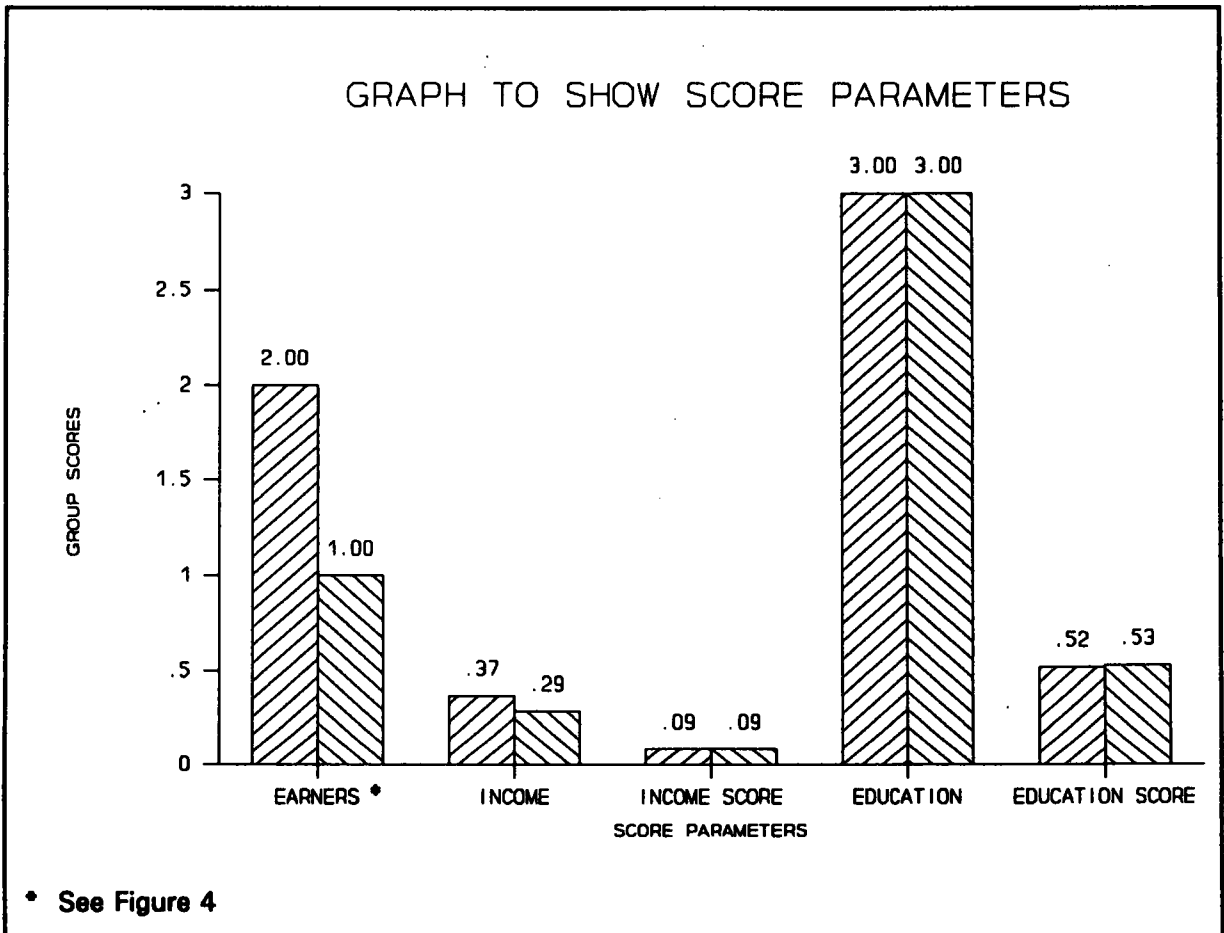
**Figure 5 : Demand score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



