

The United Republic of Tanzania
President's Office – Planning and Privatization



The 2002/3 Tanzania Participatory Poverty Assessment

Site Report for:

Igundu Village
Chunya District, Mbeya Region

March, 2002

Released by the
Economic and Social Research Foundation



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For clarification or further information about the TzPPA, please contact ESRF at:

51 Uporoto Street

P.O. Box 31226

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Phone: 022-2760260

Email: ppa@esrf.or.tz

or search the TzPPA WebSite at:

<http://www.esrftz.org/ppa>

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The team sees this as a positive direction towards achieving the objectives of poverty reduction strategy and the Tanzania development vision 2025.

Team Members

Fortunata Temu

Gabriel Mbulanya

Ezekiel Mpanda

Emmy Metta

Raphael Mkondokaya – District Based Research Partners (Ag.Off. Chunya)

Mr Lucas Soloma – District Based Research Partners (PLO, Chunya)

ACRONYMS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
CBO	-	Community Based Organisation
CBD	-	Community Based Distributor
DAS	-	District Administrative Secretary
DPLO	-	District Planning Officer
DED	-	District Executive Director
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PPA	-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	-	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SEP	-	Social Economic Profile
RAS	-	Regional Administrative Secretary
VEO	-	Village Executive Officer
URTI	-	Upper Respiratory Tract Infections
URT	-	United Republic of Tanzania
PRSP	-	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
STD	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STAMICO	-	State Mining Corporation
TBA	-	Traditional Birth Attendant
UMMI	-	Umoja wa Mkulima na Mfugaji Igundu

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This PPA was conducted in Igundu village – Chunya district between the 6th and 18th March 2002. The objective was to examine forms of vulnerability associated with farming livelihoods. A number of participatory methods were employed to collect the necessary information.

Farming was found to be the major livelihoods in the village followed by mining, livestock keeping and petty trading. The community identified women, children, orphans and disabled as the most vulnerable social groups in the village. The major causes of vulnerability as highlighted by the community include lack of access to basic services such as roads, markets, primary health care, family planning, education and safe and clean water. Lack of regular income exposes individuals and households to extreme vulnerability.

Despite the many hardships faced by the community a number of coping strategies were identified. These include diversification of livelihoods whereby apart from engaging in farming, people at Igundu preoccupy themselves with small-scale mining, livestock keeping and petty trading.

Since most social services like health care, safe and clean water are non-existent in the village, the community copes by resorting to traditional healers and self-medication to treat the various ailments afflicting them such as diarrhoea and malaria. They also resort to use of traditional birth attendants in the village to help expectant mothers. As for water they have dug shallow wells for use during the rain season and during the dry season they have to search for water in ridges left behind by miners.

The only primary school found in the village has been put up largely as a result of community self help. The grass thatched mud hut school has poor teaching and learning environment.

From the study it came out clearly that vulnerability of Igundu community is largely attributed to limited access to markets and poor social services that have an important bearing to the livelihoods of the various social groups in the village. Moreover most of the issues that came out as key findings of this study are already addressed in various policy documents. What is lacking is the translation of the policies into practical implementation.

Concerted efforts are needed to enable the various stakeholders understand the policies and their implications especially at local levels. The government should not over decentralise its functions to the village rather should support village initiatives in terms of capacity building and resource allocation.

1.0 OVERVIEW OF THE TANZANIA PPA PROCESS

1.1 Introduction

Institutions committed to poverty reduction must have ideas about why it occurs, why it persists and how it can be overcome to guide their work. Indeed, they have always operated on the basis of specific theories about poverty that reflect their understanding of cultural, social and economic realities.

Since the second half of the 1980s, public institutions have developed increasingly sophisticated multi-topic surveys as their preferred means to measure, analyse and learn about poverty. In contrast with single-topic surveys (such as Employment, Income and Expenditure Surveys), these multi-topic Household Surveys are designed to generate information on a wide range of issues intimately linked to household welfare. At the same time, private development aid institutions and, to a lesser extent, academic institutions were rapidly pioneering a “participatory approach” to developing information and understanding about poverty.

In their current forms, both methodologies involve poor people in the production of data. The primary difference between participatory and survey-based research is that the former systematically involves poor people in the *analysis* of its findings. It is this analysis, as much as the raw data, which is then synthesised to inform pro-poor policies.

Some of the advantages to Participatory Policy Research are obvious. First, data analysis does not depend on speculation by urban elites about the conditions faced by poor people. Instead, it is the result of poor people – the “everyday experts on poverty” – reflecting on, theorising about, debating and explaining the world in which they live. Second, Participatory Policy Research contributes to social democratisation by engaging poor people in policymaking processes.

On the basis of these characteristics, the Government of Tanzania has decided to make Participatory Policy Research, in the form of Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs), a routine part of its Poverty Monitoring System.

The 1st PPA Cycle began in January 2002 and will run through December 2003. A Consortium composed of the following fifteen institutions is implementing the PPA:

1. The President’s Office, Planning and Privatisation (PO-PP)
2. The Ministry of Finance (MoF)
3. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)
4. Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC)
5. The Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF)

6. Concern for Development Initiatives in Africa (forDIA)
7. The Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Dar es Salaam
8. Maarifa ni Ufunguo
9. Women's Research and Documentation Project (WRDP)
10. Action Aid, Tanzania
11. Pastoralists and Indigenous NGOs Forum (PINGOs)
12. African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF)
13. CARE International, Tanzania
14. Concern Worldwide, Tanzania
15. Save the Children, UK.

ESRF is the Lead Implementing Partner. As such, it is responsible for co-ordinating and facilitating the Consortium's activities.

