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The Present and Potential Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in Agricultural and Rural Development in Tanzania A Thesis Presented to the Ph.D. Committee of the University of Bremen in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in August 2004

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Map of Tanzania: Tanzania within East Africa

Since the mid-1990s, there has been increased NGO involvement in development activities in Tanzania. This followed the beginning of socio-economic liberalisation policies from the mid-1980s and political pluralism in the mid-1990s. As Tanzania's economy is predominantly dependent on agriculture, development interventions by NGOs have to, in one way or another, support and promote agricultural development to improve rural conditions and the livelihoods of the majority rural population. This thesis is an attempt to capture the role the NGOs play in promoting rural and agricultural development in the country. NGO involvement in agricultural development in Tanzania: what the NGOs are involved in, the strategies and approaches they use or how they do what they do, and how well they perform including impediments or conditions limiting desired levels of performance are all examined. The role the NGOs play in promoting and supporting rural and agricultural development in the country is assessed in relation to relevant NGO theory as developed from preceding studies on NGOs and rural development across countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. There have been, previously, studies undertaken on NGOs and their development efforts, but mostly across a number of developing countries or the study of some two or three NGO projects/programs in one or two countries. As a country study, this study through relevant methodologies has attempted to undertake a comprehensive study of NGOs in their efforts to promote agricultural development in Tanzania. Eight case studies have been developed and a survey of forty relevant NGOs undertaken. Socio-economic and political conditions of the past, the present, and earmarked or planned national frameworks and strategies to promote rural and agricultural development in the country having impact on rural and agricultural development are examined. These contextual factors are looked at in relation to the conditions which gave raise to or created the requirements for increased NGO involvement in rural development in Tanzania and provide or show the development frameworks within which NGOs are operating and will operate in the future. The final output of the study comes from cross case analysis and the analysis of survey information through important organising themes identified from the existing NGO theory and documented NGO practice in rural and agricultural development. These organising themes include poverty orientation, holistic approaches, community organisation, gender concern, agro ecological orientation, scaling up and networking, etc. Institutional relationships between the NGOs and other development actors are also examined and the outcome feeds into the general discussions. Some propositions are made of importance to the future of NGO involvement in rural development and for national development generally.

For my parents Halima & Hassan, My wife Beng'i and the children Anab and Hamza

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Acronyms

ACT-Tanzania	Action by Churches Together
ADP	Area Development Programme
ADT	Animal Draft Technologies
AFD	'Française de Développement' – East Africa Office
AGREST	Agricultural Economist Society of Tanzania
AGRITERRA	A Dutch organisation responsible for international cooperation between rural
	people's organisations
AKRSP	AGA Khan Rural Support Project
ANGONET	Arusha Non-Governmental Organisations Network
APT	Appropriate Technologies
ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme
ATTT	Association of Tabora Tobacco Traders
AWLAE	African Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment
BBO	'Bureau Beleidsvorming Ontwikkelingssamenwerking' NGO
BINGOs	Big International NGOs
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC)
CAAP	Andean Centre for Popular Action
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CDTFs	Community Development Trust Funds
CGG	Campaign for Good Governance
CNRM	Community Natural Resources Management
CRDB	Co-operative and Rural Development Bank
CTI	Confederation of Tanzanian Industries
DALDO	District Agricultural and Livestock Officer
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development of the United Kingdom, formally the ODA
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania
ENDA	Environmental and Development Activity
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESRF	Economic and Social Research Foundation
FAIDA	Finance and Advice in Development Assistance in Small Enterprise Promotion
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FASWOG	Food and Agricultural Sector Working Group
FERT	'Formation pour l'Epanouissement et le Renouveau de La Terre' of France
FINCA	Foundation for International Community Assistance
FIVDB	Friends in Village Development Bangladesh
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSO	Grassroots Support Organisation
GTZ	'Gesellschaft für Zussamenarbeit' of the Federal Republic of Germany
HIPCI	Highly Indebted Poor Countries' Initiatives
HSS	Hanns Seidel Stiftung/Foundation
ICRAF	International Centre for Research and Agro forestry
IFAD	International Food and Agricultural Development Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IVA	A Belgian NGO, Ieder Voor Allen
JFM	Joint Forest Management
KANGO	Kagera Association of NGOs
KCB	Kilimanjaro Co-operative Bank
KNFC	5 1
	Kilimanjaro Natural Food Co-operative Society
	Regional Agricultural and Horticultural Organisation in the Netherlands
LVIA	Lay Volunteers International Association
MAC MDDI C	Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives Mindance Particle Rural Life Control
MBRLC	Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MFI	Maguugmad Foundation Inc.
MSO	Membership Support Organisation

MVIWATA	Mtandao wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima (Network of Farmers' Groups) Tanzania
NAJK	Dutch Agricultural Youth Organisation
NARDC	National Agricultural Research and Development Centre
NARTIs	National Agricultural Research and Training Institutions
NEMC	National Environmental Management Council
NESP	National Economic Survival Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
ODA	Overseas Development Administration of the United Kingdom
OED	Overseas Evaluation Department of the World Bank
OED	Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank
PADEP	Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP)
PELUM	Participatory Ecological and Land Use Management
PER	Public Expenditure Review
PHAST	Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation
PLUM	Participatory Land use Management
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal Technique
PRADAN	Professional Assistance for Development Action
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RANGO	Rukwa Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal Technique
SACAS	Savings and Credit Association
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Cooperatives Societies
SAIPRO	Same Agricultural Improvement programme
SALT	Sloping Agricultural Land Technology
SANGO	Same Association of NGOs
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SARI	Seliani Agricultural Research Institute
SAWODE	Same Women Development Initiative
SIDO	Small Industries Development Organisation
SIDO SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SNIES	Netherlands Development Organisation
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SURUDE	Foundation for Sustainable Rural Development Tanzania Commission for Aids
TACAIDS	
TACOSODE	Tanzania Council for Social Development Tanzania Food Processors Association
TAFOPA	
TAHEA	Tanzania Home Economic Association
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TANEN	Tanzania NGOs Environment Network
TANGO	Association of Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania
TANU	Tanzania African National Union
TATEDO	Tanzania Traditional Energy and Development Organisation
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TAWLAE	Tanzania Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment
TCAL	Tanzania Chambers of Agriculture and Livestock
TCCIA	Tanzania Chambers of Commerce Industries and Agriculture
TDV	Tanzania Development Vision
TFNC	Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TIP	Traditional Irrigation Promotion, now TIPDO
TIPDO	Tanzania Irrigation Promotion Development Organisation
TMV	Tanzania Maize Variety
TPSF	Tanzania Private Sector Foundation
TRACE	Training and Facilitation Centre
TSAP	Tanzania Society for Animal Protection
UCCP	Ugalla Community Conservation Project
UMADEP	Uluguru Mountains Agricultural Development Project
UN	United Nations

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United Nations Development Assistance Framework
United Nations Development Framework
United Nations Development Program
United Republic of Tanzania
United States Agency for International Development
Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania
Vredeseilanden Country Office
Village Executive Officer
Village Forest Reserve
Village Project Management Committee
Women Economic Groups Coordination Committee
World Food Program of the United Nations
Wild Life Management Area

Part One

Chapter 1

Introduction and Methodology of Study

1. Introduction

The thesis is a modest effort to determine the role NGOs play in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania. It is also an investigation of how the NGOs play that role amidst and in relation to other development actors in the country. Earlier studies on NGOs in rural development and agriculture have been more generalised analyses across a large number of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; smaller studies have been about one or two individual NGOs and their development initiatives. This study examines the role of NGOs in agricultural and rural development within one particular country; the activities of a small number of NGOs are first studied, through a mix of methods, the study then extends itself to cover the activities of relevant NGOs in the country at large. In this way, it is possible to understand what the NGOs are doing and their contributions within specific political and economic environment in which they are operating. Since NGOs in Tanzania and the rural circumstances they address might be similar to those in many other African countries south of the Sahara, the study hopes to be useful to practitioners and scholars interested in strategies of rural development by NGOs and /or the potential of NGOs in this region.

Despite all the changes that have taken place in the last forty years since independence, three quarters of the Tanzanian population still live in the rural areas and 80% work full time or part time in agriculture, the latter even being the case for a proportion of urban residents. Agriculture accounts for about 50% of the GDP and agricultural products make up about 90% of Tanzanian's exports. The extent to which agricultural production has increased in recent years is under dispute; but it is clear that growth has been modest and that a boost in agricultural productivity would be very important for the economic growth of Tanzania as a whole.

The issue of agricultural and rural development in general is even more important for the poor people of Tanzania: it is estimated that half of the Tanzanian population lives below the poverty line and rural-households account for 92% of the poor. In fact, poverty is primarily

a rural problem, as many of those who constitute the poor in urban areas are simply refugees from rural destitution.

For the last ten years, the Tanzanian government has had little room for anything but for trying to reduce its external debt. In the meanwhile, poor marketing facilities, lack of credit for small farmers and a decline of extension and other agricultural services, impede agricultural growth. Ongoing market reforms alone will not be sufficient to enable Tanzanian peasants to make use of more knowledge and better technology in order to cope with growing land shortage, declining soil fertility and low prices for export crops. In addition, the liberalization of the economy poses the danger of increased competition from large-scale commercial operations that might increase social polarization in the countryside.

The question is whether Non-governmental Organizations and Community Based Organizations in Tanzania could help to mitigate problems by promoting innovative approaches to agricultural and rural development and by creating new institutional interfaces linking individuals and groups in the rural communities in a way to the state apparatus and to the non-agricultural private sector.

Turning to NGOs and CBOs for the promotion of agricultural and rural development programmes, seems to offer new hopes for agricultural and rural development because they are supposed to perform better than the public sector in the following respects:

They are supposed to be

. — More innovative and interested in technologies appropriate to small farmers and they are able to adapt technologies to local conditions

. - More flexible and thus able to learn from mistakes or respond to new opportunities

. - More able to pay specific attention to gender relations and the situation of women

. — More participatory and thus more able to link traditional and modern knowledge and to motivate farmers to take responsibility for their own economic progress

. — More able to mobilize and represent the poor and thus make the public and the private sector more amenable for cooperation with small peasants and other rural producers

. — More aware of the environment and the requirements of sustainable agriculture.

In addition, they may have access to external funds which the government cannot mobilize on its own.

Whether or not NGOs in Tanzania are actually taking up this challenge and how they cooperate with the state and the private sector if they do is, however, still an open question, which is the subject of this study.

For purposes of this study NGOs are defined in the following manner 1) they are organisations concerned with development 2) they are not for profit 3) they are voluntary 4) there are intermediary organisations serving communities at the grassroots' level. NGOs are organisations significantly relying on non-domestic sources of funds and/or were created initially for accessing external funds for carrying out their development objectives. The development activities they implement or support are also dependent almost wholly on external resources and might wind up their activities were they immediately to stop accessing external resources. NGOs are intermediary organisations as the problems they seek to address are often not the problems of the members of the organisations. This definition puts the so-called grassroots organisations such as self-help groups, co-operatives and trade unions into another category: that of community based organisations (CBOs). Many NGOs do, however, work with CBOs, stimulate the creation of CBOs and sometimes integrate representatives from CBOs into their decision-making bodies. On the other hand, national coordination bodies of rural associations function de facto exactly like NGOs. They are not an extension of grassroots activities, but they are rather formed by groups of professionals who set out to organise and service the grassroots organisations. They are therefore treated as NGOs in this study.

While CBOs such as voluntary associations and cooperative societies have a long tradition in Tanzania arising during the colonial period in opposition to and in cooperation with the colonial government, they were later by the postcolonial state promoted and co-opted. NGOs were severely restricted in their operations by the one-party state until the liberalisation of the early nineties. Since then the government has tolerated foreign private aid and international NGOs have come to provide important social services. They in turn have encouraged local NGOs to form and to expand. Although the primary focus of most NGOs is social development, agriculture cannot be ignored in a country where it is important to the welfare of the majority. The study presented here will highlight approaches, achievements and shortcomings of NGOs in this area.

2. Outline of the Study

After the introduction, Chapter 2 introduces relevant socio-economic and political facts and issues about the country which are of significance to the study. These include poverty and its relationship to agricultural development. It also explores approaches to rural development adopted in the country and describes the country's new and developing framework for agricultural and rural development. Chapter 3 represents the literature reviewed on NGOs in development. It captures the experiences and theories developed on NGO efforts in agricultural and rural development in developing countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. NGO approaches, practices, and methods are highlighted and described. NGO relationships with other development actors are explored and the features or conditions for effective performance by NGOs identified. Chapter 4 profiles NGOs and CBOs or these organisations of the civil society in Tanzania. It highlights the previous legal instruments governing civil society organisations, describes recent developments: the new NGO Policy and the NGO Act providing the legislative framework governing relationships between NGOs and the state. The NGO Directory of 2000 is used to identify the activities NGOs and CBOs are involved in and their distribution relative to the different activities. It is also used to show how NGOs and CBOs are distributed throughout the country. The distribution is examined in relation to welfare and poverty differences between the different regions of the country and as well with the distribution of the conventional forms of farmer organisations in the country, the cooperatives. International NGOs are also identified and some relevant titbit information provided. Chapter 5 covers the in-depth Case Studies developed. The case studies are by themselves analytical works as they are raw data for further analytical work in subsequent chapters. Chapter 6 identifies, describes, and draws conclusions about the role NGOs play in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania. It is the venue in which previous arguments, ideas and study findings are systematically through selected themes brought together. Chapter 7 explores the concept of inter-institutional relationships or

linkages between NGOs and its collaborators in the rural development scene in Tanzania. Chapter 8 identifies problems and weaknesses associated with the agricultural oriented NGOs. Chapter 9 is the final chapter which takes the study into the future and proposes changes towards improved rural and agricultural development efforts by the different development agencies.

3. Methodology

The empirical research methods chosen for this study are a combination of case studies and the use of survey questionnaires. First, from available sources, a list of NGOs active in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania was compiled. Secondly, eight NGOs active in the field as exemplary cases were selected and their activities studied in detail. Finally, forty agricultural oriented NGOs were interviewed with the aid of a standardized questionnaire.

The case studies developed form the centrepiece of the whole research process. A case study is an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group (Merriam, 1988:9). It is suggested that decisions to adopt qualitative case study approach are based on researcher's interests in insight, discovery and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing (ibid. 10). Case studies are said to use the logic of analytic instead of enumerative induction (Neuman, 2003:33). They are also said to rely heavily on inductive reasoning in handling multiple data sources (Merriam, 1988:16). Special features of the case study design include the possibility for sufficient data to be collected to help the researcher explore sufficient features of the case and to put forward interpretations from observations made (Bassey, 1999:47). Other essential strengths of case study design are that studies are conducted in their natural settings and the phenomenon under study is not separable from its context. Case study also facilitates triangulation as the researcher deals with different evidences, from different sources, utilizing different information collection methods such as interviews, observations, documents review or by using different observers (Yin, 1984; Yin, 1994; Merriam, 1988; Bassey, 1999).

Case studies are also suggested to have the properties of testing and /or seeking theories. It is argued that the place of theory in a case study depends largely on what is known about the topic of interest. Therefore, depending on the state of knowledge and amount of theory a case study might test theory, clarify theory, refine, extend, or develop new theory (Merriam, 1988:37). Bassey (1999:62) argues that case studies seeking to test or seek theories are particular studies of general issues. The case study is chosen because it is expected to be typical of something more general. By comparing several cases, general patterns and typical variations can be discerned. It is argued that studying more than one case increases the potential for generalisation beyond that particular case, as evidence from several cases provides compelling results. Cross-case analysis is said to involve analysing data from several cases, but each case is treated as a comprehensive case and data for each case are analysed (Merriam, 153-154). Merriam (1988:7) observes that it is important to distinguish survey research as a genre and using a survey instrument such as questionnaire to gather data. Quantitative data from surveys or other instruments can be used to support findings from qualitative data (ibid. 68). Mixing of qualitative and quantitative styles is a triangulation method, a study using both styles is more comprehensive, and it can occur in several ways: using the methods sequentially or using the two methods in parallel, or simultaneously (Neuman, 2003:139).

In this study, the individual cases are treated as comprehensive study units. In addition, there have been cross-case analyses based on specific themes developed. A survey questionnaire was also used to elicit information on specific issues. The survey questionnaire was to help the researcher extend the study beyond the in-depth case study units to other NGOs for the study to cover adequately the different NGOs/their projects or programmes in the country. Both the cross-case analysis and the survey element used represent efforts to project the micro – individual NGO cases – into the macro – NGOs in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania.

In developing the case studies, the procedure used for information collection was Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), whereby a combination of methods and sources was used. These included evidences from written sources (annual reports and other project documents such as newsletters and written mission statements), open and semi-structured interviews with NGO leaders, field-staff and ordinary male and female villagers as well as direct observations. By using different methods and sources and cross-checking for inconsistencies (triangulation),

validity is to be achieved despite the fact that this procedure is more rapid and less systematic as other methods of social science research (ODA, 1995:59-61).

According to Bassey (1999: 67), a research question is the engine driving the train of inquiry and should be formulated to set the immediate agenda for research, to enable data collection and permit analysis. The research purpose in theory seeking/theory testing case study is to focus the issue by asking pertinent questions. In this study, the basic research questions have been the following:

- 1) What role do NGOs play in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania?
- 2) What strategies and approaches are NGOs using in promoting agricultural development in the country?
- 3) Which impediments, if any, limit the potential of NGOs to contribute effectively to agricultural and rural development in Tanzania?

These basic questions were then elaborated drawing on the existing scientific body of literature on NGOs and rural development to develop guideline research questions which facilitated the research process: information collection and analysis. The guideline questions appear at the end of this chapter.

The NGOs and their projects or programmes selected for the case studies were purposely chosen. Merriam (1988: 47-48) argues that since generalization in a statistical sense is not a goal of qualitative research, probabilistic sampling is not necessary even justifiable in qualitative research. Purposive sampling is proposed to be relevant and is based on the assumption that a researcher wants to discover, understand, and gain insight. Therefore, one needs to select a sample from which the most can be learned. Judgmental or according to Neuman (2003:213) also referred to as purposive sampling uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases or cases are selected with a specific purpose in mind.

In this case, the purpose was to explore the different strategies by NGOs and their effects in promoting agricultural and rural development in the country. The cases selected for study were supposed to provide or cover diverse NGO experiences in terms of focus, scope of activities, and approaches. In addition, difference in regional location by the case study units was important.

The procedure for developing the case studies was as follows: first, preliminary information on chosen study units was collected from the perusal of secondary materials such as project documents and other publications as newsletters by specific NGOs and primary information from interviews with relevant personnel of the NGOs. Secondly, the specific projects/programmes were visited. The visits were made twice: on the first visits for most case study units, only the project staff and relevant government officials in the regions or districts and the government extension staff with which the NGOs were working were interviewed. The second visits mostly involved the interviewing of the beneficiaries of the different NGO projects/ programmes. Before the second visits, efforts were made to develop preliminarily case studies using the information already collected from the central or head office level of the NGOs and at project level. Therefore, the second information collection visits were mostly for gap filling purposes and to explore further the NGOs' interventions including efforts to substantiate critical evidences and arguments arrived at from previous data. As the period between first and second visits was approximately five months, further developments and changes related to ongoing projects/programmes or the NGOs contributed to the case study materials as finally presented.

4. NGOs selected for the survey

The process of identifying the study units to be covered by the survey involved the identification of those NGOs implementing agricultural and rural development projects/programs or support rural efforts to improve agricultural productivity and rural income. Developing a list of NGOs comprising the units to be surveyed involved the consultation of the following: 1) The NGO Directory of 2000 prepared by the Vice President's Office. 2) The Directory of NGOs of 2001 developed by the Umbrella NGO TANGO, in which 354 organisations are listed among which 25 are international NGOs. 3) The ministry for agriculture has a new unit responsible for the coordination of external support (External Aid and Coordination Unit). This unit was visited and some NGOs thought to be involved in agricultural development were made known.

Seventy NGOs were eventually identified as potential survey units and questionnaires were either sent to these organisations by post or submitted personally to them. No sample was drawn as the number of organisations was thought to be small and it was not necessary to draw a sample, as the aim was to cover as many relevant study elements as possible. Again, with NGOs it is often difficult to be exactly sure what activities they are engaged in, unless personally visited, as activities planned translates to implementation only once resources are accessed. Often the distribution of the questionnaires by post led to few responses or responses from less relevant NGOs, as such personal visits were often made to the NGOs themselves. The identification of relevant organisations was a continuous process where through the NGOs to which the questionnaires were administered or information collected, other NGOs supporting agricultural and rural development were identified. The final response rate from relevant NGOs was 40 NGOs or 57%. Among these organisations, 16 are international NGOs/branches of and 24 are local NGOs.

5. Guideline research questions

Background

- 1. How many NGOs currently operate in the country? What development activities are the NGOs involved in?
- 2. What is the geographical distribution of NGOs in Tanzania?
- 3. How many NGOs are involved in agricultural and rural development and what is their focus?

NGO Strategies, Approaches and Methods

- 1. What are the missions or primary objectives of the NGOs?
- 2. When did a particular NGO start its operations in Tanzania, or when did it come into being?
- 3. What was its initial operational focus?
- 4. What is the NGO currently involved in? Are there changes in focus and scope of operations?
- 5. How are project decisions made?
- Does the NGO carry out studies as inputs to decision making?
- What studies are carried out and what is the important information sought and taken into consideration to a project decision?
- Is the mission or the primary objectives of the organisation taken into consideration in making decisions to undertake a project?
- What are other influences to making a project decision?
- Where are the NGO operations located and who are the beneficiaries?
- What influenced the choice of locations and or beneficiaries?
- How are project activities monitored and evaluated?
- Do project milestones exist and are they used for monitoring and evaluation purposes?

- 6. How does the NGO try to increase its impact and influence in Tanzania?
- Is it through policy reform actions?
- Is it through expansion and multiplication of its models?
- Is it through strengthening networks of base organisations?
- 7. How is the NGO involved in agricultural and rural development?
- Does it attempt to improve productivity through better farm management practices? How does it do this?
- Is it through the provision of technical advice and skills development?
- Is it through input supply such as improved seeds, appropriate fertilisers, or farm implements?
- Is it through the introduction of new crops and/or through the search for marketing outlets?
- Does it attempt to influence sustainable use and conservation of land, the resource base?
- 8. If it is through the provision of technical advice and skills development, what kind of advice and skills are provided?
- What are the approaches and methodologies employed? Are they different in any way form those employed by the government?
- How appropriate and practical are the technical advice and skills imparted to local conditions?
- How innovative are they?
- Are the NGOs' interventions integrated and farm-system focussed or discipline/commodity specific?
- Is technical advice based on research-outputs from the NGO work itself on farm or in own research stations, or is it adopted from other sources such as government owned research stations? Is adaptation to local conditions carried out?
- Does the NGO attempt in any way to improve the linkages between communities, technology developers, and extension agents? How does the NGO do this?
- Are previous knowledge and experiences of the beneficiaries thought to be important and taken into consideration? How is this done?
- Are other issues taken into consideration such as limitations or constraints faced in inputs availability or the cost implications on the part of the beneficiaries? How is this done?
- What efforts are undertaken as an attempt to make sure that the services provided and benefits derived are sustainable after the project period?
- 9. If it is inputs supply, how is this done?
- Is it through credit provision?
- What are the objectives of the credit scheme?
- How is credit administered? Who benefits from credit?
- How is credit recovered and what is the recovery rate?
- What benefits are expected or occurred because of the credit scheme?
- Are there any unintended outcomes? How are they dealt with?
- 10. If it is through the introduction of new crops or products and/or through the search for marketing outlets, what crops and products, for what markets, how reliable are the markets?
- Who are the beneficiaries? Are the relatively more poor, vulnerable and the land-less targeted?

- What support services are offered? Is it technical or financial and how are they managed?
- What are the expected benefits and impact and how sustainable are the benefits?
- Are there outcomes other than merely financial that were expected have occurred, or were unexpected, such as increased women mobility or influence in the household, increased inequality in society or better use of the natural resources?
- 11. If it attempts to influence the sustainable use and conservation of land, as a resource base and other natural resources, how is this done?
- Are the interests and needs of local communities taken into consideration?
- Do they identify themselves with the efforts, understand, and appreciate the benefits to be achieved because of the efforts?
- How are their immediate interests and needs met for them to accept present sacrifices necessary for future benefits from sustainable use and conservation of natural resources?

Project Details and Performance

- 1. From where and from whom do project ideas come from?
- 2. What specific community needs guide project development?
- 3. What are the objectives of the projects and how do they reflect the pre-determined community needs?
- 4. Do projects activities reflect objectives? Are the projects outputs reflecting the objectives?
- 5. Are project outcomes given due consideration? How are negative or unwarranted consequences because of the project avoided or dealt with?
- 6. Are there specific efforts directed at making sure that the poor, women, and other vulnerable groups participate in the project and benefit from the outputs of the project? Are these concerns incorporated in project objectives? Can the concerns be discerned from the day-to-day actions in the course of the project?
- 7. How and to what extent are the beneficiaries of a project involved in project activities?
- 8. At what level of the project cycle are beneficiaries encouraged to participate? Is it in Project Idea generation, Project design, Implementation or Evaluation?
- 9. What do they contribute to the project?
 - Is it a one-off material and/or financial input contributions? Is it labor only?
 - Is it in terms of ideas to project design and implementation or through feedback in evaluation activities?
 - Are beneficiaries only receivers of end benefits or project outputs?
- 10. What can be said to affect the desired level or form of beneficiaries' participation in projects?
- 11. What forms of beneficiaries' groups exist and what are the membership characteristics of these groups?
- 12. How successful are the interventions by the NGOs, or are there some indication of future success and sustainability of benefits?
- 13. What are the reasons for less than desired performance?
 - Is it political acceptability problem?
 - Is it social integration difficulty or lack of community understanding and wrong expectations?
 - Is it lack of clear direction, faulty objectives, and methods?
 - Is it lack of experience and skill inadequacy?

- Is it limited reach and geographical bias?
- Is it lack of adequate and unreliable financial support?

NGOs and Inter-institutional Relations

With whom do NGOs co-operate in their endeavours? What is the form of co-operation? Why are the co-operations necessary? What are the benefits and the problems faced because of such co-operations? What is the desired level and form of co-operation? How can they be realised?

- 1. Does the NGO collaborate with the government and its agencies in any way?
 - Are there joint activities undertaken?
 - Do they depend on government's staff and expertise in running projects? Under what arrangements do this happen?
 - How formal or informal are relationships?
 - What are the benefits accrued or expected from collaborative engagements with government?
 - What steps can be taken to create conditions which will allow and encourage more beneficial working relationships between the two?
- 2. Does the NGO co-operate with other NGOs? Which NGOs does it co-operate?
 - What form does the co-operation or relationship take?
 - What are the benefits of such relationships?
 - Is there a desired level or form of co-operation between the NGO and other NGOs, which has not been realised? What are the reasons for this?
 - What can possibly be done to create desired co-operation between NGOs?
- 3. Does the NGO co-operate with CBOs?
 - In what ways if any is the NGO involved in the creation and/or fostering of community groups?
 - Does it do this through initiation and mobilization efforts, or through financial support and training?
 - Is it through undertaking joint development ventures or contracting services to community-based groups?
 - Is there a desired level or form of co-operation between the NGOs and CBOs that has not been realised? What are the reasons for this?
 - What can be taken to explain the current state of affairs apparently existing between NGOs and CBOs?
 - I. Is there a favorable relationship coming from a desire on the part of the NGO to create and sustain strong and effective community groups with the belief that community groups are part of the structure necessary in order to maintain and sustain the benefits from the NGO presence in the area?
 - II. Is it unfavorable reflecting NGOs' lack of understanding of the importance of community groups? Is it the NGOs' desires to have permanently dependent communities, which it will forever serve? Is it a result of the inability of the community to organize into beneficial groupings?
- 4. Does the NGO co-operate with the private profit sector?
- What form does the co-operation take? What are the benefits or expected benefits from such relationships?
- What is the desired level and form of co-operation and how can it be realised?

Sources of NGO Funds

- 1. What are the sources of funding on which the NGOs depend? What are the modalities for funding NGOs?
- 2. What kind and how much influence do the funding agencies or organisations have on NGOs?
 - Do they influence choice of project activity, the objectives to be pursued, location, or beneficiaries, project duration, and management of projects or the NGO itself?
 - What do the influences mean to the NGO?
 - Is the performance of the NGO affected? How is it affected?
- 3. How does the NGO attempt to cope with the influences and demands of funding organs?
- 4. What is the present funding climate for NGOs in Tanzania? Is the present climate favourable than the past? Is the future funding climate likely to be better or worse?

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background: Social, Political and Economic Context

1. Agricultural development and the poverty challenge

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the World Development Report (1997), Tanzania has the world third lowest GNP per capita about US Dollars 120. Rural households account for 92% of the poor and 42% were classified as chronic poor, the average per person consumption expenditure in 1993-1994 in rural areas was 50 cents a day (Ferreira, 1996). It is also observed that the incidence of poverty appeared to have declined during the years between 1983-1991 and 1991-1993, however, rising in the period between 1993 and 1998. The deterioration is attributed to worsening income inequality and relatively low rate of economic growth, particularly in the rural areas (UN/URT, 2001:15). Nonetheless, the rural poor are said to be positively reacting to market changes through economic diversification happening in areas of limited agricultural carrying capacity and with good access to major urban markets. In contrast, the rural population in the more remote areas of the country are yet to succeed in improving their livelihoods in the current liberalised socio-economic and political environment (Ponte, 2001: 83). The Household Budget Survey 2000/2001 provides the following: that 36% of Tanzanians fall below the basic needs poverty line and 19% below the food poverty line. The percentages are compared with 39% and 22% in 1991/1992 respectively. The rural areas are said to have the highest poverty levels and 39% of the rural population live below the basic needs poverty line. It is also acknowledged that the number of individuals living in poverty has increased during the 1990s and that there are now 11.4 million Tanzanians below the basic needs poverty line compared to 9.5 million in 1991/92 (The National Bureau of Statistics, URT, 2002). Positive developments are also apparent, for example, the Human Development Report (2003) assessing country progress relative to the Millennium Development Goals provides the following: access to improved water source in rural areas of Tanzania has increased from 28% in 1990 to 57%, in the urban areas the increase has been from 76% to 90%. The ratio of girls to boys in primary education has also increased from 0.98 in 1990-91 to 1.0 in 2000-01; in secondary education, the ratio is 0.81 relatively high in comparison to those of other developing countries. In addition, parliamentary seats held by women in

Tanzania are 22, a comparatively high figure in comparison to other countries including the developed countries. Again, over 40% of the land mass in Tanzania is still covered by forests. Nonetheless, according to the Human Development Report (2003), the Human Development Index, measuring achievements in terms of life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real income, ranks Tanzania under the category of low human development in the 160th position, which is however better than 15 other developing countries also ranked.

Indicator/Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003*
Real GDP growth rate (%)	3.3	4.0	4.7	4.9	5.7	6.2	5.7
Real per capita income (US\$)		256.9	259.4	261.2	264.1	265.3	
Real growth of agriculture (%)	2.4	1.9	4.1	3.4	5.5	5.0	3.3
Real growth of manufacturing (%)	5	8	3.6	4.8	5	8	8.5
Real growth of mining and quarrying (&)	17.1	27.4	9.1	13.9	13.5	15	15.1
Inflation – annual average (%) CPI	16.1	12.9	7.8	6	5.2	4.5	
Current account balance (US\$)	-403.5	-921.3	-860.1	-469.6	-479.5	-325.4	
Merchandise exports (US\$ m)	752.6	588.5	543.3	663.3	776.4	902.5	
Export/Import ratio (goods)	65.6	43.1	38.1	49.6	52.1	59.7	
Foreign Direct Investment (m US\$)**	157.8	172.2	516.7	463.4	327.4	240.4	
Foreign exchange reserves (months of imports)	3.8	3	4.1	5.6	6.3	8.9	
Exchange rate (annual average, TShs/US\$1)	612.1	664.7	744.8	808.4	876.4	978.9	
Investment/GDP (%)	14.9	15	15.2	16	17.2		
External debt (%) service/exports	36.9	36.4	27.2	28.6	21.6		
Fiscal year	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04
Domestic revenue/GDP (%)	12.6	12.5	11.3	12.2	12.1	12.3	13.3
Total Govt expenditure/GDP at market prices	14.8	14.8	17.1	16.8	18.8	23.4	24.9
Fiscal deficit before grants/GDP (%)	-2.3	-2.3	-5.8	-4.5	-6.6	-4.1	
Growth of money supply (%) (M2)	11	11.1	15	12.5	12.3	13	
Average deposit interest rate (%)	10	7.9	7.1	4.2	3.5	3.1	
Average lending interest rate	24	24.5	22.1	19.6	16.4	15.7	

 Table: 2.1.
 Tanzania selected macroeconomic indicators

*URT (2004) **Guidelines for the Preparation of Medium Term Plan and Budget Framework for 2004/05-2006/07,** Dar es Salaam: President's Office Planning and Privatization, and Ministry of Finance, the figures for 2003 should be regarded as provisional.

** 1999-2002 revised following the study by Bank of Tanzania, National Bureau of Statistics and Tanzania Investment Centre.

Source: United Republic of Tanzania (2004), Poverty Reduction Strategy: the Third Progress Report 2002/2003

The Tanzanian economy depends mostly on agriculture; therefore, the performance of the agricultural sector determines how well the economy is overall performing. The sector contributes over 50% to the country's GDP and about 75 % of Tanzania's foreign-exchange earnings come from agriculture and agro-based production (PER, 1999: 113). It is not surprising that the most important source of income to about 73% of Tanzanian households is agriculture, and about 83% of the rural population and 50% of the urban population depend on agriculture for their livelihoods (World Bank, 1996). It is estimated that 90% of the rural labour force in Tanzania is employed in direct farm activities. Furthermore, in the peri-urban areas of Tanzania only about 15% of the working population is engaged in nonfarm activities and about 6% are engaged as wage labourers in agriculture (Lanjouw and Sparrow, 1999). In addition, the Household Budget Survey 2000/2001 reports that although most Tanzanians depend on Agriculture, households have diversified their economic activities and individuals working in agriculture or fishing now head 70% of households in Tanzania; the percentage was 75 in 1991/92. Women are said to be less involved now in agriculture; in 2000/2001 it was the main activity for 63% of women, reduced from 77% in 1991/92. Nonetheless, it is also observed that around 60 to 80% of adults in most regions of the country report agriculture as their main activity. Food crops remain the important sources of income to about 41% of Tanzanian households as was the case in 1991/92; while the importance of export crops has fallen, it is the main source of cash to only 17% of households.

Tanzania has been an agriculturally based economy throughout its history. The state therefore has targeted the agricultural sector as the principal source of growth and revenue in the economy. Large-scale farming by the state and direct involvement in agriculture and agricultural production came into being after the Arusha Declaration of 1967, following the nationalization of large private farms and subsequently the establishment of new ones. Although state institutions were involved in agricultural production, the bulk of agricultural outputs largely came from the peasantry. Small farmers more than half of whom cultivate less than one hectare of land and about 98% cultivating less than five hectares, account for over 80% of agricultural production and exports, producing the bulk of food and raw materials (Hammond, 1999:2).

The agricultural sector in Tanzania generally performed poorly since the last half of the sixties. The state of agriculture in Tanzania between 1966 and 1986 was unsatisfactory and the total volume of agricultural exports remained largely unchanged (OED, 1998). Agriculture's most successful period of development is said to have occurred in the first five years of independence after restrictions in cash crop production imposed on indigenous Tanzanians was ended with end of the colonial rule. During the period, there were rapid increases in cotton, coffee, and cashew nuts production – growing at between 9 and 13% annually (Chachage, 1993; Coulson, 1982). The reasons for the negative development in a key sector of the country's economy since the last half of the sixties have been well enumerated. Limbu (1995) mentions the following:

- The government's incapacity to manage agriculture coupled with inconsistent policies marked by short run ad hoc policies as responses to calamities;
- Droughts between the years 1973 and 1975;
- The disincentive policies of state control in marketing and price fixing linked to taxing agriculture for industrialization;
- The inefficiency of 'parastatal' organizations involved in agricultural activities;
- Overvaluing of exchange rates and neglecting infrastructure.

The situation, which manifested itself during the period starting in the later half of 1960s, is also described in the following words:

'The agricultural crisis which began to affect one part of the country after another was due to the rigidity of the agricultural systems, a rigidity which made it impossible for the peasants to respond adequately to environmental changes, population pressures or changes in the prices they received for their products. What made these agricultural systems so rigid was that they had little scope for the development of the means of production and for the development of the division of labour inside the country'.

Von Freyhold (1979:4)

A description of the poverty challenge in Tanzania is provided as follows:

Poverty in Tanzania is characterized by low income and expenditure, high mortality and morbidity rates, poor nutritional states, low educational attainment, vulnerability to external shocks and exclusion from socio-political processes.

Poverty is particularly wide spread in rural areas, but it is not insignificant in urban areas. There are however significant differences in regional levels of poverty and in relative importance of different aspects of poverty.

Those particularly at risk are young children and youth, the very old, women, those in large households and those involved in subsistence agriculture, livestock production, and small-scale fishing (UN/URT, 2001: 15).

This report goes on to acknowledge that the gains made before the onset of reforms particularly on social indicators have been undermined. Efforts to address economic weaknesses meant that the government had to cut back expenditure in social services.

On rural-urban interface, it is observed that a high rate of rural urban migration prevails and unemployment rate was 10.6 percent in 1991. The number of new entrants into the labour force is estimated to be between 600,000 and 700,000 people annually and only 30,000 new jobs are created each year (ibid. 13).

The following factors are identified as the causes of poverty among those involved in smallholder agriculture, livestock production, and small-scale fishing:

- low productivity;
- repeated incidences of drought;
- considerable post harvest losses;
- inadequate access to inputs;
- low level of technology most farmers still depend on hand held hoe cultivation;
- access to credit is limited for both production and marketing;
- poor transfer of knowledge particularly because the extension services have been ineffective;

- dependence on rains and little importance given to irrigation; and
- insecurity of land tenure and land use conflict (especially between livestock keepers and cultivators).

The above problems represent the rural development and poverty alleviation challenges facing Tanzania at present. Current policies and strategies give emphasis to the productivity of the agricultural sector, as it is believed that the sector has capacity for improvement and agricultural productivity could stimulate better economic performance. Baas and Rouse (1997: 76) link rural poverty and impediments to agricultural growth and the rural-urban interface in the following argument:

'Poverty cannot be defined simply in terms of lacking access to sufficient food. It is also closely associated with a person's lack of access to productive assets, services and markets.... Low incomes and purchasing power limit the poor's ability to produce and/or purchase food and other domestically produced products and services. This in turn keeps internal markets from growing, which limits potentials for agricultural and economic growth, thus stimulating outmigration'.

2. Approaches to rural development

Tanzania achieved its independence in 1961. The post independence Tanzania has witnessed political and economic changes likely to be referred to in any discussions about the country: the transition from pluralist democracy to single party political system, and again to pluralist democracy, the transition from a free-market economy inherited from the colonial period to socialist policies and control economy, and back to free-market system. Before the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and its socialist policy orientation, Tanzania is said to have not been in any specific way different from other postcolonial countries of Africa. It inherited colonial economic policies where only to a greater degree were indigenous Tanzanians drawn into the capitalist production system (Coulson, 1979). On the political side, Tanzania became formally a single party state in 1965, following the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964. It was not until 1995 when a democracy. The transition to free-market economy has been gradual; policy changes began due to adverse economic conditions, especially from the late

1970s to mid-1980s, rendering the socialist policies unsustainable. Formal political declarations and slogans did not follow changes in policies, nor were they part of the transformation packages as was the case with the emergence of the socialist ideology. Nonetheless, statements on failures in the previous system and promises for a better future have been used to legitimise changes in economic orientation. It should be noted that after four decades of independence, poverty eradication goals are still integral part of public policy. However, it is apparent that this is not enough; sufficient progress in poverty eradication in the coming years need to be made, both for present policies to be justifiable and for, what is considered to be the main achievement of past policies, the retention of peace and stability in the country. The World Bank makes similar concerns, and which are relevant to the Tanzanian context. Wolfensohn, the World Bank President, in his opening speech in the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics of 1998, acknowledged that the issues at hand are equity and social justice to ensure market-led growth benefits all members of society where poverty is dealt with in a framework promoting environmental sustainability and popular participation while generating frequent results.

Esman and Uphoff (1984:20) provide three approaches to rural development and they believe that any strategy to development should attempt to utilize each approach in order to supplement weaknesses in individual approaches. The first is state-led approach to rural development that is top-down and uses created bureaucratic structures, manned by administrators and experts guided by state policies, rules, and regulations. The second is the market-led approach to rural development, which involves individual actors and group activities and decision-making guided by price signals and profit maximization efforts. The last one is an approach to rural development that is based on voluntary associations. This is a bottom-up approach and relies on decision by leaders and members through agreements aimed at upholding members' interests, guided by social beliefs of what is right and wrong in specific circumstances.

Rural development approaches in Tanzania broadly fall within the above categorization. Although there has been a mixture of the approaches, there has been marked dominance over time of one of the approaches over the others coinciding with changes in government policies. After independence, the market-led approach was dominant, whereby inherited colonial policies guided development in an economic environment conducive to individual and group economic activities. Later on, socialist policies gave state bureaucracy an upper hand in the control of development processes in Tanzania; individual and group activities and interests were made subordinate to state interests and control. Beginning mid-1980s, there have been consistent efforts leading to the development of a framework for development involving the strengthening of government's ability to guide development and at the same time reducing its role, or rather, constraining it from having direct and controlling role in development process: changing it from a doer to more of an enabler.

The following observations from the previous rural development policies and approaches, and which might have contributed to their limited success, are worthy of examining. First, social organizations tended to be based less on group interests and needs but on state's interests. Ujamaa villages and co-operative forms of organizations are good examples of efforts by the state to organise rural population. It is observed that by 1976 most rural Tanzanians were living officially in large planned villages each village having at least 250 families. There were 8,299 villages with a total population of 14.9 million or 87% of the country's population (Mapolo, 1985: 193). However, it is also noted that the resettlement programs in Ujamaa villages carried out in the early 1970s mostly involved movement of people communal farming constituting only a tiny fraction of the peasants' agricultural activities in the villages (Von Freyhold, 1979). Again, the Decentralization Policy of 1972 and consequently the abolition of local authorities are said to have led to unprecedented level of presence in the periphery of state bureaucrats as teams of civil servants from the center were posted to the regions to facilitate expansion of the local arm of central bureaucracy (Chambua, 1991:93).

Similarly, state policies on co-operatives and other forms of community organisations indicate the control nature of the state just a few years after independence. Co-operatives are considered the basic forms of organizations to agricultural communities expected to contribute to social capital formation. Social capital, it is argued, is beneficial to society and the benefits are derived from:

• The sharing of knowledge about the behaviour of other agents, which lowers the dangers of opportunistic behaviour and therefore reducing transaction costs;

- Sharing of non-behaviour knowledge such as on prices and technologies;
- Collective actions that enable sanctions against opportunistic behaviour and creation of rules for the management of common pool resources are facilitated (Collier, 1998: 6).
- As a form of informal insurance to households that allows the search for higher returns through more risky endeavours;
- It improves the ability of society to influence government actions and provision of public services (Narayan and Pritchet, 1997).

It is, therefore, worthwhile to look briefly at the development of co-operatives in Tanzania. The colonial government in the 1950s actively supported the development of co-operatives; the support to co-operatives was seen as a move to reduce racial tension and to bring trade with the peasants into direct bureaucratic control (Von Freyhold, 1979: 105). After independence and up to late 1960s the government promoted local level marketing cooperatives where membership was voluntary and leaders were democratically elected. However, it is observed that after Arusha Declaration in 1967 the situation changed as the government sought to develop multi-purpose institutions at village level responsible for agricultural production, consumer goods retailing as well as the marketing of cash crops. Cooperatives were formally abolished in 1975/76 and state controlled Crop Authorities were created (Ponte, 2001:83). A good example of state policies, at the time, was the dissolution of popular rural organizations such as the Ruvuma Development Association dissolved by the state in 1969 and referred to by Von Freyhold (1979:75) as a post independent grassroots' organization that was seen to be a success. The rural production crisis of the decade 1975-85 was blamed on the poor performance of the Crop Authorities. This led to the re-introduction of regional co-operative organizations and state organized primary societies in 1984. During this period, the Tanzanian economy was already in a crisis and the Regional Co-operative Unions were operated through loans made available to them from the state owned National Bank of Commerce. The Regional Co-operative Unions were then to make advances to primary societies for crop purchases. However, inflated advance estimates of purchases to be made and embezzlement was common practice (Gibbon, 1998: 3). In the period between 1984 and 1990, the National Bank of Commerce which held over 95% of regional co-operatives' debts had a crop finance recovery rate of only 27% (World Bank, 1994: 89).