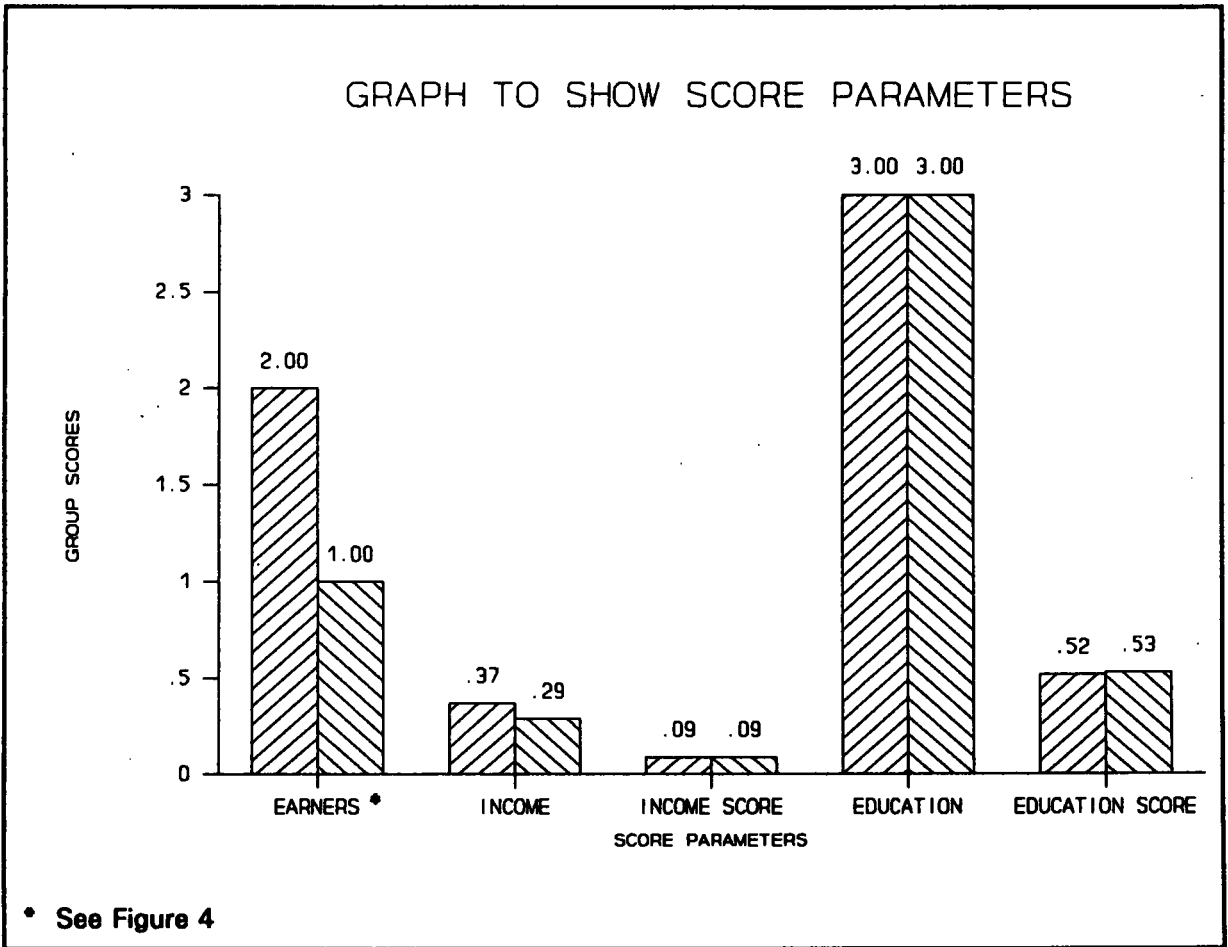
**Figure 6 : Labour score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