The 2002/3 PPA is being conducted in thirty sites chosen through a rigorous process (involving numerous stakeholders) of "purposeful sampling." Sites are located in every Regions of mainland Tanzania, including:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Bagamoyo District | 16. Manyoni District |
| 2. Chunya District | 17. Mbulu District |
| 3. Dodoma Rural | 18. Meatu District |
| 4. Handeni District | 19. Muleba District |
| 5. Igunga District | 20. Mwanza District |
| 6. Ilala District | 21. Newala District |
| 7. Iringa Urban | 22. Njombe District |
| 8. Kibondo District | 23. Nkasi District |
| 9. Kigoma Rural | 24. Rufiji District |
| 10. Kilosa District | 25. Same District |
| 11. Kinondoni District | 26. Simanjiro District |
| 12. Kyela District | 27. Singida District |
| 13. Lindi Rural | 28. Songea Rural |
| 14. Muheza District | 29. Tanga Urban |
| 15. Makete District | 30. Tarime District |

1.2 Objectives and Subject

The first Stakeholders' Workshop for the PPA Process was held on 7th March 2001 in the Courtyard Hotel, Dar es Salaam. Representatives from Government, donor institutions and civil society organisations attended, discussed and debated the shape to be taken by the PPA Process in Tanzania. Their conclusions, in combination with Government's prior expectations, led to the formation of specific goals. These are:

- Enhancing, through in-depth description and analysis, research participants’ and policymakers’ understanding of key poverty issues.
- Exploring the (a.) different and sometimes competing priority needs of poor people, (b.) likely impact of policies and (c.) tradeoffs and potential compromises between diverse interests in order to develop ‘best bet’ recommendations for poverty alleviation.
- Facilitating the constructive engagement of civil society in pro-poor policymaking processes.

Each PPA Cycle will focus on a particular subject, or “Research Theme,” strategically selected to contribute timely information to key policy debates. The 1st PPA Cycle focuses on “vulnerability” due, amongst other reasons, to its immense impact on people’s wellbeing and capacity to rapidly erode improvements made by the PRSP. The working definition adopted by the PPA (2002/3 cycle) understands vulnerability as – *‘the susceptibility of individuals, households and communities to becoming poor or poorer as a result of events or processes that occur around them’*. More specifically, the study is concentrating on:

- The concept of “vulnerability” and who is vulnerable.
- The forces that make people vulnerable and lead to (further) impoverishment.
- “Coping mechanisms” at individual, household and community levels

1.3 Methodological Considerations

Many aspects of the 2002/3 PPA Methodology – including its core beliefs, principles and methods – are typical of participatory research. For example, the PPA’s methodology is founded upon:

- The belief that ordinary people are knowledgeable about, and are capable of particularly reliable and insightful analysis of their own life-circumstances.
- The principle that *all* people – irrespective of age, gender, level of formal education, etc. – have a fundamental right to participate in informing the decisions that shape their lives.
- The use of proven methods, such as Seasonal Calendars, Venn Diagrams, etc., to facilitate the meaningful involvement of people in the research process

Nonetheless, the 2002/3 PPA’s methodology is less than typical in:

- The number and nature of steps taken to ensure that a wide variety of people are aware of, encouraged and supported to participate in the research process.
- Its focus on people’s “successes” and “strengths” rather than “problems” and “weaknesses”.

These innovative directions are elaborated upon below:

1.3.1 Ensuring Diversity

Participatory Poverty Assessments and participatory planning processes (exemplified by PRA and PLA) are very different. Though they are practical expressions of the same beliefs and values, their respective roles in poverty alleviation imply distinct methodological necessities and forms. For example, the goal of PRA/PLA is to generate effective, locally owned action plans. As a result, the methodology places a lot of emphasis on Village Assembly-sized meetings in which a critical degree of consensus is fashioned around a specific plan of action. In the process of pursuing this worthwhile goal, marginal perspectives and agendas for change are frequently left behind.

PPAs do not need to develop “community consensus.” In order to fulfil their mandate and contribute to well-informed, effective policies, PPAs must learn about the *range* of conditions people face as well as their concerns, competing priorities, success stories, etc. Instead of determining a single course of action, PPAs can – on the basis of such rich information – recommend hundreds. This is an ideal outcome that would significantly undermine the likelihood of PRA or PLA exercises leading anywhere at all. Therefore, the 2002/3 PPA Methodology reflects many decisions and incorporates many techniques to access the *breadth* of circumstances, experiences and lessons learnt by ordinary people.

1.3.2 Positive Inquiry

During the PPA Training Programme, researchers discussed the pros and cons of various approaches to participatory research and concluded that they needed to make something new... something that meets Tanzania’s needs, answers Tanzanians’ concerns and belongs to them. This methodology-in-the-making includes:

- Focusing on uncovering people’s “success stories” rather than producing lists of urgent problems to be solved by Government. With regards to the 2002/3 PPA, this implies (a.) learning about effective coping strategies employed (now and in the past) at individual, household and community levels and (b.) exploring how Government can encourage, facilitate, buttress and complement grassroots initiatives to diminish vulnerability.
- Helping research participants see themselves as key actors in poverty alleviation rather than dependent upon the action of others.
- Helping research participants develop a better understanding of the circumstances they and their neighbours face.
- Creating useful information for policymakers operating at village, district, national and international levels.
- Avoiding the creation of false expectations by using methods better suited to the participatory production of local action plans.

2.0 KEY FINDINGS

2.1 Chunya District Profile

2.1.1 Geographical Location

Chunya district is located in the northwestern part of Mbeya Region. It is among the seven (7) districts of Mbeya region and it lies between 7° and 9° latitudes South of the Equator, and between 32° and 34° Longitudes East of Greenwich.

The district is bordered by Singida and Tabora regions to the north, Iringa region and Mbarali districts to the East; Mbozi and Mbeya districts to the South; Rukwa region and lake Rukwa to the West. (*Source: URT: Chunya SEP: 1997*)

2.1.2 Land Area

The district has a total area of 29,219 sq. kms. (29,219,000ha) of which 28,114sqkms (28,114,000ha) is land and 1705 sq. kms (1,705,000 ha) is covered with water including rivers Songwe, Lupa, Zira and Part of Lake Rukwa, which constitute the inland water bodies. (*Source: URT: Chunya SEP: 1997*)

2.1.3 Administrative Units

Administratively Chunya district is divided into four divisions namely: Kiwanja, Kipembawe, Kwimba and Songwe. The four divisions are further sub-divided into 22 wards in total, and the wards are further sub-divided into 69 villages. The current study was done in Kiwanja division - Igundu village.

The district is inhabited by different ethnic groups including Kimbu, Bunju, Guruka (semi-Wasafwa), Nyakyusa, Nyamwezi, Sukuma and Hehe.

2.1.4 Population Size and Growth

According to the 1967, 1978 and 1988 National Population Census reports, Chunya district population was 53,620; 89,120; and 164,554 respectively.

In 1996 the district population was estimated to be 194,495, which was 12.5% of the total regional projected population (1,574,776). Data also shows that, the district population increased by 207% between 1967 and 1988. Compared with other districts in Mbeya region, Chunya is the least populated district with the population density of six (6) persons per sq.km (*Source: URT: Chunya SEP: 1997*).