Narayan and Pritchett (1997) in a study carried out in Tanzania suggest that social capital, which is also social and capital, explains poverty differences between communities in Tanzania. They assessed the extent and characteristics of individuals' associational life and their trust in various institutions and individuals and concluded that the effect of associational activity on income is large and that one standard deviation increase in village social capital increases household expenditure per person by at least 20% to 30%. Channels through which social capital influence income were identified to include better publicly provided services, greater use of modern agricultural inputs, more community activities and greater use of credit in agriculture. Farmers' groups looked into separately from co-operatives and rotating credit groups were found to be insignificant, as only 8% of 1,376 households in 87 villages surveyed belonged to farmers' groups. Furthermore, membership to co-operative organizations was seen to be insignificant in the associational life of villagers and in their contribution to social capital in the villages.

The above state of affairs representing the insignificant role of farmers' groups and cooperatives in the lives of rural communities in Tanzania can be partly attributed to state influence and control of associational life of rural communities through state sponsored organizations and subsequent lack of popular control and legitimacy. It can also be due to limited benefits accrued from those organizations as they were considered mainly the available outlets for farmers' produce.

Appropriate conditions, it is argued, for the development of effective co-operatives in the present environment depend on the rise again of mutual assistance among members of such organisations. Movements are to be built from the grassroots, be small enough to allow members to relate to them effectively, be efficient in operations, and the renovated primary societies when needed can create secondary-level and later tertiary-level societies (Von Pischke, 1996). It is also suggested that the performance of grassroots organisations correlates positively to participatory orientation, horizontal linkages with other similar organisations and vertical linkages with intermediary NGOs and/ or unions of grassroots organisations (Hulme and Turner, 1990: 194-197).

Speaking generally using a term which has recently gained particular prominence in developing countries – civil society – on the development of social organizations in

Tanzania, Kiondo (1993: 164) notes that an extremely weak 'modern' civil society and a colonial government that gave almost no room for the development of such a civil society characterized the colonial period. In addition, the extremely low level of economic and educational development of the majority of Tanzanians limited their participation in the created forums and efforts to develop their own civil society organizations. However, Maghimbi (1995: 37) talks of the 'discovery' of the community by colonial authorities in the 1930s where community development was encouraged in the colonial policies and plans. After independence, the state is said to have shown recognition that community institutions have a role to play in development. The institutions were encouraged as part of the efforts by the country's leader to stimulate socio-economic development through community efforts. However, this took a different form in later years. Maghimbi points out that the Arusha Declaration of 1967 marks this important period where community involvement and grassroots' initiatives were condoned by the state but in state's own terms under the banner of Ujamaa and African Socialism. Kiondo (1993: 165) observes that the period was followed by the abolition of mass organizations while others were co-opted. Some of those affiliated to the ruling party (TANU, which became later Chama cha Mapinduzi) were the women's association (UWT) the parents' association, the national youth organization and the trade union.

Secondly, top-bottom approaches based on technical considerations manifested their superiority over participatory orientation and local knowledge rendering ownership and self-reliance attitudes less realizable objectives negatively affecting development efforts. As already seen, the above examined policies and practices gave no room for local development processes, but rather tended to hijack the processes and guided them to suit adopted policies by the state. There are arguments as to the rationality of the policies. Hertman (1991) observes that the mentor of the system, Nyerere, was acutely aware of the fragility of new state formation in Africa and hoped to create a strong state that would be autonomous from both internal societal pressures and external ones to enable him to implement policies and maintain stability. Stability was maintained. However, external dependence was significantly increased during the period. Coulson (1979) observes that over reliance on external finance, which covered over 50% of the development budget, indicated that Tanzania was developing a unique kind of state capitalism. Coulson describes former rural development policies as based on the belief by donors and national bureaucrats that the rural population needed to be

dragged into the 21st century. Donor involvement in the economy in projects/programs under the Integrated Rural Development Programs is said to have also embraced the notion that rural communities ought to be dragged into the 21st century. There have been criticisms that donor projects lent emphasis to technocratic approaches, disregarding local contexts and indigenous knowledge. An example given which led to the devastation of the environment is the attempt to modernize the Maasai's pastoral economic life by settling them in permanent villages, providing dips and watering points for their cattle. The efforts are said to have disregarded the fact that Maasai's own way of life was at least more in harmony with the environment (Parkipuny, 1979). Such orientation to development was based on simplistic ideas about solutions to development problems: lack of resources, both physical and human, and ignorance of local people were considered the main hindrances to improved local conditions. External physical resources, expertise and methods successful where they originated, were thought to be the appropriate and adequate solutions to local problems. Again, it is also true that, to a certain extent, the external support led to dependent attitudes at the local level. This happened on the expense of self-reliance and efficient utilization of local resources.

Conversely, at present there is great awareness of the limitations of previous policies. Policies and strategies of rural development are now formulated informed by the realities and negative consequences of previous top-bottom orientations. Changes in policies have as their origin the economic crisis of 1980's and the subsequent economic reforms, carrying the general label of Structural Adjustments Policies. Structural adjustments policies linked to neo-classical economic theory are associated with efforts set in motion to remove impediments caused by state interference in market operations. The efforts include removal of tax and tariff concessions, reduction of social subsidies, privatisation, or closing down of state run enterprises, enhancing recognition of private property rights and the enforcement of the same (Steins, 1995). Efforts in Tanzania to adjust macro-economic imbalances as they began in early 1980's are shown in the box below.

Box: 2.1. Structural adjustments programs from the 1980s

1.	Own country's initiatives:
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- The National Economic Survival Program (NESP, 1981-82)
- Structural Adjustment Program (SAP, 1982-85)
- These had very little impact and were dependent on external support not received.
- 2. IMF and World Bank supported initiatives:
- Economic Recovery Program (ERP I, 1986/87-1988/89)
- This was considered a more serious reform and was sponsored by the IMF and the World Bank.
- Economic Recovery Program (ERP II, 1989/90-1991/1992)

This was aimed at strengthening the achievements of ERP 1. It encompassed efforts to arrest negative social effects resulting from the reforms and included issues of employment creation, income generation, provision of social services and food security promotion.

3. Other measures from here are embedded in yearly economic plans as the vehicles for consolidating the structural adjustment route.

Source: Kapunda, 1998: 23-24

It should be noted, however, as the changes have been gradual, there appears to exist a period where there have been no any discerned policies on rural development. As the former policies were being abandoned and former structures disbanded, there were no immediate replacements in policy and structures. Although the rural communities suffered as a result, especially when agricultural support and input subsidy was affected and the marketing structures weakened, this was a period when local development took its own course without state influence and interference. It was during this period that donor communities began strongly to support the emergence of different civil society organisations in Tanzania. It is noted that the number of civil society organisations of diverse purposes rose from around 200 in 1993 to more than 2000 (Kassoff, 2000). More importantly, lack of adequate support and adverse conditions might have been, during the period, inputs to increased individual and group struggles in coping with demands of life in a changing environment. The creation of an appropriate environment conducive to effective support might thus be a bonus to individual and group initiatives and, probably, a better future for Tanzanians.

3. Current rural development policies, strategies and programs

Efforts to address the social effects of structural adjustments programs in Tanzania and to realign the state to its new role in the reforming socio-economic environment have been going on. The rural poor are trying to adapt to the new environment and the challenges created. The adaptation is facilitated to some extent by the state itself. The Agricultural Policy of 1997, the Co-operative Policy of the same year, poverty alleviation agendas of the National Poverty Eradication Strategy of 1998 (NPES), the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of 2000 (PRSP) are some of the instruments developed to achieve the twin-goals: improvement of productivity in the agricultural sector and alleviation of poverty in Tanzania. These have been developed under the broad framework of the Tanzania Development Vision of 2025. The TDV 2025 envisages Tanzania as a middle level income country where agriculture is modernised, commercial, highly productive and profitable, and utilises natural resources in sustainable manner.

The Agricultural Policy acknowledges the importance of the private sector and NGOs in agricultural development and provides roles for the private sector in agricultural development in the country. Some of the important policy goals are:

- To end the monopoly of the government in extension service and to give room to the private sector and NGOs to participate in extension service provision.
- To make extension service district based to enable the private sector and NGOs to provide the service and in order to facilitate coordination.
- The strengthening of linkages between research and extension and the encouragement of the private sector and NGOs to fund and participate in research.
- The encouragement of the private sector to develop large-scale irrigation schemes and to support the formation of water-user groups and irrigation cooperatives.
- The promotion of rural financial institutions to be owned and run by farmers and NGOs.

Pressures from donors and political pluralism have led to a process of separation between the state and 'mass organizations' leading to important changes affecting co-operatives these included (Gibbon 1998:7):

- Legalisation of other forms of co-operatives and marketing co-operatives became only one functional type among other co-operatives;
- Co-operative Unions were allowed to be constituted on a voluntary basis;
- Clean up of the balance sheets of Co-operative Unions;
- Membership to primary societies required the purchase of shares by peasants;
- Affiliation of a Primary Society to a Co-operative Union required the purchase of a corporate share;
- Primary Societies could choose which Co-operative Unions they wished to belong to and do this regardless of administrative boundaries;
- Primary Societies and Co-operative Unions are supposed to demonstrate financial viability and to become self financing through the formation of savings and credit societies and regional banks;
- Crop marketing was liberalised to make possible competition from private businesses.

These changes have ushered new dynamism in co-operative activities in Tanzania. The rural communities in some areas might be taking the challenges in stride by developing their own organizations. For example, Ponte (2001:849) reports that in the Uluguru mountains an independent co-operative called 'Twikinde Malimbichi' is attempting to feel the gap left by the state-controlled co-operative (Morogoro Regional Co-operative Union). The co-operative was set up through donor-supported Uluguru Mountains Agricultural Development Project (UMADEP). In 1996 the co-operative, which operates mainly in one ward, owned a warehouse, an agricultural input shop, a market building and a lorry for transporting vegetables and fruits to Dar es salaam. The project is also involved in extension work, in organizing savings and credit societies and in improving local roads.

In some areas, Co-operative Unions are now subjected to competition from private businesses in the purchase of cash crops and to independent primary societies not any more legally bound to them. As a result, some of the older ones have been dying, while others are just floating by in the currents of change, to be dumped somewhere, as they fail to change and adapt. However, Co-operative Unions in some parts of the country have been able to establish own banks. An example is given of the Kilimanjaro Co-operative Bank (KCB) that is said to be fully owned by coffee growers on the slopes of Kilimanjaro and has its shareholders the farmers, primary co-operative societies and regional apex co-operatives. Three more similar institutions are present in three other regions of Tanzania. These regions are Arusha, Mbeya and Bukoba; important cash crop growing areas of the country. The (KCB) is said to employ various non-conventional practices to serve its customers, such as the use of local elders to screen borrowers, input credit and human capacity building (Temu and Due, 2000: 688).

The PRSP on the other hand, outlines strategies for the eradication of poverty in Tanzania. The PRSP is a strategic document in line with the Highly Indebted Poor Countries' Initiatives, which is focussing on poverty alleviation, produced by the government in consultative process following recent successive studies of poverty in Tanzania. The agricultural sector and the use of private sector resources to promote agricultural development are central to the agenda of the PRSP. The strategic areas of concern earmarked are macroeconomic stability and promotion of market efficiency, especially in agriculture and the raising of factor productivity. Others include budgetary expenditure restraints and support to key sectors: education (especially at primary school level), health (primary health care), agriculture (research and extension), roads (in rural areas), water, the judiciary, and HIV/AIDS. Promotion of export oriented production, diversification of the 'pro-poor' sectors, increasing investment as a percent of GDP from 15% to about 17%, and the encouragement of private investment in the cultivation of traditional and new crops, and development of small and medium sized enterprises.

Part IV Section B (b) outlines measures for rural sector development and export growth and the following roles are delineated.

Role of the poor and the private sector

- Credit will be provided by crop buyers, banks, and cooperatives;
- Farmers will be encouraged to organize themselves in groups or cooperatives to facilitate credit provision and crop-specific research;
- Private crop buyers or traders will be encouraged to continue experimenting with voucher schemes and other mechanisms for the purchase of fertilizers and insecticides;
- Local communities will participate in rehabilitating and maintaining rural roads;
- Communities will be encouraged and supported by the government to develop irrigated farming;

The role of the Government

- Training of primary societies and co-operatives in organizational and financial management;
- Providing demand-driven research and extension services;
- Supporting the rehabilitation and maintenance of rural roads;
- Supporting labour-intensive agro-processing of cash crops;
- Putting into effect the new Land Act and ensuring that related regulations facilitate the use of land as collateral;
- Rationalizing physical controls that constrain crop movements within the country and across international borders;
- Particular attention to the most deprived regions and priority allocation of budgetary resources;
- The efforts of NGOs and local banks to provide credit, training, and other forms of support to the informal sector and small and medium scale-enterprises are to be encouraged.

Policy changes in agricultural and rural development are not happening in isolation. Tanzania is now a country undergoing what may be referred to as total structural transformation; civil service and local government service reforms are as well in different stages of implementation. The aim is to create a public service that can effectively support the current development framework in a liberalised free-market environment. The government is expected to play more of facilitation and coordination role, in a regulatory capacity, whilst, the private sector the NGOs and rural communities are expected to directly take on the challenges of development with minimal state interference. It is now becoming obvious that there is consensus between public policy and donor policy as to the direction development processes in Tanzania should take. This consensus and optimism about the future is expressed by the success Tanzania achieved in becoming one of the beneficiary countries of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiatives. This might mean Tanzania will now have more resources at its disposal to use for its development programs otherwise used to pay external debt.

As instruments for the effectuation of the PRSP, the following have been in the last few years developed: Rural Development Policy, Rural Development Strategy, Agricultural Sector Development Strategy, and Agricultural Sector Development Program (ASDP). These important documents setting out policies, strategies, and programs for the future are briefly examined important points highlighted. The Rural Development Policy of 2002 is a general guide to a dynamic rural economy and rural well-being. It provides an integrated framework to rural development covering the conventional such rural industrialisation, marketing, development of social and economic infrastructures to the now fashionable elements of good governance, gender relations, participatory development and the threat from HIV/AIDS to development efforts. Highlighted in the document are the roles proposed for the private sector, voluntary organisations, co-operatives and rural associations, microfinance institutions, small and medium enterprises, the international community, and women and the youth. The private sector is described as the dominant contributor to growth and dynamism in the economy and the largest contributor to the country's GDP. The voluntary sector (or the civil society as stated) is also acknowledged for its contribution to improved policy formulation, its influence in promoting stakeholder ownership of various reforms and for promoting public sector transparency.

The Rural Development Strategy of 2002 sets out the direction for future rural development efforts within the policy framework and demands an integrated and holistic approach to the rural economy and welfare. Specific efforts within different socio-economic sectors of the country are observed to be important while the strategy is a coordinating mechanism. Linkages between different sector strategies and programmes, gaps in existing policies and strategies and implementation constraints are identified and remedial actions outlined. Relevant objectives for relevant socio-economic sectors are developed and action plans proposed. For example, the broad objective in agricultural sector is said to be increased productivity to achieve household and national food security and to improve living standards of the rural population. The specific objectives include improving marketing, rationalisation of support services, encouraging private sector investment, promoting and encouraging formation of farmer groups and organisations, promoting irrigation farming, improving agricultural activities and women income. Within these are action plans, however, important action plans as examples cover the improvement of support services, demand driven agricultural research services, and focus on the development of affordable and gender

appropriate agricultural technologies. To improve women conditions, a shift from urban and peri-urban women to rural women is emphasised in the work of the government and NGOs. Some participation and inputs from NGOs either directly or indirectly as illuminated in the examples given are evident. Surprisingly, marketing regulations and formation of farmer groups and organisations are mentioned but there is nothing at all specific about co-operatives and the primary producer societies commonly important before the new participatory environment of more donors and strengthened NGO influence in national policy and planning.

The Agricultural Sector Development Strategy of 2001 from which the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP) is drawn, sets out broad strategies as guide to future agricultural development efforts in the country. Main issues addressed by the strategy include effective sector management framework; better public sector and private sector roles and relationships; improvement in marketing for agricultural inputs and outputs; promoting private investment and commercial agriculture; role designations and delineation of responsibilities within public sector administrative levels and units; and strategic linkages between agricultural development and related activities as environmental management and efforts in other sectors such as health, communication and transport, etc. According to the Agricultural Sector Development Framework and Process Document of 2003, the ASDP is the government's tool for coordinating and monitoring agricultural development, while linking district level planning for agricultural development to internal and external resources. The implementation of the program at field level where direct support to production is provided will be through agricultural development programs developed at district level and the identification of local communities' needs will be through guided participatory processes.

A significant development is that Tanzania is getting more aware of the magnitude and character of its poverty problems. The current policies also need to be commended as emphasis is being made on pro-poor sectors such as health, education, water, agriculture, and rural roads. Furthermore, public policy explicitly now acknowledges the role to be played by the private sector and non-governmental organisations in the development process and poverty alleviation and participatory practices are getting more institutionalised at the national level, it is hoped that this participatory spirit will trickle down to the local level,

where programmes are actually implemented. The recent consultative approaches to national issues and problems, for example the yearly public expenditure review processes now commonly practiced involving key stakeholders, are vivid examples of more transparent and participatory atmosphere. Nevertheless, it is also important to reflect on the future; who or what are we going to blame for the failures in poverty eradication and achievement of aspired development goals in the future? Is it going to be wrong policies again or poor implementation? What about the capacity enhancement initiatives carried out now; are they going to be said to have been ineffective?

4. Conclusion

As has been seen, rural poverty in Tanzania and the low level of agricultural development are linked; the relationship extends itself to the country's low level of socio-economic development. Undesirable level of agricultural development is blamed on past policies and practices in addition to natural conditions as droughts. However, it seems that recent shifts from past policies and practices have led to two important developments. First, the reduction of support services and/ or the inability of the government to continue adequately supporting the productive efforts of the rural population might have led to increases in the number of people living in poverty. Secondly, the rural populations during the transition period whilst lacking required level of support were generally given the opportunity to manage their lives independent of interferences by the state. How different parts of the country fared and managed to adapt to the new conditions in the period, might have however been dependent on their previous levels of development. The efforts of Tanzanians in general, the previously stated condition being relevant, were complemented by access to external resources provided to stimulate the emergence of NGOs and CBOs commonly referred to as civil society organisations through which efforts to influence and sustain policy changes was to partly come from. It might also be that decreased support provided to peasants' efforts in agricultural production might have encouraged some diversification to other activities. However, it is difficult to see to what other activities might the rural population diversify other than increased trade in agricultural produce. Inadequate support and consequent hardships might have intensified individual struggles amidst increased population, increased demands for limited productive assets and social services. As change to more liberalised socio-economic environment was gradual, the formulation of national level policies and

programs as frameworks governing the country's development efforts have often followed emerged and ongoing practices. As such, current policies, programs, and strategies for rural and agricultural development and for practically all other sectors of the economy are frameworks essentially legitimizing current mode of practice. These instruments officially setting future development direction show decided efforts to counteract causes of previous failures, encouraging and guiding effective public private sector relationships, acknowledging and providing roles for NGOs, communities and their organisations and emphasising participatory development.

Chapter 3

Non-Governmental Organizations and Interventions in Agricultural and Rural Development: Developing Countries' Experiences

1. Introduction

In this chapter, relevant literature on NGOs and their development interventions in developing countries are reviewed. Three broad themes are covered in the following sections: the first section covers general approaches and specific practices by NGOs in agricultural and rural development. The second section examines relationships at policy and projects/programs implementation levels between NGOs and governments in developing countries. The final section highlights and describes the specific potential of NGOs in their efforts to promote rural development.

2. NGO approaches and practices in agricultural and rural development

NGOs play an intermediary role between the poor, the private sector and the state. They aim at providing the services the poor lack. While doing so they also aim at helping the poor to be independent and self-sustaining. An important way of doing this is said to be through fostering grassroots' institutions. Making a difference to livelihoods and capacities among poor people depends on the success of NGOs in fostering autonomous grassroots institutions and linking them with markets and political structures at higher levels (Edwards, 1999: 361). Furthermore, NGOs or grassroots service organisations are suggested to be relatively better than community based organizations such as co-operatives at reaching the poorest in society. The reasons given are remoteness from base co-operatives and the likely domination of minority interests in community based organizations, leading to limited benefits accruing to the poorest groups (Carroll, 1992: 93).

In addition, NGOs are seen as effective alternatives to public sector provision of public goods. The following features are argued to differentiate NGOs from government agencies in the pursuit of development goals: flexibility, responsiveness, the capability to experiment and learn from experience, linking processes to outcomes and NGO ability to influence commitment and participation of beneficiaries (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

Suggested as well is that NGOs tend to take holistic view of issues affecting their clients. Agriculture is conceived to go beyond simple production of crops, animals, and trees embracing the interactions among the following different components of the production system (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993: 65):

- The production of annual and perennial crops;
- Livestock keeping;
- Trees grown on-farm;
- The interaction among various combinations of the components (agro-forestry and silvipastoralism);
- The maintenance and improvement of natural resources, on-farm soil and water conservation and genetic resource conservation;
- The relationship between on- and off-farm activities: in a sequential manner, e.g. seed production, crop production, crop processing and relationships between them; and spatially, e.g. on-farm production in the wider context of watershed management, and the use of fodder and green manure;
- Activities suitable for the landless and the near landless, and for women, such as kitchen gardening and backyard livestock production.

The approach of NGOs often differs from previous interventions in agricultural development where support tended to be tied to specific commodities or products, was capital intensive in nature, and emphasis was in areas that are more productive. The advantages of NGOs in the dissemination of agricultural technology, especially in the adaptive and transfer subsystems are suggested to include the following (ibid. 40):

- stronger awareness of and orientation towards the needs of the rural poor;
- better methods in the diagnosis of problems, monitoring and evaluation of interventions;
- enhanced awareness of the implications of technologies in terms of inputs and marketing requirements and the assessment of possibilities for success;
- more effective adaptation and development of on-station technologies to the conditions of the resource poor farmers;
- enhanced concern among researchers to link with the extension activity for feedback.

Farrington and Bebbington (1993:65-79) categorise the NGO interventions in agricultural development into two main approaches of production-orientation and agro ecological emphasis. However, the elements of both are said to be found in many NGO interventions. Production orientation is said to be a high input approach based on the transfer of packages of technology and support system with little sensitivity to local contexts aiming at transforming traditional agriculture. The approach could also have a grassroots sensitive face, as only those technologies, dissemination methods, and institutional forms appropriate to local conditions are adopted and used. The agro ecological approach, on the other hand, promotes the use of low input technologies based on pragmatic responses to local conditions and constraints or on ideological predisposition to agro ecology. NGOs could be predisposed to organic agriculture or environmental protection, and in an extreme form, the recovery and promotion of the culture, social forms and technical practices associated with particular groups.

The suitability of NGOs in agricultural and rural development as provided above is taken to be the rationale enough for increased NGO involvement in development activities. Other arguments for increased NGO activities in the developing world have more to do with structural and policy changes happening in these parts of the world. As the consequence of structural adjustments and reduction of government support, it is argued, without the presence of NGOs, rural areas could lack the necessary structures, conditions, and support for development. This has led to NGOs stepping in as an attempt to maintain basic level of services (Turner and Hulme, 1997: 207).

The following are specific examples of NGOs' agricultural development interventions and practices:

NGO interventions in agricultural development are found to generally include the following activities: input supply such as seeds and seedlings, and provision of credit facilities; introduction of and experimentation with new varieties of crops; mechanising rural agriculture through the introduction and supply of, for example, agrochemicals, pesticides and irrigation equipment; introducing or improving the value and productivity of livestock; provision of support systems which cover issues of research, training, processing, marketing, and supporting the development of social organisations to manage and own the initiatives and for purposes of influence; making basic resources such as land, water and surrounding

productive activities or employment opportunities; promoting sustainable use of productive resources, particularly, land, water and forests; promotion of organic approaches and methods in agricultural practices; creating links between the poor and government institutions and the private sector, which might not have been there; and also the promotion of indigenous cultures and techniques.

These activities, it is argued, are important to the poor people and tend to be gap filling initiatives, as NGOs are not only capable of identifying the needs of the poor but also of developing innovative techniques in solving problems of the rural poor. In contrast, government efforts are often restricted to areas and activities that are more productive and requiring comparatively easier and standard solutions. The approaches are not suitable to complex farming systems characterising the agricultural activities of the poor in areas where geographical conditions, social, political, and economic environments constrain economic endeavours of the poor (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993).

The work of Silveira House in Zimbabwe can be an example of the production-oriented approach, although in some respect it was sensitive to the local context. The poor were the target group in the semi-arid agro ecological zones and were outside the realm of government's structures for support. The support services were organised around social groupings based on some knowledge of the ability by the community to afford the services provided on credit. However, the approach used was in some respect similar to governments' initiatives in agricultural development as it involved the provision of hybrid seeds and agrochemicals to its clients. It thus reflected development policies and methods generally considered appropriate during that time, the 1970s. Although Silveira House's initiatives are said to have been beneficial and despite later on elements of water and soil conservation were added to the project, environmental degradation, and decreases in output were the negative registered outcomes. The Silveira House's interventions involved input supply of hybrid seeds, chemicals, and farming implements provided through credit and it relied on group pressure for credit repayments. The Government of Zimbabwe scaled up this work with limited success as credit arrangements organised around a coherent structure of social organisations and relationships did not characterise the replicated approach in a larger environment (Riddell and Robinson, 1993).

Again, in Zimbabwe, in contrast, the work of Environmental and Development Activity (ENDA), which was based on community needs for drought tolerant seeds in drought-prone areas that had been disappearing because of the promotion by seed companies and the government of hybrid Maize, is considered a pragmatic response to local conditions having agro ecological emphasis. ENDA linked with other NGOs and government departments in identifying, storing, and distributing local varieties of millets and sorghums, which had been traditionally used in drought-prone areas and was under researched (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993; Chaguma and Gumbo, 1993).

NGOs have also been found to work with communities to improve their conditions, by either introducing new livestock or livestock keeping practices, or to undertake efforts to improve the productivity of animals kept by the poor. An example of the introduction of livestock as a project component to improve the nutritional status of project beneficiaries can be observed in the Agro-Livestock Technology, an element of the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre's Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT) project, in the Philippines. It promoted livestock keeping, particularly dairy goats, with the benefit of improving the nutritional status of the community and as a source of more income (Watson and Laquihon, 1993). Another example, which aimed at tackling income problem as well as addressing cultural constraints women face, is the work of the Friends in Village Development (FIVDB) in rural Bangladesh. Because of the backyard poultry keeping practice promoted, women are said to have been able to increase their income, learned beneficial skills as some became part of the delivery system for support services, earned respect from their spouses, and improved their mobility (Nahas, 1993). This project aimed at increasing the income of the poor and intended to bring change but not in any dramatic manner enough to breed resistance. Such social benefits gained by women for an outsider may look marginal, but might be significant gains to the women themselves and might be precursors of future developments.

The promotion of organic products and environmental concerns are also within the domain of NGO activities. Increases in the concern for environmental protection by both donors and pressure groups, better understanding of the benefits and increased interest in organic methods and products, have been shaping NGO orientation in development to more environmental friendly approaches. The Mag-uugmad Foundation Inc. (MFI) upland technology development in the Philippines provides examples of the strategies by NGOs to conserve soil and water. MFI worked with farmers and developed a farmer-based extension strategy based on a community development approach having six stages: (1) start where the farmers are, (2) discover the limiting factors, (3) choose a simple technology, (4) test the technology in a small scale, (5) evaluate the results, and (6) train trainers to spread the technology. The project developed a range of appropriate farming technologies with farmers and improved many existing practices. These include construction of contours, drainage canals to remove excess water from the fields, soil traps and dams for gully stabilisation, bench terracing, contour ploughing, hedgerow planting and in-row tillage. To manage the high labour input of soil conservation activities, it used a work group system based on kinship or residence organised on rotational basis making sure that all farms receive equal attention. The group work arrangement also allowed the sharing of draught animals, tackling the problem of inadequate number of draught animals available and identified by farmers as a constraint to increasing farm production (Cerna and Miclat-Teves, 1993). Another attempt by NGOs in the Philippines to promote the arresting and reversal of soil degradation is the work of the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre (MBRLC) and its SALT project scaled up by the government. It introduced sloping land technology, had to set up its own research farm, and made alley cropping trials with the leguminous tree Leucaena to enhance both maize yields and soil fertility. It introduced trees and tree crops in the community, dairy goat, sheep, duck, and swine rearing and trained farmers in the practices (Watson and Laquihon, 1993).

An intervention that embraced organic methods in agriculture to take advantages of premium prices in foreign markets for organic products is the work of EL Ceibo a federation of thirtysix co-operatives in Bolivia. El Ceibo is said to have adopted a pragmatic agro ecological approach in agricultural development. Its objectives were to access the premium market for organically grown cocoa and thus increase farmers' incomes (Trujillo, 1991 as referred to by Farrington and Bebbington, 1993). An intervention of this nature is environmental friendly, and may go beyond merely the marginal elevation of the poor from poverty. It could also have good economic consequences for the country as a whole. The search for marketing opportunities by NGOs for the agricultural products of the poor is also observed from the work of MCC. MCC is the Mennonite Central Committee a US based volunteer organisation in Bangladesh, which realised that Soya could not become a successful farm crop unless market opportunities are created. It, therefore, explored snack food markets and processing requirements with the private commercial sector (Buckland and Graham, 1990 as referred to by Farrington and Bebbington, 1993). The work of Andean Centre for Popular Action (CAAP) in Ecuador is said to embrace the agro ecological approach in its interventions based on the promotion and recovery of indigenous forms of social organisations and techniques. Campesino's perceived objectives of long term preservation of the ecosystem, indigenous culture and techniques, the production of enough food to meet consumption and their social cultural requirements, and the optimum use of the available labour were seen to be important as part of a structural context which should be protected, enhanced and not replaced (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993).

Another example of the work of NGOs on poverty based on the provision of services and resources the poor lack as well as promoting social groupings among the poor is the work of BRAC. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) developed a mechanism for ownership of irrigation pumps by groups of landless labourers. This is said to have brought 'modern' technology within the reach of the poor. The poor were organised into groups to facilitate the management of the irrigation system based on group pressure. The benefits from the project other than income include the ability of the landless to have productive land to work on with its psychological benefit of having land at one's disposal where land is a scarce resource. The poor were also organised, thereby increasing their bargaining power with the rich landowners (Mustafa et al., 1993).

Holistic or issue orientated approaches characterising NGOs' efforts in agricultural development, although it shapes many NGO activities, can be clearly observed from the work of PRADAN (Professional Assistance for Development Action). The Indian NGO has been involved in improving leather processing with local groups. The activities of construction of a processing plant, forming of groups, the acquisition of inputs and credit, the identification of suitable training courses, the establishment of sales and feedback links with the private commercial sector were all undertaken as they were all necessary for the success of the project and achievement of objectives (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993; Vasimalai, 1993).

Wage employment creation activities are also undertaken by NGOs. This could be less directly through the activities created by NGOs demanding extra labour, or so that certain services continue to be provided locally, for example the vaccine distribution activities carried out by beneficiaries of the backyard poultry-keeping project by FIVDB in Bangladesh. The Watershed Management Program in India, a collaborative activity between NGOs, local communities and the government, is an example of an employment creation activity by NGOs while the main objective was soil and water conservation. Although the remunerations provided to the peasants for their contribution of labour to the programme was below the prevailing wage rates, seasonal unemployment problem they suffer was somewhat dealt with (Bhat and Satish, 1993). Employment creation could also be through the sale of skilled labour obtained from training activities organised by NGOs. In Chile, an example of a training activity to make youths employable is observed from the work of AGRARIA. The activities of AGRARIA included the training of landless youths in pruning skills in order to enhance their prospects for employment in vineyards (Aquire and Namdar-Irani, 1992 as referred to by Farrington and Bebbington, 1993).

There have been also efforts by NGOs to make forests and forest resources owned and managed by local communities. Peer pressure within communities owning or managing forest resources is expected to check unregulated exploitative practices by individuals within communities. Community interest in preserving the forest resources is also expected to influence the practice of government agencies at local level, which might be more interested in increasing local revenue to the detriment of the forest resources. It is also apparent that lack of adequate physical and human resources curtail the effectiveness of government agencies in managing forest resources. In addition, because local communities have a stake in the forest resources there could be more equitable sharing of benefits from the exploitation of the resources. Local management of forests by communities necessitates the creation or the strengthening of local level structures such as village environmental committees providing forums where acceptable conducts, sanctions, negotiations with the private sector and governmental agencies are addressed. An example of activities by NGOs to influence increased access to forest resources by the poor is the work of The Aga Khan Rural Support Project (AKRSP) in India. The approach used by the NGO included horizontal linkages with other NGOs to gain more strength in its efforts to change government's procedures restricting village access to government-owned land. The restrictions limited the local communities' access to minor forest products and timber thinning. The efforts were successful as the peasants received some form of official access to the forest resources. In India, NGOs are found to promote and protect local institutions at village level established to manage forest resources (Sethna and Shah, 1993).

NGOs' interventions in agricultural development are in the main integrated in approach and are likely to be beneficial in a number of respects as can be observed from the explored practices. The main objectives fall within the spectrum of rural poverty alleviation and sustainable use of natural resources, in particular land and land resources. Integrated holistic approaches become necessary when the constraints facing rural populations are to be effectively dealt with. Tackling poverty effectively might necessitate dealing with the social and structural problems to individual and group productive efforts of the poor in integrated manner.

3. Non-governmental organisations - state interactions

Scholars such as Edwards (1999) Edwards and Hulme (1996) Kiondo (1993) and Baldwin (1990) have more or less the same view on state-NGOs relationships in developing countries. Generally, relationships are favourable provided the state recognizes that there are benefits to be accrued from NGOs' operations; they are also favourable where the level of political openness and tolerance are relatively good, and especially where the influence of and dependence on international donors, especially the IMF and the World Bank, are strong. The relevance of political considerations to NGOs-state relations in Africa rather than development gains is also underscored (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993; Fowler, 1988 and Bratton, 1989).

The performance of NGOs in development is said to be limited by certain factors necessitating some form of linkages between NGOs and the state, state organs and other institutions. Farrington and Bebbington (1993:22-25) identify the following:

- Smallness of NGOs limiting the technical and professional resources they have at their disposal. For example, in agricultural devlopment few NGOs have technical libraries, research stations, and laboratory facilities and cannot therefore conduct controlled experiments. They also often lack adequate money, time, and personnel and cannot afford different specialists in one organization.
- Very informal mechanisms of accountability existing between them and the rural poor, and the form of accountability that might be present depend on donor requirements.

• Another reason is the complex question of accountability to governments and coordination of NGOs' activities versus autonomy of NGOs.

Baldwin (1990: 7) contends that NGOs and governments could be related in the following four ways. Firstly, NGOs might be registered and have there activities monitored. Secondly, there might be co-ordination of NGOs, which may involve actual interventions in the activities of NGOs. Thirdly, the government may seek to co-opt the NGOs. Finally, there could be active discouragement of NGO activities or NGOs may be outlawed altogether. The manner in which registration of NGOs is managed by the state is said often to be indicative of the quality of NGOs-state relationships and the possibilities of beneficial interactions. It can be a lengthy frustrating process or involve only a minimum of formality (Farrington and Bebbington, 1993: 51). NGOs-state relationships are diverse and complex depending on the influence of certain contextual factors such as the nature of NGO's objectives and strategies, the sector it works in, donor behaviour, and the nature of the state. These links shape relationships in a variety of ways (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

(a) NGO co-ordination

Interactions between NGOs and governments of countries in which they operate occur in the policy and legal spheres and at the level of operations in projests/programs implementations. In the first area of 'contacts', NGOs may be legally acknowledged and recognized as part of the civil society; their purposes and operational contexts including scope and their limitations are spelled out. In some cases, institutional bodies are formed as instruments for government control and/or co-ordination of NGO activities; and NGOs may be involved in the process. In addition, sector policies of respective governments may specify the role of NGOs relative to a government department or ministry. Co-ordination of NGOs activities might also be left to particular government departments or NGOs' own and independent co-ordination bodies.

There are legitimate reasons for governments' interests on NGOs and their activities. According to Turner and Hulme (1997: 212-213) they include the following: the need to make sure that NGOs engage in activities that merit the special treatments they are accorded such as tax benefits, that NGOs properly account for the resources they utilize, and to control the creation and use of NGOs for personal interests. In addition, NGOs need to co-ordinate

with government agencies to avoid duplication of efforts and the possibility for unequal distribution of services between areas with the associated risk of promoting inequality.

Farrington and Bebbington (1993:51-52) suggest a less so 'legitimate' reason: the fear that independent NGOs can weaken governments' efforts by undermining their legitimacy, or contradicting their approaches to development. They argue that states control NGOs through financial control and the co-ordination of development activities.

- Financial control in its simplest level requiring NGOs to keep accounts of income and expenditure, so that individual items of expenditure such as salary and allowances paid to expatriates and income sources can be checked.
- The need for co-ordination becomes important because of the increase in the level of activities by NGOs. It can take the form of making sure that NGOs' activities are broadly consistent with government development measures. It can also be full co-ordination of NGOs' activities with government programs. Finally, governments may allow NGOs to set up development priorities but must seek permission from local administration.

Formal co-ordination of NGOs has the benefit of creating space and protection for NGO work; other benefits include (Fowler 1997:117):

- facilitation of mediation between contending forces and interests within the membership;
- a medium for articulating collective views on public issues;
- can facilitate collaboration in particular service provision which one NGO by itself cannot undertake;
- co-ordination body can be an instrument that makes NGOs transparent and trusted, understood by donors, government and community at large;
- provides national and international links;
- is a source of and sanctions guidelines for best practice and norms for proper conduct;
- it provides venue for linking small NGOs with more experienced ones.

There are also problems that are associated with NGO co-ordination and co-ordination bodies. These include the following: co-ordination bodies can become instruments of coercion and control used by the state arbitrarily for incorrect reasons; NGOs may not want to be co-ordinated and this may affect their commitment to coordination; there could be insecure sources of funding for the NGO co-ordination body because of lack of commitment and/or lack of resources; and a co-ordination body can be an instrument used for promoting factionalism and divisions between national and international NGOs, making communication between members impossible (Fowler, 1997).

(b) NGOs-state interactions at operational Level

At the operational level, NGOs-state interactions and relationships occur within the framework laid above. However, pressures to accommodate NGOs from outside can only cause superficial tolerance of NGOs by the state, affecting the quality of interactions between them. The extent and quality of interactions are also dependent on NGOs' inclinations to work in partnership with the state and its institutions. It is suggested that some NGOs tend not to coordinate with government bureaucracy, which they consider inefficient. Working with inefficient bureaucracy, they argue, can affect the effectiveness of NGO operations and, consequently, the relationships between NGOs and the people they serve (Farrington and Lewis, 1993: 47).

The linkages between NGOs and the state happen around the areas of financial support, formal and informal linkages with state institutions, and award of contracts. Financial support of NGOs by the state is a pronounced practice in the developed world. In aid-dependent countries of the South, this is mainly through indirect donor funding of NGOs through national budgets. In this circumstance, conditions for funding certain NGO activities are part of aid agreements. However, it is observed that in the better economies of Latin America and South East Asia there has been a decrease in NGO funding from external sources and NGOs are demanding access to government resources. This is seen to be a matter of right as NGOs are contributing to social economic development just like other sectors in the economy (Fowler 1997:144).

It may be necessary for NGOs to utilize government resources such as research stations and the personal expertise of government employees. Examples of this type of relationships are numerous. However, whether the linkages are formal in nature or not depends on the maturity of interactions between NGOs and state organs. Anderson and Crowder (2000) in a case study of Uganda observe that public extension staff mobilized by NGOs provided extension services to small-scale producers of food crops. The benefits from the relationships created are said to include enhancement of the skills of NGOs when their skills in planning, organizing and supervising local development activities, which included group formation and participatory actions, were combined with the technical skills of government extension agents. Friends in Village Development Bangladesh (FIVDB) is reported, for example, to have had informal links with the Bangladesh Agricultural University on the introduction of new breeds of ducks as an income-generating project for women (Nahas, 1993:75).

NGOs operate in policy environments that have impacts on the effectiveness of their activities. Therefore, it may be important for NGOs to influence policy changes to create environments conducive to socio-economic changes. For example, in the late 1980s NGOs in Bangladesh in collaboration with the government had to develop a land proposal for land re-distribution in favour of the landless poor (ibid. 56). The methods NGOs employ in influencing policy changes include lobbying and the use of informal networks. In addition, NGO coordination bodies, at their best, could be important instruments for NGOs' strength and influence. For example, it is pointed out that although there was previous unease with the move by the government to establish a co-ordination body in Kenya, its creation brought NGOs together in a more inclusive way strengthening their bargaining position *vis à vis* the government and its institutions (Juma, 1995: 96).

Farrington and Lewis (1993: 303) conclude from experiences in Asian countries that NGOstate interactions involve the following: the first one is collaboration in respect of perceived comparative advantages. In this case, joint activities might be carried out NGOs providing social and organizational delivery components and the government providing inputs. Secondly, NGOs innovate in technical, procedural, institutional, or methodological ways and seek scaling up by government agencies. Thirdly, NGOs network among themselves and /or with governments and exchange ideas and this can lead to coordination between projects and activities. Lastly, NGOs seek to elicit government response on, for example, pro-poor policies or administrative reforms or the full implementation of existing laws and procedures. This is likely to result into conflict or long-term negotiations.

Formal interactions between states and NGOs could be in the form of contractual relationships. There are two main reasons that account for the governments of developing countries to contract services out to NGOs. These include the requirements attached to donor support and lack of resources on the side of governments. It is suggested that award of contracts, that is, legally binding form of partnership between NGOs and governments might result into conditions that can jeopardize NGO independence and give room to corruption. Contracts constitute fundamental change in values and legitimacy of NGOs, which changes from being based on values and voluntarism, to being based on the contract with a government (Edward and Hulme, 1996:967).

However, the use of the private profit and non-profit sector in the provision of public goods and services through contracts by competitive tendering processes is now widely practiced in many countries. Benefits to be accrued from the practice are cost-savings and improved performance as governments turn into service purchasers and the private sector takes a service provider role. Deakins and Wash (1996) contend that in contractual practices, policymaking and implementations are separated and this is the ideal form of good governance. They point out that issues of accountability cannot be left to the market and a system of democratic accountability should exist, as government officials have to account for the performance of services. Performance standards derived from former service performance levels of government agencies are used to provide benchmarks for performance evaluation and monitoring in contracts.

Nonetheless, Anderson and Crowder (2000: 374) argue that contracting out by governments in Africa might not be a pronounced practice and 'contracting in' may be more wide spread. They look at the provision of extension service to come out with four approaches. These are (1) private delivery and private finance (2) private delivery and public finance (3) public delivery and public finance (4) public delivery and private finance. The first one is the ideal type with little or no government participation, such as out-grower schemes or delivery through producer associations. The third one is the typical government extension service. The Second one is the promoted approach in reforming extension services that is, contracting out. The fourth option ('contracting in') they believe is more prevalent than contracting out where NGOs use funds received from donors to collaborate with government agencies to carry out extension services.

NGOs also work with the profit-making sector. Besides seeking financial resources, private sector expertise in particular areas can be important for particular NGO interventions. For example, micro-credit facilities of the private sector can be utilized by NGOs in their services to the poor. Fowler (1997) argues that necessary skills and culture for effective management of credit services may be lacking in many NGOs and it may be necessary for such expertise to be sought. NGOs could provide funds and the management side could be the responsibility of a credit agency. However, in some countries NGOs have been able to establish banks for credit services to the poor. Grameen Bank is a good example. The private sector can also be used to supply inputs such as fertilizers or treadle pumps and this might necessitate incentives for them to agree to do so. More importantly, the private sector is the market providing outlets for outputs from the poor and is as well a source of inputs.