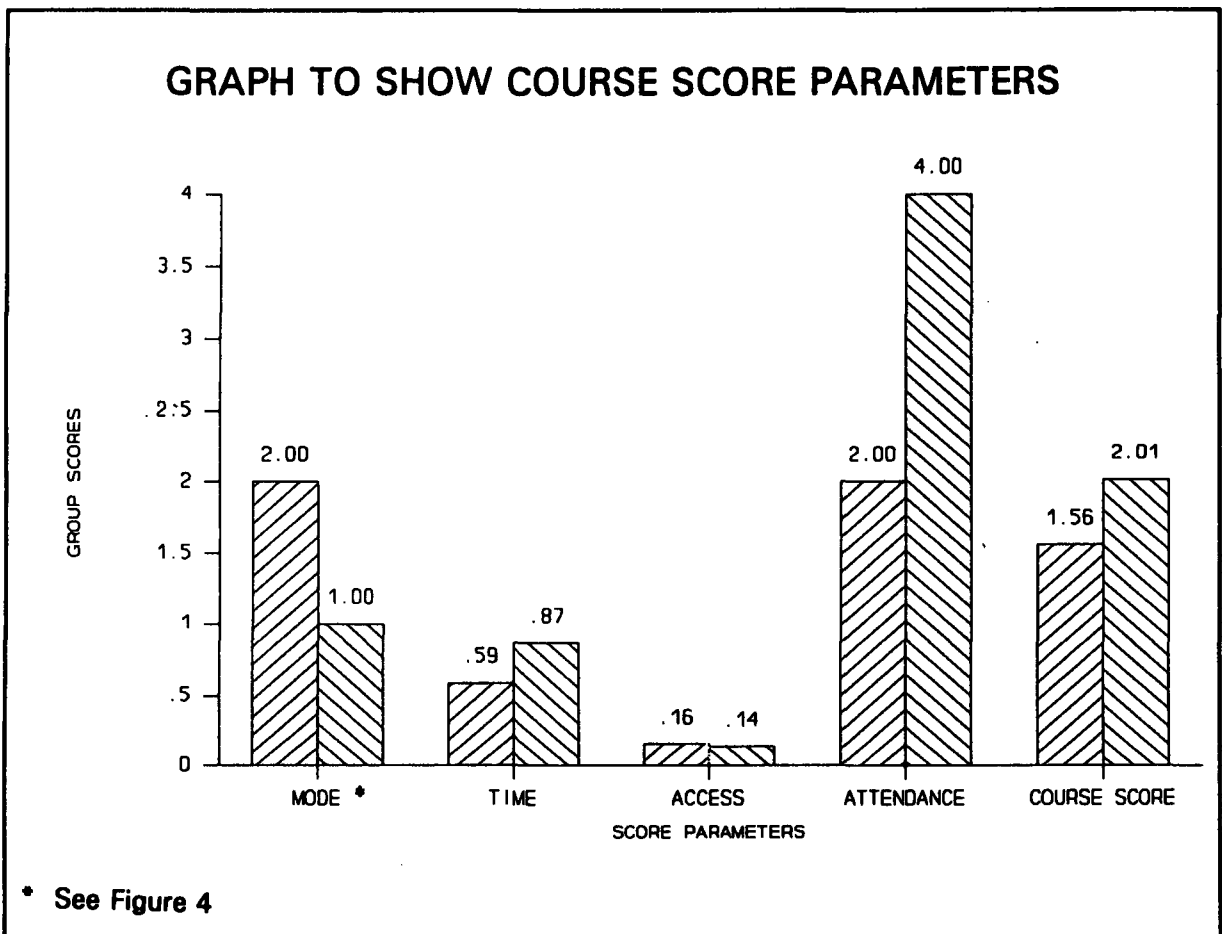
**Figure 7 : Time score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