2.1.5 Climate and Vegetation

The district's average temperature ranges between 21°C and 23°C annually and this is very much influenced by physiograph and altitude. The mean annual rainfall ranges between 600mm and 1000mm. Normally the peak period of heavy rains is recorded during months of December and March almost every year.

Despite the fact that about 78% of the total land is arable, it is estimated that only 2% of the land is currently under cultivation. The most predominant natural vegetation is miombo woodland, with vast areas in Kwimba and Kipembawe Divisions. Common vegetative species include those of *branchystigea*, *dalbegia*, and *pteracarpus*. Overgrazing, gold mining and agricultural activities have adversely affected the natural ecology of the district.

2.1.6 Economic Activities

Main economic activities carried out in the district include agriculture, which is characterized by growing of maize, beans, millet, cassava, potatoes, sorghum, groundnuts and sunflower. Livestock keeping, mining (gold) and forest products (timber, honey and beeswax) are also other sources of economic gains for Chunya district. It was estimated that the districts' per capital income was 168,000 per annum in 1997.

2.1.7 Social Services

(i) Education

As of 1995 there were 71 registered primary schools in Chunya district, solely owned by Government. This shows an annual increase of approximately one school on average from 1965 and corresponding increase in the number of pupils enrolled.

On the other hand the district has only four secondary schools, out of which, one is a government school and the rest are privately owned. This implies that only few standard seven leavers are able to secure a place for secondary education within the district.

(ii) Water Supply

The major water sources in the district are various rivers, ponds and springs. Others include boreholes, shallow wells, small dams and lake Rukwa. Since only a few water schemes are in operation, the majority of the people in the district depend upon traditional water sources for their domestic and livestock purposes (*URT: Chunya SEP: 1997*).

The problem of water pollution which is caused by many factors for example limited use of latrines, industrial activities etc. is still facing Chunya people. About 30 percent of the population in rural areas has permanent latrines, and 60 percent have temporary latrines while 10 percent have no latrines (URT: *Chunya SEP 1997*). On the other hand, 10 percent of urban populations have VIP latrines, and 90% have permanent pit latrines.

(iii) Health Services

Chunya district has one hospital, three health centres, 29 dispensaries and 29 village health posts. The designated district hospital is owned by missionaries and is situated at Mwambani some 72 kms from district headquarters. Despite the fact that each division in Chunya district has a health facility, services offered have critically been affected by shortage of medicaments and limited funding which ultimately has led to poor maintenance of buildings, supply of equipments and other vital accessories. (URT: *Chunya SEP.1997*)

(iv) Morbidity and Mortality

The leading killer disease in Chunya District is malaria, followed by Upper Respiratory Tract Infection (URTI). Others in the top ten diseases include: diarrhoea, pneumonia, Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), Schistosomiasis, skin diseases, eye diseases, dental carries and ascariasis.

2.2 Igundu Village Profile

Igundu village was selected as a research site because it met the site selection criteria by having the following characteristics:

- Unimodal agriculture
- Reliable rainfall
- Negligible environmental stress
- Poor access to markets and social services
- No significant cash crop farming

2.2.1 Historical Profile

Historically Igundu was a camp for gold seekers who were digging gold and selling it to Chunya based State Mining Corporation (STAMICO). The major activity preoccupying the inhabitants of Igundu was mining. They never engaged in farming or livestock keeping even at subsistent level. People living in nearby villages served miners with food.

As time went on middlemen came and camped in the village to buy gold. This led to building of settlements, which then developed into a village.

Igundu village is one of the 19 villages found in Kiwanja division, Chalangwa ward. The village is situated 15 kms from Chunya district. It is bordered by Mapogoro village in the northern part and Sangambi village in the southern part. Godima and Shoga villages are found in the western and eastern parts respectively.

The village has a total population of 1089 people composed of 521 men and 568 women. Total labour force is 638 where 309 and 329 are men and women respectively. Children under 18 years amount to 437 and out of which 213 are males and 224 are females. The number for those who are totally disabled is 14 (i.e 3 children, 7 men and 4women.)

2.2.2 Village Administration

Administratively, Igundu village is divided into three hamlets, which are Igundu, Isoko and Kilimahewa. Each hamlet has its own leader who is answerable to the village chairman and VEO.

2.2.3 Ethnic Groups

Original inhabitants of the village were the Guruka. Others such as Nyasa, Fipa, Nyakyusa, Nyiramba, Sukuma, Ndali, Nyamwanga and the Makonde later on joined them. Due to the presence of mixed ethnic groups there are no strong social ties found in the village rather people are still maintaining ties to their place of origin.

2.2.4 Social Services

(i) Primary education

Igundu village has only one primary school (Muungano primary school), which was established in 1994. The first batch of Std VII pupils graduated in the year 2000 whereby no one passed the national exams.

Before 1994 most of the children were not going to school. Only few from the 'better off' families were schooling in the neighbouring village of Godima and Chunya Town. The school now has a total of 234 pupils (129 boys and 105 girls).

During the focus group discussions with some of the pupils, a number of issues were raised as factors affecting their schooling. Some are related to the school environment while others are family related. Corporal punishment at school was cited as the main reason for truancy and dropout. Other reasons included being forced to work on teachers' farms during class hours, hunger (*no food is provided at school which commences at 7.00am and ends at 5.00pm*), and early marriages for girls.

There is no secondary school in the village or any vocational training institution. All this has contributed to low educational attainment of Igundu villagers.

(i) Water Sources

There is no clean and safe water found in Igundu. The village has no single water tap. Indigenous people use water from wells during rainy season for drinking and for other domestic uses. During the dry season, they have to walk long distances and for many hours to the gullies/ ridges (*makorongo*) to fetch water which animals also use.

(iii) Health Services

There is no single health facility in the village. The nearest dispensary is found at Sangambi village – a distance of 19 miles; this takes 34 hours fast walking and 5-6 hours moderates walking. Despite the distance, services at the dispensary are not free of charge; as a result many people are resorting to the use of traditional medicines and self-medication in the village. Which sometimes does not help cure diseases suffered due to underdose wrong medication or ineffective medication. As a result the diseases become chronic and some patients lose life in the process.

(iv) Roads

There is poor transport and communication system to the village. The roads are very poor and sometimes not passable especially during rainy season. This has contributed to poor/lack of access to markets and other services, which could have been accessed at nearest village or district headquarters.