4. NGO performance and effectiveness

The role of NGOs in development has been changing in emphasis. Korten (1987) observes that the first generation of NGOs was welfare-oriented and attempted to alleviate poverty by transferring goods and services to the poor. The second generation moved emphasis away from temporary poverty alleviation strategies to the promotion of self-help development activities in partnership with local communities. However, the third generation is now concerned with sustainable systems and institutions seen as necessary to overcoming fundamental structural and policy constraints to equitable development.

The performance of NGOs in development efforts may be assessed through the criteria used by Carroll (1992: 32-34) and which have now taken prominence in the evaluation of NGOs' performances. The criteria are the following:

• The first one is service delivery, where service effectiveness and poverty reach are the important dimensions.

- Secondly, participation where responsiveness to client needs and the level of accountability to beneficiaries are assessed. Participation also takes on an important dimension in the form of reinforcement of base capacity.
- The last criterion is the question of wider impact. Here innovative ways of solving problems and the possibility for scaling up are to be assessed. Furthermore, wider impact encompasses the ability now or in the future for an NGO to influence policy.

In Latin America, NGOs were found to have few direct beneficiaries among the poorest of rural households. Two reasons are given for this: First, NGOs feel the landless can be assisted through short-term employment generation activities and land reform. They therefore prefer to work with semi-commercial farmers having some land. Secondly, the issue of 'self selection' by individuals participating in NGO programs who are project-wise, active and willing to take risks (ibid. 67-68).

On scaling up it is warned that it may be difficult to reconcile organizational growth tendencies with the characteristics of flexibility and voluntarism that are unique assets to NGOs. Organizational expansion may mean that NGOs will become unresponsive bureaucracies and small is still considered beautiful (Korten, 1990).

Edwards (1999:369) identified what he called key factors for the success of NGOs and these are:

- clarity in long-term direction and a determination not to be distracted along the way;
- balance between advances in livelihood and social organizational development right from program inception;
- strong and active linkages vertically and horizontally to draw in resources and to act as conduits for influencing wider structures;
- the multiplier effect of strengthening local institutions to take on more responsibilities for management and decision-making.

It is important for NGOs to have a balanced approach from the beginning between efforts to improve living conditions and organizational skills, especially when the entry point was relief or service provision. Edwards continue to argue that advances in confidence, skills, capacities, and institutions enable economic initiatives and services to be managed more effectively. Local communities are also prepared in their future engagements and dialogue with governments.

The strengthening of local institutions is seen as central to the sustainability of efforts by NGOs in poverty alleviation and equity agendas. The relevance of community-based organizations is captured in the following argument:

'Impressive benefits by those engaged in farming can be achieved by those who are able to organize themselves in the market environment. However, those who are unable to organize themselves or are prevented have limited ability to protect own interests. They are dependent on the goodwill of patrons at a time when agriculture is becoming increasingly commercialized or on a market mechanism that offers no advantage to those having limited economic resources'.

Esman and Uphoff (1984:34)

Strengthening of community organizations has to take into consideration the issue of social, financial, political, organizational, and managerial sustainability. Efforts to achieve and sustain the social objective of equality, for example, can be observed from the work of OXFAM with Kebkabiya Small-holder's Charitable Society in Sudan, where in the preparation for project hand over, basic principles of democracy and gender equity were enshrined in the constitution (Eade, 1997:33).

NGOs are supposed to carry out studies to determine the type and level of support necessary for addressing poverty in a wider context. Baseline surveys carried out are also essential to effective performance evaluations of NGO projects. When efforts to build capacity are introduced, it is suggested, where there is inequality in access to skills or opportunities, inequality in society may be reinforced (ibid. 26).

Oakley (1995), while acknowledging that there is different operational understanding of the term participation in development despite wide-spread commitment to it, observes that there

is common belief that effective people's participation can bring economic, social and political benefits to those who have yet to benefit from the extensive efforts to promote development in the world. Bortei-Doku in Oakley (1991: 62) gives the following definition of participation:

'People's participation may be defined as the process by which rural poor are able to organize themselves and through their own organizations are able to identify their own needs and share in the design, implementation and evaluation of the participatory action such action is self-generated based on their access to productive resources and services other than their labour and the continued security of that access. It is also based on initial assistance and support to stimulate and sustain the development action programs'.

The limitation to participation, according to Oakley (1995), include lack of political support, non-availability of resources, lack of operational guidelines or procedures at project level and cultural and social values. The use of projects as the mediums of implementing development activities and the associated professionalism, limitations of time, budgets, and scope are also seen to affect negatively efforts to involve beneficiaries.

According to ODA (1995:94), degrees of participation vary at different stages of projects/programs implementation and are determined by local social and institutional conditions. The following benefits from participation are suggested:

- the contribution of local knowledge;
- increased chances of objectives and outputs being relevant to perceived needs;
- greater efficiency and honesty of officials and contractors because they are under public scrutiny;
- 'ownership' of the activity by the community based organizations;
- changes in knowledge, skills and the distribution of power across individuals and communities thus improving social equity;
- building the capacity of members including women and the poor to initiate action on their own or negotiate with actors that are more powerful.

Although participatory actions are, in their own right, important, Farrington and Bebbington (1993) suggest that the belief that political action of the poor will lead to poverty alleviation is like putting the cart before the horse and that NGOs start where they are supposed to finish. They consider concentration on soft issues alone rather than economically viable income-generating opportunities not to be a positive approach. For that matter, they argue NGOs are supposed not only to develop participatory methods but equally, to empower the rural poor to contribute to technical change from their own resources and to articulate demands on government services more effectively.

Lending activities to the poor in the efforts to alleviate poverty are important activities undertaken by NGOs in developing countries. Wood and Sharif (1997) observe that most bilateral and multilateral development agencies incorporate micro-credit into their development packages and are keen to push other multi-sectoral development-oriented NGOs and private voluntary organizations into the function of credit delivery. However, the success of credit provision to the poor by NGOs, according to Edwards (1999), Montgomery (1996), and Rao and Kelleher (1995), is limited by inadequate attention given to institutional development and too much bureaucratic, hierarchical, and standardized approach to credit delivery. These are said to limit the ability of NGOs to reach the poorest people and to address deep-rooted problems of structural injustices. Furthermore, Edwards (1999: 366) argues that NGOs which are credit providers, tend to concentrate on the sustainability of the NGOs i.e. the ability to serve clients overtime rather than on efforts to sustain benefits gained from the credits provided.

There are also some more arguments in relation to the question of financial sustainability against the paramount goal of poverty alleviation. Rahman (1999: 79) in a study on Grameen Bank, a popular model of micro-credit as a means to poverty alleviation in Bangladesh, observed that in the early years of the bank, neither profit-making nor financial sustainability were important, the agenda was poverty alleviation. In the mid-1980s, financial sustainability started to become paramount and the bank increased loan investments and started to transfer loan transactions to borrowers. The effect has been increased burden to borrowers, frustrations, and family conflicts.

This observation does not downplay the importance of promoting self-reliance attitudes within beneficiary communities. Sound commercial principles can be combined with flexible

solutions to adapt credit delivery techniques in low-income environments. For example, collateral substitutes, use of group pressure, and repayment incentives can be used, while the ultimate aim eventually should be linking the community to private credit facilities. Beneficial outcomes also lie on the ability of NGOs to help the poor develop their own financial support mechanisms such as rotating credit groups and savings and credit societies.

5. Summary and conclusion

Literature on NGOs reviewed suggests a number of characteristics describing NGOs and NGO development activities. NGOs are said to take an intermediary role working between the poor and other actors: the state and its apparatus and the private sector. They make available to the poor needed services not provided or not adequately provided by other actors. Their objectives are to improve the conditions of the poor, while supporting them to be independent and self-sustaining. Success by NGOs in development initiatives is closely associated with the presence of organisations of the poor capable of linking the poor effectively to other development actors. NGOs are argued to be better at serving the poor than government bureaucracy, as they are flexible, responsive to needs, experiment, learn, and are concerned with means to ends as much as with ends and relationships between the two. They are therefore able to adapt practices, technologies, ideas, etc. to suit local conditions. NGOs are also said to approach rural problems in holistic and integrated manner, as they tend to be issue oriented. For example, agricultural development efforts receive systemic focus where on-farm and off-farm production, pre-production preparations, manner of resource use, post-production related activities of produce processing marketing, storage, etc and the relationships between the different activities or their different elements are all important. The above characteristics are said to provide for the rationale and suitability of the efforts by NGOs in agricultural and rural development. Additional reason given for increased involvement of NGOs in development activities is the reduction or withdrawal of government provided services associated with structural adjustments programs, necessitating NGO efforts to mitigate consequences.

Specific interventions by NGOs are seen to fall within the broad spectrum of rural poverty alleviation and sustainable use of natural resources. Besides holistic approaches covering entire production systems, interventions by NGOs could be either production orientated or of agro ecological emphasis or some combination of the two. The former is a high input

approach with little sensitivity to local contexts and is transformational, but it could also be grassroots sensitive so that transformational packages or their elements are appropriately adapted to local conditions. The latter emphasises low input production systems as the appropriate responses to local conditions and needs or it could have an ideological basis.

Three conditions are given as determining the nature of relationships between NGOs and governments. These are whether states recognize that there are benefits to be accrued from the work of NGOs, the level of political openness and tolerance in society, and the strength and influence of international donors in individual countries. It is also suggested that political considerations often outweigh perceived benefits from NGO work in determining relationships between NGOs and governments in Africa. NGO limitations of size, resources, and NGO accountability in relation to both the poor and state authorities are said to necessitate relationships between NGOs and the state. Coordination of NGOs is seen as both beneficial and necessary. However, if it is not properly managed under appropriate or sympathetic legal environment it can be counter productive. Nevertheless, benefits from NGO coordination deem it desirable.

It is observed that regular interactions between NGOs and the state could be collaborative where there are joint activities undertaken or resources are shared between them. In addition, NGOs may find it necessary to influence change in government policies and/or practices at national or local level. There might be also contractual relationships where NGOs are awarded service provision contracts by governments. Award of contracts to NGOs brings out two contradictory observations: that it could change NGOs from being voluntary independent organs to state instruments thus eroding NGO autonomy, however, it is argued that through contractual practices policymaking and implementation tend to be separated, an essential element to achieving the good governance objective often representing important NGO goal. In Africa it is suggested that contracting out might not be common and 'contracting in' or the use of NGO funds to support collaborative extension services by NGOs and governments might be common. NGOs are also said to coordinate with the private sector. Relationships between NGOs and the private sector are seen as necessary as the private sector is a source of important skills, expertise, and resources. Again, NGOs often seek to promote effective and fair relationships between the poor and private sector institutions as they provide markets and are sources of inputs to the poor.

It is observed that at least incrementally and emphasis wise NGOs have been changing their roles in development. NGOs have been providing welfare services considered temporary in nature; they have been promoting self-help development activities in partnership with local communities and have added in their work portfolios efforts to change fundamental structural and policy constraints to development seeking appropriate and effective systems and institutions. Important performance elements through which the effectiveness of development efforts by NGOs can be assessed are delivery of services needed, poverty reach or the ability to serve the poorest, participatory practices especially efforts to reinforce base capacities, and the wider impact scaling up objectives. Wider impact is said could be achieved through the ability of NGOs to influence public policy. Expansion by NGOs as scaling up strategy is warned against as it could compromise important NGO characteristics of flexibility and voluntarism associated with NGOs being relatively small organisations. NGOs are also suggested to better at reaching the poorest in society as contrasted to cooperatives whose characteristics encourage the promotion of the interests of 'self-selected' groups and may be remotely located from base groups. Effective balance is said to be necessary between efforts to provide services needed and efforts to build capacities of local organisations. Increases in confidence, skills, and strengthened local institutions are argued to facilitate effective management of economic initiatives, delivery of services and prepares communities in their future relationships with the state. NGOs are also expected to have predetermined objectives and strategies and to resist or avoid distractions. In addition, it is recommended that NGOs need to develop appropriate vertical and horizontal linkages necessary for drawing in resources and as means to influencing wider structures. Efforts by NGOs to promote participatory development are closely associated with the promotion of community organisations. However, it is observed that efforts to promote beneficiary participation will be successful when there are efforts as well to improve economic conditions. The highly important element of credit provision is said to become quite important among development actors. Nonetheless, it is argued that bureaucratic and standardised approaches to credit delivery limit NGOs from reaching the poorest. The relevance of helping the poor to develop their own financial support mechanisms such as rotating credit groups and savings and credit societies is underscored. Underscored as well is the importance of combining essential commercial principles with flexible credit delivery techniques adapted to low-income environments such as the use of collateral substitutes, group pressure, and repayment incentives.

Chapter 4

A General Profile of NGOs and CBOs in Tanzania and the Position of Agricultural NGOs

1. Introduction

The Directory produced in the year 2000 of non-governmental organisations in the country shows most civil society organisations registered under the Societies Ordinance and Trustees Incorporation Ordinance.¹ Most forms of social organisations in the country can be said are represented in the register except trade unions, sports clubs, and political parties. Although farmer organisations are in the register like the Tanzania Farmers Association and other farmer organisations that have emerged from the early 1990s, the older and more conventional forms of farmer organisations – the cooperative unions and primary producer societies are not.

The need to provide a basis on which NGOs are identified came when a national policy for NGOs was to be formulated. The process began in 1996 and the NGO Policy was finally made public in November 2001. The next step was the passing of the new legislation governing the NGO sector in Tanzania².

¹ The 2000 Directory prepared by the Office of the Vice President indicates about 2476 registered organisations of the civil society are active in the mainland part of the country. It shows more than threefold increase in the number of organisations registered since the first directory was released in 1995, which showed 800 organisations. The production of the Directory as stated in its Foreword is said to have involved the Umbrella NGOs, Local and International NGOs, several donors, Registrar of Societies and Companies and Trustees Incorporation.

 $^{^2}$ The registration of civil society organisations have been through different government legislations. Most NGOs and community-based organisations are registered under the Societies Ordinance of 1954. However, others are registered under the Trustees Incorporation Ordinance of 1956. The Companies Ordinance of 1935, National Sports Council Act of 1967, Trade Unions Act of 1991, Political Parties Act of 1992, and the Cooperatives Act of 1991 are the other legislations giving legitimacy to the civil society organisations in Tanzania.

A Profile of NGOs in Tanzania

The NGO policy provides the following definition of NGOs:

'An NGO is a voluntary grouping of individuals or organisations which is autonomous and not-for-profit sharing; organized locally at the grassroots level, nationally or internationally for the purpose of enhancing the legitimate economic, social and/or cultural development or lobbying or advocating on issues of public interest or interest of group of individuals or organisations.' URT, Vice Presidents Office (2001: 10)

The NGO Act of 2002 provides a description of NGOs that stipulates, in addition to the definition provided by the NGO Policy, the following: NGOs must be non-partisan and non-profit making. Excluded are trade unions, social clubs, political parties, religious organisations and community-based organisations. However, NGOs established as independent bodies by religious or faith propagating organisations, trade unions, sports clubs, political parties, or community-based organisations are considered and registered as NGOs.

Due to the above instruments, the NGO Policy and NGO Act, what legally constitutes the NGO sector in the country, will now be understood differently but more uniformly. The NGO Act establishes a position of a director for NGOs as the link between the government and NGOs, but working under the NGO Coordination Board. The Act also provides for the establishment of the National Council for Non Governmental Organisations as a selfregulatory mechanism for the NGOs. The members of the coordination board include four from the NGO community as recommended to the responsible minister by the NGO Council; the National Council is to be composed of thirty members appointed by the NGOs. The registration of NGOs is as well decentralised and delegated to the regional and district administration levels for NGOs operating in single districts or single regions. International NGOs and those operating in more than one region are to be registered at the national level. A register of NGOs is to be established and certificates of registration issued to the registered NGOs. The activities of the NGO Board include NGO approval and coordination of NGO registration and activities, directing the cancellation or suspension of NGOs, the examination of NGOs' annual reports and providing advice to the government. The NGO Council will be the national umbrella organisation for Non-Governmental Organisations and a self-regulatory and networking mechanism for NGOs in the country. It is required by law to develop a code of conduct and other regulations to facilitate the self-regulation of NGOs.

Since 'A Green Book' a new register for NGOs is yet to be developed, the study and the selection of NGOs about which this study is about, through the criteria adopted by the researcher, was made possible by the Directory of NGOs as one of the instruments listing relevant organisations consulted. Although the Directory contains organisations that might not appear in a new register for NGOs, especially CBOs, the NGOs and CBOs in the directory represent, as earlier observed, a new era of organisations emerging because of the socio - economic and political liberalisation policies in the country from the mid-1980s. Therefore, regardless of its limitations it covers that development period, represents important developments in that period, and of relevant consequences. One of the consequences subsequently is the need for NGO coordination – the Policy and NGO Act³.

It is common in Tanzania for NGOs to be initiated and managed by professionals employed in the public sector. There have been arguments that the government initiates the formation of the NGOs as a means of making accessible to it external support that are increasingly directed to the NGOs.⁴ What is possibly true is that the public sector employees for their own interests, or for the interest of performing activities considered necessary to improving the circumstances of the poor, form the NGOs. Although there is no direct encouragement from the government, the public sector employees use their influence to have their NGOs acquire some 'legitimacy' and have access to support from the government. This makes it easy for them to operate some of the NGOs within government owned premises and while they are in government employment. Even though, especially the advocacy NGOs, they quickly become independent and formal, acquiring own staff and own premises, initially its the professionals in the public sector including those from the publicly owned higher learning institutions who brought them about. Working for the NGOs becomes, for some, some extra professional activity. As the organisations get stronger, the professionals become part of the NGOs' management team and mostly retain their jobs in the public service. Again, the winding up of donor projects implemented within government departments have often seen the development of local NGOs supposed to carry on with the good work left behind by the donor projects.

³ A Green Book is the term used by the NGO Director, Mr. Katemba, during an interview with him.

⁴ See Shivji (1998), Shivji, G. I. and Kapinga W. (1998) and Kiondo (1993)

2. International NGOs/branches of or sub offices

Among the 73 international organisations registered as NGOs in the Directory of NGOs of 2000, 30% of them are indicated to focus on socio-economic development, and 32% on social development. Organisations registered to focus on specific activities are few, only 23. They indicate as their areas of interest education, health, religion, economic development, disaster and relief, agriculture, environment and international cooperation. Of these, 13 are in education and health and only four indicate agricultural development as the main area of focus. These are the International Christian Relief and Development Agency, VETAID, German Agro Action and VECO. As noted, open-endedness in areas of focus is convenient and most organisations engage in more than one activity at any one time including changes in emphasis, which occur from time to time.

With the exception of some few NGOs whose presences in Tanzania have been longer, such as OXFAM, German political foundations, Concern, and Coopibo - later VECO, many of the international NGOs came into the country from the late 1980s. The refugee influx into the western and northwestern parts of Tanzania because of the political turmoil in the neighbouring lake zone countries brought many NGOs into the country, and with socioeconomic liberalisation and political pluralism, they gradually expanded their sphere of operations to other areas of the country. Again, international NGOs' activities or programmes cover wider geographical areas than was the case before. Previously, some of the international NGOs used to have their activities restricted to pre-defined areas or regions. For example, Concern used to operate only in Iringa region and had its head office in the region. OXFAM had a pre-defined boundary for its operations: from Arusha in the east to the west of the country and always to the north of the central railway line and it had its head office in Arusha. These organisations have moved their head offices recently to Dar es salaam and their geographical coverage is no longer limited. They are as well now changing to be what Korten (1987) referred to as third generation NGOs that in addition to traditional activities are concerned with the fundamental structural and policy constraints affecting development. This is generally happening among many of the international NGOs and policy influence and efforts to strengthen democracy, characterise their present activities.

CARE-Tanzania, one of the professionally run NGOs, has been deliberating on whether to change its focus and move into new activities and approach or maintain its current orientation. CARE's initial activity in the country was to provide emergency and relief services in the refugee areas, it expanded its focus to support need-based development, the future direction deliberated upon is the right-based approach – involving the need to address the underlying issues affecting development efforts of the poor. The implications and feasibility of change to the organisation were considered. Factors deliberated on included the following: reorganisation of programme resources, new skills building, promoting the change to the stakeholders, issues of partnership selection, activity management, and possible future relationships with the power structure.⁵

3. Regional Distribution of NGOs and CBOs in Tanzania

The distribution of registered organisations, shown below, is considered important as social organisations contribute to social capital formation. It is expected that such a distribution will give us ideas about differences in social and economic dynamism between regions. We first examine the regional distribution in mainland Tanzania of NGOs and CBOs registered under the Directory of NGOs of 2000 relative to the inter-regional differences in Welfare and Poverty developed from the Selected Indicators by Region as per the Household Budget Survey of 2000/2001 as shown in Table 4.1 below.

⁵ CARE-Tanzania LRSP 1/A and 1/B Workshop Synthesis Report (2002)

Regions* (20)	Regional scores**	Registered o	rganisations***	Cooperatives****				
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage			
1. DSM	23	1206	49%	408	9%			
2.Kilimanjaro	22	136	5%	242	5%			
3. Mbeya	21	67	3%	336	8%			
4 .Ruvuma	18	56	2%	118	3%			
5. Iringa	18	79	3%	223	5%			
6. Morogoro	17	137	6%	158	4%			
7. Kigoma	15	37	1.5%	68	2%			
8. Rukwa	14	37	1.5%	108	2%			
9. Arusha	13	196	8%	280	6%			
10.Tabora	12	18	0.7%	259	6%			
11. Mara	12	54	2%	197	4%			
12. Mtwara	11	30	1%	169	4%			
13. Kagera	10	117	5%	199	4%			
14. Pwani	10	41	2%	237	5%			
15. Singida	9	12	0.5%	93	2%			
16. Lindi	8	9	0.4%	103	2%			
17. Mwanza	8	86	3%	430	10%			
18. Dodoma	8	66	3%	176	4%			
19. Tanga	7	70	3%	142	3%			
20. Shinyanga	3	20	0.8%	539	12%			
Total nu	mber	2474		4480				

Table: 4.1.Inter-regional differences in Welfare and Poverty and
distribution of Registered Organisations

Notes:

Inter-regional differences in welfare and poverty has been arrived at from the Selected Indicators by Region (Table: 4.3 below) as developed in the Household Budget Survey 2000/2001 of 2002 by the National Bureau of Statistics (TZ) in close collaboration with Oxford Policy Management. It is yet the largest Household Budget Survey in Tanzania covering more than 22,000 households.

* Tanzania Mainland had 20 Regions when the Household Budget Survey was carried out; it has now, since 2002 when Arusha was divided into two, 21 Regions.

****** The scores have been calculated relative to 27 sub-indicators used from six main indicators. A regional welfare and poverty standing has been arrived at depending on how many indicators is a region better off relative to the Tanzania Mainland Mean. The main indicators used in the Household Budget Survey are Household and Housing, Education, Health, Drinking water, Economic activities and Consumption and Poverty.

*******Registered organisations refer to, whenever mentioned, the NGOs and CBOs in the Directory of NGOs of 2000.

********Source: Calculated from the PER (1999:139). The original source is MAC, Status of Cooperatives FY 1998 and shown below, Table 4.2.

• The Economic Survey by the President's Office Planning and Privatisation of June 2003, suggests that during the year 2002, there was a four tier Cooperatives Structure consisting of 4778 primary societies, 48 cooperatives, 4 apex cooperatives, and 1 federation of cooperative unions. There were also 123 Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) in the country.

As can be observed from the table above, civil society organisations are disproportionately distributed around the country. Dar es salaam region is home to about half of all the organisations registered in the Directory of NGOs of the year 2000. Dar es salaam is the commercial capital and represents the most better off region in the country as per the Household Budget Survey. The concentration of both the NGOs and CBOs, obviously, contributes to the variety and quantity of services the inhabitants of the region have at their disposal and social capital building. Most international organisations have their headquarters in the City and most international NGOs implement and support one or more development activities in the region, although they might have other activities in the hinterland. Most local NGOs and community-based organisations are also based in Dar es salaam, regardless of whether their activities are limited to Dar es salaam only or cover some other parts of the country. It should also be noted that some few local organisations have more of a national focus; their activities are not limited to single regions though still limited only to some one or two other regions. These few local organisations include TAFOPA, TAWLAE, TAHEA, Envirocare, AMKA registered in Dar es salaam, and MVIWATA registered in Morogoro.

The fact that a disproportionate number of NGOs are based in major towns and particularly in the capitals has been a common observation regarding NGOs in Africa. This does not mean that most of these NGOs have an urban bias. They may operate in the countryside but need an urban headquarters to be close to donors and central government departments. There is, however, the danger that project coordinators and senior technical staff might also reside in towns and make superficial field visits thereby loosing touch with realities at project level and with beneficiaries.

Although Dar es salaam has a disproportionate number of the registered organisations, almost half of the total, which makes it an anomaly, overall, however, excluding Dar es salaam, a great number of NGOs and CBOs are found among the regions with relatively better welfare scores. The least concentration of NGOs and CBOs is also found in Lindi and which is one of the relatively less well-off regions.

It can be concluded that, although there are few instances in some better-off regions where there is less concentration of NGOs and CBOs than in some of the worse off regions, overall a relationship exists between regional welfare and poverty differences and the differential number of NGOs and CBOs between regions in the country.

4. Distribution between regions of registered organisations and cooperatives: a comparison

The Directory is not exhaustive in its representation of all forms of social organisations in the country. Those organisations or groupings of rural communities which register themselves they do so only when it is felt to be beneficial and there are resources available to engage with the registration process. Local NGOs have to register themselves because the formality adds to their credibility. It is also true that agencies implementing development projects/ programs are behind the registration of CBOs that they mobilise. Nonetheless, the registration of local organisations is an important exercise. More significant perhaps is that differences in the number of NGOs and CBOs present between regions may be highlighting the differences in socio-economic dynamism between regions and the relative differences in the new socio-economic environment in the country.

Regions	Primary Societies	Cooperative Unions	Apex Cooperatives	Total	Percentages
Arusha	278	2	-	280	6%
Dar es salaam	405	3	-	408	9%
Dodoma	176	-	-	176	4%
Iringa	220	2	1	223	5%
Kagera	191	3	-	194	4%
Kigoma	68	-	-	68	2%
Kilimanjaro	239	2	1	242	5%
Lindi	102	1	-	103	2%
Mara	193	4	-	197	4%
Mbeya	330	6	-	336	8%
Morogoro	154	3	1	158	4%
Mtwara	166	2	1	169	4%
Mwanza	426	3	1	430	10%
Coast	235	2	-	237	5%
Rukwa	106	2	-	108	2%
Ruvuma	115	3	-	118	3%
Shinyanga	536	3	-	539	12%
Singida	91	2	-	93	2%
Tabora	257	2	-	259	6%
Tanga	139	3	-	142	3 %
Total number	4427	48	5	4480	

 Table: 4.2.
 Registration of Cooperative Societies as at May FY98

Source: PER (1999:139). Original source - MAC, Status of Cooperatives FY 1998. The two last columns, for Total and Percentages, have been added here.

It should be noted that there are other forms of farmer organisations not registered in the Directory of NGOs of 2000. These are the primary producer societies and cooperative unions representing what have been the traditional forms of farmer organisations in the country. The Table 4.2 above shows these organisations. Two significant observations are made: 1) the distribution of cooperatives is not as disproportional as is the case with the registered organisations as per the Directory of NGOs. 2) It also seems that welfare and poverty differences between regions do not correlate with the distribution of cooperatives. Shinyanga and Mwanza having the highest concentration of cooperatives have relatively poor welfare and poverty scores as shown in Table 4.1 above. Shinyanga having the highest concentration of cooperatives have relatively better welfare and poverty scores. Similar low concentration of cooperatives is also found in Singida and Lindi regions with poor welfare and poverty scores.

Most of the registered organisations as per the NGO Directory of 2000 have their origin from the mid-1980s, a period of transformation from single party socialist policies to a more liberalized socio-economic and political environment. The Cooperatives, as indicated before (Chapter 2), have come about through deliberate efforts by both the colonial government and independence government. The colonial government made efforts to develop these types of farmers' organisations in the important cash crop growing regions, subsequent efforts by the independent government led to the development of these organisations in all regions of the country as one of its efforts to improve agricultural productivity and induce balanced regional growth.

The general observation that can be made is that the current efforts to develop support organisations in rural Tanzania are mostly concentrated in the better off regions. As pointed previously out, the concentration of cooperatives in the regions does not generally correlate with poverty and welfare differences between regions. If this is the case then the regions having higher concentration of cooperatives and which are relatively worse off in poverty and welfare and have low level of activities by the different types of organisations, are likely to participate less in the different rural development environment which is now being created.

Table: 4.3. Selected indicators by region

	00	ARL IN	All al	Canad and a	the Ca	Pure of the of t	Care Care	LIND. SALAGE	and the second	BUL	Ches.	Con Con	Since	AB.	Parties and	*rec.	Sellar	Kace.	ans.	And In-	MEANE AND
THE HOUSEHOLD AND HOUSING																					
% households headed by women	27	21	26	24	20	18	21	20	20	14	31	29	29	23	15	11	21	23	22	29	23
% households with modern walls	23	18	39	6	28	6	88	4	11	67	28	32	1	6	32	39	6	13	10	23	25
% households with modern roof	33	53	85	41	45	33	98	16	28	42	48	53	21	24	16	21	24	53	42	43	44
% households connected to electricity grid	6	11	18	1	10	6	59	5	5	5	6	9	5	4	4	6	3	2	5	10	10
% households using a toilet	92	84	97	81	94	98	94	98	93	99	99	96	90	97	88	99	90	96	92	86	93
Mean distance to firewood (rural households, km)	2.7	2.8	15	3.2	2.8	1.7	n/a	1.6	3.2	2.0	3.6	1.9	10,4	2.5	5.0	6.2	42	1.9	1.9	2.9	3.1
Mean distance to a shop (rural households, km) EDUCATION	1.8	2.8	02	1.8	2.3	1.0	Na	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.9	3.9	1.6	2.1	26	1.6	2.7	21	1.3	1.6	18
% of all adults without education	31	20	12	31	26	39	8	44	28	15	16	16	27	31	30	28	40	25	27	24	25
% of adult men without education	22	15	1	23	16	24	5	34	19	9	9	9	18	23	19	21	29	13	20	12	17
% of adult women without education	38	24	15	38	35	52	11	52	36	20	24	23	35	39	40	33	49	35	33	34	32
Primary net enrolment ratio	58	53	81	50	61	56	71	44	59	63	76	69	61	55	61	48	46	59	52	62	59
Mean distance to a primary school (km)	2.8	1.9	0,9	23	1.7	1.7	0.8	1.2	1.1	0,9	1.5	1.3	1.9	3.0	1.3	1.7	2.7	25	1.7	1.8	1.8
Mean distance to a secondary school (km)	19,4	6.4	5.0	18.8	16.0	13.1	2.5	25.1	16.6	92	12,7	8.7	9,5	15,0	21.3	14.3	20.5	120	9,4	6.9	12.6
HEALTH																					
% of individuals ill in 4 weeks before the survey	34	23	23	23	32	34	19	20	28	22	25	24	29	27	24	21	32	34	30	29	27
X of ilsinjured who consuked																					
any health-care provider	69	62	74	87	70	83	80	61	63	76	79	61	65	69	47	69	68	64	65	72	69
% of above who consulted a govt provider	58	48	40	64	55	69	49	68	71	52	46	47	45	79	59	67	41	59	48	46	54
% of households within 6 km of dispensary/health centre	49	73	95	62	75	74	98	67	87	85	63	90	82	58	82	93	65	74	75	71	75
Mean distance to a hospital (km)	35.3	11.8	9,5	29.0	24.0	24,5	2.8	22,1	19.2	21.0	18.9	20.7	12,8	13.7	66.0	20.2	18.9	25.1	30,1	13A	21.3
DRINKING WATER																					
% of households with piped or protected drinking water	65	58	77	46	70	35	94	19	52	53	54	75	61	25	55	76	39	32	53	40	55
% of households within 1 km of drinking water (dry season)	49	49	58	41	61	56	84	47	41	90	72	75	51	54	63	55	33	45	40	31	55
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES																					
% of adults in agriculture	67	42	56	67	63	62	3	72	69	11	67	55	60	69	76	76	68	81	71	70	62
% of children (5-14) working	67	73	64	80	55	57	28	40	46	73	60	53	52	39	51	60	69	68	84	55	62
Mean land owned by rural households (acres) CONSUMPTION AND POVERTY	6.0	3,4	15	3.9	4.3	2.9	n/a	27	3.2	62	29	3.7	4.5	6.8	86	3.7	14.1	4.0	6.8	8.0	5.3
Mean expenditure per capita (1000 TShs, 28 day	s)8.5	10.3	112	9,3	10.0	10.5	21,9	9,5	12 <i>A</i>	9,6	11.2	12.6	6.9	10,4	6.7	7.3	8.0	9.0	8.1	8.0	10.1
% of population below food poverty line	13	25	11	11	14	27	1	33	17	27	10	8	28	9	12	21	22	18	30	36	19
% of population below basic needs poverty line		39	31	36	29	46	18	53	38	41	29	21	55	26	31	38	42	29	48	46	36
% of consumption expenditure on food	67	69	69	70	68	69	54	74	66	60	65	61	69	68	58	65	67	63	64	66	65

Source: Household Budget Survey 2000/2001(2002:23)

5. Activity or orientation based distribution of NGOs and CBOs

The Directory of NGOs developed by the poverty division of the Prime Minister's Office in the year 2000 shows there are eight main categories of activities and purposes for which the registered civil society organizations were established. As can be observed from the figure below, the social development category represents the focus of just a little less than half the total number of organisations registered.

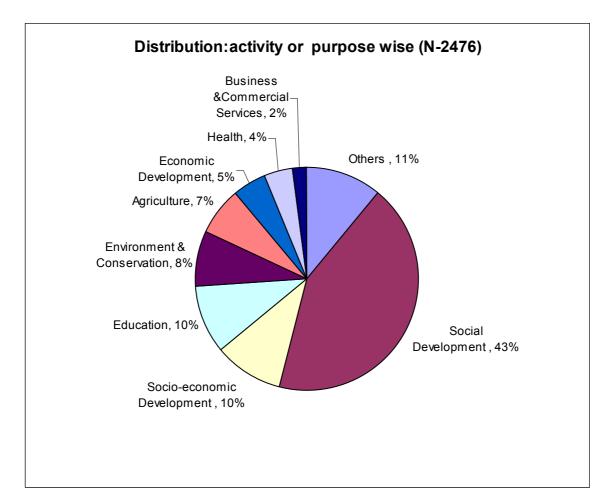


Figure: 4.1. *Activity wise distribution of NGOs and CBOs* Source: Directory of NGOs, 2000

For most international NGOs, local NGOs and community development organisations, it is convenient to have themselves known to be involved in social development or socioeconomic development rather than to have their focus of activities limited to any specific sector. It is also true that international NGOs as well, at any one time, support and implement various and different development activities. For local NGOs being open-ended might be giving them room to seek for and draw resources from wherever sources it can be obtained and for whatever purposes. It also allows them to be in stride with the everchanging donor interests.

A local NGO, Campaign for Good Governance, has developed a system of managing the above challenge – shifting of priorities by donors. The CGG's director interviewed in the course of this study observed that as donors' interests change almost overnight it has created a sort of an informal consortium of NGOs of differing specializations and focus. The relationship is built upon mutual exchange of comparative advantages: the NGO has more experience in soliciting financial support and the other members of the informal consortium have specific technical skills for example in advocating for human rights, agriculture or in health matters. A project activity, which manages to get financial support, is then implemented by the member of the consortium for whom the consortium has helped in the process of solicitation for financial support and a certain percentage of the resources are allocated for administration purposes. There are ten NGOs as members of this loose coalition and some of the members of this informal consortium are housed in the same roof as the CGG.

The category of social development includes organisations involved in education, water development, health, human rights and democracy, youth and women development, culture and tradition, the environment, etc. However, many of them are professional interest groups that spearhead the interest of own members or self-help groups. Advocacy organisations, umbrella NGO organisations, religious organisations, organisations representing minority groups such as the Society for the Albinos and those which represent people with disabilities and a consumer protection organisation are all in this category. Local organisations of prominence under this category are advocacy, human rights and umbrella or network organisations.

Table: 4.4. NGOs and CBOs according to purpose in the 'Other' category

NGO and CBO purposes	No.	NGO and CBO purposes	No.
1. Wildlife protection & conservation	4	61. Arts &youth	1
2. Animal rights/protection	1	62. Youth, women &economic development	1
3. Commercial/business & education	1	63. Youth development	3
4. Business environment	1	64. Industrial development	1
5. Journalism/media development	3	65. Social & agricultural development	6
6. Energy & environment	1	66. Agriculture/social development &women	1
7. Health & environment	1	67. Agriculture &industrial development	1
8. Environment & social development	2	68. Business & agriculture	1
9. Youth development & environment	1	69. Livestock, agriculture & social development	1
10. Fishing linked to environment	1	70. Agriculture, education &environment	1
11. Porters & environment development group	1	71. Agriculture & education	2
12. Environment, education &health	4	72. Agriculture& environment	3
13. Environment & poverty alleviation	3	73. Farming &animal health	1
14. Environment & education	1	74. Community development	2
15. Social development, education, water	1	75. Social development/music	1
&environment	1	76. Economic development t& health	3
16. Social development & environment	16	77. Economic development environment	3
17. Technology solar	2	78. Economic development and social services	2
18. Energy exploitation	1	70. Tourism	4
19. Science (insects)	1	80. Orphans & disabled	1
20. Fight against corruption	1	81. Social help/disabled	2
21. Religious	4	82. Health/Albino	1
22. Social & religious development	5	83. Social security	1
23. Friendship	1	84. Professional services/traditional medicine	1
	4	85. Professional development	2
24. International cooperation	4	86. Poverty eradication/alleviation	2 14
25. International cooperation & social help	1		
 Economic development, social &culture Culture 	-	87. Rotary	1
	5 ₁	88. Building houses with the needy	2
28. Advocacy	1	89. Construction	5
29. Social development &human rights	1	90. Tailoring	1
30. Human rights	1	91. Hunting	
31. Women development &environment	2	92. Air transport	1
32. Women, youth & environment development	1	93. Research	1
33. Women rights/Women legal aid	1	94. Domestic services	1
34. Women social development	5	95. Social development disaster preparedness	1
35. Women children development	1	96. Refugee care	1
36. Women's health	1	97. Emergency aid	2
37. Food processing	1	98. Social club	6
38. Communication	2	99. Vocational training	1
39. Children & orphans	5	100. Social services	2
40. Financial services	2	101. Social help food	1
41. Health & education	11	102. Life support/upbringing	1
42. Education& human rights	1	103. Social services street children	1
43. Education & relief	1	104. Prisoners reformatory welfare	1
44. Social development, education &health	2	105. Education/pastoralists	1
45. Socio-economic development, health and	1	106. Business & social development	3
education	-	107. Soccer development	1
46. Social development& education	5		1
47. Social development, health, water &education	6	1	
48. Education, social & culture	6	1	
49. Education and social services	6		
50. Education, economic social development	6		1
51. Education & social welfare	6		1
52. Education, health & social development	10		1
53. Transport	3	1	
54. Social development & democracy	1	1	
55. Social development, water &health	1		1
56. Water	10		1
57. Shipping	1		1
58. Trade	1		1
59. Rural development	3	Total	275
60. The elderly	1		
	1	1	
Source: Directory of NGOs of 2000			

Source: Directory of NGOs of 2000

Among the advocacy organisations, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) is the most prominent one and advocates for women rights and better gender relations in the country. It is a product of intellectuals and international organisations.⁶ TGNP has now grown into position of respect, strength and influence among the local advocacy NGOs. Other important advocacy NGOs are TAWLA, Tanzania Women Lawyers Association and the Tanzania Media Women Association, TAMWA. These organisations together with TGNP and umbrella NGOs have been at the forefront in influencing policies and legislations such as the Land Act no. 4 and the Village Land Act no. 5 both of 1999 and the NGO Policy to make them more sensitive to the interests and needs of the to be affected.⁷ Umbrella or network NGOs are TANGO, the Tanzania Association of Nongovernmental Organisations a relatively influential organ; TANEN, Tanzania NGOs Environment Network; Tanzania Council for Social Development, TACOSODE, and umbrella NGOs at district or regional level. These are: Arusha Nongovernmental Organisations Network, ANGONET; Same Association of NGOs, SANGO; Rukwa Association of Nongovernmental Organisations, RANGO; Mtwara Umbrella Peoples Organisation; Kagera Association of NGOs, (KANGO); UNGO, an umbrella NGO in Morogoro region and Iringa NGO Centre-Kituo 77.8

Organisations within the socio-economic development category include those that can be referred to as 'hometown' associations. Those who form or cause these associations to be formed are the educated or the economically successful whose origins are the areas the associations are created to represent or support. While local and ethnic focus may be seen as a slight problem, these organisations are on the other hand a sign of an emerging civil society beginning to draw political and financial resources to support less fortunate areas. There are many such organisations whose focus of activity is regional, district, or actual hometown development. Among these organisations, more than 50 of them are based in Dar es salaam and serve their communities in the following ways: lobbying for the socio-economic interests of their home areas, providing social support for people from their home town areas and the deliberating upon and planning of activities which are to improve the socio-economic conditions of the 'home town'. Politicians and other elites are actively

⁶ The Konrad Adeneur Stiftung, a German political foundation and professor Majorie Mbilinyi of the University of Dar es Salaam, are said to be among the initiators of this local NGO. This was made known through discussions with mama Kapaga, the Policy and Advocacy Officer of Konrad Adeneur Stiftung, in Dar es Salaam. ⁷ Pointed out by Kassoff, S. (2000), Shivji, I. (1998) and TANGO (2002).

involved in the activities of the 'hometown' organisations. Many NGOs, which are also 'hometown' organisations, have emerged because of the activities of the 'hometown' associations in Dar es salaam. Found also under the socio-economic category, are community development organisations representing certain sections of the society such as the youth and women.

As elsewhere, education seems to be the most common activity among the NGOs and CBOs in the country. As a stand-alone activity, it fares better than the environment and conservation activities as it is suggested in Figure 4.1 above. It is as well a significant element in the 'Others' category appearing together with the environment, agriculture, health, culture, social welfare, human rights, etc. as can be observed from the Table 4.4 above. This might be indicative of the relevance of education in any development efforts and the possibility that education might be a relative easy field for NGOs to enter and operate.

Environment and conservation look to be as well important areas of interest among NGOs, especially local NGOs. Some community based associations and organisations have this activity as a central activity but mostly in combination with other activities such as agricultural development. Among the international NGOs, some are registered as organisations involved in the environment and/or conservation activities. Environment and conservation seem to be of more interest among civil society organisations in the country than health promotion activities are. This is of course a result of the global importance attached to the environment following the Rio Conference on environment and development a decade ago in 1992. It was also around and after the Rio Conference period that local NGOs started to emerge in support of the environment. In the recent 2002 Johannesburg conference on sustainable development, sanitation problem in the host country has made sanitation an important agenda. NGO interest in sanitation in the country might probably as a consequence increase.

Organisations under the economic development category include community development organisations. Some international NGOs indicate to have economic development as their focus. Associations representing groups with business interests and some youth and women development associations, as well fall under this category.

⁸ The umbrella organisations are listed in the Directory of NGOs others were identified in the course of field research and some were visited.

The business and commercial services category has organisations representing the commercial interests of members, or the economic welfare of groups of people engaged in similar economic activities. Some consulting and training organisations and those representing members of certain trades are registered under this category. Plastic Manufacturers Association of Tanzania, Tanzania Women Miners Association, and the Association of Women Fashion Designers are among these organisations. Carpentry and tailoring trades are examples of trade organisations registered under this category.