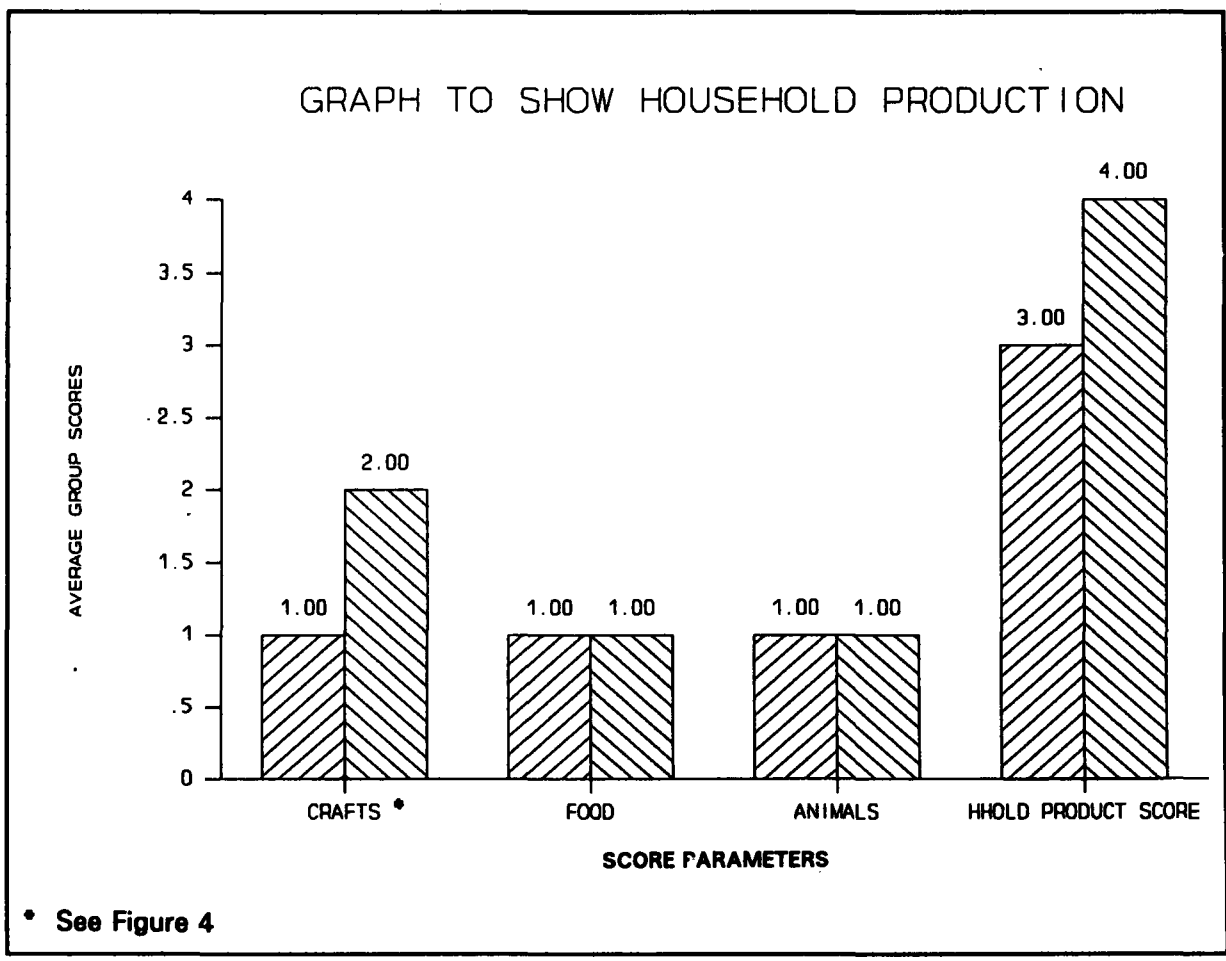
**Figure 8 : Income and education score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



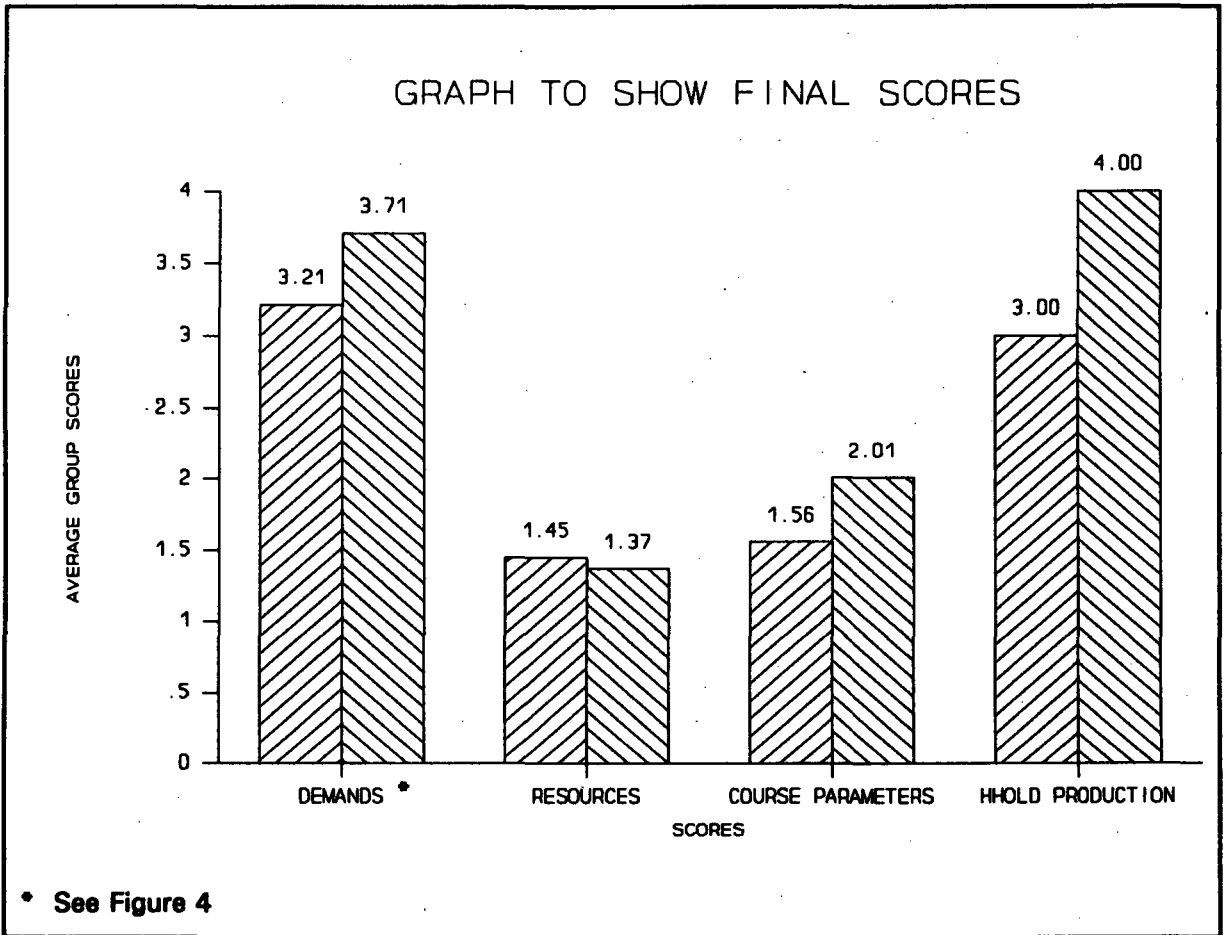
**Figure 9 : Resource score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