2.3 Types of Livelihoods: Problems and Challenges

2.3.1 Mining

Igundu village's history has shaped the nature of activities performed by its inhabitants. Having evolved as a mining camp in the early 1980's, people from various ethnic groups (Livestock keepers and farmers) came to earn from the mines in Igundu. In the 1980's alluvial gold mining was the main livelihood that enabled people get money. Food was not grown but rather bought from Chunya town. Most miners are artisans, using traditional tools (hammer, spade and improvised processing "equipment").

Problems/Challenges

Most miners found in Igundu are too poor to afford purchasing modern equipment. They also lack reliable markets for their gold. They cannot get credit due to lack of collaterals.

There is also depletion of gold deposits. Alluvial gold mining as a main economic activity in Chunya District has depleted substantially (*URT Chunya SEP: 1997: 118*). Deep mining is expensive to small-scale miners as found in this village. The mined areas are left bare thereby forming trenches and ridges. This has contributed to soil infertility and breeding ground for mosquitoes. The effect of this to livelihood and human life is serious. People cannot harvest enough. Also malaria has continued to be the major cause of depletion of family income in terms of cost of treatment and loss of labour of the sick people.

Potential for gold mining is still great if there is substantial investment to buy modern equipment that can support deep mining.

2.3.2 Farming

Presently, Igundu's major livelihood is farming. This is however mainly done at subsistent level. The villagers initially practised farming as a coping strategy but due to depletion of the gold reserves, farming has become a major livelihood since 1993.

Despite the fact that most of the land is arable and fertile (*no use of fertilizers was seen*) most farmers are smallholders, cultivating for food with the exception of two villagers, who cultivate on large scale (30 acres). Crops grown in Igundu village include maize, beans, cassava, sweet and Irish potatoes and groundnuts.

Table 1: Seasonal calendar for different crops in Igundu village

Maize	cultivation		Weeding		R E S T	Harvesting			C L E A R	L A N D	Cultivation
Beans	cultivation		Weeding	Harvesting							
Groundnuts		cultivation	Weeding			Harvesting					
Sunflower							Harvesting				
Finger millet				Cultivation							
Cassava											
Sweet potatoes											
(months)	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O N

Source: Igundu farming social group 8th March 2002.

By making use of the seasonal calendar (as summarised above) it was noted that farming seasons commence in October/November and continue up to early August when farmers have already finished harvesting. The fact that the Igundu population has no cash crop, it is evident that cash income is obtained from the sale of farm produce at the end of the harvesting season in July (apparently this happens to be the time when the villagers are not susceptible to malaria attacks). However during the rainy season when Malaria is quite prevalent, most farmers have limited or no cash income to enable them access health services. It is during this season that most people turn to mining; though this is the same time that cultivation is highly required. People have no culture of saving for rainy days as they have no surplus that could be stored for such eventualities.

2.3.3 Land ownership and control

At Igundu, men mostly own land even though the village Government has the mandate to allocate land to both men and women. A woman can acquire land before marriage. However upon marriage, such land either remains with her parents or is turned into joint property (owned by herself and husband). In such a case she loses control over the same and become as vulnerable as any other propertiless woman.

2.3.4 Farm Sizes

Most farmers are small holders, cultivating for food (with the exception of 2 villagers who cultivate on a large scale on about 30 acres + of land). Food crops grown are maize, beans, cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and some Irish potatoes. Production of these crops in the village is low. During the district workshop it was revealed by the DED that there is a by-law compelling each household to cultivate 2 of acres food crops, 2 acres of cash crop of their choice and 1 acre of mixed crops mainly drought resistant crops, however the researchers did not see this being practiced).

Problems/Challenges facing Farming

(i) Farm Implements/ inputs

Igundu's small holders use the traditional hand hoe for cultivation. It is only the few large producers who can afford hired labour thereby increasing their acreage, production and creating surplus for sale. Many farmers (Men and women) spend most of their time working as labourers on the big farms to earn money. As a result they fail to cultivate enough on their own farms for their family consumption.

In order to increase production of food crops it is necessary to have access to improved and appropriate technologies.

Application of farm inputs (pesticides and fertilizers) is negligible in Igundu. The farmers who were interviewed said that modern inputs are not available and even if they were available, they are not affordable because of prohibitive prices. The inputs are not available in the village except in Chunya district headquarters some 15km away.

(ii) Food Security (Storage/Adequacy & Nutritional Status)

Kiwanja ward, where Igundu is located has a total of four godowns with capacity of 600 tons. The District council owns one godown while the ward council own the other three. Igundu village has no godown, save for three households that were seen to have traditional storage facilities (*Vihenge*).

According to available information Chunya district has the ability to produce food in surplus for her people (*URT: Chunya SEP: 1997:105*). Igundu village exhibits inadequate food supply and imminent famine especially during the rainy season. Large amount of food crops are sold to buyers (petty traders) at low prices (1 tin of maize is sold between 200/= - 500/= per tin during harvest which is later on sold at 4000/= in the village or outside the village). Food crops (Maize) are also used for making local brew. This contributes to depletion of stored food reserves thus leading to food insecurity.

2.3.5 Gender Dimensions

Women and men at Igundu engage in cultivation of food crops. Apart from working on the family land, women have additional piece of land where they cultivate for the purposes of selling and earning an income to meet other needs. However women have additional roles as carers of family and children. They have to prepare food for the family; they fetch water, gather firewood and clean the house.

Due to this workload, which is not shared by men, some women fail to cultivate their small plots and hence miss out on the opportunity to earn, as they would have wished.

As for boys and girls, sharing of household chores could be inferred from the discussion with children at Igundu. Girls were seen doing most of the housework although boys also claimed to participate in fetching water and firewood. In farm work (cultivation and weeding), both participate regardless of gender.

Challenges regarding Gender issues

(i) Decision making at household level

Women have no say on the products of their labour, which is mainly food crops. Tendency is for many men to sell most of the produce. The proceeds of such sale normally are used for alcohol consumption and other things that are not beneficial to the family.

2.3.6 Forest Products

Charcoal is primarily the major forest product of Igundu that is produced on a small scale and mostly for domestic use.

2.3.7 Absence of Cash Crop

Igundu like other villages in Kiwanja division has no traditional cash crop although maize can be a cash crop if produced on a large scale. Most of the villagers engage in mining activities as sources of cash income. Crops such as sunflower and groundnuts grow well but it is only one farmer who has engaged seriously in the cultivation of these crops. Most farmers

were complaining about lack of reliable markets and processing plants as reasons keeping them from venturing into cash crop cultivation. This narrows down the avenues of getting cash income making most families poorer.