6. Agricultural and rural development NGOs and CBOs

The agricultural development category might be representing the activities of at least 15% of NGOs and CBOs in the country. This is assuming that those NGOs and CBOs registered to support environmental management and conservation are also involved in agricultural development activities. The proportion might be small considering that agriculture is the occupation of the majority of Tanzanians. Nonetheless, many of the registered community organisations have come about through the efforts of international agencies and NGOs implementing agricultural development programmes in the country. For example, where there are many community based organisations, either of irrigators or rice and maize growers, such as in Dodoma, Morogoro and Iringa regions there have been agricultural development activities by IFAD, FAO, PELUM, the UMADEP project, INADES Formation, TIPDO and Concern.

To facilitate the research process, especially the survey element of this study, efforts were made to develop a symbolic sampling frame constituting NGOs involved in agricultural and rural development in Tanzania⁹. Using the Directory of NGOs of 2000 about 180 local NGOs and CBOs were identified to indicate involvement in agricultural development. About 45 of them are categorised as NGOs using the definition adopted for this study and about 135 as CBOs. The TANGO Directory of 2001 also consulted show about 15 local organisations as NGOs involved in agricultural development and those identified as CBOs are about six. These NGOs and CBOs are those not identified from the NGO Directory of 2000: they are either registered under the general categories of socio-economic or socio-

⁹ Symbolic because the objective was not to come out with a representative sample as is the case with the probability sampling techniques where a sampling frame containing a list of the target population from which a sample is to be drawn is often a requirement.

development or are absent. As earlier observed, only four international NGOs or their branches in the country indicate as per the Directory of NGOs of 2000 to be involved in agricultural development. However, through the consultation of TANGO's Directory of NGOs, a visit to the relevant unit within the ministry responsible for agriculture (External Aid and Coordination Unit) and personal visits to NGOs about twenty-three international NGOs were identified. As sixty organisations were also identified from the NGO Directory and TANGO's Directory of 2001 as local NGOs involved in agricultural development, the total number of NGOs initially identified as supporting agricultural development was about 83 (local and international NGOs/ or their branches) and 141 CBOs giving in total about 224 NGOs and CBOs. However, ultimately the sampling frame constituted 70 NGOs among which 48 were those considered as local NGOs and 22 those identified as international NGOs or their branches. The number of NGOs was reduced from 83 to 70 because further scrutiny led to the conclusion that some organisations initially considered as NGOs might be CBOs. In addition, some of the local NGOs their addresses were incorrect or unavailable and therefore were going to be difficult to locate and it was realised that one international NGO has no longer any presence in the country. Among the 22 international NGOs, 16 have been studied. Of the 48 identified local NGOs, 24 participated in this study. See appendix for the profile of the 40 NGOs involved in the survey element of this study.

As far as the characteristics of these agriculturally oriented NGOs and CBOs are concerned, the following observations can be made:

Since quite a number of these organisations work with or for beneficiaries organised in groups or associations, the distinction between NGOs and CBO is not always easy.

It is also a bit difficult to distinguish from the records purely environmental NGOs from environmental NGOs assisting the economic activities of crop cultivators and pastoralists whose interests are to be brought in harmony with environmental concerns.

Turning to what are, presumably, NGOs we find that local NGOs form the majority of organisations in this field although international NGOs or their local affiliates might have a larger share of the technologically more ambitious projects.

A Profile of NGOs in Tanzania

7. Summary and conclusions

It is observed that before the new NGO Act of 2002, NGOs in Tanzania were governed, as other civil society organisations in the country have been, by different legislations. The development of the NGO Policy and the subsequent NGO Act are suggestive, reflecting the growing importance of the sector, of the intentions by government to regulate NGOs and the development of the NGO sector independently from other civil society organisations.

The NGO Act establishes the position of a Director for NGOs, NGO Coordination Board and the NGO Council. The NGO Council and from which NGO representatives to the NGO Coordination Board are to come, is designated as a self-regulatory mechanism for NGOs. As such, a body by the NGOs themselves is in important manner responsible for the effective development of the NGO sector that it can influence.

Registration of NGOs is touched upon and the NGO Act is said to stipulate a new register for NGOs. However, the first register for NGOs was developed in 1995 and it indicated that there were about 800 NGOs in the country. In the year 2000, another directory of NGOs was produced revealing that there has been a threefold increase in the number of NGOs in the country. The NGO Directory of 2000 indicates that about 2476 organisations of the civil society are active in the mainland part of Tanzania.

Two further peculiarities are noted: first, the fact that it is common in Tanzania for NGOs to be initiated and managed by professionals who are employed in the public sector. Secondly, local professionals in collaboration with or encouraged by donor officials working with the donor projects often initiate local NGOs that are supposed to continue with the good work by the donor projects.

Briefly, general observations are made on the international NGOs. It is observed that, as per the NGO Directory of 2000, there are over 70 international NGOs/branches of operating in the country. Their character relative to the purposes they are registered for is mostly similar to other NGOs and few are registered for very specific development problems

Except for some few international NGOs/their sub branches which have been in the country during the socialist single party rule era, many international NGOs/branches of have had their presences in Tanzania precipitated by the influx of refugees into the country from the lake zone countries of east and central Africa. This coincided with the economic, social and political liberalisation policies making the NGOs, whose areas of operations were often limited, to not only have unlimited geographical access in the country, but also to gradually expand their scope of activities. They are now generally turning into what Korten (1987) referred to as third generation NGOs, concerned with the fundamental structural and policy constraints affecting development in addition to the implementation of specific development projects/programmes.

An examination was made to find out how the registered organisations as per the NGO Directory of 2000 are distributed around the country and relative to developed regional welfare and poverty ranking. Almost half the number of these organisations is registered in Dar es salaam, and, generally, regions with better welfare and poverty scores have the largest share of the registered organisations.

An observation is made that the NGO Directory of 2000 does not represent all forms of social organisations in the country and that the conventional forms of farmer organisations, the primary producer societies, linked in principle to cooperative unions and apex cooperatives are essentially not represented. The distribution of cooperatives between regions is set against the developed regional welfare and poverty ranking and the distribution of the registered organisations in the NGO Directory of 2000. The distribution of cooperatives is not as disproportional as is the distribution of registered organisations as per the Directory of NGOs. It also seems that welfare and poverty differences between regions do not correlate with the distribution of cooperatives.

According to their specific fields of activity about half the NGOs and CBOs or the registered organisations are found in the social development category. This category is followed in lesser importance by the socio-economic development, education, the environment and agriculture categories, respectively. Finally, economic development, health and business/commercial services follow in respective importance.

Part Two

The Case Studies

Introduction

The following eight case studies are presented in an order related to the ambitiousness and boldness of the direct changes attempted in agricultural production. The first two cases represent very bold technological changes undertaken: in the first case, a crop almost entirely new to Tanzania was introduced. The second case, not related to direct agricultural production, covers the promotion of a processing technology not very widely spread in the country. The next three cases are comprehensive regional agricultural development programmes. The first one is technologically most ambitious of the three, the second one is intermediate, while the third one relies mainly on gradual improvement of existing technologies, but has greater focus on social as well as economic development. The sixth case study covers a farmers' training programme. The last two cases are focussing more on organisational development: the first one is that of a women's organisation promoting links between professional urban women and rural women through the promotion of small-scale rural projects. The second one is the case of a farmers' support organisation.

In the presentation of the cases, the aims, activities and approaches of each NGO are described including, whenever necessary, the viewpoints and experiences of the beneficiaries and field staff. In the assessment section, the overall structure of the programmes by the NGOs are summarised and then analysed according to the following categories.

• Innovatory ideas

NGOs are supposed to be more innovative than, for instance, government administrations, both in terms of the type of changes attempted and the methods used to achieve them. While in reality this might not be always the case, as there is also among the NGOs a tendency to copy from each other, the expectation that NGOs might be able to act as experimentation points coming up with new ideas that might later be taken up on broader scales is still valid. (Farrington and Bebbington 1993; Turner and Hulme 1997; Fyvie and Ager 1999)

• Holistic orientation

Given the peculiarity of the peasant's mode of production, efforts to change agricultural practices often have other prerequisites and consequences. At a minimum, for instance, the introduction of new crops or crop varieties necessitates a concern for market outlets for the new crops. While there are some NGOs whose projects aim only at improving particular aspects of agricultural production, others are holistic in a much broader sense by getting involved in all aspects of agriculture, its infrastructure and the social and organisational situation of the peasants. Unlike government agencies, NGOs are not constrained by departmental boundaries and they can work in interdisciplinary manner. There is in this approach, however, the danger that too many disparate activities might be attempted and that professionalism is diluted.

(Farrington and Bebbington 1993; Fowler 1997)

Development and strengthening of community organisations

One of the important reasons why NGOs are so widely supported is the assumption that NGOs are better placed than governmental agencies in assisting the less privileged people in general and peasants in particular to form their own self-help groups and organisations. Through these groups and organisations, peasants will be able to assist each other and to interact with other public and private institutions in society with better bargaining power. Since many NGOs are not expected to have permanent presences in the areas they serve, leaving behind local groups capable of looking after themselves or co-operating with other agencies is an important contribution to sustainability of the developments that are being introduced.

(Oakley 1991; Caroll 1992; Farrington and Bebbington 1993; Edwards 1999)

Agro-ecological orientation

In the past, too many agricultural innovations have had negative consequences on the environment. Population pressure as well often has destructive effects on the ecology. As a natural consequence, agricultural ventures have to address the issue of the ventures' contributions to ecological sustainability.

(Farrington and Bebbington 1993; Uphoff 2002; Altieri 2002)

Poverty reach

NGOs are said to be more able to reach the poor and less articulate sections of the population than, for instance, government extension agents who might have a bias towards the more successful and better-educated farmers. Since the basic approach to development linked to NGOs defines the issue of development, not in terms of economic growth, but primarily in terms of social justice and poverty alleviation, the impact of NGOs has to be assessed in relation to this issue.

(Caroll 1992; Farrington and Bebbington 1993; Robinson and Riddell 1993; Edwards 1999)

• Gender concerns

All development organisations, whether governmental or non-governmental, are expected to be part of the contemporary international push towards greater gender equality. Given the fact that in most African farming communities women bear heavier work loads than men, have less control over land and other resources and have much smaller disposable incomes, NGOs are expected to address the issue of gender mainstreaming in agricultural development in one way or another.

(Yudelman 1987; Korten 1990; Fowler 1997; Beneria 2003)

Networking and scaling up

One of the disadvantages of NGOs engaged in development is that their initiatives have limited geographical scope. There is danger that what they produce – often even in competition with each other – are isolated little islands of limited progress that are not replicated elsewhere and may be constrained by the general socio-economic environment and infrastructure that remain unfavourable. To counteract this tendency, NGOs can cooperate with each other and with governmental agencies to replicate successful approaches on broader scales and /or turn them into general governmental policies. It may be important to complement and combine technological and organisational capabilities of various non-governmental and governmental development agencies to create – sometimes in collaboration with private firms – broader marketing networks, credit facilities and other economic infrastructures and to assist farmers and women's organisations to make their voices heard within a larger regional or national context.

(Edwards and Hulme 1992; Robinson and Riddell 1993)

Case 1: The Search for Alternatives to Tobacco: Africare's Ugalla Community Conservation Project (The UCCP)

Profile:

Status: International NGO Origin: USA	Status in country: Has a local country office	Main NGO purpose: Dedicated to improve quality of life in rural Africa	The Case programme:- Sustainable community based management of natural resources	Duration: Five year programme -from 1998	Main sources of funds: USAID, Africare Amount available: USD 2,196,452	Geographical coverage: three districts- Tabora and Rukwa Regions Location: Western Tanzania		
Direct beneficiaries: specified to be 135,000 rural residents	Indirect beneficiaries: as it is conservation and rural development project, the population of the three districts covered and the two regions as a whole, Tanzania as a country and humankind in general	Specific programme elements: Conservation of Ugalla Game Reserve Influencing change in economic conditions, improved utilisation, and productivity of natural resources Introducing new crops, promoting better crop and land management practices, promoting & improving beekeeping and fish farming Introducing alternatives to tobacco – important, Moringa Oleifera tree promotion Awareness creation and influencing of better attitudes toward natural resources of the community, officials of government, and the private sector Supporting income-generating activities for women such as processing of produce Working with national and local partners, improving gender relations, training local development partners Development & capacity strengthening of Local institutions Promoting and implementing Participatory Land Use Management (PLUM) and Community Natural Resources Management (CNRM)						

1. Background

The Ugalla Community Conservation Project has been implementing community-based management and conservation of natural resources in the Ugalla area. Its main objective is to create foundations for sustainable community-based conservation of natural resources around the Ugalla Game Reserve. The Ugalla area covers three districts in the western part of Tanzania. The districts are Urambo and Sikonge in Tabora region and Mpanda district in Rukwa region. Urambo district, according to the 2002 Population and Housing Census, has a population of around 370,796 people, Sikonge 133,388 people and Mpanda 412,683 people. The areas covered by the three districts in square kilometers according to the two regions' socio-economic profiles are Urambo 21,299; Sikonge estimated to be 21,000 and Mpanda 47,527.

The process of identifying the problem area and the birth of the project, according to the coordinator of the project, followed consultations with the ministry responsible for natural resources and tourism approached by Africare. Problem areas where external help might be needed were made known to Africare. The Ugalla area was chosen as it was a relatively virgin area to donor and NGO activities. A proposal to implement a conservation project was therefore submitted to USAID. Africare signed a cooperative agreement with USAID in January 1998 to support the UCCP for five years. USAID provided a contribution of USD 1,996,452 and Africare a matching contribution of USD 200,000.

That is how the conservation and natural resources management initiative became part of Africare's activities to improve the quality of life in the rural areas of Tanzania. Africare, which has been implementing seven development projects in different areas of the country, is an international NGO whose origin is the United States of America and it started its operations in the country in 1994.¹⁰

The target beneficiaries, outside the wildlife and other natural resources in the game reserve, are the villagers within the districts in the Ugalla area estimated to be about 135,000 rural residents (Ugalla Community Conservation Project Mid-Term Evaluation Report of November 2000). The game reserve is home to a number of big and small wildlife, as well as important forests and grasslands. Although the project was to work closely with the publicly employed extension personnel present in the three districts of the two regions, project implementation was to be coordinated in Tabora by a project coordinator supported at district level by UCCP employed conservation officers.

2. Methodologies and approaches

The UCCP can be described to be an attempt to promote conservation of biodiversity closely linked to a community development agenda. As it was felt that the current agricultural activities and practices affect conservation initiatives in the area and the goal of the project, new crops and practices were introduced and encouraged or crops and practices present and thought to be beneficial to the rural economy and to conservation objective were

¹⁰ Other activities supported are: The Arusha Leather Centre Initiative in Arusha, Mlali Child Survival Programme in Kongwa district, Dodoma; Kigoma Micro projects Programme, Kigoma Humanitarian Aid Services, Mtabila Refugee Settlement; Zanzibar NGO/CBO Cluster Aids Prevention Project and the Zanzibar Handicraft Development Project.

emphasised, encouraged and promoted. The efforts did not only end with the introduction of the crops and extension services provided, but the project generally intended to improve the economic welfare of target communities by stimulating and encouraging post production activities of processing and linking the communities or producers to the market and to other stakeholders. The UCCP can be basically described as a rural development project, rather than a mere conservation activity. A multifarious approach to the conservation objective is therefore characteristic to the UCCP. Africare's intervention strategies could be broadly depicted as follows:

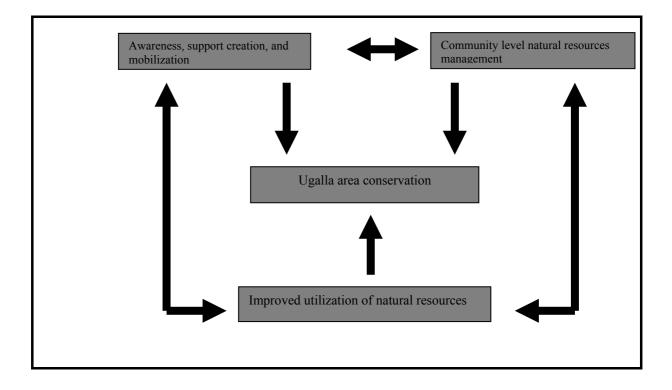


Figure: 1.1. *The UCCP's linked intervention strategies* Source: Developed in this study from project information

Awareness, support creation and mobilization

The UCCP's strategy to influence acceptance and change is marked by awareness building, solicitation of support and mobilization efforts. To achieve these, efforts began at the national level as the NGO drew and formulated its intervention in close consultation with the responsible ministry. Therefore, the intervention was initiated to address a problem considered important at the national level. For the project to be managed effectively, the UCCP brought its staff closer to the people as the UCCP offices were established in the

districts – each district has been having a UCCP conservation officer. Numerous workshops, seminars, and public meetings at village level were the forums through which the UCCP's philosophy and strategies were shared.

Another activity of equal importance was the social-economic surveys carried out to provide baseline references of the communities through participatory rural appraisal methodologies. A good understanding of the environmental knowledge the villagers have and the socioeconomic opportunities and constraints facing the communities in the area, acted as the icebreakers to pave the way to the behaviour changing efforts, and influenced the approach used. This is reflected on by the UCCP's efforts to introduce new and improve existing economic activities in the project area. The Urambo District Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer (DALDO), commenting on the project's approach to conservation, observed that the interest of the NGO was to 'diversify agriculture away from total reliance on tobacco cultivation as a cash crop. It believed that in the long run if the new crops it has introduced and encourages are successful, people will stop growing tobacco and this will be a plus to the environment.'

Improved utilisation of natural resources

To improve the utilisation of natural resources, a number of distinct activities but complimentary marked the UCCP's strategy. As the basic idea was to preserve the Ugalla Game Reserve – surrounded and exploited by humans, the approach could have been a simpler one – to fence the reserve and establish a garrison to protect it from unwelcome influences.¹¹ However, the project idea was premised on the awareness: not only that the reserve resources could be in sustainable manner exploited, but also the surrounding habitations – the villages and the surrounding areas, were important to the survival of the reserve itself. Better use of natural resources within the reserve and without, was considered the *sine qua non* to its conservation. One example of this mode of thinking is, as stated by both the project coordinator and the Urambo DALDO, the introduction and promotion of improved energy saving cooking stoves in the urban areas with the view of reducing the consumption of charcoal and fuel wood. This is expected to reduce as a direct consequence

¹¹ Such a measure could not be very strange, as people in the course of history have constructed physical barriers to separate themselves from others to protect themselves against external unwanted influences, but with little success.

the exploitation of the forest trees in the area surrounding the reserve. Largely, this might be concluded to be the philosophy Africare adopted in its intervention in the UCCP's project area. The strategies employed are the Community Natural Resources Management (CNRM) initiative, introduction of an alternative or a 'substitute' crop and the promotion of other crops and economic activities.

Community Natural Resources Management (CNRM)

The promotion of CNRM is important as one of the means to conservation objectives of the UCCP. Collaborations and consultations with government staff at different levels and village leadership paved the way to an important exercise: the participatory land use management (PLUM) exercise being carried out, this has involved, among other things, land demarcations and village boundary formation. PLUM has enabled communities to participate in the allocation of land meant for different purposes: areas designated as reserves, wildlife areas, woodlots etc. The exercise has been valuable in the introduction of the different varieties of community ownership and management of natural resources. In the UCCP area, these are the village forest reserves, joint forest management and wildlife management areas.

Type of CNRM		Total Area		
	Mpanda	Urambo	Sikonge	-
WMA (ha)	10,650	80,000	72,270	162,920
VFR (ha)	6,100	20,000	560	26,660
JFM (ha)	14,750	0	35,670	50,420
Total (ha)	31,500	100,000	108,500	240,000

 Table: 1.1.
 Area conserved under PLUM exercise

Source: UCCP's Project Progress Report, January 2002

This exercise was made possible because of the 'framework' on natural resources management created by the government through the Forest and Beekeeping Policies of 1998. So far, there are written guidelines developed by the respective ministry outlining the procedures and methodologies used in bringing about community ownership and management of natural resources in the country. Roles for the different stakeholders have

been designated: the central government institutions, local authorities, village communities, and the place of NGOs in the implementation of community ownership and /or management of natural resources.¹² As a result, difficulties encountered by Africare in this endeavour are dealt with through close consultations with the local leaders, the Wildlife Division, Forest and Beekeeping Division and the National Land Use Commission.

Box: 1.1. The government's 'framework' for community natural resources management

Besides the Forest and Beekeeping Policies of 1998, there are booklets issued in February 2001 by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism indicating the roles and responsibilities for each of the various key actors in natural resources management in Tanzania. These include the government, NGOs, and local communities. There is also a published 'Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) Guideline of April 2001'. Briefly, the role and responsibility of the NGOs as stipulated in one of the booklets cover such aspects as making forest resources accessible to communities in sustainable manner including having adequate forest areas with effective management. Helping communities develop natural forest reserves, promote sustainable utilisation of forest products. NGOs are also to help improve the ability of governmental structures to increase awareness on the importance of sustainable natural resources utilisation among the public and to manage effectively the forest resources. Activities earmarked include providing advisory services, contributing to extension services, financial support, training, mobilisation for the development of forest conservation areas by communities, development of tree farms, and promoting appropriate technologies friendly to the environment. The Guideline, in addition, illustrates procedures for carrying out community- based forest management, it outlines specific tasks to be carried out, provides examples and guideline to forest assessment, record keeping and the development of management plans, joint management agreements and by laws making.

(Developed here to show government's efforts and the expected support from other stakeholders in natural resources management efforts)

There are other efforts undertaken to make the exercise sustainable. These are the strengthening of village natural resources committees through training and field visits, formation of environmental groups and the creation of village natural resources scouts. Africare mobilizes the youth to join the scout groups in their districts and training is provided. The benefits from the skills the scouts acquire go beyond immediate conservation interests – to participatory knowledge and lives saving first aid skills that make them look more useful in the eyes of the community. To strengthen mobilisation efforts and to attempt to institutionalise the idea of scouts, districts officials are directly involved. The project is also trying, according to the project coordinator, to influence the districts' authorities to scale up the initiatives by asking them to mobilize youths to form scout groups and to finance their

¹² The GTZ of Germany in close working relationship with the government of Tanzania is, according to a senior forest and beekeeping officer in the Ministry of Natural Resources, a pioneer of the initiatives to promote community forest management in Tanzania.

training. The formation of environmental clubs in schools and community environmental groups denote further efforts to institutionalise conservation and sustainable natural resources use attitudes and behaviours among the communities within the project area.

The researcher was able to talk to leaders of groups supported and inspired by Africare's activities in Usoke division. Within this area of Usoke, group formation and working with groups and group support has been more common than in other areas visited. The groups, over ten of them, are engaged in some of the following activities: sunflower and groundnuts cultivation, and oil processing from sunflower. Bee, fish keeping; dairy cattle keeping, local variety of chicken rearing, gardening, tree planting, and tree nursery keeping.

One of these groups is an extraordinary group; or rather, the group leader is an extraordinary person. Africare has not directly initiated this group, but it is a direct product of the created interest on the environment and which has inspired members of the community where Africare has been operating to come out with innovative ideas of some good to the environment. This is a youth group in Izimbili village managing tree nurseries and whose leader has developed what looks like a small replica of the 'Garden of Eden' in his village as a prototype of what other members of the group should develop, manage and own. The group has a small nursery growing a number of tree species, but the most extraordinary specie was the Mahogany tree 'Mninga'. The group leader, Masudi, informed that they are growing the mahogany tree from seeds collected from the bush. That the seeds are taken out of dried tree fruits and from a hundred fruits, it is only possible to find up to 8 or 10 seeds or some times nothing at all.

The researcher asked why they are trying to grow mahogany from seeds in the first place, the response was: '*The tree because it is a hard wood is getting lost too quickly through over exploitation, we want the future generation to know the tree and to benefit from it as well.*'

The Jitume Group, formed by three members in September 2002, has now 15 members, including eight female members. The group leader observed that interest on the 'Mninga' seedlings is increasing and they sell them for 1000 Tshs each. ICRAF (International Centre for Research and Agro forestry) and the Western Zone NARDC have purchased the growing plants and have transplanted them in the research centre at Tumbi.

The growing of mahogany from seeds by this group was mentioned to the Western Zone NARDC's research and extension coordinator. His response was that although growing mahogany from seeds was not a new thing in the world (not common anyway), but such young village people to bring up the idea and to actually experiment with it, was very interesting and should be commended and encouraged.

The said 'Garden of Eden' is Masudi's green, three-quarters of an acre garden, completely standing out from the background surrounding it. In it are banana plants, Oil Palms, orange trees and papaws, well spaced, at different stages of growth, and arranged to please the eye. All the plants are superior, organically grown varieties, including the Oil Palms introduced by Africare in the area from TACARE (Tanganyika Catchments and Reforestation Programme, Kigoma). Another group member observed that the other members are all in different stages in the development of own similar gardens.¹³

Introduction of an alternative, or a 'substitute', crop in the UCCP area: MORINGA OLEIFERA

Because of UCCP's approach to the problem, what came next can be literally described as 'ENTER MORINGA OLEIFERA TREE' or 'Mlonge' in Swahili language.¹⁴Although there were other initiatives, the introduction of this 'magic tree' was important and was considered the appropriate solution to both the conservation needs and economic needs of the rural communities.

Tobacco cultivation is considered the main cause of environmental abuses and the ultimate threat to the ecosystem in the Ugalla area. It is the most important cash crop and the main cash earner.¹⁵ Shifting cultivation and tree harvesting for tobacco leaf drying has negatively affected the environmental equilibrium in the districts.

¹³ For an observer from outside the area, it might be difficult not to wish that all the farm plots surrounding the garden were looking the same way.

¹⁴ Mlonge is not a new tree. According to the promotional pamphlet of OPTIMA AFRICA LIMITED, Arab traders brought it some centuries ago to Tanzania from the Middle East.

¹⁵ The tobacco output projection by the Tanzania Tobacco Leaf Company for the 2001/2002 season was 8,950,165,815 Tanzanian shillings.

The district's extension personnel the researcher was travelling with for the important and unique new exercise of assessing food security situation in the villages of Kaliua and Usoke divisions of Urambo district in early June 2003, kept pointing to stretches of land between villages empty of trees and saying that this is the work of tobacco.¹⁶

There is consensus among project staff and partners alike that agricultural activities are, in most cases, in conflict with conservation needs. However, such consensus has not affected the project's approach to the conservation objective. This is because sustainable land use and land resources exploitation was seen to be the key to achieving the conservation goal, as it is acknowledged that the local communities have to meet their daily livelihood needs from the available resources. The issue has been therefore how best to utilize the available resources and at the same time conserve the environment.

Africare's coordinator of agricultural activities responding to the question asked about the origin of the idea and adoption of the tree observed that they came to know about the tree in the National Trade Fair (Saba Saba).¹⁷ They therefore contacted the promoter of the tree, which is OPTIMA Africa Limited.¹⁸ OPTIMA has its own plantation in Tanga region and it later built a small seed processing plant in Dar es Salaam. A decision was taken by the NGO to introduce the crop as a cash crop in the project area after being satisfied with its merits and OPTIMA's plans to further promote the tree – the site for this activity, including the establishing of a processing factory, was to be Tanzania. The tree, as it will be noted, has great appeal.

¹⁶ This followed a presidential directive by the incumbent president of Tanzania Mr Mkapa that a food availability assessment was to be carried out in the country as a whole following the less than expected rainfall in most parts of the country in the first half of the year 2003.

¹⁷ NGOs have been utilising the national trade fairs in various but beneficial ways. The fairs are just as important to them as to the business sector. They use the trade fairs to promote their images, to create awareness to the public of their activities, and to acquire information and knowledge about potential partners and their activities. A visit to any in Tanzania will corroborate this.

¹⁸ OPTIMA of Africa Limited, is a Subsidiary of OPTIMA of Environment of Switzerland. The company was registered in Tanzania in 1996. Its aim is to produce environmental friendly products derived from natural sustainable resources. OPTIMA has already spent some 4 million USD to establish an estate in Korogwe as a demonstration farm, a research unit, and a training centre for farmers. It expects to have under contract farming in 2001, 12000 hectares of Moringa. This is expected to allow the production of 7,500 tons of oil (edible and for cosmetic and medical industries) from 2004-5 (Source: OPTIMA's promotional pamphlet and interviews with OPTIMA's officials).

The introduction environment and the merits of the tree

Apart from Moringa Oleifera being a perennial crop that can last for up to 20 years, it has other important characteristics: rapid growth, long taproots, minimal shade and high production of high-protein biomass, these attributes makes it well suited for alley cropping systems. Other benefits include the use of its leaves for animal forage, biogas and as domestic cleaning agent. Its poles can be used for fencing and its flowers provide nectar – the raw material for making honey. It has ornamental properties for gardens and avenues. It can help in plant disease prevention by incorporating Moringa leaves into the soil before planting. Pulp could be produced. The bark and gums can be used for tanning hides. It can be used for water purification purposes as the powdered seed kernels act as natural flocculants. It has medicinal properties: leaf powder can be used to reduce anaemia and leaf juice has antiseptic properties. Moringa leaves and pods can be used as nutritious food and from the pods oil could be extracted for household and industrial use.¹⁹

Tobacco cultivation, as mentioned before, is the mainstay of most people in the project area. It could be argued that social institutions, family and personal lives as built around the crop (in most villages a tobacco trading post is found within the village administration building or it is the other way round). Africare knew that peasants' awareness about the environmental hazards caused by the cultivation of tobacco, could alone not change the peasants' attitude towards the crop. It therefore, implicitly, exploited the marketing problems facing tobacco growers in the area, which provided the right disincentive to tobacco growing and suitable environment for promoting an environmental friendly crop. The marketing problems that faced the tobacco crop are briefly captured in the Box below.

The fair success in the initial introduction of this crop as an alternative cash crop by the NGO can certainly be attributed to the marketing problems facing the tobacco industry in Tabora region. Again, it was for most peasants the first time a crop is introduced whose properties and benefits are so well enumerated and has so much support from influential organs, the local government, and the NGO.

¹⁹ The merits are derived from OPTIMA's promotion pamphlet. However, academic and practitioners interests on the tree can be observed from the works of: Ramachandran, C. et al., (1980); Jahn, S. A. (1981); Jahn, S. A. (1986); Morton, J. F. (1991).

Box: 1.2. Tobacco marketing problems

The tobacco marketing problems, which affected the production of the crop, came about because of changes in government's policy on cash crop marketing. Policy changes allowed private buyers to be involved in the marketing of cash crops. Private tobacco buyers, to induce peasants to sell their produce to them in the now competitive market, extended credit facilities to the farmers through the primary producer associations. As the umbrella co-operatives were weak, private traders were the only sources of input support to the farmers.

The arrangement was that peasants were to sell their tobacco to their creditors to facilitate recovery of advances made to the farmers. However, the peasants did not respect the arrangement and sold their harvests to, either non-creditors, or only some to their creditors. As the loans were not repaid, and the private traders started to incur losses from the game they had been responsible for encouraging, they formed an association of Tobacco Traders in Tabora region (ATTT). Some buyers removed themselves from tobacco marketing entirely. Since farmers did not enter individually into the agreements and it was through their primary societies, the distance between those who were supposed to be the real parties to the agreements was long. It thus affected individual responsibility to the loans and ties between the real business parties.

The primary societies as the administrators also lacked the resources, and had the same old mentality derived from dealing with public institutions in the previous economic setting – before economic liberalization policies came into being. ATTT, the association of private buyers adopted strategies, which made tobacco growing no longer profitable to peasants. The steps taken to redress the situation, though crude, with probably the implicit backing of the regulatory board, were:

- Prices for the crop were to be uniform for several crop seasons, affecting crop seasons in the years of 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001.
- 50% of the produce collected by the primary societies to be used for credit repayment.
- 100% recovery of debts in year 2001 from the tobacco collected by the primary societies.

It was the responsibility of the primary societies to manage individual credit repayments, and this was difficult. Credit repayment thus turned into a 'community responsibility' and many innocent individual farmers suffered as a result. Some clever, well to do, farmers who exploited the circumstances from the beginning and in collusion with local traders and transporters, managed still to smuggle tobacco out of the region for sale elsewhere – to escape the 'community responsibility' for credit repayments. Farmers became disenchanted from growing the crop and production fell, estimated to be by half. Now the situation is stabilizing, the problems are considered over and tobacco fetches relatively good prices. However, the ATTT has been able to consolidate its position as the only buyer of the crop – the only market of tobacco in the region. This is again a problem as farmers are to deal with a monopoly, which well understands its market and the weakness of its suppliers.

(The situation depicted above has been arrived at from discussions, in the course of this study, with the officials of the ministry responsible for agriculture, staff, and members of primary producer societies in the region, officials in employment with the tobacco private trading companies and local farmers).

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The adoption of Moringa and problems

The adoption of Moringa has been by no means slow, although Africare's personnel and even some of the districts' officials think adoption was slow. Given that it was a new introduction as a possible competitor to the most important and traditional cash earner in the UCCP area, the level of adoption and interest in the crop by farmers was quite high. The most important issue however and not paid full attention to is, or was, sustainability of adoption. Africare claims that over 980 hectares have been planted with Moringa. A district official noted that at the introduction period, about half the farmers were ready to plant the crop, about thirty percent of them actually adopted the crop, not necessarily as a substitute to tobacco, but as an additional crop they should grow in their 'shambas' and/or backyard gardens.

As many farmers visited in the project area had apparently planted some land with Mlonge, it shows that there was considerable enthusiasm in the initial adoption of the tree. That a sizeable number of the farmers were willing to experiment with a new crop and were not very satisfied with their dependence on tobacco as the only important cash crop with a ready and known market.

The adoption of the tree started with institutions schools, churches, and local leaders such as counsellors to whom the earlier promotion efforts were directed. At its introduction period, mobilization campaigns involved high-ranking national government and district officials and therefore planting the tree in a large scale became important. However, the amount of interest in the tree as a possible cash crop is now decreasing.

The Regional Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer for Tabora observed in relation to the rate of adoption of the tree by the peasants that:

Social changes come slowly...People have been planting tobacco for years and years. It is a cash crop with a ready market. A person is always reluctant to try anything new.

It is better to show the peasants in practice that you can grow both crops...Gradually the farmer has to judge which of the crops is more beneficial.

It is now obvious to the farmers that Mlonge is yet no match to tobacco. Although as a perennial crop and in theory (as was propagated by its promoters) it is supposed to offer higher returns after the initial adoption costs and has other benefits as well, farmers' attitudes towards it has changed.

Mzee Alex of Igagala village relates his motives, views, and experiences on Moringa and its cultivation:

As I heard about the crop and made to understand that we are now going to have a permanent crop like coffee I decided I should try the crop.

My circumstances also helped me make the decision quickly. I am poor, I depend only on family labour, and have enough hands to manage only two acres of tobacco and we never have any rest.

I planted Moringa in plots in 1999, 2000 and 2001. It does not have a lot of work and we have the plots around the house.

I sold only 15 kilograms of seeds to Africare in the second year. Although we do not really know what we are going to get out of it, we plant it.

We do not have 'Mtaalam' expert on the crop. Look, there is this disease, all leaves are eaten, and we cannot see the pests. Please, [making the request directly to the DALDO accompanying me] bring 'Dawa' pesticide quickly or all our efforts are going to be useless. We are not going to do any weeding for dying trees.

As he took us through the four acres of land on which he has planted Moringa, he pointed out to the trees. The trees were bare of leaves.

Mlewa of Igagala village cultivates an average of 8 acres of tobacco in a season and grew Mlonge in 10 acres of his land. In the area surrounding his home, he has tobacco plants and Moringa trees intercropped. Expressing his disappointments, he observed that:²⁰

²⁰ Land is relatively more plenty in Tabora region than most parts of the country, the average available arable land per person according to officials there is more than 6 acres.

I myself have not seen any benefit from the tree.

I thought I would get something out of it if I cooperated with the experts but there is nothing.

High expectation was created on the benefits of the tree rumours had it that petroleum could be made from the tree products. The roots could cure most ailments from chest problems to blood pressure.

I was also told the tree seeds if ground could help kill pests. However, it is not true.

Problems associated with the introduction of the tree include the following: First, there was drought in the first year of its introduction. However, farmers also observed that the crop was introduced near the end of the rainy season and as the farmers got the seeds late, they had to water the plants by hand. Secondly, in the second year bad seeds that could not germinate were provided. Thirdly, in the third year good seeds were brought but were not delivered at the right time. Fourthly, the requisite technical knowledge about the plant was lacking. It was a new crop to both the extension agents and Africare personnel, and adequate preparations were not made. Lastly, the price offered for the seeds is thought to be unfair. OPTIMA has been selling one kilogram of seeds at a price of 4,000Tshs. However, it buys mature seeds at a price of 300 shillings per kilogram. This price difference, bearing in mind that one Moringa tree could initially produce only about one kilogram of mature seeds, is considered to have been a disincentive.

A female extension staff 'Bibi shamba' in Kaliua division of Urambo district, made the following observations on the introduction, adoption, problems and status of Moringa cultivation in the area:

Mlonge is good but the geographical conditions are not good here. The seeds planted at the beginning did not all germinate. In Tanga [where OPTIMA has a plantation], there are two rainy seasons; here we have only the long rains.

For Mlonge to be a cash crop there was wide adoption, almost half the farmers adopted the crop. When 'it' arrived, many farmers planted it, from one acre to about ten acres.

People have now despaired, the farmer who brought most seeds for sale to us brought about 25 kilograms only.

Nobody has benefited from Mlonge really; no farmer has been able to buy even a dress from Mlonge.

The vice chairperson of Igagala primary producer society (Mashaka) remarked on Mlonge as follows:

First, I would like to reiterate that we really need alternative crops, but they should be better than tobacco.

Tobacco campaigns are big. Mlonge buyers are not seen, we do not know them. We do not see them to talk to as we do with tobacco buyers.

We are provided by tobacco traders with inputs not only fertilizer for growing tobacco but also fertilizer for food crops such as maize.

Those who adopted Mlonge earlier they got very little out of it.

Tobacco grows well here we get many kilograms to sell about 300 to 400 kilograms per acre at a price of now 700Tshs, it is much better. People also plant some maize, beans and groundnuts.

The problems with other crops such as maize and groundnuts is that we do not have a known market 'Gulio', only middle men come when they want and buy at prices they choose themselves.

To get to understand more about the causes of the plight facing the adopters and the future of the tree in the region, the researcher had to talk to officials of both the National Agricultural Research and Development Centre (NARDC) for the Western Zone in Tabora, and OPTIMA officials in Dar es Salaam.

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Interest

Role

Africare	Conservation & sustainable use of natural resources	Initiation, mobilisation, implementer & process manager, outlet & OPTIMA agent, input &technical knowledge provider
OPTIMA	Conservation, investment potential &profit	Partner, market, input and technical knowledge provision
Regional & District Authorities	Sustainable use of natural resources, Tax revenue, and economic development	Partner and co-implementers, mobilisation
Local institutions and leaders	Sustainable use of natural resources, economic development, patronage, increase in influence, political ambitions and recognition	Role models to the villagers, adopters, mobilisation
Tobacco Traders	Increased tobacco output, profit, and control	Ready market for tobacco, competitor, farmer incentives provision
Villagers	Profitable economic activities, increased income, better lives, ready market, better prices and stable economic and political environment.	Target group of influence, adopters, producers & suppliers, attitude &behaviour influence among each other

Figure: 1.2. *Stakeholder interest and role in the introduction of Moringa Oleifera* Source: Developed in this study from collected and analysed information

The research and extension coordinator of the National Agricultural Research and Development Centre – NARDC for Western Zone in Tumbi Tabora, made the following remarks about the status and future of Moringa:

Were we involved from the beginning and if there was a market for the crop, then I think it might have been an alternative crop to tobacco.

If they had involved us five years ago, answers to problems farmers face could be there. The tree is susceptible to a lot of pests and diseases.

We have started working on the tree following farmers' requests. It came to the region without our researching on it.

We have only acquired seeds from Africare and currently we have started on-farm trials experimenting with both seeds and seedlings to find out what is best and how to manage the crop.

We would like to strengthen our relationships with Africare and OPTIMA to carry out joint research projects so that we understand better the tree for the benefit of all. We also need some resources for example a pest expert might be important.

OPTIMA's official highlights the relationships and experiences between Africare and OPTIMA, in the promotion of Moringa, as follows:

Our role was to make Africare staff aware of the tree; we were responsible for the availability of seeds, brochures, its agronomy, conducting seminars in Tabora, and taking bwana shambas and foresters to Tanga.

Africare had to fund all activities. Their administrative personnel supervise farmers, collect seeds. When they have one ton, they call us and we send money for the seeds through the bank.

This tree can grow almost everywhere, but the best area is the coast region: Morogoro, Dar es salaam, Tanga and Coast. Even farmers from Mbeya region have approached us to grow the crop, but Tabora's weather is more favourable, Mbeya is hilly and cold.

We introduced the tree, but we are not an agricultural company. We did not have the expertise. The nature of the farmers also is a problem they are poor. Planting the tree in less than five acres is not a practical activity. Profit starts from five acres and above.

Farmers are scattered which brings about the difficulty of making visits. It was also difficult for Africare.

We sell the seeds to farmers or our agents for 4000 Tshs per Kilogramme. We buy seeds back for 300 Tshs per Kilogramme.

Harvest expected per tree is half a kilogramme in the first year to four kilograms per tree in the fourth year that is when break-even is reached. One acre can have as many as between 320 and 380 trees depending on how they are spaced.

At the beginning, we provided seeds and collected harvested seeds back to carry out germination tests before releasing them back to farmers through Africare. We later changed the arrangement and the seeds were kept in Tabora and were redistributed to farmers.

We have also established a processing plant, a small one in Dar es salaam to extract oil. The activity is not profitable yet even in five years time it will not be. We need at least 100 tons a year; we only now process like 5 to 7 tons.

We own 5000 acres in Tanga but we have planted only 300 acres capable of producing 15 tons of seeds per year.

The present relationships and structure – Africare being the agent for OPTIMA and the lack of direct links between the local communities and/or structures and OPTIMA – has affected desired success and possibly sustainability. Although the farmers have not seen any benefits from the trees, they have not yet destroyed them; at least in the areas visited. Nonetheless, the tree is now common in many parts of the country and people are aware of its benefits, the benefits, however, perceived important by them.

Other crops and economic activities promoted

As part of the attempt by Africare to induce better use of available natural resources, there were efforts to promote other economic activities: to improve and promote Oil Palms, sunflower cultivation and processing for oil, fish breeding and harvesting, and better beekeeping practices. Oil Palm as also an alternative cash crop is promoted in Urambo district – the district has favourable conditions for growing the crop. The efforts began in 1999; by the end of 2001, Africare had bought 20,000 pre-germinated seeds from the neighbouring Kigoma region where Oil Palm is an important crop. The district extension workers managed the collection of the seeds and its distribution to farmers.

Sunflower cultivation is also promoted. According to the UCCP's Project Progress Report of January 2002, the promotion of this crop has been going on since the year 2000. Africare acquired better variety of seeds for the crop in collaboration with local research and training institutions. New technology was made available to the farmers as about 125 ram presses for oil extraction were acquired and sold to interested farmers. The introduction of this machine went hand in hand with demonstration exercises in the use of the technology. Farmers are now exploiting the commercial advantage of this crop and the demand for the technology is said to have increased. Farmers sell sunflower oil at a price of 700 shillings per litre and small enterprises have started. Farmers provided with seeds are supposed to return them once they successfully harvest their crops; the seeds are then issued to new farmers. They are also advised to keep seeds for growing in the next farming season.

Activities	Mpanda	Urambo	Sikonge	Total
Seeds issued (kg)	2,000	1,500	1,500	5,000
Seeds repaid back (kg)	1,154	40	547	1,741
Harvest (kg)	79,980	20,000**	52,200	152,180
Oil produced (litres	2,392	1,025	11,440	14,857
Revenue (Tshs)	815,625*	450,000	36,000***	1,301,625

Table: 1.2.Sunflower promotion status

*This amount was obtained at Mtapenda village after selling 10,875 kg (181.25 bags) of sunflower seeds to Mpadeco oil mill. The price was Tshs 4,500 per bag of 60 kg. **The low harvest was due to late planting and insufficient rainfall.