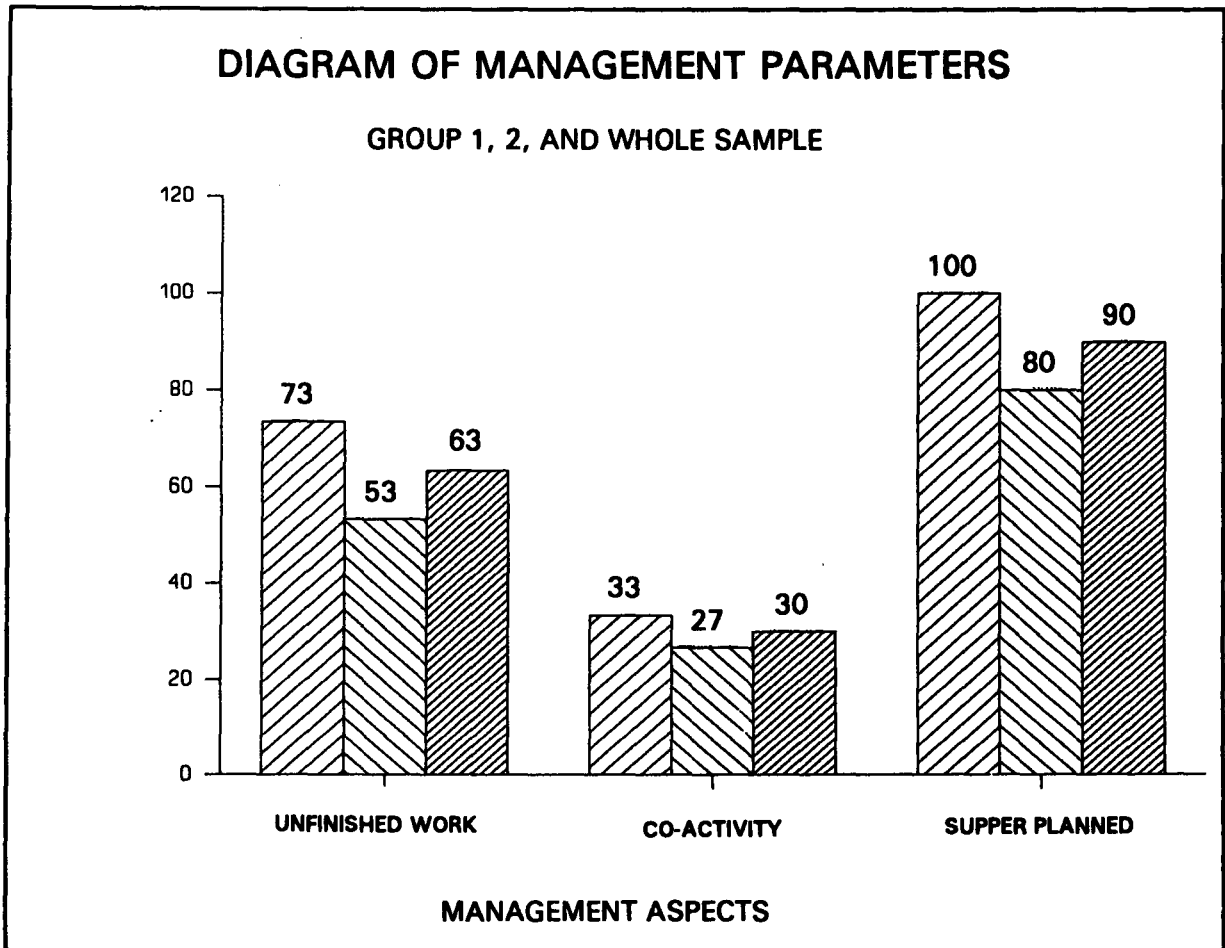
**Figure 10 : Course score parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