2.3.8 Livestock Keeping:

Few villagers keep goats, sheep, cattle, and pigs and free – range chicken. Most of the livestock kept are of indigenous breed.

Problems/Challenges facing Livestock keeping

Igundu has serious cattle theft incidents averaging between 40-50 per year. Despite the fact that farmers and livestock keepers have formed an association to address this problem (UMMI – *Umoja wa Mfugaji na Mkulima Igundu*) the problem still persists. It was the villagers' assertion that resorting to legal channels to recover loss of animals only compounds the problem. From their experience, cattle rustlers are willing to return stolen cattle only if the owners will withdraw from resorting to legal channels.

Also some cattle thieves have connections in the (UMMI where they learn of the strategy to deal with cattle theft (this was confirmed at the District workshop where it was said that cattle theft is an inside job within the community).

2.3.9 Petty Trading

Few villagers own small provisional stores that sell basics such as sugar, salt, rice, cooking oil, toiletries, flour, soft drinks and beer. There are few who sell local brew, tea and buns and a few handcrafts. Most of the provisions are bought from Chunya district headquarters and pushed on a bicycle or carried on the head, since there are no vehicles plying between Igundu and Chunya.

Challenges/Problems

Means of transport to and from Chunya district headquarters is by foot or bicycle because of poor roads and the terrain is not favourable for such means of transport. Similarly the products such as the handcrafts have no market due to their poor quality.

2.3.10 Skills

Some villagers have skills that they get hired and get paid for. These include blacksmithery, masonry, shoe repair, well drilling, mining tools making and repairing as well as handcraft making.

Challenges/Problem

There is no wide market for the skills. Most of the craftsmen get seasonal jobs at low pay. Selling ones labour using these skills is not possible in such a community. People's means of getting cash are therefore constrained by lack of demand for the same.

2.4 Vulnerability: Perceptions and Perceived Causes

2.4.1 Perceptions on Vulnerability

From various meetings and encounters made at Igundu village it came out clearly that Igundu community perceive vulnerability differently as follows:

- The situation of individuals or households to continue being poor as a result of shocks that adversely affects the people, leaving them at risk of sliding into deeper poverty. During social groups dialogue most people confirmed that Igundu community has continued to be vulnerable largely because people do not have regular incomes and access to basic services. With exception of only one household, (*that of Mr. A. Sanga,*) most of the households in the village are really poor with all known characteristics of poverty.
- A situation where an individual lacks income and access to basic services such as markets for crops, goods and services, primary health care, family planning, education and safe and clean water.
- Low level of education achievement (std VII education). The community said that education is one of the major ingredients to human capital formation as well as to sustainable development. Thus "*lacking education is expensive to development*".¹
- An individual having low level of education achievement, limited skills and lacking access to basic services including information essential for improving livelihoods and well-being. Therefore in order for one to succeed in life he/she has to work very hard.²
- An individual lacking access to infrastructure such as roads. During the drive to Igundu village from Chunya district and transect walk across the village it became apparent that roads are poor and not easily passable throughout the year. Moreover the community expressed the difficulty of accessing basic services at the district headquarter due to bad roads and distance. Furthermore, they also found it difficult to access primary health care services from other nearby village health facilities such as Sangambi and Chunya health centre because of lack of transport and long distance that they have to travel on foot to access them.
- People lacking government support in the form of provision of extension services and financial capital (credit) to the community. Lack of farming skills from agricultural extension officers was identified as one of the fundamental determinants of vulnerability

in the village. They said that the villagers have no agricultural officers who would advise farmers on best farming practices that might increase yields. Lack of credit that could be used by farmers to purchase modern inputs like tractor in order to improve their livelihoods was yet another cause. During district feedback workshop, it was elaborated clearly that since the villagers have not organised themselves into groups it is not possible for them to get credit. Even groups such as the UMMI that has opened a bank account have to go a step further and prepare a write-up that would convince on the viability of activities for which credit is sought.

- Lack of access to information on current government policies and legal rights. During social group discussions one of the outstanding issues raised by the community was that most people do not know policies such as land policy and their rights as a result they have no legal rights to land/farms and mining. Most farmers have owned their farms without title deed. Miners are mining without legal rights. Similarly livestock keepers are keeping their animals haphazardly without legal rights of grazing areas. In this case these people lack security of their livelihoods, which is dangerous in the future. Thus they are requesting the government to translate these English policies into Swahili so that every body can be aware of what is required.
- High level of dependency/large household size and polygamist practices. When dialoguing with the community they noted that about 90% of the households have children averaging between 5-10 excluding other dependants. Such family size is huge for the poor people to manage especially during economic shocks including droughts. During dialogue with youth social category it was observed that out of 17 youths, we were holding discussion with, only two were unmarried.
- Most of those who were married supported polygamist practices. The few who were opposing polygamy were of the view that having many wives is a burden at household level largely because it is difficult to manage more than one wife and children especially during shocks. A man having only one wife with fewer children (3-5) is less vulnerable (if all other factors are held constant) than households with multiple wives and children.
- Persistent adverse natural conditions including droughts, wild animals and pests/vermin. Although drought is not common at Igundu village, they persistently experienced drought in 1997 and 1998 and hence most people faced starvation. However wild animals like monkeys and rats and pests are persistently adversely affecting the livelihoods of the farmers. Monkeys destroy farms by eating maize. Similarly pests destroy maize and other agricultural products as a result reducing harvests.
- Charging high development levy to economically incapable people. Most people were concern that the development levy charged (Tshs5000/= instead of Tshs 3000/= charged in 1990s) is too high as compared to their incomes. As a result some households have failed to pay the levy. Thus they are demanding explanations from the district authority

about the criteria used to increase levy from Tshs 3000/= to Tshs 5000/=. In other words the community has requested the government officials at district level to reduce such levy to Tshs 3000/=.

- The mining hangover among people in the village. At present although miners have shifted to farming livelihoods as result of gold depletion, many people are still mining (but earning less and less because of poor inputs and skills used in mining). In this case they waste a lot of time resource, which could be used productively in other livelihoods especially as farming.