***Revenue accrued Tshs, 36000 from 360 kg of seeds sold at Igalula village in Sikonge Source: UCCP's Project Progress Report, January 2002

Although the area is endowed with resources for honey production – the miombo woodlands – very small and low quality honey is being produced. The uses of fire during harvesting and contaminated containers in the storing of honey are taken to be the setbacks to the industry and conservation initiatives in the area. The UCCP has therefore been promoting appropriate technologies to improve honey and bees wax production and quality. Practices introduced include the construction of modern hives and honey pressing machines.

Box: 1.3. Village realities versus modern methods and techniques

At Usoke division (Urambo district), a number of people in Usoke Mlimani village attending a village meeting in the tobacco godown cum village hall were interviewed. Actually, a development discussion ensued between the extension agent 'bwana shamba' Kazibwani Joseph and the Village chairperson, Mzee Migazo Wilson. Africare according to the bwana shamba has been promoting better land management practices, terraces and contours in the hilly Usoke area through the extension agents. He made the comment that people are aware of best practises and have the knowledge and expertise but do not use them. This resulted into a heated debate as the village chairperson responded by saying the problem is the 'wataalamu' experts who do not understand local realities. The following example was given by the chairman: 'when the rearing of chicken of the local variety is promoted, we are told to buy a tablet which costs 6000Tshs to be used for 1000 chicks, but who owns even 30 chicks at any one time in this village, hardly any one. The diseases will not let us have so many chicks. Why should they not bring medicine which is cheap and is enough for five chicks and which we can afford. It is like when one has malaria and you are told to buy anti-malarial drugs for the whole family, it is going to be difficult to afford a cure and we will all be dead as malaria is an every day problem.'

(Output from this study)

In one of the villages, Izimbili, Uyumbu ward, Usoke division, there is a group of women popular in the area called Mziwanda. The group leader, Mama Oripa Kamanda made the following observations about the group and its relationship with Africare:

Africare found us already working as a group, we were not all that formal as we are now, but we were a group of middle-aged women doing farm work together. We now cultivate sunflower, groundnuts and keep bees.

We were at the beginning only ten of us, now we are twenty, others joined in when they saw our progress.

We agree on how much work we should individually as group members do, for example on the cultivation of sunflower we agreed last year everybody must work on one acre plot, this year two acres by each group member. We also grow groundnuts and we have agreed each member should work one-acre plot.

In the first year, Africare loaned us a ram press for processing sunflower seeds. Last year we managed to process 420 litres of oil and we sold at a price of 500 Tshs per litre in the local market.

In beekeeping, we get adequate support from Africare and we intend to do more in this area. We plan to construct 120 beehives, of the modern kind with doors that open and have more capacity like the three given to us.

We started with three hives and last year (2002) we harvested 15 litres from each hive and we sell in five litre containers for 2500Tsh. This was the first year, we expect in the following years to harvest up to 20 litres per hive.

We have as a group about 200,000 Tshs. This together with group members' contributions we intend to use to construct the new hives. A beehive costs in total only 4500 Tshs to construct that is if we use 'Mabanzi' [the rough side planks left after timber is extracted from a tree trunk].

The kind of help we get from Africare include group strengthening activities, for example we attend different seminars, as a result of their attention we are known around here and even the regional commissioner once visited us.

They gave us the first three beehives and loaned us the oil-pressing machine. They also are advising us to open a bank account.

The expertise of making modern hives is here in the village through the people they trained. We also know now how to do safe harvesting of honey ourselves.

We also are made to learn from other groups, especially the Isongwa group, from whom we get our inspiration, they have been provided honey-pressing machine by Africare and through hygienic plastic containers are now selling their bee products to Dar es Salaam.

Africare also arranged a visit by a cooperative expert and they organised a cooperative training course for us. The expert supported us to develop a group constitution.

We think we are going to quickly progress as a group. We need support also.

Other interventions having a bearing to improved utilisation of natural resources are the promotion of improved stoves and fish rearing practices. The UCCP has introduced stoves that reduce fuel wood consumption to improve living standards of the rural population. By the end of 2001, about 450 households had adopted the stoves (UCCP's Project Progress Report of January 2002). The promotion of low wood fuel and charcoal consumption stoves was also done in the urban centres. Fish rearing is also promoted to improve the nutritional status and mitigate poverty. Fingerlings are provided to farmers when new ponds are developed or old ones revived. The fingerlings are obtained from the previously supported fishponds. To create more reliable and permanent source of fingerlings to farmers, some local prisons were encouraged to farm fish and were provided fingerlings by Africare.

3. Assessment

The focus of Africare's Ugalla Community Conservation Project has been to conserve the Ugalla Game Reserve by promoting community management and improved utilisation of natural resources. To achieve these objectives, its initiatives have included (a) technical productive innovations, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) networking/collaborations and (d) empowerment through group mobilisation and support.

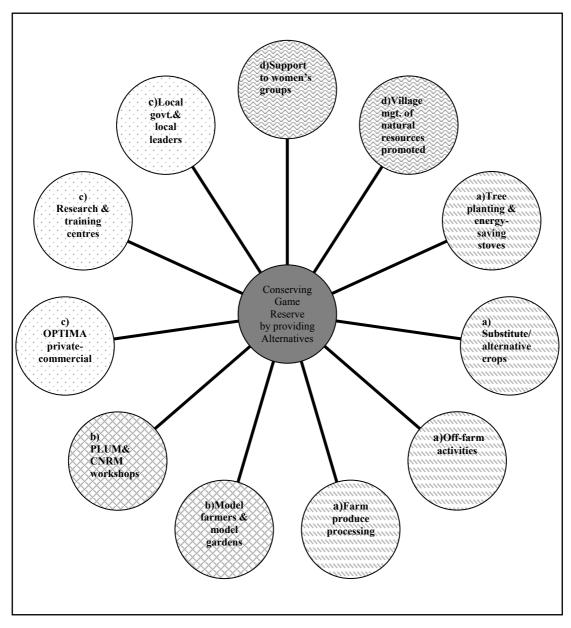


Figure: 1.3. The UCCP's main project focus

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3.1. Innovatory ideas

It is true that the project idea was conservation; however, the NGO's familiarity with the socio-economic circumstances facing the communities in the project area made it introduce new ideas and practices seemed necessary and largely reflecting local circumstances. CNRM initiative, the introduction and encouragement of alternative crops including Moringa, Oil Palms and sunflower cultivation and other activities such as better beekeeping practices and processing activities have been a result of some appreciation by the UCCP of local circumstances.

The idea behind the introduction of Moringa Oleifera as a possible alternative to tobacco cultivation and a means to achieving the conservation goals of the project could be considered highly innovative. Even though success in the introduction of the crop is considered limited, initial enthusiasm and the rate of adoption of Moringa suggest rural communities are open to new ideas and that they are not particularly satisfied with their dependence on tobacco as a cash crop. It is also indicative of the successful campaigns by the NGO to mobilize sympathy for the environment, awareness of its goals and the adoption of its ideas.

3.2. Holistic orientation

The Conservation of the Ugalla area was to be achieved through sustainable utilization of existing resources. Therefore, sustainable utilization of resources was the issue. The following activities indicate the UCCP's approach to engage itself with the issue of sustainable utilization of natural resources in the Ugalla area:

- \checkmark the less than tacit motive of discouraging tobacco cultivation;
- ✓ new crops introduced and the emphasis and support given to encourage other crops thought more suitable;
- \checkmark promoting processing activities of value addition at the household level;
- ✓ promoting better beekeeping practices;
- \checkmark introducing and promoting the use of stoves which reduce fuel wood consumption;
- CNRM and the allocation and demarcation of land for different purposes facilitated by the PLUM exercise;

- ✓ strengthening communities' abilities to safeguard their own resources through the involvement of communities, village leadership and introduction of scouts' groups;
- \checkmark promoting women and youth natural resources and economic groups;
- ✓ in addition is the close involvement of government extension staff in its activities and that way bringing them closer to the communities and making it imperative for them to work closely with the systems and structures developed or strengthened at the community level.

These activities describe the totality nature of the UCCP's effort to the realisation of the conservation cum improved utilisation of natural resources objective in the Ugalla area.

3.3. Development and strengthening of community organisations

Where it is obvious that the UCCP has been involved in facilitating the development and strengthening of community organisations is through the CNRM initiative and the PLUM exercises carried out. The strengthening of village natural resources committees, formation of environmental groups and clubs among the general communities and within schools and scout groups are the important activities carried out by the UCCP. These have been able to strengthen community involvement in conservation activities and the efforts to improve utilization of natural resources.

Probably a much important outcome is that local communities are likely to be perceived differently by the government extension staff and this might influence positively the mode of interactions between them. In addition, the idea behind the use of local scout groups to complement the efforts of government officials in controlling anti-conservation behaviour is leading to a situation where not only outsiders are concerned about negative community behaviour to conservation but also the community itself. The environmental clubs and groups formed because of project activities also indicate efforts to create and foster diverse forms of social organisations whose activities contribute to the achievement of project goals and sustainability.

3.4. Agro ecological orientation

Between the two general approaches to agricultural development, production and agro ecological oriented approaches through which NGOs agricultural promotion activities can be categorised, the UCCP as a conservation project is more inclined to adopt the agro ecological approach. For example, Moringa Oleifera because of its properties such as being perennial, the suitability for alley cropping, natural water purification and its plant diseases prevention attributes, is ecologically friendly and so much more comparatively to tobacco. It is clear that the UCCP has been promoting activities that are relatively friendly to the environment. It should also be realized that improving local conditions and economic welfare was important and whatever alternatives introduced were for improving the conservation purposes. Therefore, UCCP's practices are inclined more to the pragmatic side of the agro ecological emphasis. There have been also evidences of due care to the communities' livelihood base, land, through the encouragement of better land use practices such as contour making and terracing in the hilly districts.

3.5. Poverty reach

As a rural development approach to a conservation problem, the UCCP has generally the population of the target area as its beneficiaries. The project activities or the measures adopted also led the UCCP to depend more on the better off members of the communities; the use of influential members and groups in encouraging the adoption of Moringa is an important example. The main objective of the project was, in addition, to induce behaviour change to improved utilization of natural resources in the project area among all the stakeholders for the benefit of all and not specifically to mitigate poverty among a section of the community.

3.6. Gender concerns

Efforts to correct whatever gender imbalances within the beneficiary communities are observed from the initial project document, where working with women groups and improving their economic and social conditions are important objectives. In practice, through the different initiatives the project has been pursuing the objectives:

- ✓ Women groups the like of the Mziwanda group, have been identified and supported.
- ✓ Even other independently emerging groups such as the Jitume Group show to have realised that it is important to have a gender balanced participation in groups (in order for groups to be more acceptable and attractive to development practitioners and scholars).
- ✓ One single initiative, which could have somewhat changed female community members' circumstances, is the 'magic' Moringa tree. Women in rural Africa unfortunately shoulder most responsibilities, including household chores and direct production. As such, several miles trek to tobacco fields has been, as a logical conclusion, a much greater burden to women villagers. Moreover, firewood problems would have been reduced through decreased tree felling for tobacco curing and Moringa as a source of firewood itself.

3.7. Building linkages

Working with the communities and government officials and linking them together facilitate an environment conducive to the sustainability of derived benefits. Scaling up of some of the activities introduced is also more likely as the local government authorities are introduced to ideas and ways of working with the communities new to them. However, the project has failed to establish effective links between itself or the project area and other external organs of the private sector as well as the local research centre.

3.8. Scaling up

Perhaps one of the important outcomes from the NGO work to improve conditions in that part of Tanzania is the interest it has created in other institutions about the area. A development project by Sokoine University of Agriculture - Tuskegee University of the USA is in the Usoke area promoting almost similar activities, as was Africare, utilising the social networks created.

Similarly, and rather than only external formal institutions embracing the pro-conservation agenda, we have emerging community groups taking the conservation agenda steps further. The Jitume Group is a case example.

A notable development, UCCP's contribution to it as other projects/programmes by NGOs and international agencies of similar nature in different areas of the country being immense, is the community participation in the management of forest resources now nationally institutionalised and nationwide promoted.

In addition, private tobacco traders and their association being conscious of the war fought against them, have been reminded of their social obligations and it was learnt that there is now joint tree growing campaigns by local government authorities and the association of tobacco traders in the project areas.

4. Conclusion

The project, although it initially encouraged Moringa, it later moved to encourage and emphasise other crops after becoming more aware of the local environment and some of the shortcomings facing the introduction of the crop as a cash crop. The project personnel feel that significant impact could have been achieved were the target area smaller than it was. It was made known by the coordinator of the project that for the same reasons the area coverage has now been reduced instead of the project working with most of the villages in a district, it now works with four villages in each district. These indicate some ability to adapt in order to cope with existing realities and challenges.

Notwithstanding the challenges and hurdles faced in the introduction of Moringa, the project in general, judging from the less than exhaustive observations made has been to some extent successful. New economic activities have been introduced including the less successful but bold attempt to 'overnight' change the economic importance of tobacco in the area and old activities improved such as beekeeping, fish farming, etc. The UCCP has been participatory involving key stakeholders in the project area and beyond. The CNRM initiative has allowed the rural population to have some stake of sorts in the project and as a result, the project has been benefiting from the close cooperation of communities. The institutions created at village level, awareness created from the regional to the village level on the importance of sustainable utilisation of natural resources and the products of the PLUM exercises, all indicate that significant and complementary efforts by the project might have long-term impact.

Case 2: Promoting Agricultural Development through Small-Scale Processing Enterprises: AMKA's Solar Drying Project

Profile:

Status: Local NGO	Status in country: a National NGO	Main NGO purpose: Provision of business development services	The Case programme:- Promotion of small-scale solar drying enterprises	Duration: 3 years - from 2000	Main source of funds: APT Enterprise Development	Geographical coverage: Districts of Kilimanjaro Region	
Origin: A fair trade organisation's activities in Tanzania – Traidcraft Exchange					Amount available: Euro 299,518	Location: Northern Tanzania	
Direct beneficiaries:	Indirect benefic		Specific programme elements:				
The solar drying technology adopters – by mid 2003 about 248 adopters	whole of Kilima population, als development pr country wishing technology and the people the p support. Busing outlets of produ sources of raw Carpenters and sources of tech components	o other ojects in the g to adopt its methods and orojects esses and ucts and materials l other	Promotion of a solar drying technology Encouraging and supporting small businesses of solar dried products Creation of a cooperative organ, the KNFC, support institution to the technology adopters Facilitating the availability of savings and credit services Introduction and promotion of new farm produce Provision of product development and market development services Improving women economic status Supporting and working with other partners, e.g. local research centres and other NGOs in technology use and promotion.				

1. Background

AMKA – a Swahili word which could be translated to mean 'wake up', or 'get up', or 'awaken' – as a local NGO is a development from an export development programme promoted by Traidcraft Exchange and it was registered in 1994 under the Trustees Incorporation Ordinance. Traidcraft Exchange has been working in Tanzania since 1987 and it provided marketing, organisational development, and financial planning services directly to producer organisations. A change of approach led to a need for Traidcraft Exchange to find a partner to work with and indirectly continue assisting small and medium enterprises. AMKA thus became the partner to Traidcraft Exchange in the same year it was founded. The partnership was facilitated by funds provided by the DFID, which approved a four-year grant of USD 557,053. AMKA was thus created for providing business development services to promote exports through working with SMEs.²¹ It also ended up having its own trading wing

²¹ Leon Tomesen and Alan Gibson (1998) cover the relationships between Traidcraft Exchange and AMKA and the provided business development services to SMEs.

called Kwanza Collection Centre where products from local artisans and through intermediary business people are bought and sold locally and for export.²²

In the year 2000, in addition to its previous activities, AMKA started a food processing promotion project in partnership with or through funds made available to it by APT Enterprise Development, a UK Charity. The three-year pilot project in Kilimanjaro region was supported by APT provided funds of about Euro 299,518. Direct project personnel include the project's coordinator, a solar drying technology expert, an expert in producer cooperatives, and a person responsible for the business side of the project activities. The activities of AMKA's Solar Drying Project have been covering most of the districts of Kilimanjaro region, except Rombo and Same districts.

2. Methodologies and approaches

The project intends to promote agricultural development by encouraging small-scale processing activities of agricultural produce at the household level. It is also based on an environmental friendly technology it has introduced and promotes. The objective of the project is to provide farmers an environmental friendly technology that could help them to avoid wastage resulting from seasonal excess supply of crops and fruits and to exploit the market potential which might exist for dried produce. Two main benefits are therefore earmarked: the improvement of food availability and family diets, and an opportunity for farmers to increase their income through the sale of dried food and fruits – expected value addition to agricultural produce. Other benefits include creation of job opportunities and possible increases in production because of the assured markets for farm produce.

Organisation

The Solar Drying Project is managed from Moshi town in Kilimanjaro region, where AMKA has a sub-office. There is a head office in Dar es salaam headed by a managing director who is supported by a business advisor and a secretary. The sub-office in Kilimanjaro region seems well resourced and there is clear delineation of duties among staff: there is a coordinator, a social development officer, a solar dryer technician and a business counterpart. The so-called business counterpart is the only male staff in the group. Link with

²² Kwanza Collection Centre is now registered as an independent business entity

the main office and support to the sub office is provided through a business advisor from the head office. AMKA through this set up has been promoting the use of small dryers, which could be used by individual farmers at village level.

Feasibility study

In efforts to determine whether it is feasible to promote the new solar drying technology, certain measures were taken. An expert organisation (a UK based National Research Institute) in solar drying technology was contracted to work with AMKA in evaluating the possibility of introducing the technology in Tanzania, NRI modified version of the local Kawanda Solar Cabinet Dryers are thus promoted. Trials were carried out to understand the technology among AMKA staff and other institutions whose interest and knowledge about food processing and technologies used were considered important. These are said to be the Faculty of Food Science of the Sokoine University and the Tanzania Food Science and Nutrition Centre.

Promotion of the technology

Initially AMKA is said to have made contact with the rural producers through church leaders. Trade fairs within Kilimanjaro region and national fairs were also used to promote the technology. Interested farmers made aware of the benefits of the technology were contacted, asked to create awareness among people in their home areas and to form groups. Group formation was essential for training purposes and for the acquisition of the technology that was to be provided on loan basis. However, individual demands to private ownership of the technology were later accommodated by the project. This led to direct purchases of the technology by individuals and loan arrangements guaranteed by group members.

Average group membership during initial project implementation was 10-15. However, it was later observed that for the dryers to be operated profitably groups should be made of not more that 5-6 members. Big groups were eventually advised to acquire more dryers to operate profitably.

In the construction of the cabinet dryers, staff of two carpentry workshops in Dar es salaam initially received training to manufacture the dryers using local available materials. To improve producers' access to the manufactured drying cabinets, a workshop was organised

for carpenters who were identified by the producers' groups. Five carpenters are said to have attended the workshop: technical knowledge, pricing decisions, marketing concerns, responsibilities, and conditions were shared and agreed upon.

None locally available expensive materials that have to be imported are the special Ultra-Violet Polythene Sheets (Visqueen) and nets for the trays, these AMKA imports on behalf of the technology users. The dryers promoted are also considered affordable to the target groups, especially as loan arrangements are made through groups; two types of the dryers have been introduced at a cost of 250,000 and 195,000 Tshs each.

Training, advice and market development

AMKA provides initial training in the use of the technology and advice on products that could be dried both for personal and commercial purposes. It also provides services linking the farmers or the solar drying enterprises to the market. AMKA was responsible for the initial development of outlets for the products including the provision of its own collection centre as an outlet for the dried products. It also provides packaging materials and brands the products in its own name and the name of the solar drying farmers' organisation it has created. The dried products are advertised in national trade fairs: 'Nane Nane' – the World Farmers Day; 'Saba Saba' – the National Trade Fair; and in local food and agricultural shows.

Development of a support organisation

For the sustainability of the food drying activity, and to bring clients together in a productive manner, it has facilitated the formation of Kilimanjaro Natural Food Co-operative Society. By mid-2001, the cooperative had a membership of 100 technology adopters, belonging to 19 groups and sharing 26 solar dryers in operation between them. By mid 2003, 46 solar dryers were in the hands of the project beneficiaries who numbered about 248. The society has a revolving fund of about 3,000,000 Tshs and the fund is expected to finance advances to individuals to help them acquire raw materials for solar drying as well as the components of the technology. The society is expected to serve its members mainly in the dual purpose of managing a revolving fund and marketing.

The KNFC Chairperson, Mama Clara Mushi, spoke about her Cooperative as follows:

We are working with AMKA; actually, their work brought us about. We are engaged in solar drying activities. All groups have dryers to use. The dryers used are good they preserve nutrients. Because of our activities, the community has now access to some produce even during the off-season periods.

I joined the solar drying group because I saw it to be beneficial, educational wise, to socialize with your colleagues and meet other people.

We would like to have our own office and a collection centre of our own. We are currently utilizing the project's office and we do not really have to.

We now have more equipment: sealing machines, better packaging materials, but they should be in one place to help us keep standards and control quality. It will be better if we can have the equipments in a single place as a society together.

I said the lack of own office is one of the problems, but we also need somebody else to help me, a chief executive officer who is going to work for the cooperative on a more permanent basis.

Through my Maili sita group, I have been able to grow and process hibiscus and last year I got about 400,000Tshs from it. I could say over sixty percent of that is profit. Our group has now 17 members and we have started to grow Garlic. I remember, I last received my share of group funds not very long ago and it was about I think 30,000Tshs.

We intend to grow not individually but through our society. We also would like the government to recognise the work of the society and its members and support us.

Networking

AMKA, through its solar drying project, networks with other organisations involved in food and nutrition activities such as the Faculty of Food Science of Sokoine University of Agriculture and the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC). Expert advice is sought from these organisations on the aspects of quality control and product development. It also has contacts with the Tanzania Bureau of Standards to learn about the requirements of quality and standards for the kind of products it promotes. It has some contacts with SIDO (Small Industries Development Organisation) in training activities and in the exchange of ideas about the solar drying technology. New relationships are foreseen with TATEDO (Tanzania Traditional Energy and Development Organisation) and FAIDA (Finance and Advice in Development Assistance in Small Enterprise Promotion).

3. Economic and social benefits

The operations of the solar drying enterprises are affected by the seasons of the tropical African climate: fruits availability is seasonal, and it so happens that fruits and other produce used are abundant during the rainy season – the period between December and mid-May. However, there is plenty of reliable sunshine between July and October. Therefore, much of fruits and vegetable drying is undertaken between the months of December and March and July and October. Seasonal produce includes mangoes, pineapples, tomatoes and hibiscus. Mushroom, ginger, garlic, green vegetables, bananas and papaya are less seasonal.

According to AMKA, the producers of the dried food and fruits through the established outlets have generated sales from dried products in the year 2000 of about 1.1 million Tshs, 2001 of about 6 million, and 2002 the sales are about 12 million. The main dried products sold are Mangoes and Hibiscus; a 100-gram packet of dried mangoes is sold at a price of 600 Tshs and a 100-gram packet of dried hibiscus at 1000 Tshs.

It was difficult, as only aggregate figures were available, to ascertain what proportions of the figures given represent income generated only from the sale of dried food and fruits using the new technology. The quality of the products and standard of packaging also did not very much correspond to the kind of customers earmarked and the established outlets – tourist hotels, exclusive shops, supermarkets, AMKA's Dar es salaam collection centre, the sub office in Moshi, and the trade fairs. The common Tanzanians are not yet good customers for dried products and this limits the local market for the outputs from AMKA's solar drying technology adopters.

Products	Groups	Kilograms	Total Sales (Tshs)
	Neema	703.5	543,700
Mangoes,	Feceh	86	103,100
Hibiscus seeds & juice,	Rau	187.8	147,300
Nutrition flour, Five corner, Banana, Mixed	Kikara	434	970,200
fruits, Popcorn, Green	Kameti	213	612,600
vegetables, Papaw,	Chekereni	-	319,750
Carrots, Lemongrass,	Angaza	143	395,950
Tomatoes, Onions, Jack fruits, Mushrooms, Turmeric, Cassava	Kiboriloni	-	708,400
	Komfuru	344	564,750
	Boma	356	398,700
	Mailisita	-	395,650
	Fafaa	-	227,800
	TPC	46.5	250,000
	KCMC	124	373,800
	Langata	Dried Fish	188,600
	Grand	Total	5,804,350

 Table: 2.1.
 Annual production capacity and sales report – 2001

Source: Compiled from a project record document

To improve the image of the products and as well to increase the shelf life of the dried products, new packaging materials and sealing machines have been acquired from South Africa and are to be tried. Hibiscus used for juice making, as a new product introduced, is now cultivated in Kilimanjaro region and hibiscus juice is sold in hotels and restaurants, both in Moshi and Dar es salaam. Hibiscus solar dried products are said to have been given a brand name 'Choya Hibiscus.'

	Quarter Sales (Tshs)				
Products	1	2	3	4	Total sales (Tshs)
Hibiscus	188,000	924,400	864,000	2,000,600	3,977,000
Mango	439,200	653,600	1,063,600	838,400	2,994,800
Weaning food	0	300,000	352,000	1,001,000	1,653,000
Spices	98,000	299,500	423,000	534,500	1,355,000
Mushrooms	40,000	36,000	112,000	646,000	834,000
Vegetables	18,000	184,950	77,700	154,000	434,650
Others	41,650	156,050	84,000	184,000	465,700
TOTAL	824,850	2,554,500	2,976,300	5,358,500	11,714,150

Table: 2.2. Annual sales – 2002

Source: AMKA- Draft Project Report for the year 2002

The sales figures for the year 2002 indicate that a remarkable development is occurring: a new product, Hibiscus or said to be the *Sabdarifa* variety of it, introduced and promoted in the project area, is actually taking prominence over the traditional crops whose wastage and seasonal availability problems the project initially intended to act upon. This is a healthy development showing that as the project evolves new ideas are explored, important to sustain the project and its results. Again, there are ongoing efforts to identify and develop new products from hibiscus, for example working on the seeds to produce aromatic powder thought to have the potential of being used as alternative to tea or coffee and might have some other benefits as well.

There are social and environmental benefits that could be associated with the technology. The drying of food using the technology in favourable periods may take less than three days and the food to be dried do not have to be turned over, as it is the case with traditional drying. Pests and contaminations are also better controlled. Therefore, it is a labour and time saving technology for the benefit of women the source of labour for traditional food processing activities. Loss of nutrients from food because of the effects of direct sunrays is also reduced.

Group members' experiences as captured below inform more about the project. As one Fafaa group member, Mama Florence Meena explains:

We started as a group three years ago in Mnazi Mmoja area and we were eight of us. I was the one behind the idea of forming the group.

We own as a group, 2 dryers.

Once I learned about the drying activity, I decided I should join it, but at the beginning, it was not for earning income or anything like that, as I never knew the potential for that. My motive was mainly that I wanted to avoid dirty foodstuffs sold in our local markets. I thought I would be happy to be able to produce them myself.

A good example is ginger, they lay it down on the floor to dry and it is contaminated they also add flour to it to increase volume. It is the same with turmeric, they add coloured artificial powder you can therefore only eat what is not natural.

We work on vegetables, mangoes, ginger, garlic, and hibiscus.

Last year we managed to earn about 600,000 Tshs as a group.

We sell our products in our neighbourhood, groceries and in trade fairs.

This is what we do when processing a product. For example ginger, we buy from the market at wholesale prices fresh ginger. We then wash them, but most of the time we need help and so we take along two casual labourers. We slice them and arrange them in the trays ready for drying and then we dry. The fourth day it is ready, if there was not enough heat it takes a week to dry.

We actually need the labourers for the slicing process and in managing the driers. We pay them 1500Tshs a day. We usually pick the same young helpers the ones we are familiar with, although the activity is seasonal.

The benefits I get from the activity are many. I use ginger in my food, [laughing, she pointed to the now half empty glasses of juice we were offered] you are now enjoying an added variety of homemade juice from hibiscus. The income derived can also pay for school fees.

At the beginning, we had packaging problems and people did not know about our dried products. Now our products look better, we can pack them better.

We have now our own association and it is going to be useful to us. My hope is that it will grow and be able to link us better with the market so we can have our products compete. We buy shares at 10,000Tshs per share, the entry fee is 2000Tshs and you can make deposits as much as you want. The money we could borrow and use beneficially.

We had initial investment problems but we had a million shillings from the KNFC and we borrow from this and pay back after six months at 2.5% interest. We can borrow between 50,000 and 300,000Tshs.

Hibiscus is said to contain vitamin A, so I take it to the KCMC [A referral Hospital-Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre] and promote it among the family members of patients, especially AIDS patients.

As a group we give each other encouragement, when somebody is about to despair you must help him up again. When there is a problem, let us say the dried stuff go black, you tell the person it is not that we were not taught well, it is only because may be it was so humid or the fruits were very ripe. We help them to do better in the next round. I have been doing this a lot myself.

Mama Irene of Kikarara Old Moshi belonging to a church group was also able to share some of her experiences:

We are a church group and we are about 40 of us. We have two dryers as a group but only four of us use the two driers, others have acquired own driers.

The four of us mostly prepare weaning foods. We prepare the food and acquire the packaging materials from AMKA. I have alone produced 36 packets and I sell each packet for 1000Tshs.

The cost of producing a packet is about 260Tshs for the raw materials and packaging. The selling I do individually or sometimes AMKA offers to sell some for me in their office.

The business is profitable and people buy, I consume the products as well at home and I also plan to produce more 'Lishe' weaning food products in the future, but more and more people are getting into the business now.

4. Assessment

The Solar Drying Project, considered a pilot project, can be said to be achieving reasonable success. AMKA has managed successfully to introduce a new technology; it has also been able to form a cooperative for the technology adopters. The producers of the dried foods have outlets for their products and they are earning beneficial income. The dryers promoted are also considered affordable to the target groups. According to AMKA's Draft Report for the year 2002, the examination of the economic benefits derived from the project indicates that income has increased among the technology adopters as follows:

Adopters	Income increases
61%	0-30%
29%	31-50%
9.9%	51-75%

Source: AMKA/APT Solar Drying Project-Kilimanjaro Region, Monitoring Document, December 2002

The above figures may not give adequate light about income increases. However, generally about 40% of the technology adopters have seen some income benefits of certain amounts. As a pilot project and a new idea, it is a reasonable achievement of some sort.

The focus of AMKA's solar drying project has been to promote improved solar technology for processing farm produce as income generating projects. To achieve its objectives, initiatives adopted include (a) the provision of technical productive innovations and services, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) networking/collaborations and (d) empowerment through group mobilisation and support.

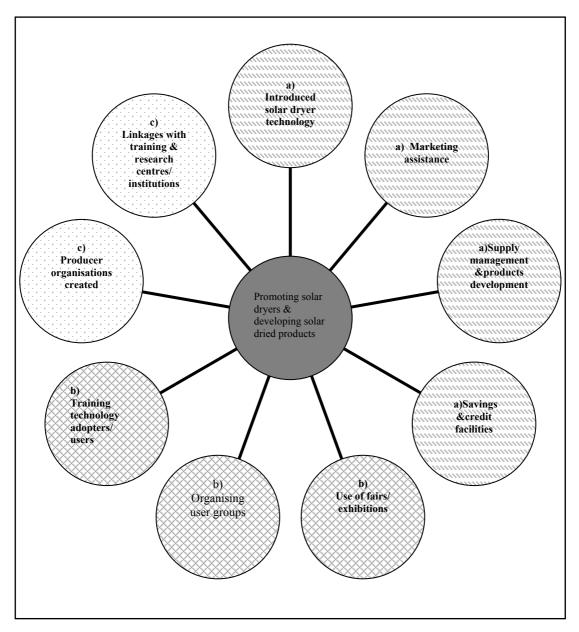


Figure: 2.1. AMKA's project focus

The Case Studies

4.1. Innovatory ideas

The project has introduced a new technology, expected to be beneficial to rural producers of food produce and fruits, creating increased outlets to farm produce, expected to improve rural incomes, stimulating the rural economy and reduce wastage of excess supply during peak seasons of food and fruits. The innovative technology introduced by the project having small enterprises promotion at household level as an important dimension, was promoted through appropriate channels. Selling the idea to communities and letting them 'self select themselves' and the use of the agricultural shows and trade fairs as initial promotion platforms, was practical and appropriate. It is in the shows and fairs where progressive farmers were exposed to the new technology and the interest for it created. Self selection by the prospective technology adopters, owners of the solar drying small enterprises, was essential as openness to new ideas, commitment, some sense of business acumen are some of the preconditions to the successful management of the solar drying enterprises, or any other enterprise, big or small.

The project also looks to be well organised in the sense that project staff have the requisite expertise needed to run the project activities successfully. Although, as it is now, there is close control over project activities that must be relaxed as the technology adopters' ability to manage their own affairs is strengthened.

4.2. Holistic orientation

The technology adopters have not only been provided with a technology, they also have access to support services necessary to make the purposes for which the technology was introduced achievable. They get the necessary training in the use of the technology; they are advised on the potential farm produce to process, markets or outlets for their products are also developed. They are also organised and have formed a cooperative through which they are expected to continue getting the services now provided by the project. The project has, in the main, attempted to identify and work upon possible areas of importance and which will have a bearing on the project's success.

4.3. Development and strengthening of community organisations

As it has been previously mentioned, the solar drying project has facilitated the formation of a cooperative organization among the technology adopters. Initially the social development officer was responsible for the initiation of the society and managed the society's affairs. It was promised that future emphasis would be on capacity building to have the society as an independent organ working more as a partner to AMKA and an independent support organisation to the technology adopters. To achieve this, already there have been efforts to strengthen the capacity of the committees responsible for the management of the cooperative. Training in record keeping, savings and cooperative society management and cooperative law have been provided. A meeting was also organised in which participated members of the cooperative Union League of Tanzania. The outcome was a decision to open the cooperative to new producers and to institute a system of depositing savings with the cooperative of a minimum of 2000 Tshs and the acquisition of shares by members at 10,000 Tshs per share.

4.4. Agro ecological orientation

The solar dryer is a post harvest processing technology introduced to provide new economic activities as sources of increased incomes to households, it is considered environmental friendly and it provides some social benefits as a labour saving device to women and reduces the exposure of foodstuffs to contaminations. The technology provides the opportunity to add value to agricultural produce which might otherwise go to waste and whose market is expanded through renewable energy and in a manner that drying farm produce using solar energy can become sustainable economic activity. The technology also makes it possible for the exotic fruits and foodstuffs whose availability is seasonal, to be available even off-seasons, albeit in changed forms.

4.5. Poverty reach

The direct beneficiaries from the project activities have self-selected themselves and might be belonging to the relatively less poor members of the society.

The Case Studies

4.6. Gender concerns

In the geographical areas within which the project finds itself, there is general scarcity of land. Although women represent the most important productive force on the land they do not traditionally own, land itself is a commodity whose control has been traditionally in the hands of men and land inheritance is discriminative against the women population. Taking the above circumstances in mind the project has:

- \checkmark introduced an activity which do not necessarily increase the land scarcity problem;
- ✓ it has taken to attempt correcting the gender imbalance by focussing its attention to having women as the major beneficiaries of its initiative – about 80% of the project beneficiaries are said to be women. In addition, a woman heads the project implementation and most project personnel are women.

4.7. Building linkages

The project, as already observed, has been having contacts with other organisations and institutions as necessary and for specific reasons. Expert advice and exchanges of experiences are the main purposes for which the AMKA's project interacts with other organisations. It is also open to other possible relationships as the need arises. The project has also created linkages with local private businesses as outlets for the dried products and the way through which the project's beneficiaries are going to reach their markets. Possibly, the important future channel linking the technology adopters with the markets and a source of support and advice is the cooperative society created. The society is not going to be only important as a linkage mechanism to the 'outside world', but also will provide an organised forum which will facilitate relationships between the technology adopters linking them together and giving them common voice through which they can influence the 'outside world' for their own benefit.

4.8. Scaling up

Although the use of solar energy for drying food is probably as old as humanity in tropical Africa, solar energy use has been rudimentary and its benefits limited. Drying foodstuffs on the ground and on rooftops represent the common traditional use of solar energy by households. To improve this process, efforts to harness solar energy using better techniques have been promoted by various training and research institutions in the country and through partners. The improvements sought are intended to make the use of solar energy in preserving food much safer and more beneficial: the use of direct sunrays through the rudimentary methods reduce the nutritional value of food and create attractive conditions to pests and contaminations. The objective of promoting and improving solar drying of foodstuffs has been mainly to improve households' diets by encouraging methods suitable to preserving nutrients and which allow access to nutritious food even during off-seasons.

- ✓ The AMKA's solar drying project is a further improvement. It has as its primary objective the supporting of rural producers to harness solar energy to create sustainable income generating opportunities. The technology in use is more modern and utilizes Ultra Violet Polythene Sheets, as opposed to ordinary plastic sheets promoted by other organisations in the country. This and other improvements and services provided, make the products from the solar drying enterprises capable of accessing different markets and could lead to the activity becoming more valuable to the rural adopters of the technology.
- ✓ Already, AMKA's promoted technology has gained the interest of the important agricultural research and training institution in the country, the Sokoine University of Agriculture. There has been a collaborative arrangement between the two organisations in a pilot project to promote the preservation of meat in Gairo, Morogoro region. AMKA provides advisory services and does the construction of the solar drying cabinets through its contracted carpenters. It was also learned that another project in the same area was in the offing and AMKA was to be a collaborating partner. The project will promote sweet potato preservation using the solar drying cabinets.

✓ Because of the created interest, the technology is proliferating and the purpose for which solar energy for preserving foodstuffs is used is influenced to change and widen. The collaborative arrangements beginning are also creating avenues of cross learning and sharing of expertise.

The achievements notwithstanding, a number of factors are likely to affect future progress and sustainability of the food processing activity using the solar drying technology promoted by AMKA. These factors are:

a) The rationale behind the project activity driven mostly by the basic reality that there is surplus produce resulting into wastage;

There are two important issues relevant here: The first one is the surplus and wastage issue.

- There could be surplus produce but only during peak seasons, especially for fruits. The peak season for most fruits is only about a month or two. Again, the amount of surplus produce varies from year to year and could be in certain years quite negligible for some important fruits such as mangoes.
- If we consider the country as a whole, the surplus is artificial. This is because the availability of fruits and vegetables differ between regions and districts of the country and abundant supply in one part does not necessarily translates to availability in other parts.

The second issue is the market in that there might be inadequate knowledge about markets and local conditions. The box below attempts to examine the market for solar dried food stuffs.

Box: 2.1. A rudimentary analysis of the market for solar dried food products

Discussions with experts from the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC) and the Faculty of Food Science of Sokoine University of Agriculture on the market potential for solar dried food products, brought about the understanding that solar dried fruits and vegetables can have access to three different types of markets: 1) village or inter-households markets in the rural areas, 2) urban markets, and 3) the external market.

Village or inter-households markets: this market for dried food produce is mainly found in the more arid areas of the country where whether conditions affect food growing. Dried products for this market have to be affordable and are supposed not to be noticeably expensive as fresh produce. In these areas, cereals and vegetable drying for example on rooftops is said to be more common and local sales of dried vegetables occur, though not very significant. The TFNC and SUA and their partners have been promoting low cost technology for improving solar drying activity in the rural areas with the objective of enabling the rural population, in the areas reached, to have regular supply of nutritious food.

Urban markets: the urban market can be divided into two types: the first one is the 'common' urban market. It involves exchanges between consumers and vendors in formal markets or on the streets. The second type are the recently emerged new outlets to cater for the needs of increasing affluent people both officials of foreign institutions and businesses and the local 'middle class'. These outlets are the supermarkets (supermarkets are exclusive outlets for consumer products in Tanzania), McDonalds' type restaurants, and tourist hotels.

The two markets, urban and rural, are different; and the two types of markets in urban areas are different. Urban areas of the country have unjustifiably better access to farm produce than in rural villages and availability of fresh fruits and vegetables is never a problem. As the market is lucrative and there is always demand, there is always supply. The common urban market is also accustomed to change its preferences for what it consumes as dictated by supply. This is also the case with village markets. When certain fruits or vegetables are not available or are expensive, a switch is made to consuming some other available fruits or vegetables and other alternatives do exist such as the use of beans or fish instead of vegetables, etc. Introducing solar dried products to these markets is relatively difficult, except for certain unique value added products such as weaning foods also promoted by health groups, or vegetables like 'Matembele', leaves from the sweet potato plant, which has developed its own traditional consumers who like it dried before cooking.

The second type of urban market is not at all different from the external western world markets. Products sold are to be of high quality, meet accepted international standards and appeal to the tastes and preferences of the 'middle class' to foreign brands in super markets. They also have the same eating habits seasoned by the availability of one type of fresh fruit or vegetable at one time or another. However, they could also be good customers of solar processed products that have been further developed to make some other consumable food products.

The external market: this is a more promising market. Once an external market has been identified and products are acceptable, the question will be on meeting quantity requirements. However, tariff and non-tariff barriers restrict this market. Non-tariff barriers bring about the issues of quality and standards and business orientation. The organisation needs support from its partners in efforts to develop appropriate products, identifying markets and to improve the supply chain so that market requirements of quality, standards, and quantity are met.

b) Contradictions arising from AMKA's business and social development backgrounds and objectives that might be supportive, but might as well be affecting values and strategies used.

Identity:	1) Is it a Local development NGO?	(2)Is it a Service and trading organisation?		
Objective: Socio-economic development		Profit, increased market share		
Activity:	Agricultural development/ Small enterprise promotion	Business development		
Approach:	Solar drying promotion, product development, linkages, farmer organising	Intermediary buyer, advisory, linkages creation		
Targetgroup/Rural farmersClients		Local middlemen, enterprises and limited companies.		
Market:	Internal (Future external?)	Some internal but mostly external		

Table: 2.3.The dual identity question

Source: Developed in this study

5. Conclusion

AMKA's project is an initiative to exploit the abundant solar energy resource to create a productive economic activity for the rural population. It has initiated a perceived solution to seasonal excess of surplus farm produce. In the process, it has also been able to stimulate interest in new products such as Hibiscus growing and use, bringing about new alternatives to traditional crops. It has also largely attempted to follow best practices as expected from NGOs' development interventions and which are important for the successful achievement of NGO objectives. The experimentation with the improved versions of cabinet solar dryers by the Faculty of Food Science of SUA is a very positive step as the interest of Tanzania's National Research Centres on its activities and technology has been captured. The outcome of the developments might in the future make the farm produce processing activities using solar dryers more productive. Better knowledge of markets and market environments and efforts to improve the supply chain are important. As a pilot project learning from experience and gradual improvements of methods and processes are necessary occurrences.

Case 3: Incremental Development Initiatives through Partners: VECO's Same Local Governance for Sustainable Agriculture and Economic Development Programme

Profile:

Status: International NGO Origin: Belgium	Status in country: Has a local country office	Main NGO purpose: improving access to food through assisting agricultural development	The Case programme:- sustainable agriculture and economic development	Duration: Five year programme -from 2001	Main source of funds: Belgium Amount available: Euro 1433,812	Geographical coverage: one district- Same Location: Northern Tanzania
Direct beneficiaries: not specified, it is an ongoing programme, new beneficiaries in any new activities supported	Indirect beneficiaries: the whole of Same population just over 200,000	Specific programme elements: Irrigation Mechanising crop cultivation, introducing new crops, promoting better crop management practices, improving livestock keeping, influencing change in economic and social practices, prompting crop cultivation among pastoralists, promoting beekeeping, fish farming and improved poultry keeping. Supporting income-generating activities for women such as processing of produce Soil, Water management & conservation Improving production & post harvest management of crop. Marketing improvement Promoting savings and credit institution Improving with local partners, Capacity building, improving gender relations, training local development partners, Institutional development.				influencing cultivation nd improved as processing of o. g gender

1. Background

VECO,²³ a Belgian NGO previously known as Coopibo started its activities in Tanzania in 1976. Its role in development over the period of its operations in the country has been changing and so has its identity. As Coopibo it implemented projects with district councils, and as political control over community associations began to be relaxed from the mideighties, it worked with Community Development Trust Funds $(CDTFs)^{24}$. These associations represented, at the time, the politically accepted formal local organisations not affiliated to the ruling party – CCM, Chama Cha Mapinduzi. However, the CDTFs were closely linked to district administration in the respective districts of the country.

²³ VECO stands for Vredeseilanden Country Office. VECO has been a result of the merger between Coopibo, Vredeseilanden and FADO (the Flemisch International Development Organisation).

²⁴ More about the CDTFs and political developments surrounding the civil society organisations see Kiondo 1993.