**Figure 11 : Household production parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



**Figure 12 : Final scores of each parameter
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**



**Figure 13 : Management parameters
(lower and higher attenders illustrated consecutively)**

APPENDIX F: ANALYSIS OF WORKSHOP RESPONSES

(high and low attenders)

The following variables proved to have the greatest F ratios - therefore they were taken to be the variables with the most influence in discriminating between the four groups of attenders:

Agricultural tasks
Free time
Meetings per week
Mode of transport
Care of animals

Latent vectors are the linear combination of the variables. The smaller the value of the vector, the more likely it is to discriminate between the groups using that variable.

*** Latent vectors (loadings) ***

	1	2	3
1	-0.3539	-0.1849	-1.8532
2	-0.1216	0.2745	-0.3963
3	0.9904	-0.3531	-1.1053
4	-1.1707	0.5176	0.4230
5	-1.2973	-1.9800	1.0759

The intergroup distances have been calculated between each group. The smaller the distance between the groups, the more similar were the groups. The distance between Groups 3 and 4 is the smallest. This and the distribution obtained from a graphical distribution of these five variables for the individual women in these groups reveal that there is little difference between these two groups - they are relatively homogeneous.

*** Intergroup distances ***

1	0.000			
2	2.425	0.000		
3	2.062	1.775	0.000	
4	2.162	1.814	0.786	0.000
	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX G: INFORMAL EVALUATION OF ZENZELE MEETINGS

From the group discussions relating to the successfulness of the Zenzele, it became apparent that not all women in the area were members of Zenzele because non-members were regarded as too lazy to want to do anything about their lives. Various other reasons offered were (one response each):

- . lack of interest in the topics offered,
- . lack of knowledge about Zenzele,
- . cost too high (fees are R1,00 per year),
- . time wasted by coming, could be working instead,
- . too busy,
- . no personal financial reward,
- . too self-centred.

When discussing the erratic attendance at Zenzele meetings and training sessions, the following reasons for others' absenteeism were offered (one response for each reason):

- . lack of motivation or interest
- . ignorance about the event
- . children ill or the member ill
- . forgetting to go
- . too tired
- . weather
- . unrest, not safe

Suggestions for attracting better attendance were offered, namely

- . more fieldworkers so that they (external people) would visit and teach more often,
- . better communication to the community about what Zenzele was doing and when they met,
- . more guest speakers,
- . better community recognition for what Zenzele members achieved,
- . harder work by the present members rather than just chatting socially,
- . group income-generating activities conducted at meetings,
- . offering material rewards for attending (like free food, inexpensive sewing materials, group buying schemes, second-hand clothing for sale), and
- . possibly offering tuition in some other topics.

The study areas they enjoyed most were handicrafts (6), gardening (3), cooking (2), income generation (2), home management (1), child rearing (1).

From the discussions it was found that members of Zenzele felt that if the association were to expand, good fieldworkers should be appointed. These should be

- . very clever,
- . good in their own homes,
- . good at planning,
- . objective about what they were doing,
- . energetic and not lazy, hard workers,
- . productive in the informal market,
- . able to communicate well,
- . liked by the community,
- . always eager to improve things,
- . preferably without young children at home.

Poverty was seen as the result of the women being too lazy to help themselves (six responses). However the lack of job opportunities, lack of money to start anything, lack of education, no wire to fence off property, ill health, too many young children or no adult children for support, too much drinking, and family problems were all offered as reasons why some women in their communities were so poor. No one suggested that attendance at Zenzele meetings would improve their financial position.

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