2.4.2 Extreme Vulnerable Social Groups

In order to identify the extreme vulnerable social groups in the village the social group and risk factor analysis was used. Because of the situation of the vulnerability in the community, almost all people are vulnerable in different aspects of the community life. However, during dialogue with different social groups, the community identified women, children above 5 years, orphans and disabled as being more vulnerable.

The interviewers used a risk factor analysis with hunger/droughts, lack of access to market, large family size variables etc. to determine the social category that might be the most vulnerable. During the community dialogue people were asked to rank the social group, which is likely to be at most, risk than the others. Table two below summarises the outcome and reasons why they are at risk. The highest score means more risk and vice versa. There were 170 people who voted.

Table 2: The most vulnerable Social Groups and their Scores

Social group	Shocks/ Hunger by no. of hands raised (vote)	Reasons for being vulnerable
Women	38	- Women stay behind at home to look after children
Men	0*	- They become emigrants/mobile - They are selfish and consume alone
Children under fives	65	- Dependent on mothers and women take care of them
Children 5≤18	80	- Independent and seek less parental care
Youths	2	- As men
Disabled	74	- Varies according to extent of disabilities - Less mobile
Elderly	21	- Less mobile - Powerless and have less or no assets - Dependent on economically active household members
Orphans	89	- Dependent on family members

*men are also more vulnerable due to lack of roads for ferrying the sick on stretchers.

Source: Ranking exercise with Igundu community members 9 March 2002

As shown in Table 2 above the highest scores represents the most vulnerable groups namely orphans, children aged between 5 and 18 years, children under 5 years and disabled.

The least vulnerable social category is men who scored 0 followed by youths who scored 2, indicating that when there are shocks these groups are less vulnerable to risks than others as can easily access income elsewhere mainly for their own consumption.

2.5 Coping Strategies

As discussed in the previous sections, Igundu Village emerged out of a typical mining camp i.e. the existence of the village was guaranteed as long as gold reserves existed. Based on the fact that most of the gold reserves that are tapped by the village are alluvial (shallow mining) and the use of traditional methods of mining, shallow reserves is getting depleted with time. The tools being used at present cannot enable the miners reach large reserves, which needs deeper digging through hard granite rocks. This necessitates the villagers to shift from mining practices to subsistence farming. At present, mining is done as a way of generating cash income to subsidize their requirements.

Being a remote village, almost cut off from all the necessary social services, the villages have developed quite a number of methods to enable them survive in that area.

2.5.1 Communication and Transport Infrastructure

The village is reachable through two seasonal roads, which enter the village from opposite sides. One road reaching the western side of the village passes through a swampy area. This area is used during the dry season, but it is the longest path to Chunya district. The most commonly used path is a rocky path (not exactly a road) that enters the eastern side of the village. One has to cross ditches, deep valleys and shallow seasonal rivers that run down the valleys and ditches.

For people to access the district headquarters, several footpaths could be seen to and from Chunya. Bicycles are sometimes used to ferry some farm produce to the market, which is mainly Chunya town. This is true only when there are no rains otherwise all gullies; ditches and valleys are usually flooded rendering them impassable. Not a single bridge has been constructed.

2.5.2 Accessibility to Social Services

(a) Water and Sanitation

The village is faced with an acute water shortage especially during the dry season. The water table level is very high such that short rains will result in the formation of seasonal rivers. Only one river can retain some amount of water for a longer time during the dry season, this

would be the only sources of water during this time. During the rainy season the village enjoys water obtained from shallow water wells. These wells were however intended to be pit latrines, which were dug through hard granite rocks by use of explosives. When water was reached, the would- be latrines were converted into water wells. The drawing of water from these wells is done by throwing into the well a 5 litre plastic gallon which is attached to a long rope held secured in one hand and pulled up when full. In this way the well water is polluted and rendered unsafe for human consumption. The need for boiling water is not registered by the community. Yet the fact that water from wells are left open all the time, they have always rated as breeding grounds for mosquitoes and other water-borne insects.

(b) Health Care

Malaria and water borne diseases such as bilharziasis, cholera, and typhoid are the most common types of diseases that affect the Igundu community. Unfortunately the village has no dispensary nor has it any public health services. Conventional maternity services are not rendered in any way. Furthermore there are no NGOs to supplement for this very important social service.

The community manages to survive through use of local herbs and local medications. Alternatively where the situation becomes serious, one could go to Sangambi Dispensary in a nearby village, reached after three hours walk or else go to Chunya designated District Hospital.

The few, who can afford to buy some medicines, are able to obtain them from a small shop that has some anti malaria tablets and a few painkillers such as panadol and aspirin.

Expectant mothers are the most affected when it comes to maternity services. Since these services are not available in the vicinity of the Igundu village, mothers have resorted to using Traditional Birth Attendants services (TBAs).

However from individual interviews it was observed that expectant mothers are reluctant to use the TBA services in the village for fear of witchcraft. One of the TBA was alleged to perform witchcraft on delivering mothers therefore making delivery process difficult.

The general sanitation and cleanliness where these services are rendered, the equipments and protective gears used by these attendants leave a lot to be desired. Deliveries are assisted by the TBAs under unhygienic conditions and in poorly ventilated huts. This can expose both mother and baby to infection.

(c) HIV/AIDS Awareness and Family Planning

The limited information on HIV /AIDS has let the spread of the scourge to go on unnoticed. This could be evidenced by polygamy practises among the youth, early marriages among young girls and limited use of condoms. The village enjoys the services of a Community Based Distributor (CBD) but these services are not appreciated nor are they used to full capacity. One of the participants said “*utakulaje pipi na ganda lake*”: meaning “how can a person enjoy a sweet in its wrapper” implying that condoms are not used. A few shops sell male condoms but they sell at very slow pace indicating limited use. The female condom is not available in the village.

The presence of very many young children and young mothers who are breast-feeding in the village indicates limited use of birth control and family planning methods. This was confirmed by the CBD who indicated that very few ever go to her to seek for advice on family planning. The community indicated that they had limited knowledge on the type and variety of services rendered by the CBD (*some even questioned on the credentials of the CBD during community feedback meeting*).

It was noted that many parents have many children ranging between 5-10 as a coping strategy for managing risks by increasing and diversify their cheap labour supply for farming. Similarly during the focus group discussion with youths, out of 17 youths who attended the dialogue, only 2 were unmarried and the rest supported polygamy practises and had at least two wives. Husbands have many wives, ranging between two to four largely because they want cheap labour, taking care of husbands and children at home.