The above relationship continued up to the mid-nineties. At this time, some local NGOs, products of VECO's activities in the districts, were thought to be capable of becoming VECO's development partners.²⁵ In Same district, VECO has been supporting agricultural development activities of a local NGO which it itself initiated called SAIPRO – Same Agricultural Improvement Programme. In a new five-year phase of Euro 1,433,812, which started in January 2001 and funded by the Belgium Survival Fund, the approach changed. Instead of VECO working with a single local partner, and to scale up its interventions to the district level, VECO was to work with a number of partners. The partners needed and selected could come from the local NGOs, the private sector and the district council.

Compared to other districts in Kilimanjaro region, which forms part of the northern highlands, Same district is relatively dry. Rainfall received in the area is between 500-1000 mm per annum and there is year-by-year drought, or insufficient rainfall in most parts of the flatlands of the district. Agricultural activities are productive in the highland areas and in the areas where irrigation agriculture is possible. Same has 6 divisions, 25 wards, and 78 villages. The district, according to the 2002 Population and Housing Census, has a population of about 212,325 people. VECO currently supports activities within about 10 wards of the district. However, there is always some expansion of coverage to some other wards of the district.

Three professional VECO staff – the programme's coordinator, a marketing adviser and a gender officer – and about three support staff including a secretary and a driver, are implementing VECO's programme in Same. Before the change of approach to working through local partners, VECO had direct project activities in the Ruvu ward. The ward has an estimated population of 10,000 people of which about 60% are livestock keepers; the other 40% are involved in irrigation agriculture and some fishing. However, the coverage is now expanding because of the economic activities it supports through its partners in other wards of the district. The people in the Ruvu area are traditionally the Maasai who are livestock keepers; other different ethnic groupings have moved into the area – pulled there by the agricultural potential provided by irrigation water from the Ruvu River.

²⁵ Other VECO 'partners' in agricultural development initiatives in the country are: Mixed Farming Improvement Programme in Mwanga (MIFIPRO Trust Fund), ADP Mbozi Trust Fund in Mbozi, Ileje Rural Development Trust Fund (IRDTF) in Ileje, Isangati ADP Trust Fund in Mbeya Rural.

2. Methodologies and approaches

Besides the objective of scaling up its initiatives to the district level and perhaps a move away from direct project implementation to a kind of programme support, this change in approach, as stated by VECO officials, was intended to achieve the following. 1) Allow VECO to support the real needs of beneficiaries as identified by them through their local organisations; 2) offer it a better opportunity to support and strengthen implementation capacities of local organisations; and 3) thus create an implementation environment conducive to effective development initiatives and sustainability of benefits.²⁶

The programme has as its primary objective poverty alleviation to be achieved through the following:

- 1. Increasing agricultural production, both crops and livestock;
- 2. Reduction of post harvest losses;
- 3. Improvement of irrigation infrastructure;
- 4. Introduction of animal draft tractions;
- 5. Improvement of integration between livestock keepers and agriculturalists;
- 6. Promotion of small scale enterprises;
- 7. Promotion of income generating activities for women and youth;
- 8. Empowerment and strengthening of local organisations.

Identification of development activities to support

VECO utilizes in combination two methods in identifying activities to support within the programme area. The first one is the use of PRA exercises. For example, where irrigation is practiced, through PRAs basic information is solicited about the villages and irrigation schemes in the area. Information on water distribution, organisation and maintenance, crop production and gender relations are collected. Through the PRAs processes problems are identified, opportunities are explored, and solutions and strategies to improved irrigation and crop husbandry in the area are developed. A most interesting aspect of the process is the emphasis given to the determination of responsibilities, development of agreed schedules of implementation and setting of deadlines whenever feasible.

 $^{^{26}}$ The rationale for the change of approach is derived from discussions at VECO's headquarters with the senior programs officer and the program officer – publicity and networks.

For example in Marwa village, Ruvu ward, where there are three canals serving 167 water users, the PRA process took the following shape:

The process involved collection of background information, followed by physical visits around the irrigation area. These formed the basis upon which further information was solicited from the community: a problem tree was developed, problems to be dealt with identified and solutions and strategies determined; forty-nine farmers participated in the exercise. A meeting was then arranged with the community to discuss the issues and arrive at community consensus. Ninety-six farmers were involved - more than half the total number of farmers in the area. In carrying out the PRA, the Traditional Irrigation Project and Development Organisation (TIPDO)²⁷ taken to have better expertise and experience in traditional irrigation activities took part in the exercise. Main problem identified from the process was lack of required knowledge affecting water use and productivity. The solutions earmarked were to train 60 farmers on water use efficiency, 20 from each canal and the training of local artisans on the construction of local intake and improvement of irrigation canals on site. It was, for example, through physical visits to the canals that the problem of algae growth in the canals was identified. VECO came out with the idea of using barley straw to be distributed in the canals to control algae growth (constructed from interviews held with the programme coordinator and from project implementation reports).

The other method for identifying activities to support and the type of support to be provided is through project write-up for assistance forwarded to VECO by local organisations – these are mostly prospective partner NGOs in the district. Once a proposal for funding is accepted, follow-up activities and PRAs ensue. This approach is expected to bring VECO closer to rural communities' needs and aspirations and facilitate productive relationships between partner organisations and VECO. Support is not necessarily directly handed over to local NGOs for them to determine what to do, how and when. It often involves joint efforts carried out within the premises of beneficiaries and within agreed schedules.

²⁷ Formerly Traditional Irrigation Promotion (TIP), a programme supported by the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV).

Box: 3.1. Partner choice

A close look at the partners shows that the following criteria influence the choice of partners:

- Match of identities between partner and VECO;
- Partner objectives;
- Previous history of performance;
- Location of the partner to cover areas not covered by VECO or where VECO's activities are continuing;
- Indispensability or importance of the organisation;
- Resources needed and available i.e. expertise and experience;
- Ability to provide VECO with access to possible target groups;
- Previous experience of working with a partner organisation;
- Willingness and partner needs.

(Arrived at by researcher in the course of study)

Animal Draft Traction (ADT) promotion

The promotion of Animal Draft Traction (ADT) is an important aspect of VECO's initiatives in the Ruvu area. Implements are provided and techniques in the use of them are taught to the farmers. Farmers are supposed to provide oxen and donkeys, which are also trained for the purpose. Another NGO, Technoserve, was used in the process of acquiring the implements. Group formation to facilitate training activities was carried out and the communal usage of the implements is promoted. Seven ADT groups have so far been formed. An association of farmers using ADT has also been created as the Ruvu Basin Farmers Association.

In order to promote the use of ADT in the area, VECO organized an ADT use competition and rewards in the form of a cultivator, a plough, and an ox-cart were provided for the three first winners. Women also participated in the competition and one of them was among the winners. The competition had the broad objectives of promoting ADT by giving other farmers the opportunity to see the performance of trained farmers, and to create more interest among women in the use of ADT through the participating women. VECO also encourages and plans farmer-to-farmer training in the use of ADT. VECO, according to the programme coordinator, is also the first organisation to introduce to the country two direct seeders from Brazil – one animal drawn and one hand jab planter. At Marwa village Mzee Moses Roimeni, the eldest group member of the Mkombozi ADT group in the Ruvu area, had these to say about his group and its activities:

I was cultivating onions and maize before VECO came around here. Our group has eight people; each group has its own name. Our group is moving along a bit.

We were taught how to use animals for cultivation and we were given two ploughs, a weeding implement, and one for creating ridges and a cart. We live far apart; I am now keeping one plough and the cart. When a group member or any neighbour needs them, we give it to them. We use the cart to take the implements around to those who need them.

The cart is very useful to my 'Boma' [his home or enclosure containing several huts and everything a Maasai possesses including space for animals kept]. We use it for fetching water. It can carry up to 40-twenty litre cans and two donkeys pull it. It helps my women very much and helps during harvesting.

Other group members use it too, but outsiders pay for its use. For one trip, they pay 3000Tshs. What we get I keep for the group and use for repairs.

I have not increased the sizes of my plots, you know we have plots very close to the water canals and the space is limited. They have not really done a lot on the canals and everyday 'msaragambo' we have as a community to mobilize ourselves to clean mud from the canals.

I get about four bags in a season, they have constructed three storage facilities 'Vihenge' with Ilaramatak, and one is in my Boma. I think it was for demonstration so that others adopt them. I did not get much to store but I store what I buy.

The benefit I get from the oxen ploughing is that I do not employ anybody to do the tilling we do it ourselves.

My women work with me on the land. They try the ploughing but the ploughs and the shaking is sometimes too much for them, we sympathise with them and have them direct the animals, but when they want, they hold the plough.

A poor man to us is somebody who has nothing: no cattle, no father, and no mother, a person having nothing.

We are not wealthy nor are we poor. Our group is a mixed group; there are two 'waswahili' [non-Maasai] they do not own cattle because they come here for farming only. We have not seen their cattle we do not know if they have any at home where they are coming from.

They trained our cattle, but first SAIPRO was here they trained us and went. When VECO came, we also welcomed them.

There is plenty of land around here but water has not reached it yet.

Mr Tupa Tupa, one of the leaders of the ADT association, and one of the non-Maasai Mkombozi ADT group member, gave the following comments about the promotion of modern agriculture among the cattle keepers:

I personally cultivate four up to five acres in any one period. I actually harvest about 7 to 13 bags per acre. I harvest up to 15 bags when I use animal manure.

In meetings arranged by VECO farmers were requested to join Maasai ADT groups. Therefore, I joined the Mkombozi group.

Poor people were not interested, a Maasai who do not own cattle, you tell him to cultivate something he will feel mistreated. They therefore removed themselves.

Other groups are there only by name, only Mkombozi survives because it is a mixed group [of mainly cattle keepers and cultivators].

We attended three training seminars arranged and we learned the use of animals for production, use of better seeds, and general farm management practices.

We depend on two people who have cattle in our group.

At the beginning, nobody was ready to have his bull trained; they encouraged people to train donkeys. They later realised it is all right to train cattle and are much better than donkeys. Donkeys get tired quickly. This has been going on for a long time and with time people change a little.

They started very well, cattle keepers now know more about agriculture. This is the work of many organisations. World Vision has been here, SAIPRO, TIP, and VECO.

There are changes: cattle keepers grow vegetables and fruits, Chinese, watermelons – they never used to do this before.

Now Maasai men can carry their women on their bicycles, unimaginable earlier even when it was imperative, let say during sickness.

What we really need is the extension and improvement of the irrigation canals.

Other activities promoted

VECO, in close collaboration with the NGO that supports animal health promotion (VETAID) and a local NGO (Ilaramatak), has managed to introduce community animal health management. Training has been provided to over 20 individuals within the communities of Ruvu and starter kits and bicycles to ease transport were to be provided.

Ilaramatak is to manage the activity and ensure repayments of funds used to buy starter kits for the trainees (or now the community animal health workers) are made.

Other initiatives by VECO in the district include the promotion of fish farming through local partner NGOs, initial efforts to promote milk processing, initial efforts to promote rainwater harvesting and beekeeping. There have also been training of farmers on crop husbandry and pest management and the promotion of different cover crops – Mucuna and Lablab beans; the crops have the property of adding nitrogen and conserving moisture in the soil. The introduction of these crops was done in close collaboration with the Seliani Agricultural Research Institute (SARI) and market linkages are to be developed for the crops through FAIDA²⁸ – a micro enterprise project executed by the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). Rainwater harvesting from rooftops is also encouraged and community work in this areas is done through joint efforts between VECO and the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA).

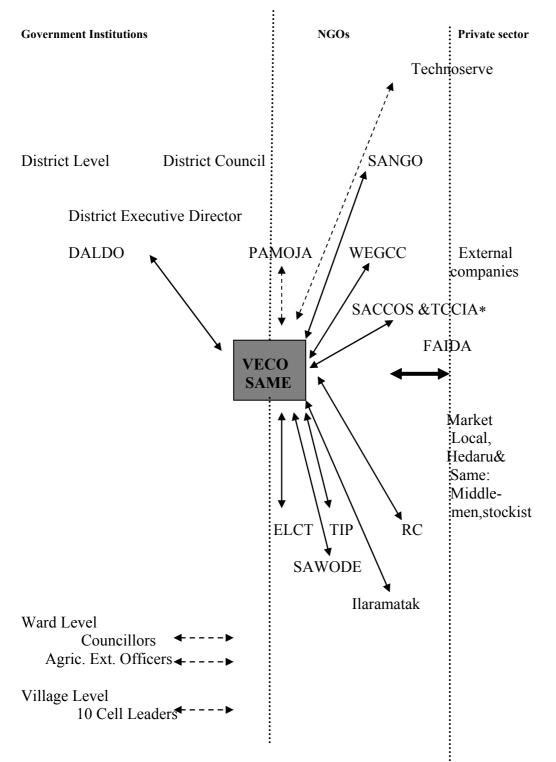
The new Approach Partnering and Networking

The agricultural development programme in Same district that is continually refined is now looking as shown below. Organisations linked in the diagram to VECO with solid arrows are earmarked for what is termed 'contractual relationships' with it. The relationship between VECO and these organisations differ and depend upon the purpose for the partnering, the capabilities of the partner and, consequently, the role the organisation adopts against VECO's role. Local NGOs its implementation partners enter into contractual agreements with VECO for each particular development activity to be jointly undertaken. The agreements generally stipulate partner roles, partner responsibilities, agreed schedule of implementation against partner role, partner contributions, the role and part to be played by the beneficiaries and the roles of other possible collaborators. These agreements have been entered into with the district council and TIPDO, The ELCT (The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania), Ilaramatak, The Roman Catholic Church, SAWODE (Same Women Development Initiative). Recently added: WEGCC (Women Economic Groups Coordination Committee), SANGO (Same Association of Nongovernmental Organisation), and with the

²⁸ Stands for Finance and Advice in Development Assistance in Small Enterprise Promotion – the word FAIDA also means in Swahili language profit.

local Chamber of Commerce Industries and Agriculture and the district's SACCOS (Savings and Credit Cooperative Society) it has been promoting.

The type of agreement with the district authority has been in the form of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). This represents, implicitly, formal acceptability of the NGO's presence in the district by the district authority and its blessings for the development initiatives of the NGO. It also gives VECO access to the expertise available within the district authority. However, the use of district staff is based on non-formal agreements with individual staff getting allowances whenever used by VECO. The DALDO (the District Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer) has been the contact person in agricultural development activities). Agreements with the other parties are more elaborate as they are, in some way, joint implementation partners.



Arrows: Dotted linking arrows represent joint information sharing and learning.

Solid arrows indicate some form of 'contractual relationship' existing or earmarked.

*The Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture was added in a marketing seminar organized by VECO which the researcher attended and whose objective was to explore the marketing problems in the district, organised by VECO. Participants included VECO's staff, local government staff at the district level, partners from the district and outside the district, and community leaders from the wards.

Figure: 3.1. VECO's Institutional Diagram

Source: VECO's Institutional Diagram (a diagrammatic representation on a single A3 Paper)

As VECO already had interventions going on within the Ruvu ward, and as its strategic orientation changed, it had to seek a partner who has the experience of working with the community in the area. VECO has had some previous interactions with a local NGO – Ilaramatak. Ilaramatak, which has been involved in social welfare activities in the area, was thought to be a suitable partner having the needed experience of working within the Maasai community. Ilaramatak is, as per agreement, to be responsible for sustainable agriculture and the promotion of ADT. VECO provides the expertise and oversees the implementation in the transition period. In essence, VECO transfers what responsibilities a partner can manage. At the same time, the partner's capacity is slowly being developed through the joint working relationships and partner participation in training activities organised by VECO. VECO is also now supporting some of its partners through the provision of basic working equipments including office utilities.

The most important transfer of responsibility from VECO to Ilaramatak is the management and promotion of ADT. ADT implements previously distributed to groups for training and production purposes and were managed by group leaders on behalf of VECO, are now to be entrusted to Ilaramatak and it will be responsible for the groups' management of the implements. Thought to be well versed in the complex cultural practices of the Maasai community, it is expected to influence also better gender relations within the community. Inroads are being made into this difficult objective through consistent efforts in the area by different organisations over time.²⁹

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT) has been a partner under agreement with VECO on fish farming promotion. The ELCT has been involved in fish farming activities in the district since the 1990s, to promote further the economic activity it sought VECO's support. The first contractual agreement between them to promote fish farming within three wards was signed in March 2002. The ELCT's coordinator for the fish farming project observed that fish farming promotion efforts by the Church in the district were greatly revived by this arrangement with VECO. By early 2003, fishponds already

²⁹ The Maasai people earlier mostly by passed by the influences of outsiders and remained largely pagans have been for some time now experiencing changes. A wedding ceremony we participated in during the data collection process, in an isolated Maasai 'Boma' deep in the wilderness of the Ruvu ward, was celebrated by a mix of traditional songs and religious hymns in an alcohol free environment. The Maasais are known by their love of alcohol, but the wedding feast only included mugs of tea, roasted meat, and pilaff!

developed and stocked with Tilapia Nilotica variety of fish were more than 90. The target has been to develop 200 fishponds.

The ELCT as per the agreement has overall responsibility for managing the project and provides technical assistance; it also organises relevant training activities, workshops, and seminars. VECO on its part provides the farmers with physical inputs such as fingerlings, fishing nets, weighing scales and working gear. The farmers contribute to the fish farming project in terms of the labour used in developing own ponds and the management of the ponds. The contributions of each of the three parties in monetary terms (Tanzanian shillings) as per the contractual agreement looks like this:³⁰

Community's contribution 9, 390,000.00	ELCT's contribution	2,047,000.00
Total contributions 15,545,000.00 Tshs		

Beekeeping as from late 2002 is also promoted in the areas in which the ELCT operates. There was an earlier concern that fish farming was getting unprecedented adoption by beneficiary communities as more and more ponds were being dug to the extent of causing worries of water availability in the relatively arid district. Great concern was raised on whether there will be enough water for all the ponds. Promoting beekeeping thus diversifies economic activities promoted and supported. Awareness raising workshops for the promotion of beekeeping practice, the training of beekeepers and provision of equipments have been going on. Modern hives are promoted and safe harvesting practices are encouraged. By early 2003, about 90 beehives were already made available to farmers.

³⁰ Figures made available by the Fish Farming Unit of the ELCT

Same Women Development Initiative (SAWODE) is a local NGO, which is also a partner to VECO. Its major activity has been to mobilize women in the district to form groups. The formation of SAWODE was prompted by a need to have an organ that could link women groups in the district to external support. The idea behind the formation of this NGO came because of a visit to the ELCT in Same by members of the Lutheran Church from Magdeburg, Germany. The chairperson observed:

'After they learned about the problems facing women in the district they asked me to think of how women in the district could be supported. So I thought we should have women in groups and now we have 20 women groups from different wards in this district'.

SAWODE writes proposals for the groups and the proposals are submitted to VECO. One group has already received support from VECO for a poultry-keeping project. The group, according to SAWODE's chairperson, has contributed to the project in the form of brick making; VECO on its part has provided iron sheets and cement. Areas of support to groups are poultry keeping, food processing and fish farming. SAWODE has also received support in the construction of a building expected to be used as a food processing plant cum training and meeting centre for the women groups it works with.

Marketing linkages observed in the diagram indicate future emphasis on marketing problems and opportunities available for the district. VECO has had plans to cooperate closely with FAIDA in efforts to link farmers to markets and learn about contract farming. Through joint training activities, FAIDA is also expected to be a source of marketing skills for its beneficiaries. For VECO to approach this area of marketing effectively, it has acquired a marketing advisor from Belgium – VECO's home of origin. In relation to FAIDA-VECO linkage, Mushi, one of FAIDA's outreach staff pointed out the following:

'We are collaborating with VECO because the FAIDA team in the area is small and VECO has roots in the area and are much closer to the people. We have the same objective of poverty alleviation but our focus is different. We link farmers to the markets.'

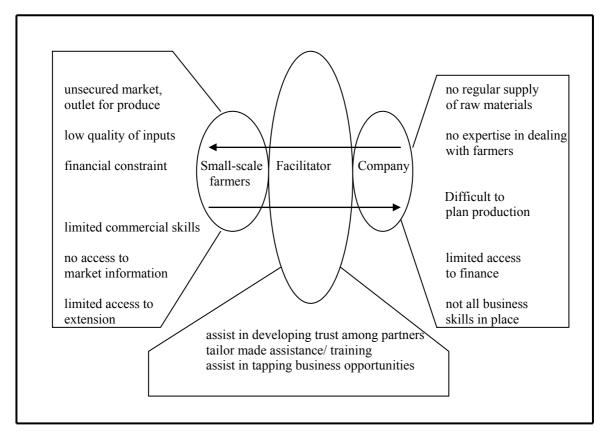


Figure: 3.2.FAIDA's marketing linkage approachSource: John Belt, The FAIDA Market Linkage Approach, undated

In theory, the market linkage approach involves FAIDA facilitating contacts between farmers and trading companies, foreign or local. The farmers receive inputs, extension services, and maybe small loans from a company to which they have been linked. The linked company gets 'assured' sources of raw materials and produce. To facilitate the relationship FAIDA assists farmers to form groups and to open group savings accounts. The linked company might be facilitated to access additional credit sources to finance activities related to the linkage.

With the Roman Catholic Church, agreements are currently on the development of group and family owned overnight water reservoirs. There is sharing of costs: the families and groups provide the needed labour: building materials and workmanship costs are shared between VECO and the Church. The coordinator of the Same Food Security and Nutrition Improvement Programme implemented by the Roman Catholic Church about the link with VECO, observed:³¹

We are both involved with sustainable agriculture, so we are doing related activities. We therefore decided to work together. We contribute financial resources to activities we earmark to implement together. So we started with water reservoirs 'Ndivas', after harvest storage structures, and river water irrigation.

The Pare people in the hilly areas of Same have been traditionally at night harvesting water from the traditionally conserved and protected water catchments in structures they have created, called 'Ndivas'. Water from the Ndivas is released during the day and it is rationed among those who own them. We therefore renovate them and strengthen them to increase their capacities. The Ndivas are different in size and capacity and some can hold up to 300 barrels of water enough to irrigate six acres of land. We have renovated 4 of them so far.

We enter into three months agreements with VECO, for example in the first phase of the Kwachara Agricultural Development Project which started in May 2002 we renovated a canal at Ruvu Jitengeni which was blocked by the El nino rains in 1997. They contributed 60% we contribute 30% and the community 10% of the costs.

We have also managed to train farmers on how to construct storage facilities 'Vihenge'. We have actually trained 10 local artisans for the purpose.

We have trained also 150 farmers on sustainable agriculture: the use of terraces, use of animal manure and encouraged gardening.

In the Ruvu area average production of maize is only 4 bags per acre while the national average is about 12 bags. So we want to help the people increase production, we teach them better farming practices such as the use of better seeds, spacing and weeding.

On the benefits of the new partnership arrangements, the coordinator had these to say:

It minimizes conflict and duplication of efforts among NGOs.

It has also created transparency. We now know what other NGOs in Same are doing, as most NGOs are direct partners to VECO and indirect partners to any one of us other NGOs.

It has been easy to have access to technical support from the government, VECO has managed to bring them closer to us we work with government extension agents.

The workshops and training activities are forums for meeting and understanding each other.

³¹ Same has an independent development department within the Church and there is a Caritas development office.

The church has been supporting the communities largely by giving grants – we build a school and people say it is the Catholic Church's school, but now we do things together and it is more there own.

We have been doing PRAs but our ability and use of them has been improved. We also learn about community needs from other NGOs.

An important outcome through organisational scanning and organisational development workshops VECO has arranged for us is that they have helped us know our organisation better and how different it is from other organisations. The partners now they know us, we are no longer strangers to each other.

On the problems that might exist, the coordinator pointed to the following:

The communities end having many activities to implement, their participation is getting affected.

Change of priorities, today this is the priority tomorrow that, we have to be very flexible.

Community problems might be linked, for example, for the Maasais to cooperate in development activities promoted, they might want water for their herds to be made first available or cattle dip constructed. We might not have originally budgeted for the linked problem.

There are also agreements with SANGO – the umbrella association of non-governmental organisations in Same district – which has more than 37 NGOs and CBOs as its members. VECO has been strengthening the capacity of this network organ, to make it more capable of discharging its coordinating duties and to represent effectively Same NGOs in national forums. Among the important support provided by VECO include the establishment of a resource centre for the network, organising induction training for new SANGO leadership elected, facilitating the umbrella NGO's participation in NGO organised activities at the national level. It also supports training workshops organised by SANGO to improve managerial and technical capacities of local NGOs in the district.

VECO is also supporting the Same Savings and Credit Cooperative Society. Resources are provided for the following purposes: raising the awareness of the communities about the SACCOS, encouraging new membership, strengthening its leadership and managerial capabilities, encouraging increased deposits by members and strengthening of branch offices

in the different wards of the district. The SACCOS, by early 2003, had over three hundred members with a deposit of over 10 million Tshs.

There is also renewed interest on marketing problems facing the district's farmers and cattle keepers, identifying market opportunities and finding solutions to problems. VECO, the chamber of commerce, and leaders of the SACCOS' sub offices from the wards have been carrying out marketing baseline surveys in the different wards of Same district. The marketing expert from Belgium whom the researcher accompanied during the carrying out of the survey in the Ruvu area observed on the exercise that:

After the stakeholders' workshop on marketing early last year you attended, we created a marketing committee and one of our partners the chamber of commerce is developing a marketing information centre.

What we are doing now is a survey of the marketing situation at the same time we will get to understand more about the social economic conditions in the district.

We will develop a marketing strategy for the district. We are going to see how we can integrate our strategy with that of the government.

We also organised a social event in the district in which we used local groups and through plays, songs, competitions and 'Mashairi' [poems] we have been raising awareness about the SACCOS, importance of savings and the importance of doing commercial farming.

VECO has also started to support women economic groups through the WEGCC (Women Economic Groups Coordinating Committee) in the district. Activities supported include participation in the World Women's Day, sponsoring women meetings, formation of women groups and training of women in production activities such as mushroom farming and poultry keeping. It also supports gender sensitization workshops and similar activities organised and implemented by women groups, as well as similar activities organised by the women unit within the district local government administration.

New working relationships are envisaged between VECO and PAMOJA to strengthen local planning at village and ward level aimed at improving governance at local level. PAMOJA is one of the organisations having their origin from the SNV and has the experience of working with governmental structures at ward and village level.

VECO as well networks with other organisations and institutions. Close working relationships with SARI and Sokoine University of Agriculture are good examples. It also participates, and arranges for its partners and the members of the community to participate, in national and international forums. A recent forum attended is the first National Conservation Tillage Workshop and it is a member of ACT - The African Conservation Tillage that is currently, according to the programme coordinator, funded by Germany and technical support is provided by the GTZ.

Asked about the problems and challenges that VECO has come across in its new approach to development in the area, the VECO's coordinator of the programme in Same, while acknowledging that some other problems and challenges are likely to occur in the course of time mentioned the following:

Partner organisations have different structures. They have their own hierarchies and organisational arrangements. It was difficult to know in the beginning who to address and who should be the contact person, especially with religious institutions. This troubled us in making decisions about partner requests for project support. A request comes from a food security unit, but we needed organisational commitment from the top. We therefore carried organisational scanning to know them better and their structures.

Some other NGO partners receive support from other agencies and have different policies and practices, for example different reporting procedures. Once they understand our ways and we continue to work together, I think this will not be a problem.

Some of the partners have low managerial and programming capacities.

Other organisations have no financial resources, they were actually created to attract funds to support earmarked community development activities. We realized it was difficult for them to carry out local fund raising activities as a way of raising funds to support their needs. We therefore support them and fund some of their important costs.

Prospective partners considered VECO earlier on as a donor agency and they expected only total support and of monetary nature from VECO.

There was the expectation that allowances are to be provided for time spent on 'VECO's activities'. However, the new partnering arrangement now better understood is leading to adaptations to the new working relationship between VECO the NGOs and district extension staff.

The programme coordinator also offered the following information about how they are trying to tackle problems seen and expected due to this new partnering approach:

We have organised a workshop in Bagamoyo about partnership and was facilitated by TRACE [Training and Facilitation Centre, a capacity building NGO – an outgrowth from VECO and Olive – NGO support organisation from South Africa] in September 2002. After this workshop, we organised one in Same in October and the issues dealt with were transparency between partner organisations, the importance of partners' commitments and responsibilities to partnership agreements.

We also stressed in the workshops that our relationship with partners is likely to be long term, though we enter into three months contracts. The three months contract is for facilitating follow-up on progress.

From then on we have seen some changes, some sense of ownership, responsibility and commitment now indicate the possibility for sustainable results from partner activities.

We also organise with SANGO reflection meetings, where together with other NGO issues discussed, partnership responsibilities and NGO performance in general are also discussed.

To improve partner capacity we proposed the organisational development workshop facilitated by TRACE and we are now ready to support capacity improvement within the NGOs, for example, but when necessary, to help them acquire technical expertise or even some physical utilities. If, for example, an agronomist is needed, we might help the NGO acquire one.

We have trained our partners in one uniform way of developing projects and reporting for project implementation, this is the logical framework approach. They now send their reports to us in a uniform framework; it allows quick follow up of progress and is a control tool.

On the benefits of the new approach to rural development as seen by VECO, the coordinator observed:

Most local NGOs have inadequate capacities, managerial, technical, and financial, but their founders are the only few among the local people who could come up with the idea of creating the NGOs. These people need to be supported. Therefore, we improve their capacities through financial and technical support.

We develop their capacities to attract funds from other sources. We are improving their capacities through working with them and training their personnel. They know how to write project proposals and they can use the logical framework approach they are using with us.

There is no need for creating duplicate structures, working with partners has made it easy for us, and the workload has decreased. We only provide financial support and facilitation services. We can control efficiency and quality more effectively. VECO, this small office, is all over the district.

3. Assessment

VECO's programme is a wide-ranging incremental initiative for sustainable agricultural development in the district of Same. The incremental programme has so far comprised the following initiatives (a) the provision of technical productive innovations and services, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) networking/collaborations, (d) empowerment through group mobilisation and support and the promotion of the local umbrella NGO.

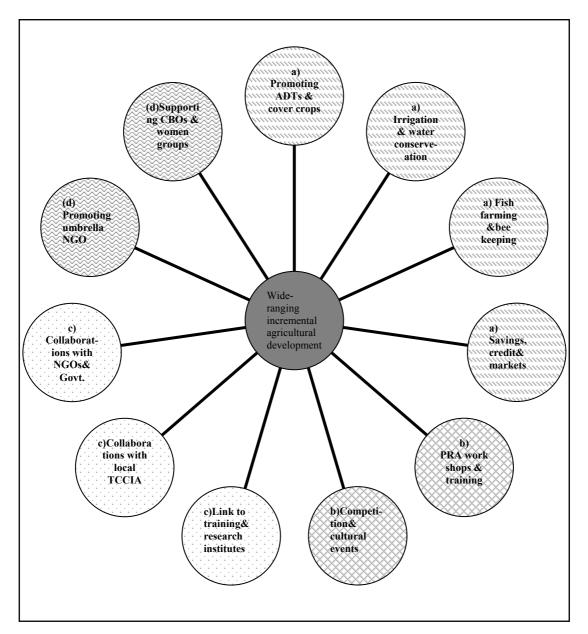


Figure: 3.3. The focus of VECO's programme in Same

3.1. Innovatory ideas

The new approach to agricultural and rural development adopted and experimented upon by VECO is new to the country and it is having the following benefits:

• It has enabled the NGO to expand its focus and extend geographical coverage without a need for it to expand in size.

- The approach is also enabling the NGO to work with a large number of people in the district almost simultaneously than it would have been the case were it to work independently. Partner organisations, especially the church organisations are well established in the area and have long-standing relationships with the communities.
- Again, convenient conditions are created facilitating exchanges of experiences and the influencing of values, for example:
 - Local organisations are encouraged to be more professional in their activities. In the long term, it is expected that the local NGOs' capacities and methods of working will be improved as they also learn from each other.
 - ✓ Such benefits do also accrue to VECO as VECO utilizes the technical expertise possessed by partner NGOs. A vivid example is the fish farming activity supported, VECO utilizes the expertise of the fish farming unit within the ELCT and there has been no need to acquire its own fish farming experts. It also frees or gives VECO the flexibility of exploring new working relationships with other organisations and at shared costs in terms of physical resources and expertise.

Other innovative ideas and methodologies include:

- The elaborate participatory practices through which problem areas are explored, solutions identified and implementation responsibilities including deadlines are determined. Solutions to problems are as a result local, practical and simple; among these is the training of local artisans to renovate canals and to construct storage facilities 'Vihenge'.
- As important is the use of social events and local cultural practices the singing, plays, and poems – to influence change of attitudes and to promote the encouraged ideas and practices.
- Social events arranged including competitions are not only of social importance to the local people, but also have the benefit of bringing VECO much closer to the people as public relation activities.

• In addition, is the recognition it is giving to local organisations as change agents as they have their origins the local socio-economic and cultural environment, and which might be important.

3.2. Development and strengthening of community organisations

VECO contributes to the development of a number of local organisations through the partnering approach. These organisations are also in different stages of development. The new relationships founded on contractual agreements and co-funding arrangements create an environment which may positively contribute to capacity improvement of local organisations, as total dependence and the associated erosion of autonomy might somewhat be checked. The local organisations are also invited to participate in seminars, workshops and training activities organised by VECO. These activities bring together the organisations in the district that are supposed to be working in different ways and areas for the welfare of the district's population. Forums having external organisations participating and through which ideas are shared and problems and opportunities are discussed, are also organised. Important outcomes as a result, might be the scaling up of ideas and possible solutions to problems going beyond the district level, and the district's exposure to ideas brought in by participants from other organisations coming from outside the district.

It has recently started to promote the local SACCOS and is working closely with the local chamber of commerce. Joint working relationships between VECO and the two institutions are for the purposes of working on the district's marketing problems and the promotion of better savings and investment environment in the district. The chamber of commerce and SACCOS are important institutions to the socio-economic development of the district capable of influencing positive changes.

Another community organisation, which is rising in importance, is the NGO umbrella organ. Without the current VECO's interest on SANGO, it will be unlikely for SANGO to achieve the profile it is now developing for itself in the district. VECO is a branch of an international NGO in Tanzania with financial resources and ability to influence other structures, including the governmental ones, therefore its association with SANGO in the district is increasing SANGO's legitimacy as the NGO umbrella organ, and it checks the emergence of any new rival umbrella organs in the district.³²

3.3. Holistic orientation

Although agricultural development is the focus of the NGO's development programme, the underlying objective is the improvement of the welfare of the rural communities with which it works. The NGO promotes irrigation activities, it introduces and organises the use of agricultural implements to improve agricultural productivity, and it introduces new plants having the potential for improving income-earning capacity of local farmers and seeks to develop markets for these crops. The crops introduced such as Mucuna and Lablab have also the benefit of improving soil fertility as they add nutrients to the soil. It also promotes fish farming, beekeeping, and poultry keeping activities in the district and supports efforts to improve community access to clean and safe water. It coordinates its activities closely with the government structures at the local level and plans to embark on the strengthening of local level planning within the villages and wards in the district. This integrated focus describes the NGO's attempt to fight poverty in the district.

Moreover, and for sustainability purposes, the NGO is focussing its efforts to tackling social, cultural and structural limitations to development in the district. This has been happening through:

✓ Deliberate efforts carried out to promote agriculture among pastoralist communities and therefore help them to diversify their livelihood base to reduce their

³² This new interest on SANGO, now turned into practical working association, although previously was merely on paper, it being only another possible partner to VECO, is partly a result of the current development in the NGO sector in Tanzania as a whole. Previously, there seemed to have been some sense of unease existing between the two as probably it was not yet very clear what one should look and mean to the other or their relevance to each other was not so clear and important. The New NGO policy and legislation, presupposes a single organ of representation from each district to the NGO national forum and as such, it is logical that the local network is to represent NGOs in the district. Previously, representation in national NGO activities was not organised and the most known, strong resource wise and supporting other organisations, especially the umbrella networks at the national level in Dar es Salaam, were automatically to do the representation or take the lead in NGO activities. It is therefore important for VECO to promote SANGO as a district representative and to facilitate it to participate in national NGO activities, for example in the recent NGO campaigns against the new NGO bill. The new developments also force NGOs to be more organised and to be seen to be democratically representatives, important for their positions in national policy matters affecting them and the people they represent to be respected.

vulnerability, improve their social and economic conditions, and mitigate environmental damage caused by overgrazing.

- ✓ Deliberate efforts undertaken to influence cultural change among the Maasai community complementing the work of other organisations like the World Vision. These efforts are aimed at changing social attitudes and practices considered anti-developmental and discriminatory affecting women, and, as a consequence, the community as a whole.
- ✓ Efforts to encourage savings and improve local access to financial resources through the now promoted SACCOS.
- ✓ Efforts to understand more the market environment in the district and working with local institutions to develop means of tackling marketing problems facing the district including the creation and strengthening of market support services e.g. the information centre which is being created.
- ✓ Not of least importance are the efforts to strengthen the capacity of the civil society organisations in the district to represent district's interests and to participate in more organised and representative manner in policy influencing forums at national level through support provided to the local network of NGOs and CBOs in the district, SANGO.

3.4. Agro ecological orientation

Efforts to improve production by both encouraging classical production and ecological friendly approaches can be observed from VECO's agricultural development programme. The encouragement of methods that are more productive and some sensitivity to more natural means of improving soil fertility and irrigation canals, characterise VECO's programme. These include the promotion of ADT, crops adding nutrients to the soil, promoting the use of animal manure and experimenting with the use of barley straw to control algae growth in the irrigation canals.

In addition, efforts to create more identifiable agro-pastoralist community could lead to positive outcome beneficial to the environment. Some of the cattle herders, whose conditions are deteriorating as good pasture land is getting scarce and is resulting into increased social tensions between the herders and cultivators, are supported to settle down to irrigation farming.

3.5. Poverty reach

There is no direct indication that programme activities consider relative differences in poverty among the Same rural population.

3.6. Gender

Efforts to improve gender relations, facilitated by having its own gender officer, are common within the activities it supports. Although the contractual agreements entered into between VECO and other organisations do not contain clauses encouraging partners' sensitivity in this area, support to organisations supporting and representing the interest of women, indicate VECO's commitment to improved gender relations. Obvious, as observed, are the attempts to influence change in discriminatory attitudes and practices associated with the culture of the Maasai beneficiary community. VECO's programme shows attempts to change attitudes on traditional division of labour among the different sexes of the society. The involvement of women in the use of oxen ploughs and the encouragement of the same through innovative means as the ploughing competition organised, indicate some sensitivity to differences in economic and social status related to gender within the communities. Support given to women groups through SAWODE and WEGCC is illustrative of efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of people who are likely to be more vulnerable to poverty and its consequences.

3.7. Building Linkages

Linkages and co-partnership describe the whole programme. VECO's approach is solely based on close working relationships between VECO and other organisations and institutions. It works closely with organisations with which it implements the programme activities it supports. It works closely with organisations having the expertise and experience it lacks in its endeavours to embark on activities in which it has little experience and expertise. It also through workshops, seminars, and other training activities it organises in the district, links important actors in the development scene from within and without the district. It also participates, and arranges for its partners and the members of the community to participate, in national and international forums of importance.

3.8. Scaling up

VECO is not only creating an environment where adoption of its ways of working is made possible i.e. its values, beliefs and expectations, but it is also opening itself up to new experiences and learning from the created relationships and prospective ones. It is turning into some kind of 'a central coordination unit' of development activities in the district. It has created a framework in the district supporting formal interactions between the different development actors in the district i.e. governmental units, religious development organisations, non-religious nongovernmental organisations, and community organisations. The local organisations are also likely to appreciate each other more based on the familiarity being created and which might be the basis for future working relationships. This is resulting into the possibility of inter-organisational influence of motives, attitudes, and behaviours to the benefit of the Same district population. Forums organised, as mentioned earlier, having external organisations participating and through which ideas are shared and problems and opportunities are discussed, make it possible for local organisations to experience external ideas and to allow for the solutions to problems developed in the district to be of some relevance as well outside the district.³³

³³ During the earlier mentioned marketing workshop organised by VECO in Same and in which participated local and external institutions, governmental and otherwise, I learned that Kilimanjaro region, in which Same district is located, is to develop a regional marketing strategy. Although it is unlikely that there was a similar workshop in any other districts as preliminary to the regional forum, Same district, through VECO, organised the one in which participated regional and district personnel of the government and other institutions.

4. Conclusion

From the foregoing description about VECO's intervention strategy in Same district, it will be observed that most of its initiatives are founded upon a system that relies on some form of collaboration with the local communities, local farming groups, local NGOs, and other private or public organisations. As the organisation is moving to a more collaborative approach in the objective of tackling poverty problems in the district and away from isolated one man's show kind of initiatives, it has been adapting its methodologies to suit the emerging new pattern of relationships and to influence change among partner organisations. The new approach is beneficial to both the local organisations and VECO as resources and experiences are shared. The approach has made it possible for the NGO to increase its influence and presence in the district and it is seen to be effectively doing so without any increase in its physical size. It is rather important to acknowledge that VECO's performance can generally now be judged from partners' performances. This does not mean in the least that VECO is absolved from performance responsibilities, or the partnership arrangement will be used to escape performance responsibilities. This, as seen from VECO's efforts to improve the technical and managerial capacities of partners to implement better development projects, seems to be acknowledged by VECO as well.

Case 4: Food Security through Increased Agricultural Production: A Multifaceted Rural Development Programme by Concern

Profile:

Status: International NGO	Status in country: Has a local country office	Main NGO purpose: Poverty alleviation	The Case programme:- Pawaga & Mahenge Food Security Programme	Duration: Three years programme - from 1999	Main source of funds: The EU, Concern Amount	Geographical coverage: Two Divisions- Mahenge &Pawaga, Iringa Rural District Location:
Origin: Ireland					available: Euro 618,713	Southern Highlands area
Direct beneficiaries:	Indirect beneficiaries:	Specific programme elements: Irrigation infrastructure improvement and new developments				
231 farmers participating in trials, Users of all infrastructures new and improved, beneficiaries of health promotion initiatives such as against HIV/AIDS – in	the two divisions' population – 47,209 or the whole of Iringa Regions' population and the country as a whole Future development projects in	Irrigation infrastructure improvement and new developments Introducing new crops and seeds Promoting better crop management practices Improving production & post harvest management of crops Marketing improvement efforts Improving access to villages and between villages through road infrastructure improvements Promoting savings and credit institution Promoting indigenous techniques Supporting capacity building of local community and governmental institutions Provision of healthy and safe water Promotion of sanitation Discriminatory selection of participating farmers to ensure inclusion and diversity – gender and poverty levels as main criteria				
general the two divisions' population: 47,209.	the areas and public extension staff.	Improving gender relations, efforts to raising the status of women Training of publicly employed extension staff Concern for rural welfare and health suggested by work on HIV/AIDS				

1. Background

The three-year Food Security Programme in Mahenge and Pawaga divisions, 1999 to 2001, was initiated largely for acting upon the problems of food shortages in the two divisions of Iringa rural district. Pawaga covers an area of 2300 square km and has two wards. Mahenge covers an area of 4424 square km and has as well two wards. As the areas of the two divisions are relatively dry, receiving yearly rainfall of between 500 and 1000 mm, most villagers depend greatly on irrigation for food production where irrigation is possible.

Divisions	No. of wards	No. of villages	No. of households	Population		
DIVISIONS	warus	villages	nousenoius	Males	Females	Total
Pawaga	2	11	5,156	11,233	11,359	22,592
Mahenge	2	10	5,676	12,601	12,016	24,617

Table: 4.1.Population and demographic characteristics of Concern's
programme areas

Source: Concern's 'Study Report on Marketing Systems in Iringa Community Empowerment Programme Area' of February 2003

These programme areas have been prone to droughts, to avoid suffering and loss of lives among the rural communities there were instances when food aid was distributed to the people of the two divisions. Although the two divisions find themselves within one of the important food producing regions of the country 'The Big Four', inadequate food production because of poor weather conditions and the general inability by the people to afford food from other areas cause food shortages in the two divisions.³⁴ Pawaga and Mahenge are the poorer divisions of the district and may be home to the poorest villages in Iringa region. In recent years, food aid was provided in 1993 and 1998; the Government, the Anglican Church, the WFP, and Concern were the institutions involved in food aid distribution (Concern's programme report, 2002). According to the coordinator of the programme, Concern has been operating in Iringa region for many years making it familiar with the divisions' problems and needs. It also administered food aid in the area and was subjected to requests for further help from the communities.

Concern Tanzania, a member of Concern Worldwide an Irish International NGO, has been working in Tanzania since 1978. The headquarters are in Dar es salaam and there are regional offices in four other regions where it has field operations. Its development interventions up to early 1980s involved the provision of institutional support to local organisations implementing community development, education and training activities in different parts of the country. In the mid-980s to late 1990s, the focus has been delivery of community-based development services in three districts of Iringa region. From the late 1990s to date, it has been implementing development programmes within field sites in

³⁴ Other regions among the four are Ruvuma, Mbeya and Rukwa.

Iringa, Mtwara, Dar es salaam, Kigoma and Lindi regions. Capacity building of local selfhelp organisations or community organisations is at present the important area of concern to its development initiatives.

An earlier effort to improve traditional irrigation in the areas covered by Concern's food security programme was by TIP or later TIPDO. According to Concern's programme coordinator, Concern acquired for use the physical assets left by TIP in the area. In the course of this study, it appeared that Concern also adopted or accepted the social infrastructure left by TIP, especially community groups. However, despite TIP's efforts in conjunction with the district council, local communities were still largely dependent on irrigation water made available through their traditional irrigation canals particularly where the course of nature made the development of such canals possible. Recent interests have seen a World Bank funded project and the NGO involved in the development of modern irrigation infrastructure, the improvement of existing ones and extensions to areas where irrigation was previously not practiced.

The implementation of the food security programme was managed by the coordinator of Concern's programmes in Iringa region and two other coordinators one for each division supporting him as the professional staff. These people and three support staff were responsible for the three-year programme worth 618,713 EURO³⁵ and were to work with government extension staff numbering around 13 for programme implementation (Concern's programme report, 2002).

2. Methodologies and approaches

What might be respectable understanding of local circumstances by the programme came about from participatory research as indicated in project reports and as gleaned from interviews with programme staff. The following are examples: (1) the 1999 progress report indicating that resource-ranking exercises were carried out to identify participating farmers. The exercise suggested that 84% of the total population are vulnerable. (2) Research on traditional agricultural practices and knowledge was also carried out by extension workers. (3) In addition, household food conditions were examined to determine food situation within households. At later periods, similar situational analyses look to have formed the basis for

Concern's initiatives. Market studies carried out and the use of participatory approaches to hygiene such as PHAST (Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Tool) reflect on this.

Concern's initiative was multi-faceted, aimed at solving the wider problems facing the communities although improving food security was a central objective. The framework below represents the programme's rationale and interventions adopted.

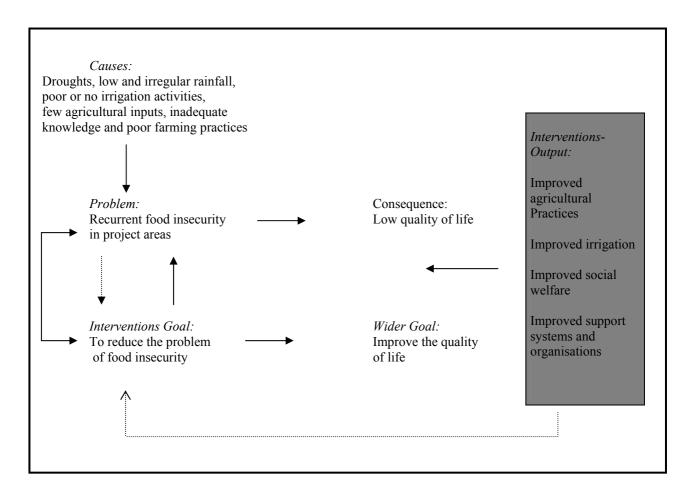


Figure: 4.1. *Framework of food insecurity mitigation by Concern* Source: Developed here from general programme information

³⁵ This amount includes funds provided by the EU, Concern, other donors, and local contributions respectively.

Improvement of agricultural practices

To improve the agricultural practices the NGO principally encouraged on-farm trials and organised training activities. Typical programme activities have included the identification of farmer problems, introduction of crops or seed varieties and farmer training as shown below.

Farmer problems (As ranked by farmers)	New crop varieties introduced	Farmer training
 Non-availability of drought resistant: sorghum and maize varieties Pests and diseases Inadequate extension services Constraints of labour and time Low yielding local paddy/ rice Alternative cash crops needed 	Maize (Katumani &Kilima) Sorghum (Serena & Pato) Sweet potatoes (SPT1) Cassava Rice (IR 54) Other rice varieties*: • Line 85 • Subarimati • NARO TAC • Line 88 • ZAMBIA • Giza 181	 Nursery management of paddy Transplanting techniques Spacing using rope Setting up trials Application of farm yard manure Early planting and weeding Use of natural food preservation methods Vegetable gardening

Table: 4.2. Diagnosed problems and some programme solutions by theFood Security Programme

*Low response to IR 54 led to the introduction of other rice varieties expected to posses both the properties that matter to the communities and programme purposes.

Source: Compiled from Concern's programme reports, 1999 & 2002

According to the 2002 Concern's programme report, 231 farmers participated in on-farm trials where there were experimentations with practices such as spacing, use of better seed varieties, and the application of organic fertilisers. Seeds were provided and farmers used as trial areas parts of their plots measuring 10m x 10m and the remaining areas of their farmlands were used as control areas. The trial areas were labelled to be easily identifiable and to allow farmers to see clearly the benefits of the improved practices.

Among the rice seed varieties promoted and tried, IR 54 was the initial rice variety introduced. Although it is a high yield variety, it is considered tasteless by the rural communities. As a result, the extension agents failed generally to persuade most farmers to adopt the variety in their arguments that farmers should grow this new high yield variety for food and the local better tasting but low yield varieties for the market! To find a compromise high yield varieties with relatively good tastes were therefore sought and introduced. According to Concern's programme report of 2002, 'Zambia' and 'line 85' were more favoured by farmers than other rice varieties introduced. Other practices promoted include storage techniques of farm produce through natural preservation methods and farmers received training on these techniques. For example, the use of ashes, Neem leaves, locally known as 'Muarobaini' and keeping unshelled rice in sacks.

Exchange visits formed part of the strategy used to induce farmers to adopt better practices and to allow exchanges of experiences; farmer-to-farmer visits within the two divisions and to other areas of the country were arranged for the purpose. Efforts also went into improving the capacity of extension staff and farmers who were to act as village animators. Eleven extension workers and twenty-two village animators have participated in training activities and study visits organised.

According to Concern's programme reports, 1999 and 2002, the extension workers and animators received training on the following:

Table: 4.3.	Training elements:	programme staff and	animators training
	___		-

 Problem solving and crop husbandry techniques Problem identification using PRA tools Managing of paddy/ rice seedlings in the nurseries Carrying out of on-farm trials Carrying out of baseline surveys Monitoring and evaluation 	 Business awareness/contract farming HIV/AIDS awareness Formation of economic groups Village governments' roles Organic farming techniques Management of savings and credit societies
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Source: Concern's programme reports, 1999 and 2002

Farmers' experiences provide more light to programme activities. We first look at the experience of a mother of three children in Gezaulole sub village of Ruaha Mbuyuni and a participating farmer. Mama Leah Mgeni, who looks to be heading a very poor household, her household approximately only 10 meters from the irrigated plots and the last house on the fringes of the village, makes the following observations:

At the beginning, I was not asked to participate and as the others identified did not show up, I decided to come out myself.

Therefore, I was given two kilograms of seeds and 'utaalamu' expertise. For three years now, I have been planting the seed in a quarter of an acre plot. I harvest from it about four bags of rice. I also work on a one-acre plot on which I grow the local variety of rice.

I will continue growing the IR 54 because it helps as food, it expands in the cooking pot and my children are used to it.

The problem with the local variety (Supa) is that you sell all of it and later you have no food. If I have IR 54, it does not have a market I know it is only for food.

I also these days grow Supa expertly, not using a rope for spacing because of these three soldiers I have to take care of [Pointing to her children] but scattering the seeds carefully so that there are spaces later between the plants.

Before I used to get eight bags of the local variety but now, I harvest almost 15 bags. I think better practices learnt are helping me.

I went to Mbeya to learn more and I was very happy. There they use buffaloes for ploughing the land.

I will continue to grow IR 54 and those who want it I will provide them.

This poor woman has seen some discernible benefits though those who make decisions in the villages earlier overlooked her. The position of her home close to the irrigated fields and close to Concern's office, actually located between them (Concern's office in the area and to the direction of the woman's house is about 100 metres from the irrigated plots), made her informed of the support and facilitated her participation, which would otherwise not have occurred. Another farmer, Saidi Kidodi of Ruaha Mbuyuni in Mahenge division, provides the following experience:

I was selected by the village government to be one of those who will experiment with the rice variety IR 54. I was given two kilograms by Concern, which was enough for a quarter of an acre plot.

We were many of us others failed to continue, I do continue but grow a different variety of rice seeds but I use the same knowledge I received from Concern.

People failed to adopt the new seeds for a number of reasons. It is hard work to grow the variety of seed introduced and it is time consuming. The other reason is that we cannot sale the rice variety; it does not have a market.

In the beginning, I planted the rice seed variety (IR 54) in a quarter of an acre plot I harvested four bags. When I grew the loved local variety (Supa), I used to get about only 9-10 bags in a one-acre plot.

The answer to my dilemma that I grow which variety was given by the extension agent who said I could grow the saleable variety, the local one, but on condition that I manage the plots expertly as we have been taught.

Now almost the whole village adopts some improved practices one can afford such as spacing and the use of fertilizer.

Even when we now grow our own local variety in a one-acre plot, we harvest at least 15 bags.

It is not that the poor were overlooked they were rather to be the focus of attention. However, farmer selection, according to project reports and observations made by the beneficiaries and extension agents, followed the general advice provided to development actors that although the poor are to be the focus of NGO projects, success hinges on also the participation of the more affluent or more powerful members of the community.

	1 st class	s (Rich)	2 nd clas	s (Medium)	3 rd class (Poorest)			
Village	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	
Ikula	2	2	3	2	27	21	57	
Mgowero	2	2	4	3	15	22	48	
Mahenge	3	2	5	5	14	12	41	
Mtandika	3	1	5	3	21	33	66	

Table: 4.4.Selection of participating farmers per village*

*The selection shown in this table only reflects upon how the selection of beneficiaries was planned by Concern closely involving village administration and does not show the actual number of farmers who directly participated. According to the 2002 Concern's programme report, 231 farmers participated in the on-farm trials.

Source: Concern's programme report, 1999

Mama Mwanga Ibabile, the extension agent at Ruaha Mbuyuni village observed on farmer participation the following:

Among the farmers participating, we had rich farmers, not so poor-not so rich farmers, and poor farmers.

The rich farmers were not motivated to participate because participating in trials using two kilograms of 'Katumani' seeds provided [the quick maturing but low yielding maize variety] was of no value to them.

The poor farmers also did not find it to be much, they accepted the seeds, but as they expected other benefits to follow especially fertilizer, which they actually needed, many could not continue.

The trial period was too short it was only one year. You can never say you have solved a problem by doing one trial.

This extension agent queries the logic of involvement as commonly advised, suggesting that efforts to have people participate can only be successful and meaningful when the target groups clearly see or expect to see the benefits worthwhile to them. At the same time, she refers to the significant factor of time often contributing to success or failure of development projects. In this case, for example, single one-off trials carried out ended sealing up the fates

of some of the crops introduced, regardless of whether the conditions affecting success were permanent or could change.

Promotion of irrigation

Promotion of irrigation in the programme areas was through the development of irrigation infrastructures and included:

• Improvement of existing irrigation schemes

The Mlenge canal is a traditional canal that did not have proper distribution boxes to regulate the flow of water to the fields. Therefore, two distribution boxes were constructed for the purpose.

Mzee Shaiku's successes, followed below, because of the improved irrigation infrastructure (the distribution boxes in the Mlenge canal) indicate the importance of Concern's and similar efforts to some of the villages and villagers. Mzee Shaiku lives in Kisanga village, Itunundu ward, Pawaga division.

Before we started to get external help to control and improve our access to the waters of the Mlenge River, [the name of Ruaha or its tributary in the area], we used to cut logs and push them into the river to control and direct the flow of water to where we wanted it to go. This action sometimes used to block the river and force it to change direction taking it out of its natural course and for no purpose to us. It was a lot of hard work with no any guarantees of usefulness.

The work of controlling water and directing it was almost a non-stop daily activity and work in the fields used to be affected.

Now villagers work on the river only when there are problems, work is shared between the villages, and it is much easier now.

There are distribution boxes to ease the water distribution problem that caused inadequate water supply to our village. Now water is distributed more fairly between our village and the other villages of Isele, Kinyika, and Itunundu.

Life is now much better in the 1980s it was terrible, things started to change in the 1990s when efforts to support irrigation farming started. It is much better now.

Before a farmer to harvest ten bags of rice he must have worked on quite a large field, now where we used to get two bags we get four. This is because people never had expert knowledge on how best to grow the crop. Water is also more reliable now.

I used to cultivate two-three acres now I cultivate 20 acres. Many of those who were cultivating half an acre are cultivating up to five acres of rice now. The last farming season I harvested 150 bags.

I have now decided to open a rice selling business in Iringa town. Without the improvements on water flow to our fields, this could not have happened. When my income became better, I saw it best to start a business so that my money circulates. We have not started selling our own harvested rice yet but we will soon do as the price is going up now. We have been only buying rice for resale up to the moment.

Improved irrigation infrastructures are critical to the achievement of improved food security objective and general welfare conditions. Concern's efforts in that direction show it to have recognized such importance. The benefits of better irrigation infrastructures to the villages was also underscored by the irrigation technician in Mahenge division, Mr Mwanga, who observed that the construction of intakes was the most beneficial work by Concern in the eyes of farmers in Mgowero village where they have been constructed.

• The construction of new infrastructures

The construction of a weir and two intakes were also completed to allow crop cultivation throughout the year, expected to benefit about 216 households in Mgowero village. The community, which also contributed 150,000 Tshs in cash for the scheme also provided labour for the purpose and they had to extend the canals to their own fields (Concern's programme report, 2002).

One of the new developments was the construction of a 4.5 km long canal, an aqueduct (the Hoho pipe crossing), distribution boxes, and turnouts to secondary and tertiary canals. The development of the irrigation infrastructure was aimed at enabling three villages to have access to irrigation water from the main canal constructed by the World Bank funded project in the area – the Luganga canal. The canal water was to flow to the three villages through the aqueduct constructed by Concern. However, the developments were affected by the damage to the Hoho pipe crossing caused by floods in December 2001 (Concern's programme report, 2002). The washed away infrastructures developed, including the aqueduct, according

to the coordinator of Concern's programmes in Iringa, are to be reconstructed and a newly contracted company is to carry out preliminary surveys.

Improvement of community health and social welfare

Efforts to improve community health and social welfare included promoting vegetable gardening and improving the quality and supply of water and sanitation. The main objective of promoting vegetable gardening has been to enable farmers improve their nutritional status and to help them save money by consuming vegetables they cultivate. Training was provided to 125 farmers from both divisions most of them initially developed small gardens. According to Concern's programme report of 2002, crops grown in the gardens include tomatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, cowpeas, and sweet potatoes.

In Mahenge village, Mahenge division, a number of women recounted their experiences in activities promoted within their community. One of these women was 'Dada' Tatu and this was what she said:

They called us together, and we responded. Eighty of us were selected. Most people thought we are going to get loans and that is why there were so many of us. After it was realized that the issues are different, some people left.

In the year 2000 we started trials with the 'Katumani' Maize variety and the year 2001 we tried cassava and sweet potatoes.

We were also encouraged to develop small gardens and to grow vegetables. About 40 of us continued to keep the small gardens but since Concern stopped encouraging us, most have stopped.

There is market for vegetables, but the problem is we have to fetch water from the valley below and it takes a lot of time and effort.

I have learned many things: spacing, how to select good seeds and store them, use of ashes for preservation of harvests. I also was lucky to be taken to Arusha to learn the cultivation of flowers and tomatoes.

The Katumani maize variety introduced, cassava, and sweet potatoes were not generally any longer cultivated. One, Saida, ended up saying in sympathy *'it is only how human beings are* – *they gave us knowledge very well so, and beneficial, and they were so close to us, but that is how it is.'* Other reasons cited other than the difficulty of fetching water for the garden

plots, include the effects of inadequate rainfall during the introduction of some of the crops and susceptibility to pests, especially the Katumani maize variety. In Mahenge village, people depend mainly on rainwater for crop cultivation. The most cultivated crop is the groundnut, which at the time of the visit, early May 2003, was the green cover on the farm plots surrounding the village.³⁶

Both shallow and medium wells to provide safe and clean water were developed in two villages. Six wells in all were constructed. It was agreed with the communities that there should be individual contributions of 300 Tshs per month for maintenance purposes, water committees were also formed, and training was provided on how to maintain the wells (Concern's programme report, 2002).

Irindi village in Mahenge division is one of the villages for which safe water was successfully provided. Success in this village has made another village earlier refusing to contribute to well construction, to wish for similar service while promising support and full participation if approached a second time.³⁷ The Irindi village executive officer (VEO) observed that:

Concern came to our village in the year 2000. The village government organised a village meeting which was supposed to look at village problems and to decide in what areas we needed support. It was agreed that we should be supported on safe water. This was considered the most pressing problem.

In November 2000, we started to mobilize villagers to be aware of the support and the contributions expected from them. We contributed about 415,000 Tshs in cash and provided labour for the construction of three wells. Each working adult had to contribute 1000 Tshs.

The wells started to be operative in 2001. One well has the capacity of servicing 200 people. We planned a system of each user paying for the service monthly. The amount was 300 Tshs but it has been difficult to collect this money and we some times collect 100 or 150 Tshs.

If we become too strict in seeking payment, people will go back to the river for drinking water and we want to change the attitude and the use of river water for household purposes.

³⁶As the researcher was talking to the village chairperson there was one person from another external development organ trying to convince the village chairperson to promote in his village sunflower seeds. The chairperson observed that the rains were almost over so how were they supposed to grow them. The NGO person persisted in his convincing and ultimately offered that one can buy now and plant them next season. This episode, accidental as it was, could make one ponder about the complexity that might exist in the development arena in our rural villages.

³⁷ The village chairperson said the river water was becoming more dangerous from crocodiles and the villagers are much worse health wise, but Concern had already stopped supporting the safe and clean water element of the programme.

We have six villagers trained to service the wells and to report early on problems.

We also received training on clean and safe water, boiling of water, discouraging bathing in the river, encouraging the use of proper toilets and bathrooms, and keeping the area close to the wells and the wells clean.

The construction of the wells went hand in hand with PHAST (Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation) training. The rationale the programmes coordinator gave for the training exercise using the tool, to use his own words is that '*Wells and stationery water could be much worse health wise than water flowing in a stream. You might think you bring development but instead you may be causing more problems.*'

During the researcher's visit in the village, good use of the clean wells among the inhabitants was observed. Some villagers walking about 200 metres to the much safer drinking water from the wells rather than in the direction of the river water, comparatively closer. The benefits because of the wells in the area were said to be less stomach problems and reduced incidences of Malaria.

The Village VEO also offered that the village plans to construct a new classroom and build a health centre in the same way. However, when it approached Concern, Concern's office supported the intentions but indicated that their system (focus or mode of operations) has changed.

Concern was also involved in HIV/ AIDS awareness raising campaigns in the programme areas. The campaigns were to create awareness among the communities about the causes, effects of the disease, and preventive strategies. A primary school was also rehabilitated in Mahenge division.

Development and improvement of support systems and organisations

The development of necessary support systems for the purpose of complementing other initiatives carried out such as improved agricultural practices, promotion of irrigation and the sustainability of the same, was through the following: bridges and culverts construction, mobilisation for the formation of irrigation committees, the creation of a savings and credit

society, introduction and collection of marketing information and the development of a calendar for agricultural activities.

Bridges and culverts were constructed at Mtakula-Ikula road to improve access to remote isolated areas. During construction, a committee was formed to manage the local road being improved and its members went for a study tour to experience community management of similar infrastructure. In addition, irrigation committees were formed for managing the schemes and they were used in identifying the users, undertaking the registration of irrigators, and organising the collection of contributions to the schemes. The committees participated in training activities arranged and were able to start irrigation funds (Concern's programme report, 2002).

Most irrigation committees in the area are said to have their origin from TIP activities, but new ones were formed and the old ones were reactivated by Concern. Perhaps, one of the important efforts to strengthen the irrigation committees was the creation of umbrella bodies at ward level. The Ruaha Mbuyuni's VEO related the following importance of the irrigation organ at local level:

Concern has provided education to the committees and now it has created an organ, a ward body, 'WAKAMA' Irrigators in Mahenge Ward. This body is responsible for the following: it represents all the irrigation farmers of the ward at divisional level; it is the liaison organ between village and sub village committees and Concern or any other external organ as might be; it promotes improved water use and it also organises training activities for the members of the irrigation committees.

In addition, following a study and a training programme on marketing and farmer group dynamics carried out by two external organisations, Stoas Agriprojects Foundation and FAIDA, a credit and savings society at one of the villages was formed. It is a development from the water users' group in Msosa village. The Iringa branch of the Moshi Cooperative College facilitated the formation of this farmer organisation. Efforts also went to the strengthening of information collection and its management to improve rural communities' abilities to plan and make better decisions. The gathering of market data on prices of crops grown and sold in the area was introduced. The extension workers gathered the needed data at market centres of the two divisions and made them available to farmers. A calendar for agricultural activities was developed and although the rural farmers might be quite familiar

with the irregular and low rainfall situation in the area, the importance of sowing crops at the right time was emphasised to the farmers (Concern's programme report, 2002).

It was also learned from the irrigation technician in Mahenge division that in Msosa, Mtandika and Irindi villages there is a new project whose implementation has recently started in 2003. This FAO project referred to as Special Project for Food Security is also promoting savings and credit organs. As a result of the project, rivals to the Msosa Savings and Credit Cooperative Society have been created through two new organs: the Twiga SACAS (Savings and Credit Association) and the 'Umoja ni Nguvu' (in Unity there is Strength) association.

 Table: 4.5.
 The rationale for the creation of Msosa SACCOS

Rationale:	Expectations:
 Improvement in marketing of crops and livestock Provision of credit on soft terms, affordable interest rates Easing the availability of agricultural inputs at village level Encouraging people and especially members to create the habit to save 	 Power to negotiate marketing of products for better prices Raising the income of members Learning good use of money as a resource Linkage to other organisations and service providers Creating money transaction services at village level

Source: Concern's 'Iringa Community Empowerment Programme: Organisation Self Assessment (OSA) and Capacity Building Action Plan (CBAP) for Msosa SACCOS' of November 2002.

In addition, as an attempt to reduce some of the problems affecting effective community participation in development, the coordinator observed that in the new phase, 2003 to 2007, Concern's focus is to support the strengthening of local capacity to seek and manage development. That capacity includes the ability to identify problems, come out with possible remedies, solicit support, and implement accepted solutions. The capacity strengthening is directed to village governments and community based organisations. The village governments' capacities to develop plans and sell them to higher-level governmental authorities are to be improved.

The coordinator also pointed out that they are working with CBOs rather than local NGOs because the NGOs have inadequate personnel and as they are mainly urban based, their

ability to operate effectively at village level is limited. To use his own words: 'Working with CBOs is like working with the beneficiaries directly as a CBO mostly represents the interests of the community for whom and by whom it was created'. To facilitate the exercise, Concern's personnel will be stationed in the different divisions. This programme is to be implemented in Pawaga, Mahenge, and an added division of Idodi.

One of the recent activities under this new phase has been the recently completed marketing study carried out with community groups and village authorities. The study involved the assessment of marketing problems and potentials of crops and livestock in the now free market environment and impact on the welfare of the community and female members' access to resources. It has been concluded that under present arrangements individual business people benefit on the expense of farmers. Little surplus production from economic activities is concluded to constrain farmers from engaging and participating in crop marketing and the local economy in away that their interests are safeguarded and their situation improved (Concern's 'Study Report on Marketing Systems in Iringa Community Empowerment Programme Area' of February 2003).

To find out Concern's general experiences from the implementation of the food security programme, the coordinator was asked about possible lessons learned. The response was as follows:

There is great dependency syndrome among the beneficiaries.

There are pocket areas where the communities still have very little ability to cope with unfavourable conditions such as droughts and they still need support.

Village capacity to lead development activities in the villages is in some places very weak.

Private companies have shown themselves to be not very reliable; one needs to be careful whom to contract.

There is a dilemma of whether to use by-laws to encourage the required level of participation or to promote only voluntary participation.

3. Assessment

The focus of the Food Security Programme was to improve food security and rural incomes in drought prone areas. Its initiatives included the following (a) technical productive innovations and services, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) activities to improve community social welfare and (d) empowerment through group mobilisation and support.

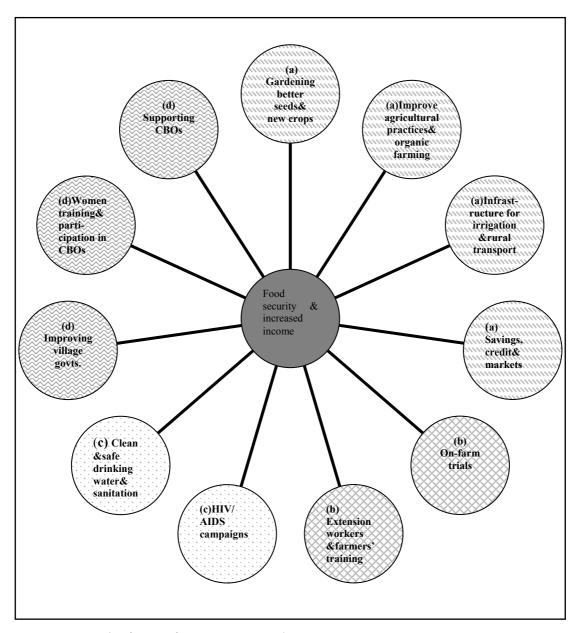


Figure: 4.2. The focus of Concern's Food Security Programme

According to the Food Security Programme Report of 2002, food availability surveys were carried out in different months for three years. According to the surveys, up to the end of 2001 no food shortages were reported in both divisions. This is attributed to better weather conditions during the period. It is also stated that a significant number of farmers have moved from consuming an average of one meal a day to 2.5 meals a day. However, in certain areas the results reported are less impressive due to problems associated with some of the irrigation infrastructures developed.

3.1. Innovatory ideas

Concern as an NGO its approach offers an obvious contrast to development activities carried out by other non-NGO institutions: besides the targeting of communities more vulnerable and relatively worse off, its initiatives indicate a much wider focus to improved rural welfare. Again, the idea of extending improved irrigation infrastructure through the development of the Hoho pipe crossing was an innovative idea to build upon existing developed structures and/or resources. The programme, based on some reasonable understanding of the local environment, has also created model villages. Irindi village and its wells in clean surroundings is a good example of efforts to improve community health and consequently productivity. The studies carried out on rural conditions and the PHAST technique used have been useful in designing and implementing programme activities.

3.2. Development and strengthening of community organisations

Community participation in programme activities has been a common phenomenon in the programme. The communities have been setting aside portions of their farming plots as on-farm trial areas and contributed funds and labour to programme activities. Steps taken to strengthen further community involvement and to build the basis for sustaining the activities promoted include the formation of water user groups and irrigation committees. As already pointed out, one of the water user groups was later turned into a savings and credit association. It is also worthy of note that the new phase of Concern's development programme, targets local institutions to improve their abilities to effectively carry out their expected development roles.

The Case Studies

3.3. Holistic orientation

The food security programme had the improving of food production and availability within the two divisions as its central objective. The achievement of which led Concern to adopt what can be seen to be a much wider solution to the problem of food insecurity including its supposed causes and consequences. Such an approach was seen necessary and as observed, the following have been important:

- ✓ improving irrigation and agricultural practices;
- ✓ introduction of better seed varieties;
- ✓ strengthening of local knowledge on the use of affordable and natural post harvest management of farm produce;
- \checkmark promoting the use of farm yard manure;
- \checkmark encouraging gardening;
- \checkmark improving access to important information on markets and prices;
- ✓ improving physical infrastructure therefore improving communication and opening up more the rural villages to each other and to the outside world;
- ✓ facilitating the development of local organisations to manage and carry on with the developments introduced and for the purpose of helping the local communities manage better their relationships with external agents including middlemen and the bureaucracy;
- \checkmark influencing of changes in the social status of women;
- \checkmark supporting the communities to fight and prevent common health problems; and
- \checkmark the strengthening of local institutions capacities to seek and manage development.

3.4. Agro ecological orientation

The extension staff involved in the project indicated that the soil in some of the areas covered by the project is alluvial and rich. Overall, however, the use of artificial fertilizers was not encouraged, although it was also not discouraged. Bearing in mind that increased rice yields depended on the use of fertilizers like Urea, which according to the farmers, and as seen earlier, was not discouraged but farmers were not supported in this end. Farmyard manure, where it was available, was also encouraged. Orientation to agro-ecological practices or to production-orientated approaches was based on pragmatic reasons, although

the current buzzword among the NGOs was organic farming. The emphasis put and the knowledge imparted to the farming communities on the use of more natural preservation methods of farm produce such as ashes and Neem leaves, was based on the assumption that they were within the capability of the rural farmers to use and the possible affordability difficulty of modern methods faced by farmers.

3.4. Poverty reach

As NGOs work for or, in a more appropriate approach and at an advanced level, work with the less privileged, the poor and vulnerable communities within a particular society or within a particular geographical location, Concern has been able to identify and work with the communities of the two divisions of Iringa rural district. The two areas are relatively poor compared to other areas of the district because of poor climatic conditions, remoteness in location and inadequate social economic support accorded to the areas. The target population of Concern's initiatives was the population of the two divisions. Thus the geographical area was, could be said, the focus of attention rather than a section of the community considered underprivileged, or is more poor in the locality. It is worthy of note that the surveys on the social economic conditions of villagers, as shown in the 1999 Concern's programme report, indicate that 90 percent of the population in 1998 faced food shortages and needed food support. It is also indicated in the report that another survey by Concern in the area found out that 84 percent of the population fall under the vulnerable category.

Although there were deliberate efforts to categorise the beneficiaries on economic status, the poorest members of the communities were not necessarily those who benefited the most. However, the type of activity supported also determines who should be involved to ensure success and might not allow for discriminatory practices on who should benefit. The irrigation infrastructures developed and safe water provision is for the benefit of the community at large and access to them is likely to be beneficial either directly, or indirectly, to the whole community.

3.5. Gender concern

Concern has shown in its programme obvious concern on gender. Most studies it carried out assessed socio-economic differences within village communities and indicated differential

access to resources in favour of males. The interventions as such show to have been tailored, in some ways, to influence change in women status within the village communities. The selection of beneficiaries participating in programme activities showed deliberate bias in favour of women villagers. Concern has also been responsible for the creation of some community organisations. In these organisations, representation of women was highly encouraged. A good number of women have also benefited from training activities in the locality or elsewhere, some of them as they indicated acknowledge their satisfaction from such experiences. It also acknowledged that there could be differences in wealth status among rural women and it attempted to design its participatory strategy reflecting this possibility.

3.6. Building linkages

Besides close working relationships between the NGO and local authorities leading to possible benefits of sharing knowledge and expertise, Concern availed itself in the implementation of the programme the services of two organisations that have emerged to provide support services to the NGO sector. These are FAIDA contracted to provide business awareness training to village leaders on contract farming and farmer group dynamics and Stoas Agriprojects Foundation which carried out a marketing study in the area advocating the need for farmers to be organised to gain from their labours. Its effort to create a community organisation was also supported by the Cooperative College. As the capacities of local institutions are to be improved in the new phase of Concern's development programme, there might be in the future better relationships between village institutions and higher-level structures. However, the fact that Concern has not cooperated with local NGOs interested in promoting agricultural development may affect long-term sustainability of the beneficial practices promoted and limit the scope of its institutional development efforts.

3.7. Scaling up

The extension agents who are government employees have benefited in knowledge and skills: the programme was a training opportunity for them. These experts are in government employment and are to continue providing their services to the communities. When transferred to other areas, the invaluable knowledge and expertise accumulated may continue to be useful in their new work environments. What has already occurred in the programme

area is that some extension agents now work, as was previously with Concern, with the new project. The new project has availed itself with low cost well-trained experts familiar with local conditions.

4. Conclusion

Although not everything went on as planned, there have been achievements. The most important ones with potential to positively influence the future food security outlook and general welfare in the programme areas are: 1) the fact that some farmers make use of new knowledge and practices introduced to grow better yielding crops; 2) in addition, more land is reached by adequate irrigation water than was the case before leading to bigger areas cultivated and making some more enterprising individuals rich in local village standards; 3) the society has now among its female community members people who have been involved in organised community development activities as equals to their counterparts – the men. They have also been made part of the local institutions created; as such, foundations have been laid down towards more gender sensitive communities in the future. Again, new developments say better distribution boxes for irrigation water or clean and safe water in one area create new demands for similar developments elsewhere. New work is also going on, as the end of one activity sees it replaced by the beginning of new efforts to develop and strengthen the capacities of local institutions to manage own development. The area is also becoming more attractive to other external development agents.

Case 5: Development and Improvement of a Welfare Approach to Rural Development: Caritas Mbeya's Food Security and Nutrition Programme

Profile:

Status: Local NGO Origin: Affiliated to Caritas International	Status in country: Part or arm of the Diocese of Mbeya	Main NGO purpose: Support to socio- economic development, relief and refugee services.	The Case programme:- Caritas Nederland supported Mbeya's Food Security & Nutrition Programme, with an added component of Misereor supported Sustainable Agriculture	Programme Duration: (I)Over ten years - from 1992, (II)Sustainable Agriculture element added in 2001	Main source of funds: (I)Caritas Nederland, (II)Misereor Amount available/budgeted: (I)Tshs223,341,142, (II)Tshs 53m	Geographical coverage: Mbeya Rural villages and sub villages Location: Southern Highlands, Southern Tanzania
Direct beneficiaries: The population of the covered rural villages and sub villages of Mbeya Region, including about 22,305 people in the six villages covered	Indirect beneficiaries: Rural Mbeyans, Mbeya Region and the country at large	Sustainable Agriculture Specific programme elements: Mechanising crop cultivation, introducing new crops and seeds, promoting better crop management practices Promoting and supporting animal husbandry among villagers, including dairy cattle keeping, pigs rearing and fish farming Improving agricultural extension services in the villages Promoting sustainable agricultural practices Efforts to improve women status by supporting income generating activities for women such as enabling ownership of milling machines and dairy cattle Provision of social welfare support services: children day care centres, nutrition rehabilitation for children and young mothers, care for the sick such as those suffering from TB und AIDS Promoting group formation to facilitate working in groups and access to group support Creation of structures to facilitate the participation of different development actors within the district in programme decisions and implementation				

1. Background

Caritas Tanzania was registered in 1971 as a non-governmental organisation. However, it is also a department of the Episcopal Conference, and has, therefore, dual identity. It is mandated to provide and support socio-economic development, relief, and refugee services in Tanzania. In each diocese, a Caritas office operates autonomously in its development and relief activities within that particular diocese. The diocese of Mbeya is one of 30 dioceses in Tanzania. Caritas Mbeya, with support mainly from Caritas Nederlandica and Misereor, Misereor is supporting a new programme of sustainable agricultural development in the diocese, is the executing agency of the programmes in the diocese. Decentralisation observed

in Caritas, according to the Caritas' coordinator at the Tanzania Episcopal Conference, '*it is* for the purpose of making implementation effective...The human face of the marginalized can be seen better at the diocese and district level, by the people near the target group'.

Through the Caritas development office, Caritas Mbeya has been implementing a food and nutrition programme and a more recent additional activity of sustainable agricultural development in Mbeya region. Mbeya region is one of the major food crop producing regions of the country belonging to a group of regions called 'The Big Four', also comprising the regions of Iringa, Rukwa and Ruvuma. Although the region supplies food to other regions of the country, within it there are areas where poverty and malnutrition problems are consequences of occurrences of famine and seasonal food shortages. These pocket areas known to have been suffering from nutritional related problems and poverty, are six villages within the four parishes in the diocese: Swaya and Ikuti villages within the Igogwe parish (or diocesan zone); Izuo within the Ilembo parish and Itaka in Itaka parish (or Mbeya diocesan zone); and Kanga and Mbangala in Mwambani parish (or diocesan zone). The status of some of the villages covered by Caritas' programmes from a study carried out is as shown below.

Village name	Population	Under fives	Women in child	Malnourished	Households
			bearing age		
Ikuti	3713	743	>743	107	619
Swaya	3879	776	>776	115	647
Itaka	4609	936	>936	Not known	100
Izuo	1898	782	472	Not known	409
Kanga	6656	1331	1331	364	840
Mbangala	1550	374	661	62	288

Table: 5.1.Village status within the program areas

Source: Stoas Agriprojects Foundation (1998), Mbeya Diocese Backstopping - Project Summary

The Caritas development office is staffed by 12 people, including the development director, a programmes coordinator, a coordinator for food security and sustainable agricultural development programmes, a coordinator for the gender section and 4 agriculturalists for the different diocesan zones as the professional staff; and 4 support staff. According to the project coordinator for food security, budgeted programme expenditure for the Food Security and Nutrition Programme was 223,341,142 Tshs. The added sustainable agricultural promotion initiative beginning in the year 2001 with an initial budget of 53,000,000 Tshs is the continuation of the earlier efforts.

2. Methodologies and approaches

The status of Caritas' efforts is a result of gradual changes in the type of activities undertaken, structural changes in the organisation of activities and expansion of scope. Caritas Mbeya as an arm of a religious organ has been adopting a welfare approach to the development problems facing the population of the diocese of Mbeya. The Roman Catholic Church, to which it is affiliated, provides spiritual guidance and Caritas provides social and economic support to the population in the diocese. Both a healthy body and mind are considered important for heavenly message spread to be received and to guide people's lives. Poverty and other extreme social problems are therefore to be tackled. Its development interventions in the diocese have their origin from a Caritas Nederlandica supported project in 1985. The first major activities undertaken were the running of a maternity hospital and a NURU - Nutrition Rehabilitation Unit for poor children and their mothers; NURU also means light in Swahili language. Later additions were the establishment of day care centres, the provision of food for malnourished children and orphans and the feeding of AIDS and Tuberculosis patients admitted in local hospitals. Because of severe droughts in the years of 1990 and 1991, affecting some areas within the diocese and following a visit by a Caritas Nederlandica official to those areas, a food security element was introduced. This was a food provision programme and was changed in 1992 to Food Security and Nutrition Programme. The emphasis was now nutrition improvement and promotion of self-reliance to improve food production and availability in the diocese, although other activities were also continued and expanded to cover areas within the diocese not previously covered. To this programme, a new element of sustainable agricultural development, supported by Misereor, was added in the year 2001.

At the beginning, each zone within the diocese operated and managed quite independently whatever development funds that was available. In 1992, a food and nutrition program advisory committee was formed and it included representatives from the three diocesan zones. Because of this development, some form of a central structure emerged. However, the program's objectives were developed in 1994 and the target group was broadly defined as the population of the Diocese of Mbeya.

The objectives of the food and nutrition program have been the following:

- to promote nutrition awareness in the diocese;
- to improve the economic status of poor households;
- to improve household food security within the community;
- to improve the diocesans health facilities and health services;
- to encourage traditional food production and storage in rural areas of the diocese.

Programme organisation

The advisory committee is the central organ for planning and implementation of Caritas Mbeya's programmes. The members of which are the religious leaders of the diocese heading different institutions of the diocese including the Caritas Mbeya's director, coordinators of development services in the diocesan zones, and government staff. The government employed personnel include: community development officer, agricultural officer, planning and cooperatives officer, and medical personnel who are representatives from local hospitals. At the operational level there are village programme committees. The committee members are government agricultural extension and community development staff in the village areas, medical personnel from health centres and farmer representatives from respective villages. The programme committee is responsible for planning village programmes, mobilization for group formation and identifying contact farmers. It provides ideas as inputs to zone and diocesan plans. The coordinator of the food security programme made the following observations as to the relevance of village involvement through the program committees at that level:

The village programme committees have been providing the link between programme headquarters and the villages, especially in the credit schemes and distribution of inputs.

They were also responsible for the exercise of following up on repayments of loans and advances made.

The village committees were also used as a means of developing sense of ownership of program activities among the beneficiary communities and to facilitate stakeholders' participation at the implementation level.

We tried however to avoid the village chairmen and the village executive officers (VEOs) to be part of the village committees. We did not want them to influence decision making and to create negative non-democratic atmosphere in program decisions and implementation.

Once development plans are to be made operational, Caritas Mbeya embarks on activities programmed in the following way: A village representative who is a member of a Caritas' working group carries out the official notification of villagers; the village executive secretary and the village chairperson organize village meeting. The extension staff and village coordinators undertake the registration of groups and group scrutiny. Identification of contact farmers within the village and the formation of village programme committees are done by the agricultural extension officers and the zone coordinators. Distribution of inputs is managed by a representative from the village programme committee or from input centres managed by Caritas.

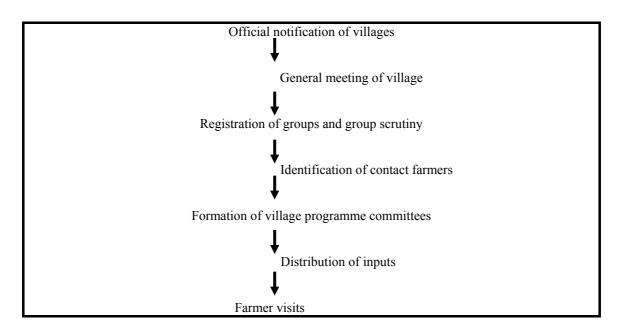


Figure: 5.1. Programme Implementation process

Source: Developed from the Caritas Development Office, Mbeya: Food Security and Nutrition Programme Annual Report, June 1997/June 1998

Finally, the extension workers and zone coordinators visit the farmers. These activities do not strictly follow the described arrangement, nor do all the activities occur at any one time, as some of the activities might have been previously carried out in a particular village.

Promotion of better agricultural practices

Caritas Mbeya's approach to development problems features efforts to reduce the burdens caused by poverty and other social ills among the Mbeyan diocesans. As already indicated, the first activity supported was a maternity hospital and a nutrition rehabilitation unit for poor children and their mothers. Later, the day care centres and the provision of food for malnourished children and orphans were added. HIV/AIDS, as the next woe, brought new social problems and AIDS patients were to be cared for and fed. Food problems resulting from severe droughts also led to a food security initiative, and in order to safeguard the livelihood base, land, and thus the long-term welfare of the community, sustainable agriculture is promoted in the diocese.

The introduction of sustainable agricultural initiative within its program is allowing more focussed approach to agricultural development than was the case before. Currently, it has been observed, there is general refinement of approaches and methodologies used in dealing with poverty problems in the diocese. In promoting improved agricultural practices and production, the following activities have been taking place:

- There have been formal and informal training and workshops in the villages and at zone level that are used to orient stakeholders to programme plans and activities.
- At village level, practical training is provided to farmers on farm. Practices learned include spacing, agro forestry and mixed farming, use of organic fertilizers, pit cultivation, contour making, use of terraces and the use of medicinal plants such as 'Muarobaini' for preservation of harvests and pest control. According to project staff, about 10 contact farmers from each village have received training on improved agricultural practices.
- A 2-acre demonstration plot has been established for training purposes.