(d) Education Services

The villagers have been able to establish one primary school; the school has four teaching staff (including the head of school). Established in 1994 with four teachers trained under UPE programme, the output has been very low – not a single child has been selected to join secondary school.

The few buildings used as classroom are of very low quality, staff houses are squatters, built of unburnt bricks and grass thatched) the latrines are unsafe for child use; the school is surrounded by huge trenches left behind by gold diggers, thus becoming breeding grounds for mosquitoes, and teaching /learning environment is not attractive.

Yet there is still a shortage of teaching /learning materials –including reference books, desks, and the teachers are subjected to all kinds of difficulties in their teaching profession. In its eccentricity education services are poorly delivered and the results provide enough evidence to support this.

However, both parents and teachers are able to cope with this situation by making use of the community to construct some buildings. Four classrooms have been constructed using local materials such as burnt bricks and roofed by corrugated iron sheets donated by the district. Some parents have transferred their children to nearby Godima primary school due to poor learning and teaching environment.

2.5.3 Agricultural Extension Services

The amount of farm produce and the quality of livestock keeping could be greatly improved if extension services were available in the village. The farming community is unable to make use of the fertilizers and insecticides because these are not available in the village. Improved methods of cultivation such as the use of the plough (hand or oxen driven), deployment of improved seeds, use of insecticides and pesticides – could all be provided by the provision of extension services.

Various methods however are being used to overcome these problems. These include the use of crop rotation methods. Because there is still plenty of arable land, farmers tend to prepare new plots when the current ones get exhausted. The cattle keepers on the other hand are able to purchase pesticides from Chunya and use hand operated sprayers to treat the animals against teaks and other pests.

Although large-scale gold digging is no longer practised, occasionally some digging is done to subsidize income generated by selling some farm produce. This is done by using inadequate tools such as hoes and spades. Local blacksmiths make some improvised tools suitable for rock digging and rock cutting.

The iron to be smelted is cured by red-hot fireworks, employing hand operated air blasts from locally made furnaces.

Summary of Key Findings and Policy Implications

S/No	KEY FINDINGS	POLICY IMPLICATIONS
1.	Although poverty has adversely affected all people, female headed households, elderly, disabled and orphans are the most vulnerable groups in the village	Village government should establish special programmes to support the needy and vulnerable people/groups
2.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is low level of education achievement among the villagers. There is poor transfer of knowledge from government to farmers, inadequate access to extension services and over centralization of agricultural extension services 	District government in collaboration with the village government should establish community based education programme to cover both formal and informal education including skills development.
3.	There is lack of capacity building and management of resources at local level. Local government reforms empower village government to manage resources including social services. However, the Igundu village government does not have enough organizational capacity to manage these resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a need for the district officials to continue providing capacity building to the village government officials in order to manage resources effectively. The district authority should not over-decentralize its functions to the village government.
4.	There is very poor infrastructure such as roads linking Chunya district and Igundu village, and lack of market information on the products	The district authority should support the construction of roads especially bridges which could then address market accessibility.
5	There is still poor use of technology in farming among the farmers in Igundu relying on hand hoe and non use of hybrid seeds and pesticides.	The government should support actions geared at improving farming Such as introducing credits to enable farmers purchase inputs
6.	People lack access to basic primary health care services and safe and clean water	The District should facilitate and support the construction of health facility and shallow wells for drinking water
7.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most families in Igundu village have between 5-10 children Polygamy is highly practised in the village 	The district should intensify and continue providing advocacy on reproductive health practises
8.	Lack of information on policies and legal rights	There is a need for government to translate the current policies from English to popular Kiswahili and make them available to villagers
9.	Lack of women empowerment	The district government should enhance women's empowerment at local level by sensitising the community on women's rights
10.	Majority of Igundu houses are built with materials that have a relatively short life span, constructed with mud bricks and thatched with grass. Many houses do not have pit latrines. In this case people are at health risks.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government should sensitise the people to construct cost-effective houses including pit latrines by using burnt bricks etc so that people can have better housing and sanitation facilities. The government should also provide subsidies to building materials to be affordable to the community

3.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The researchers observed several lessons from the findings that are worth mentioning as follows:

- The district feed back workshop was an important forum whereby the village government met District officials to exchange views on the various problems affecting the village. The reaction from the district was that most of the problems uncovered in the research were within the village government's ability to address using locally available resources (manpower and revenue collection). The village was challenged to show what progress they have made since 1999 when a (PRA) Participatory Rural Appraisal was conducted in the village. The researchers are of the opinion that in the absence of government technical and financial support e.g. in the construction of basic infrastructure such as roads and social services facilities at local levels, communities are likely to be vulnerable. Road construction requires huge capital outlay especially if bridges are required. Due to market failure as well as communities lacking financial resources in construction of public infrastructure, government support is necessary.
- In areas where most people have low levels of education achievement (standard 7 education) people are bound to be vulnerable. They cannot access information such as government policies, which are written in English. On the same note they find it difficult to have contact with the rest of the world (modernization). Furthermore, such people are likely to have large households (many wives and children) thereby facing the risk of sliding into deeper poverty. In the absence of government policies and laws translated into local languages (Kiswahili), people are bound to be vulnerable. They cannot access legal rights and use them to own land legally. At Igundu village most people have informal ownership of land as well as mining plots where no titles are acquired. Such practices may force people into civil strife or land conflicts.
- Liberalization of markets without government supporting the poor communities to access affordable inputs such as tractor, the poor people are likely to continue being worse off. In this regard, government support through provision of credits or vouchers to farmers to purchase modern farming inputs, is a pre-condition for improving farmer's livelihoods.
- In the absence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in rural areas, people are likely to be poor. NGOs complement government efforts in developmental initiatives such as education, family planning practices as well as HIV/AIDS control that aims at reducing people's risks. At Igundu village there is no any NGOs that either provides education or supplementing community's resources for improving their livelihoods.

- In those areas where women have not been empowered in making decisions over issues affecting their daily lives, people are unlikely to escape vulnerability. At Igundu village it was revealed that many women at household level are not allowed by their husbands to make decisions on specific issues of their concern. Similarly many women do not control resources including land. Such practices demoralize women's initiatives as a result deepening poverty.
- According to the reactions of district authorities, the village government had received some technical assistance including capacity building in governance and management of resources. The district challenged the village government to show results instead of lamenting on their problems. However in absence of monitoring mechanism whereby the district can evaluate how the villages are performing, meaningful achievements may not be attained. Likewise the village authorities may not be motivated to produce the intended results in a timely manner.
- Fear of witchcraft in the community contributes to stagnation of development. Whereas the inferior position of women is attributed to traditional norms and customary practices in many ethnic groups or tribal societies, this was not the case in Igundu where the community is made up of multiple ethnic groups in which case women's marginalisation was found to be mainly attitudinally based.

REFERENCES

1. United Republic of Tanzania: Chunya Social Economic Profile (SEP) 1997.
2. United Republic of Tanzania: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2000
3. Igundu PPA notes from 6th – 18th March 02

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Participants to the District Feedback Workshop on PPA - Chunya 18/3/2002

S/N	NAME	ADDRESS/ DEPARTMENT	DESIGNATION
1	D.J.D MWIMANZI	H/W - CHUNYA	AFISA VIJANA H/W
2	MUSA H.	H/W - CHUNYA	AFISA UTAMADUNI
3	MASOMELU U.A.R	DC, OFFICE	AFISA TAWALA
4	T.A.MBWAGA	KILIMO	AFISA LISHE
5	C.J.KALONGA	H/W – CHUNYA	AFISA M/JAMII
6	I.M.GWALUGANO	H/W – CHUNYA	AFISA UTUMISHI
7	M.L. MIHAYO	KILIMO	MAZAO BIASHARA
8	R.NKONDOKAYA	KILIMO	AFISA ZANA ZA KILIMO
9	J. KAYINGA	IGUNDU	AFISA MTENDAJI
10	M. LWESYA	IGUNDU	AFISA MTENDAJI
11	D.A.MWAIKUSA	USHIRIKA	AFISA USHIRIKA (W)
12	ADAMU MBARE	KILIMO	AFISA MIFUGO
13	D.S. MSUMANI	ARDHI	AFISA ARDHI
14	JABBA M.C.	ELIMU	ELIMU YA (WW)
15	S.C. CHIDEGE	ELIMU	UKAGUZI WA SHULE
16	J.J. MWAIJELE	TUME YA UTUMISHI WA WALIMU	KATIBU (W)
17	F.J. VAHAYE	KILIMO	SAFO II
18	HAPPYMARK MBULULE	ELIMU	AG.TAWALA
19	HASHIR NGWAJI	ELIMU	AFISAE LIMU
20	PATRICK J. MPAGAMA	H/W – CHUNYA	MHASIBU
21	SIMON C. MINJA	INTERNAL AUDITOR	DISTRICT I/AUDITOR
22	AISHA S. MAFTAH	OFISI YA AFYA	DCCO
23	SANCHO MWARUANDA	OFISI YA MAJI	TECH
24	ALLY K. ALLY	MAENDELEO YA JAMII	AG.DCDO
25	VIDRGILIUS ALMASI	KIJIJI CHA IGUNDU	MALIASILI
26	DR.ANO A. MASETA	OFISI YA MGANGA	DMO
27	V. DAUD	DCIS	UKAGUZI WA SHULE (W)
28	M. MGAYA	H/W - CHUNYA	DWE
29	D.J. MANGAZENI	OFISI YA DC	DAS
30	J.L. SOLOMA	UTAWALA – CDC	PCO
31	MWAI SOBWA P.S.	OFISI YA MGANGA MKUU	AG.DED
32	E.K. MWAIPOPO	M/KITI IGUNDU	DACC
33	RABISON KALAGO	KATIBU T/KIWANYA	M/KITI KIJJI
34	CHRISTINA	IGUNDU	MWAKILISHI
35	SHILLA SHEYO	BOX 5 CHUNYA	K/TARAFU
36	S.N.MWANGIMBA	KILIMO/MIFUGO	AG. DALDO
37	KIMILIKE, O.A.C.	BIASHARA (W)	DTO
38	GABRIEL MBULANYA	ESRF	RP
39	EMMY METTA	ESRF	RI
40	EZEKIEL MPANDA	ESRF	RP
41	FORTUNATA TEMU	ESRF	T.L

Annex 2: A Summary of comments from the district officials on the findings

1. The main responsibility of the government in the market economy is facilitation so that the villages can implement their plans that were designed in a participatory process (1999 PRA). The villages are required to initiate their plans and set priorities for implementation. The district authority would support only those areas where communities have initiated their plans / priorities.
2. There is a problem of governance at Igundu village. The village government has no concrete plans and has failed to inform the district on their priorities and activities implemented since 1999. Thus, the officials suggested that village government should continue being trained so that they could plan well and manage resources efficiently.
3. The current development levy charged (Tshs 5000/= per year) is affordable to every body and would also be used by the community for their own development. 20% of the Tshs 5000/= will remain at the community and the remaining will be used by the district. The village government should effectively use the money collected to accomplish the planned activities.
4. The respective communities should start rehabilitating the road (Igundu-Chunya) and the district government will support in those areas where they have failed. Feeder roads construction is the responsibility of the communities and the district will support in those areas where huge capital is required such as bridges.
5. In health care, the officials said that the village government should start making bricks for construction of a dispensary. The district will facilitate by providing the required specifications and other basic support.
6. Regarding farm and mining tools and inputs, the officials said that the government is not responsible for distribution of inputs to the people. However, the village government should identify an agent or people who would sell those inputs to consumers.
7. There are shortages of community officers in the village who would provide education pertaining to HIV/AIDS in the village.
8. Regarding the markets for the products, the officials suggested that the village should find their own market for their produce such as livestock products, gold, maize etc. The community also should diversify their livelihoods by introduction of cash crops (sunflower, groundnuts etc).
9. That the village government should complete constructing school infrastructure such as class rooms and teachers houses because it's their role. The district will employ more qualified teachers for the village as per the ratio of 1:45 (teacher – student ratio).
10. When responding to the district officials on comments raised, the village chairperson and VEO of Igundu said that the former village government had management problems and they did not involve people in the development processes, and hence there were no village plans.

Annex 3: Key Quotes

1. Lack of education is expensive to development.
2. In order to succeed in life someone has to work hard.
3. Payment is not a divorce from the village.
4. If you do not work what will you eat.
5. Paying tax stimulated development.
6. Women always remain behind to be struck by bullets.
7. Poor man has no rights.
8. If your stomach demands tell it to wait.
9. Whereas you go you are bound to find graveyards therefore courts like graves are a necessary evil.
10. How can you eat a sweet in its wrapper.