- In the plot, which is centrally located and easily accessible to farmers, soil conservation measures such as contour making, gardening activities and the performance of maize seed varieties are demonstrated. Farmer visits to the area are also arranged.
- Animal husbandry is also promoted in the programme area: dairy cattle, pigs, rabbits, and a better breed of cockerels introduced.
- Women groups are encouraged and are supported through the provision of credit and other services. The services include a credit support to help them acquire grainmilling machines in their neighbourhoods.
- Maize seed varieties thought to be more appropriate have been introduced in the programme areas. These are TMV1 and TMV2 (Tanzania Maize Variety 1 and 2). However, TMV2 was found not to be suitable by the farmers, as it was in the highland areas more susceptible to pests and in the drier areas of low rainfall not appropriate.
- According to the project coordinator for food security, with favourable climatic conditions and good farm management practices, farmers are now able to harvest 5 to 10 bags of maize per acre in contrast to two bags per acre, as was previously the case.
- A better variety of sorghum Pato, Pato meaning income in Swahili, has been introduced from Kilosa Seed Farm into the areas not suitable for maize cultivation.
- In Kanga village, where up to the late 1990s cotton was an important cash crop before attacks on the crop by red bore worms affected its cultivation, the cultivation of sunflower was promoted as a fallback crop to stabilize the village economy. A better variety of sunflower with a brand name Record was introduced.
- The Catholic Church owns in Mbozi area of Mbeya an agricultural training centre, the Bara Institute of Sustainable Agriculture (BISA). The centre is used for training primary school leavers on improved agricultural practices. Caritas also uses the

centre through study visits to train farmers on sustainable agriculture and other improved practices such as oxen ploughing.

- The sustainable agricultural initiative is now encouraging farmers to adopt contour ploughing and pit cultivation practices to check soil erosion both in the upland areas and in flat lands within the programme areas.
- Farmers are also encouraged to plant grass on the edges of the contours to strengthen the contour edges as well as for fodder.
- Fish farming is now also promoted and farmers are advised to plant local trees around the fishponds and fingerlings are provided.
- To strengthen its ability to implement initiated activities, it has acquired its own extension staff. This is expected to strengthen its programme implementation capacity. The extension personnel are the four agriculturalists coordinating and supporting farmer extension services within the diocesan zones.

Farmers' experiences as the beneficiaries of development initiatives by Caritas provide more insights on the agricultural development efforts and their usefulness. Emmanuel of Itizi village, rural Mbeya, shares his experiences as a direct beneficiary 'belonging to two groups, but one rather indirectly' thus:

We saw that some of the people we know of Izuo were given dairy cattle. We were five of us and we agreed to send two to the Izuo village Church. They advised us to write a letter to Caritas. It took time before we got any response, but eventually we were told to form a group. In 1997, we started to be trained on dairy cattle keeping. After the training, we planted grass.

In July 1999 when the animals were brought, our group was big we were 20. They advised us to be in smaller groups of ten people.

The animals were to be given to women.

In deciding those who are to get the animals, they inspected the grass we were to grow for fodder. We [he and his spouse] were the first beneficiaries as we had planted good grass and had followed all the conditions given.

What they did was to write how the animals were on pieces of paper. The animals could be either fully-grown or calves or pregnant. Animal colour and spots were also used to describe the animals. The papers were thrown on the floor and we had to pick them up. I was the last person to pick a paper and I was lucky to get a cow that could be milked.

We were supposed to payback in kind for the animals we were given. An animal for an animal, the first and second offspring were to be given to other villagers. Most people have now already finished their debts.

Caritas came again in 2001 and they started to promote sustainable agriculture 'kilimo endelevu'. The use of natural fertilizers not destroying soil nutrients as opposed to factory made fertilizers.

Since my wife belonged to the animal husbandry group, I joined the sustainable agriculture group. We started 10 and we are still 10.

Our group started growing Irish potatoes in a quarter of an acre plot, then half an acre, now the third time we have cultivated a full acre.

We started a group fund and everybody contributed 1000Tshs. We also work as casual labourers on other people's plots to help in weeding or harvesting.

We have now as a group 200,000Tshs and we are doing quite fine. We have also started to circulate the money. Members borrow, for example, women can borrow say 1000Tshs to prepare buns for sale after a month they return 1100Tshs.

The cow we were given helped us a lot. We used to have a monthly milk bill; we do not have that now. We were lucky to have baby twins so the milk and the money helped us a lot, money for buying cooking oil and soap.

At that time, there was a good market for milk. Now there is too much milk around.

Belonging to the sustainable agriculture group has helped us a lot socially and economically. I have a place to borrow money from. If I was not in the group, it could have been difficult.

Although Caritas informed us of the benefits now I can see them for myself.

There were four groups in this village, now there are only two working properly. One is the animal husbandry group we 'are' a member and the other the sustainable agriculture group to which I belong.

New activities have been introduced. The animal husbandry group is now also involved in fish farming and the sustainable agriculture group in pig rearing.

In December 2002, two of us were sent to Songea to learn about fish farming. If you want to develop a pond, you inform the leader of the animal husbandry group then you contact us the experts and we advise you where it is appropriate to dig the pond. Where there is clay soil. You then invite your group to help you dig your pond. Caritas provides fingerlings.

As Emanuel was being interviewed in his house, he kept referring to the documents he keeps as references. There is a well-filled chart documenting his cow's progress. There is an exercise book recording important dates and activities such as the training sessions attended.

On better land management practices, besides the use of more natural soil fertilization methods he pointed out they were encouraged to create contours on their plots as the village is on hilly ground. He also attempted to show the difficulty involved in making farmers accept the promoted method of developing contours in the village.

Box: 5.1. Village reality versus modern methods and techniques

We have the traditional ridges I think they are enough as the slopes are not so steep. The modern methods promoted are not suitable to us. The advocated methods 'damage' our plots, as the ridges are not developed in a straight-line fashion and our plots do not look very well. They go with measurements here up a little, here it has to go down a little, here straight line, and here it goes up again. We farmers want our plots and crops visible. The problem of having many ridges close to each other is that the farming plots do not please the eyes. Near the raised portions of land there is also a deep depression created which has to be filled creating extra work. In our traditional style, we have only few ridges to develop and when cultivating we cut the grass so it is easy to move soil over the ridge to the other side of it and to continue down the slope that way. In the new methods you have to transfer soil from where you have not cultivated to the other side of the ridge you have already cultivated to fill in the created hole in that side of the ridge. It is a lot of work on steep land.

(Output from this study)

Mobilisation for group formation

Group formation and working with groups are important to Caritas Mbeya's interventions. This is obvious at the outset from the way Caritas has designed the structure for implementation of its activities. In the course of programme implementation, existing groups are identified and other groups mobilised. Within the program area and throughout the programme period there have been about 35 groups and about half of them are women groups and the remaining half are mixed groups.

The groups already present in the area are called traditional groups. They consist of church groups or choir groups and self-help groups. Groups of this type tend to have common objectives that brought the groups about and bind the group members together. As social groups, they are expected to have own norms and modes of conduct through which order and cohesiveness within groups are facilitated. Caritas Mbeya's experience has been that the traditional groups are relatively easy to work with than groups formed solely for project purposes. The latter groups are seen to exist only for accessing credit facilities and other support coming from Caritas. Some groups in Ikuti, according to Caritas staff, have been nicknamed 'Casinos' as after getting loans they disbanded.

The Emanuel's group and Joseph's group, Joseph's group will later be introduced, are the two groups in the two villages of Itizi and Izuo seen by villagers as demonstration groups. Charles Mwameya of Itizi, whose group was inspired by the success of Emmanuel's group, indicates that poor leadership and lack of trust among members as the causes of group problems. Mwameya relates:

Caritas found me in a desperate condition. Making a living was difficult.

The organisation arranged seminars for us. Our life conditions have been changing with time. It was in 1997 that we started group activities. We began with dairy cattle keeping.

We were taught how to take care of our animals, how to clean them, to prepare feeds, and carrying out treatments. The organisation helped in training one of us in animal health care for three months and then for a week. Whenever we have problems, we call him and he helps.

Every group has income generating activities so we have group money that way. We started group fund and every one of us contributed 5000Tshs. We use that money for buying medicine and for hiring farming plots. We grow Irish potatoes.

Last year, year 2002, we did not grow anything. There was a problem between members and group leaders. Group members believed that leaders were misusing group money. There were some funds missing. The money stayed without any use for a long time.

The first time we cultivated potatoes we got 45,000Tshs, if we had done it the second time we could have made even 100,000Tshs.

We have not started to lend each other the money, but we want to begin soon.

There is a new leadership, but there are more problems now than before. They started new developments that we must have receipt books to keep records in. The books have not been printed yet.

Emmanuel's group is progressing very well. I will be happy if my group was like that. We tried to follow their footsteps, but we have not yet succeeded.

We have learned how to get more income from farming. I have been using animal and compost manure in nearby plots; it is difficult in plots further away.

Because of the knowledge I have gained, I now harvest 27 bags of Irish potatoes as opposed to 12 bags before. I also harvest about five bags of maize, before I used to get only one or one and a half bags. It is a bit cold here to get better maize harvests.

We were given a male pig and told to contribute 10,000Tshs to get female pigs.

There is however, something important noted from personal observations and from the words of the beneficiaries interviewed. Women showed themselves unconcerned with what was going on, the discussions with their spouses. When their participation was sought through questions directed to them they did not have much to say, or either looked to their counterparts for answers. Again, as was stated by the beneficiaries themselves, the dairy cattle provided were to be given to women, but in reality, the women looked to have brought the animals to the family. This should not necessarily be interpreted negatively. It might be reflective of the strategies families adopt to benefit from conditional outside support. In addition, the rural men of Mbeya are generally among the few men in the country who carry children strapped to their backs to the nearby clinics, indicating complex gender relationships. However, the men used 'I' and especially when referring to activities directly related to them and generally spoke about the activities promoted among women as their own. Existing gender relations may thus be strengthened rather than influenced to change.

Credit facilities

Caritas approach to rural development has also been through the extension of credit and input loan provision. Groups were the entry points for these activities. Although input loans and cash credits were provided to group members as individuals, the groups were supposed to act as 'guarantors' for their members. The aim of the scheme was to enhance opportunities for gainful self-employment and improved income among households.

About thirty groups including 11 women groups have benefited from the scheme. As per the 1997/1998 report, the total amount of credit provided was 17,174,545 Tshs. The amount recovered was 7,260,000 Tshs and that is about 43 percent of the total amount advanced to the communities. Efforts to follow up on repayments have been going on. The low recovery rate is typical of NGOs with strong welfare orientation as Caritas is.

No.	Village name	Amount of loan provided	Amount of loan recovered	Balance amount
1	Mbangala	3,382,525	150,000	3,232,525
2	Kanga	2,588,623	160,000	2,428,623
3	Itaka	2,667,542	289,000	2,378,542
4	Izuo	2,736,810	127,000	2,609,810
5	Swaya	3,116,685	-	-
6	Ikuti	2,682,360	-	-
	TOTAL	17,174,545	7,26,000	16,448,545

Table: 5.2.Village loan repayments situation as up to 1998 (Tshs)

Source: Caritas Development Office, Mbeya: Annual Report, June 1997/June 1998, Food Security and Nutrition Programme

Joseph of Izuo village takes us through his group's experiences as one of the first beneficiaries of the credit scheme and other initiatives.

They knew me as I was still in school because I used frequently to attend prayers. On my return to the village, I started a youth's group. Together with the religious activities we were involved in, singing in the local choir for example, we helped each other in farm work and in other activities too.

We were about 60 of us at the beginning, but we later ended up to be 28 people. There were 7 females and 21 males.

In 1994, we approached Caritas with a loan request and we were provided 142,000Tshs. We used this money to hire plots and we cultivated Irish potatoes, maize and beans. We also later individually or in small groups started to buy farm produce with the money lent to us to sell in town.

We also learned about sustainable agriculture, pit cultivation for example and people tried it for a while. We also use farmyard manure on nearby plots.

In 1997, the group had 450,000Tshs and we paid the debt owed to Caritas the same year.

We have also used a total of 260,000Tshs for lending to group members. For every thousand shillings borrowed one had to payback extra 100Tshs.

We never used to pay interest for money borrowed from Caritas, but they advised us to ask for interest so that people use the money we lend to each other productively.

At the beginning, we used to advance say 60,000Tshs to a group of four people. We later decided as the money available increased to advance single individuals as they requested.

We never had big problems on repayments. Although we knew and understood each other well, which helped us, we also had an agreement that if you cause trouble we call on the legal authorities.

There is one who did not want to pay back the money advanced to him and we had to see the sub village chairman from then on we had no more problems.

We ask in meetings whether the money we advance to each other is of any benefit.

There are benefits together with the knowledge and practices learned. I myself have been able to build my own house out of potato cultivation. I have also bought a cow for 50,000Tshs.

Lending each other helps. Some group members have been able to open village shops.

In the year 2000, we requested from Caritas 5,000,000Tshs but we were told the credit scheme has been stopped.

A development which is worthy of noting is that some supported groups have developed their own rotating fund arrangements. This is a result of the initial support and encouragement provided by Caritas. The developed rotating fund arrangements are ensuring access to needed funds by group members.

According to programme staff, the amount of cash advances extended to individuals was sometimes relatively big for the rural farmers to manage properly. This was due to the limited economic opportunities available within the villages. Although to benefit from the credit scheme one had to belong to a group, there was no group responsibility for credit repayments. Peer pressure for repayment was not common. The food security coordinator observed that not involving village leadership in the credit provision activity might have affected the rate of debt repayment and that pressure for repayments from what could have been Caritas representatives at village level cum village leadership could have helped.

To encourage farmers to use financial assistance provided to improve agricultural production there were some changes in tactics, emphasis was shifted from extending cash advances to providing more inputs on credit. The programme coordinator for food security observed that it is difficult to make any recovery when the money advanced instead of being used productively one buys a blanket. However, when instead a bag of fertilizer is provided it might lead to the following benefits: debts are recovered in kind and the programme's objective of improving food availability could be achieved. Input centres in some of the villages were established and were managed by programme committees or some of its members.

3. Assessment

The focus of the Food Security and Nutrition Programme of Caritas Mbeya has been nutritional improvement and poverty mitigation among vulnerable groups. Its initiatives have included the following (a) technical productive innovations and services, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) activities to improve community social welfare and (d) empowerment through mobilisation and support of groups and village level involvement in programme activities.

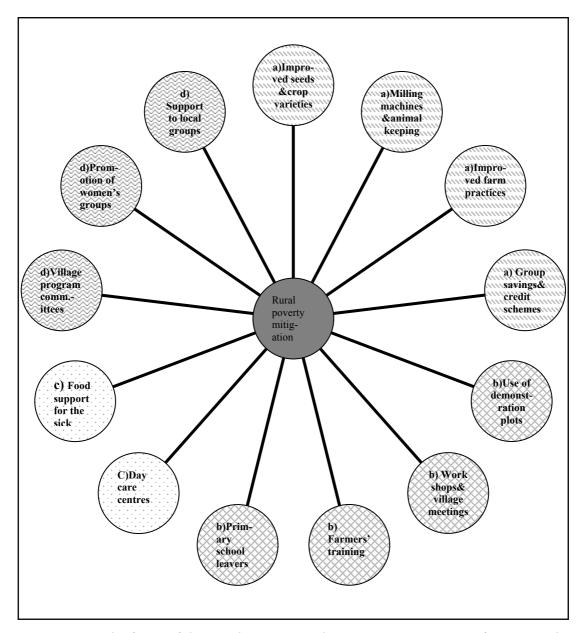


Figure: 5.2. The focus of the Food Security and Nutrition Programme of Caritas Mbeya

It should be noted that Caritas Mbeya has been over the years making improvements in its approaches. It has adopted a participatory approach to rural development. Although this has also affected programme performance to some extent, it is close to the ideal model as it incorporates the relevant stakeholders in the programme areas in both decision-making and implementation of programme activities. However, the expected commitment and trust from collaborators have been less than desired as they take advantage of the philanthropic nature of Caritas. Problems also emanated from lack of adequate planning for activities initiated and over reliance on local extension staff to provide advice and guidance in development of plans and to act as the key implementers of project activities. However, Caritas Mbeya has

recently employed its own extension staff to serve the program areas and the extension personnel are provided with motorbikes to ease village and farmer visiting activities.

Donor pressure and developments in the NGO sector are important influences on Caritas Mbeya and other NGOs in the country to improve their managerial and programming capacities. What is also occurring is cross learning between NGOs facilitated by exchanges of experiences gained through the increasing networking activities between them. These influences are quickly catching up on Caritas and are bringing about competitive attitudes within the NGO sector in Tanzania.

3.1. Innovatory ideas

The NGO has managed to develop a system within which members of communities and government officials at the local level are active in programme decisions and implementation. Following recommendations made by Stoas Agriprojects Foundation, to remedy weaknesses Caritas Mbeya has taken steps to strengthen its ability to participate effectively in its programmes. The efforts include hiring its own extension agents and providing them with the means of transportation necessary. Thus, the extreme form of dependence on 'external' expertise is reduced and the possibility for improved working relationships with its partners created.

3.2. Holistic orientation

Caritas Mbeya has as the underlying objective of its activities in the diocese, the improvement of the welfare of the diocesans including the more vulnerable and destitute among them. As agriculture is important in the diocese, then supporting it is expected to reduce the communities' vulnerability against periodic food shortages and therefore reduce their periodic dependence on direct food support. Caritas has been supporting agricultural development in the area, as has been seen, in a number of ways:

- ✓ providing agricultural inputs and implements;
- ✓ improving knowledge and practices;
- ✓ stimulating the rural economy through monetary advances given to the communities and used for direct consumption, direct production or for small agro-business activities;
- ✓ new varieties of better seeds and alternative crops or economic activities are also introduced and promoted;
- \checkmark extension services available to the communities are improved;
- ✓ animal husbandry is also promoted;
- \checkmark group activities are encouraged and promoted;
- ✓ increase in emphasis on improved practices in the utilization of the land resource is also, when well undertaken, a good attempt to create conditions leading to more improved and reliable production at affordable costs; and will probably guarantee the next generations of the diocese, at least, a productive livelihood base.

3.3. Agro ecological orientation

Caritas like most other NGOs is adapting its practices to developments within the sector. What was of emphasis at some past date is slowly being replaced by new ideas and practices thought most suitable. Caritas Mbeya, although it previously encouraged agro ecological practices, there was less emphasis and support given to their implementation. Production orientated methods encouraged have also affected agricultural productivity in some of the areas within the diocese, requiring new alternatives. The new sustainable agricultural development programme supported by Misereor is inclined more to the agro-ecological orientated approach emphasizing organic farming. Although organic practices are to be generally encouraged, more emphasis has been in areas where the 'modern' methods of farming can no longer be productively practiced. This also indicates the introduction of a better production regime based on the realities and socio-economic circumstances at the local level.

3.4. Development and strengthening of community organisations

To make operational its interventions such as input loans and cash advances to villagers, it has mobilized group formation. Groups are considered important to the implementation of programme activities and as means through which Caritas is linked to the diocesans. The poor state of affairs of some groups in the programme area, among other things, could be attributed to weaknesses in the approaches used to mobilise for group formation and lack of efforts to orient groups to programme goals. Recently, however, and as the problems have come to the fore, group management skills through organized training activities are provided to the extension staff to build their capacities to manage group formation and groups.

3.5. Poverty reach

Caritas Mbeya implements programme activities both by providing support to specific groups of disadvantaged people in the diocese such as the orphans, poor mothers, AIDS patients, etc. and supporting and implementing activities important to whole villages and diocesan zones.

- ✓ Activities such as the NURUs, the day care centres, and food support to the sick represent the apparent efforts by Caritas to target the less privileged members of the society whose identification is based on the obvious circumstances facing the different individuals.
- ✓ In addition, the targeting of certain locations within the diocese considered home to the more vulnerable communities indicates efforts to reach the relatively poor diocesans.

3.6. Gender concern

Improving gender relations within the communities it serves is also important to Caritas. Mobilizing the formation of women groups and the extension of support to them is a case in point. In addition, attempts are made to involve men in nutrition education where awareness is being created on the relationships between food security, health, and childcare. The aim of such efforts is to induce behaviour change among men, for example the excessive drinking of alcohol to the detriment of family welfare. In addition, the day care centres are established with the objective of providing mothers free time that could be used in other productive economic activities. Income generating projects are also promoted among women such as milling machines and dairy cattle keeping. As indicated earlier, the status quo on gender relations in the villages might end up being strengthened through measures whose intentions are to influence change.

3.7. Building linkages

As already seen, Caritas development activities in the diocese are organised in such a way that the different development actors and the communities are involved in planning, decision-making and implementation. The village programme committees formed at the bottom and the advisory committee at the top represent the linking structures.

In addition, there have been close working relationships between Caritas Mbeya and Caritas in the other dioceses, where exchanges of knowledge and experiences take place. It also utilizes the Bara training institute owned by the Roman Catholic Church for farmer training and practical demonstrations. It has also contacts and relationships with the Uyole Agricultural Centre where the TMV maize varieties originated.

As knowledge and resource centres have sprung up in the last few years in Tanzania and as their services are now available to NGOs, Caritas Mbeya utilized the services of one of these organisations, Stoas Agriprojects Foundation. The Foundation undertook an evaluation of its activities and made recommendations which Caritas has been implementing such as the hiring of own extension staff, the strengthening of community representation in committees and improving the capacity of extension staff to facilitate more effective group formation and group activities.

3.8. Scaling up

Caritas Mbeya closely works with the different stakeholders within the programme areas in planning and implementation of its programmes. The positive outcome expected from this might be the strengthening of participatory local level development planning, decision making and implementation. An interesting development is that a former coordinator of its

development programmes is now heading a new NGO whose present focus is agricultural development. The former Caritas staff, looking very confident in his new office as his own boss, a situation made possible by the experiences gained as Caritas staff, responding to the question asked about the important lesson he has learned as a development agent in his career with Caritas, made the following observation:

The important issue is sustainability; results should be there to be seen. The biggest mistakes the NGOs make is to skip the ward level and to go direct to the villages. This affects sustainability because the ward development committees comprise different development actors: ward councillors, head teachers, extension workers from different departments, ward executive directors. These people plan for the wards and represent the wards and therefore the villages in the district. Going to villages directly isolates the villages from the important local structures. Involving these people i.e. the WDC (Ward Development Committee) is a major challenge to most development actors.

The NGO, Caritas, has therefore a direct hand in the creation of another development expert and in a new development agency.

4. Conclusion

Caritas has over the years been increasing in magnitude and improving in effectiveness its support to the Mbeyan diocesans. It started to provide for the needs of individuals or groups of people who required special care and support. Later, changes in scope of operations led to initiatives aimed at mitigating the constraints to food availability and better socio-economic welfare among communities in rural Mbeya. Caritas' commitment to the socio-economic welfare of the diocese is long-term. As new development initiatives keep being implemented, it is becoming more professional in their implementation. It has developed a programme for implementation that ensures the participation of important groups from the village level to the diocese level. However, the price to be paid for such an ideal model has been in some instances less than the desired performance, much visible in credit scheme management. To improve its performance, it has taken steps to strengthen its capacity to programme and manage the implementation of its initiatives more effectively. Although no change in strategy is documented somewhere, because of increased interactions in the NGO sector through which best practices are disseminated and learned and the use of external change agents there is general improvement of methods and approaches.

Case 6: Emphasis on High Quality Training: The HSS Small-Scale Farmer's Training Programme

Profile:

Status: International NGO	Status in country: Has a local country office	Main NGO purpose: Creation of favourable environment for	The Case programme:- Small-Scale Farmers' Training Programme	Programme duration: Over 10 years, from 1988	Main sources of funds: The HSS The Federal Republic	Geographical coverage: Districts in 9 administrative regions of the country
Origin: The Federal Republic of Germany		democracy to flourish	Purpose: Productivity improvement- income increase and sustainable resource use		of Germany Amount Used: 1.7mUSD	
Direct beneficiaries: 12,000 farmers	Indirect beneficiaries: The country and its farmers Training institutions and their personnel worked with and the extension workers	Improved agricultural methods, techniques, and practices to improve productivity Promotion of practices suitable to sustainable use of resources Promotion important post farm production practices such as on farm produce preservation, marketing, processing and business knowledge Linking of government extension agents, trainers in public institutions and farmers in production environments The change from on-centre to village based training as acknowledgement of the role of women in family life and rural production and the designing of the training programme to serve them better The provision of community development management and group skills				

1. Background

The Hanns Seidel Foundation or Stiftung began development work in Tanzania in 1988 in cooperation with the Tanzania Farmers Association. In 1992, it was registered as an NGO with a board of directors whose members included prominent Tanzanian politicians. These are the prime minister, speaker of the East African Commission Assembly, speaker of the Tanzanian Union Parliament; others are members of parliament and ministers. These politicians and HSS national and international staff formed the HSS board. HSS in Tanzania is considered an independent counterpart of the HSS - Munich.

The Foundation, as a political foundation in the Federal Republic of Germany, to retain its political identity maintains its basic characteristics by having politicians from the ruling party - CCM - as the majority board members in a board constituted by 13 people. Political expediency and in order to facilitate ease of operation in the country are the reasons for its close link with the ruling party, although since the mid-1990s as a result of political pluralism there are other political parties from which board members could be drawn.

The HSS affiliated to the Christian Social Union, a political party in the Federal Republic of Germany, is named after Dr Hanns Seidel a prominent politician from the state of Bavaria. It is according to German law that each political party represented in the German Parliament is entitled to have a political foundation. The Foundation's basic purpose was to provide civic education to all German citizens to strengthen the development and understanding of the new democratic principles established after the Second World War.

The Foundation expanded its activities outside German borders and is now engaged in a broad set of activities directed to improving the socio-economic environments of the less privileged countries of the World. Although its mission is now broader, the basic purpose behind its formation in the mother country drives its activities and is its focus: support for the creation of a favourable environment for democracy to flourish. However, the approaches used are tailored to suit the political, social, and cultural environments in which the HSS finds itself in the host countries. It is for this reason that the IBZ – Institute for International Contact and Cooperation – one of the departments of the HSS, considers in its concept of development policy the strengthening of social factors to be just as important as the promotion of social political structures and systems. The department deals with, among other things, project related development aid (The Prospectus of the Engagement of the HSS in Tanzania-undated).

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2. The Training Programme

Hanns Seidel Foundation from 1988 to 1998 has been involved in a number of development activities in the country. Its core activity has been to provide knowledge and skills through training programmes in the areas of agriculture, small enterprises development, civic education, and vocational training.³⁸ Civic education seminars designed to provide basic political education for adults and to improve literacy are said (according to the Foundations' Prospectus) to have formed an integral part of the adult education system in Tanzania.

The current interests of the HSS are supporting good governance initiatives in the country and the local government reform programme. This change in orientation marks the general change in the types of activities undertaken by other German political foundations in Tanzania. Although most of them supported development projects socio-economic in nature either directly or through local organisations, the emphasis is now on democracy, human rights, and good governance. In the now liberalised socio-economic and political environment, efforts to influence good governance and to strengthen democracy in the country are seen to be important.

The overarching goal of the HSS training programme in agricultural development was to improve agricultural productivity through which income will be increased and living standards of small-scale farmers improved. In addition to the training programme, the HSS sponsored a radio programme on agriculture and the publication of Mkulima Magazine – Mkulima meaning farmer in Swahili language. These latter mentioned activities were undertaken in close collaboration with the Tanzania Farmers Association. The Training programme was implemented in close working relationships between the HSS and local agricultural and livestock development training centres in the country.

³⁸ Other major activities by the HSS in the country include the vocational training by the Arusha Hotel Training Institute to support service provision in tourism. There is the Small-scale Entrepreneurs Training Programme implemented to promote and support entrepreneurship and small businesses in the new system of market economy. The training was also expected to support retrenched employees from parastatal organisations and the public sector in self-employment. The underlying objectives of these activities were to promote economic growth and political stability.

Table: 6.1. Main subjects of the Training Programme

 Coffee production Crop protection against diseases/pests Appropriate use of agrochemicals Use of farm yard manure Weed control Irrigation, soil erosion control, water conservation Plant pruning Harvesting and post harvest techniques Record keeping and marketing 	 6. Dairy husbandry Integrated dairy farming and agro forestry Management of dairy cattle (calf rearing, management of in-calf heifers and pregnant cows, dehorning, hoof trimming and castration) Pasture and fodder tree management (establishment of pastures and fodder tree, roughage treatment by urea/molasses, forage utilisation, hay silage/ making) Animal health and disease control (signs and symptoms, temperature taking, preparation of blood slides, symptomatic diagnosis, disease control, vaccination, hand milking techniques, breeding and infertility problems) Feeding (roughage, concentrates and feed formulation)
 Vegetable production and plant protection Nursery establishment, management and transplanting techniques Seed production Field management fertilizer, water management, diseases and pest control Crop husbandry Harvesting and grading Post harvest and marketing techniques Record keeping 	 Poultry husbandry Housing of chicks, pullets, layers and broilers Type of housing for poultry Handling and restraining of poultry Diseases and parasites Causes and control of poultry vices Formulation and mixing of feeds and feeding practices Slaughtering processing and marketing Poultry records
 Fruit production and plant production Nursery establishment and management Planting of different fruit trees Crop husbandry (spacing, fertilizing, pruning) Insect and disease control Harvesting and grading Record keeping 	 Milk processing Milk composition Cream separation Preparation of starter culture Preparation of rennet Production of soft, semi hard and hard cheese Production of butter Production of yogurt Milk products and their uses Marketing of milk and milk products
 4. Horticultural plant protection Identification of insects and damages Identification of diseases and damages Methods of pest control (field sanitation, natural pesticides, chemicals) Safety periods Safe use of pesticides Handling of pesticides Effect of pesticides on health and the environment Record keeping Planting, timing and use of improved varieties Use of pre pre-planting fertilizers (TSP, SSP and organic manure) Crop protection (weeding, pest and disease control) Soil erosion control and soil moisture conservation Harvesting and post-harvest technologies Storage and pests of stored products Use of agrochemicals Record keeping and marketing 	 Record Keeping 9. Business planning and management Planning of production cycle (schedules) Planning for supplies, manpower, equipment and markets Planning for financial requirements Planning for profit (sales, costs, profit) Simple market research techniques Product essentials Methods of setting prices Techniques of setting farm produces Dealing with competition (trade links) Financial capital requirements Credit acquisition Basic financial records Income statements Record keeping

Source: The HSS Small-Scale Farmers' Training Programme Report (1997)

Within the period between 1988 and 1993, the HSS was extending support to training programmes in commercial livestock keeping and horticulture implemented in local training centres. Direct training activities by the HSS came about in 1994 when the project office was established in Arusha. The training programme was also expanded to reach the districts of nine regions in the country: Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya, Morogoro, Coast, and Tabora. According to the Foundation's Prospectus, the value of the HSS inputs to the programme was 1.7 billion Tshs. Six HSS staff including a project manager managed the implementation of the program.

Actual training was implemented both within rural villages and in training centres. According to the HSS Prospectus 'The Engagement of The Hanns Seidel Foundation in Tanzania', the total number of farmers who participated in the training programme reached about 12,000. The number of seminars was 420. The HSS Small-Scale Farmers' Training Programme Report of 1997 show that the training programme within the first three years reached 3,990 farmers who participated in the 133 organized training activities.

Although at the beginning the number of women who benefited from the various training programmes was half the number of men, the other years saw deliberate move to increase women participation. This followed the appreciation of the fact that women play a big role in rural production and provide most of the labour needed in agricultural production. To increase the participation of this important section of the society in the training programme and, therefore, to achieve greater impact out of the training activities, village based training seminars were gradually increased at the expense of training activities in the agricultural training centres.

Year	On-Centre Seminars	Village Seminars	Part Men	ticipants Women	Total
1994	38	20	1107	625	1732
1995	28	17	624	501	1125
1996	11	30	594	539	1133
Total	77	67	2325	1665	3990

Table: 6.2. The training programme 1994-1997: participants and training location

Source: The HSS Small-Scale Farmers' Training Programme, Report (1997)

Training activities were implemented in 14 agriculture and livestock training centres in the country. From 1997 the number of training centres was reduced to only 4 and 36 village seminars were organised in Arusha and neighbouring Kilimanjaro regions. In addition to knowledge and skills provided in agricultural production practices, the training activity was expanded to include food processing, preservation techniques, business planning, and community development. Community development training covered the issues of team spirit promotion and leadership ethics, formation of groups, group procurement of inputs, identification of other off-farm income generating activities and the promotion of appropriate fuel wood technology.

Some of the beneficiary farmers reached by the training programme in Lyamungu Sinde, Hai district, Kilimanjaro region were visited and these are their observations:

Reverend Massawe

They came and looked at our animals. They requested some of us to make our cattle available for lessons.

They emphasised the importance of good breeds of bulls for our cows so that good breeds circulate within the village.

The coffee crop we depend on for our livelihoods is 'dead'. Now we get only 400 to 450 Tshs per kilogramme. Keeping the trees and managing them is more costly than the benefits we get from them. It is not surprising for individual village members' economies to collapse. Coffee farming was leading in importance here.

Before the KNCU [the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union] used to give us back some money, we used to call it 'Nyongeza' extra cash from our Union. We sold coffee to it and it paid us for our coffee less the amount we spent on fertilizer or pesticides and kept let say 50 Tshs per kilogramme. This money we used to get back in hard times of the year like now. We no longer get that and we have to buy fertilizer and pesticides at higher prices than we used to before.

People now weed the land for the coffee trees only to take care of the banana plants. The banana plant is more important now.

Bananas and the animals we keep are keeping us going around here.

The extra milk one cannot sale by himself is taken to the shops for sale. The animal manure we use on the banana plants.

We were taught how to mix animal feeds.

We were also encouraged to try fodder grass that were not common here and were brought such as Guatemala, Setaria, and Alfalfa [The first two have also the benefit of soil erosion control important in the uplands].

Growing coffee is now a problem, irrigating the crop in the flowering period is difficult, the population here has increased, and the traditional irrigation canals have less water.

The problem we do not have good breeds of cattle in our area, no good bulls.

We made contact with Heifer International, they provided some good breeds to some of us but only a few of them, and they have stopped, I think after the mad cow disease crisis in Europe.

I had six heads of cattle, now four. I get like four litres of milk it is not much; more beneficial perhaps is the manure. I sell a litre of milk for 200 Tshs.

The training programme was more than a weeklong and we got certificates.

We need good bulls.

Mwalimu Izack Massawe and Mrs. Massawe

We learned how to preserve fodder grass, to bury grass and adding salt to the grass.

We learned how to milk the animals, we were taught the techniques by the trainers from the *Agricultural Training Centre in Tengeru*.

We were also taught the importance of fighting worms in our animals to keep them more healthy and productive and the medicines to use.

We sell our milk to shops buying milk in large quantities and they pay us for our milk every end of the month.

We need better breeds of cows.

My husband here actually made the closing speech on behalf of the participants of the training programme.

(It should be noted that several years had passed since the training activities took place affecting the depth of responses to questions asked. The farmers were also much concerned about their present problems).

The training package delivered to rural farmers, as noted, later evolved to comprise more than the technical knowledge necessary to increased production. To include knowledge and skills covering post harvest activities of processing and business planning to facilitate better interactions with the market. In addition, the training programme was expected to induce positive attitudes to group formation and groups.

The evaluation of the training programme in 1997 by the HSS, although the selected sample was quite small and coverage limited to dairy farming, indicates that the project was able to record some improvements in farming practices because of programme activities. The livestock keeping activities of 47 seminar participants were examined. An average increase in milk production by 36% and individual increases from 5% to 100% were reported. For other performance indicators used: animal feed, pastureland management, and general animal health registered improvements were 94%, 85%, and 77% respectively. An important aspect discovered and which was thought could widen the impact of the training programme among farmers was the willingness by the trained farmers to share knowledge, and the interest the untrained farmers developed in acquiring knowledge from the trained farmers. It was observed that on average three neighbouring farmers were indirectly participating in the training activities through their trained neighbours (Project report, 1997).

In addition, a less direct benefit of the training programme registered is that: it brought trainers from the agriculture training centres close to real farmers and in the village production environments. Furthermore, the utilisation of the expert personnel was increased at a time when the institutions' capacities were highly under-utilised. The trainers became aware of the problems and challenges facing farmers, as well as their interests and priorities. During the training sessions, these came out and whenever feasible changes were made to accommodate identified farmers' needs. For example, it became known that farmers did not have any interest or needed to learn more about growing traditional crops like coffee this led to emphasis given to husbandry for crops such as sunflower considered important (Project report, 1997). It was also made known that the manager of the project, after the project ended continued to provide services to farmers through a consulting firm he established called Agrispan.

3. Assessment

The focus of the Farmers' Training Programme by the HSS was the promotion of improved agricultural and livestock keeping practices through farmers' training. Its initiatives have included the following (a) technical productive innovations, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods and (c) networking and/or collaborations.

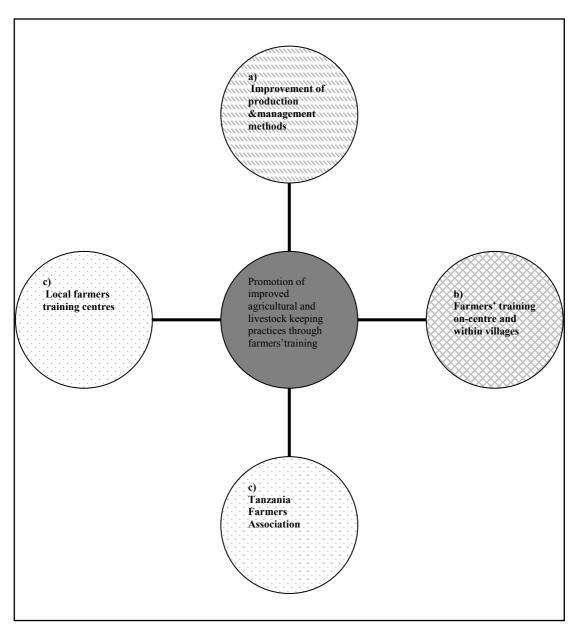


Figure: 6.1. The focus of the Farmers' Training Programme by the HSS

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3.1. Innovatory ideas

The training of farmers directly in their villages may be an idea that deserves to be pursued more often. Trainers and trainees in this kind of arrangement have the ability to influence each other's attitudes and views as new knowledge and practices imparted to the trainees are subjected to the realities facing the rural farmers in actual locations where the farming activities take place. At the same time, it becomes possible to influence change in attitudes and behaviours of the rural farmers to the adoption of improved practices as what is practical of the knowledge and practices newly introduced at the farm level becomes more obvious as possible difficulties are brought out and discussed.

The training programme also acknowledged the role of women in agricultural production. Therefore, it deliberately adapted its methods to increase the participation of women in the training activities. The traditional government extension system may not be flexible enough to adopt similar discriminatory approach in favour of women. Its methods might be largely influenced by existing cultural practices that make men the more active participants in organised formal activities.

3.2. Holistic orientation

The programme went beyond the narrow objective of improving knowledge and skills in actual production, to include knowledge and skills in post harvest activities of food processing, preservation, and business knowledge. It also provided skills necessary for the development of effective farmer support organisations at the local level.

3.3. Development and strengthening of community organisations

The training programme did not include the activity of directly initiating the development of groups. It provided the rural farmers knowledge and skills necessary for effective management of group activities. This might have the effect of influencing changes within groups or organisations in which rural farmers belong.

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3.4. Agro ecological orientation

The aim of the training programme was to improve agricultural productivity. The knowledge, skills, and practices encouraged and imparted were to make agriculture more productive to the rural population. However, ecological friendly approaches were encouraged such as the promotion of fodder grass with the properties for soil erosion control, the use of compost manure, terracing, mulching, proper use of artificial inputs, etc.

3.5. Poverty reach

The programme targeted rural farmers in general and it later concentrated its activities in the relatively affluent areas of the two regions where commercial farming was already commonly practiced. Since it was merely a training programme and no other support services were provided, wealthier farmers might have been better placed to use the knowledge provided.

3.6. Gender concern

The programme's deliberate and practical move to increase the participation of women in the training activities, making it possible the participation of people who are better placed to put into practice the knowledge and skills gained, suggests the training programme was ran with adequate knowledge of local circumstances including gender roles and their significance within the communities served.

3.7. Building linkages

The training programme worked closely with both public owned training institutions and government extension agents. This has had the benefit of bringing trainers in the agriculture training institutes and the extension agents together again and closer to real farmers in the production environments of the villages.

3.8. Scaling up

The possible advantage to be gained because of the programme, which worked with and used public service employees, is that the experience gained might be used within the governmental system of extension.

4. Conclusion

The training programme had a respectable integrative focus. It emphasised increases in farm productivity and promoted better land use and management practices. It also went beyond promoting production to providing knowledge on postproduction activities of preservation, processing, and marketing. Group management skills were also provided. The training programme had initially a wider geographical coverage, to improve effectiveness it later covered a limited area. There were also deliberate efforts to ensure adequate participation of women. Its best feature was the high quality training provided.

Case 7: Promoting Women through New Commercial Activities: TAWLAE's Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation Projects

Profile:

Status: Local NGO A Tanzanian Chapter of the African Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment (AWLAE)	Status in country: National NGO	Main NGO purpose: Advancement of women involved in agricultural development & environmental conservation -support to both women professionals and farmers	1. McKnight Foundation supported projects 2 out of 9: (I) Tomato processing and Jam making & (II) Mushroom farming. projects: (I) Kipera village, Morogord 2. Care-Tanzania supported: (III)Local Chicken Production Project Morogord 3. McKnight Foundation support to17 projects including 9 in Tanzania and 8 in Uganda amounted to USD 201,733 as total support (actual for grants USD 132,268). Morogord b) Care Tanzania support about 30,000,000Tshs (USD 30,000) Projects: (I) Kipera village, Morogord			
(I)A women group of 20 members(I) Processin usefulness of (II)Under 10 women (III) Planned 240, actual 51(II) Under 10 (III) Planned 240, actual 51(II) Improve		(1) Processing of usefulness of off (11)promoting nu (111) Improve lo	amme elements: of tomatoes to mitigate the problem of waste, increase fffarm tree and its fruits new farm produce – mushrooms growing local chicken breeds, intensify chicken keeping, improve influence attitude change about chicken keeping in villages			

Introduction

The Tanzania Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment is a network of professional women in Tanzania. It is a member of an umbrella organ AWLAE – African Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment stationed in Nairobi, Kenya. TAWLAE was formerly registered as a local non-governmental organisation in 1995. It has professional women employed in the public service as its members and they number, according to the coordinator, about 500. These women work in ministries and with other government departments responsible for agriculture, livestock development, natural resources management, cooperatives, the environment, poverty alleviation and training and research institutions with similar focus and orientation.

TAWLAE, and its umbrella organ AWLAE, have the broad objective of addressing two problems: the constraints that inhibit the full and effective participation of professional women at decision-making levels in formal institutions and those that hinder the abilities of rural women to increase their productivity and to benefit proportionately from their contributions to development. TAWLAE as a local NGO was specifically created to provide a forum through which professional Tanzanian women could be organised in a way that it would help them to promote and support each other, and to facilitate linkages with rural women farmers.

TAWLAE has two employed staff at the head office, the coordinator and a secretary. TAWLAE members are supposed to work on voluntary basis and their formal income is supposed to be the wages they receive as public servants. The head office is situated within a research institute premise owned by the government in Dar es salaam.

TAWLAE develops and implements programmes through its network of members who are part of both the formal mainstream government public service system i.e. female public employees in government departments and quasi-governmental departments such as research and training institutions in the country.³⁹ The arrangement facilitates economic and social support, including access to resources to reach women in different areas of the country and for varied purposes. The NGO, other than these specific and rather narrow in focus projects promoted, supports other important social economic development activities including lobbying and advocacy and obtaining funds for women training at all levels of formal education. These latter activities are centrally coordinated and managed at the Headquarters level, the specific development projects are less so coordinated and are more the responsibilities of the members who developed the activities and are implementing them.

Three small-scale TAWLAE implemented projects are examined. These are two of the projects supported by McKnight Foundation through Winrock International of production and post-harvest technology transfers and the Local Chicken Production Project implemented in Dodoma region and supported by Care International - Tanzania.

³⁹ Another NGO almost similarly structured, operating and carrying out similar roles as TAWLAE is the Tanzania Home Economic Association - TAHEA.

TAWLAE has implemented a series of development projects related to production and postharvest technology transfers supported by McKnight Foundation. McKnight Development Foundation provided funds for these activities as part of the activities supported through a 2year grant made available between January 1998 and June 2000, amounting to USD 201,733. According to the project report, 'End of McKnight Foundation Technology Transfer Grant Report' of September 2000, the actual amount available for grants was USD 132, 268 which supported 17 projects out of which, 8 were in Uganda and 9 in Tanzania.

Although the grant supported nine TAWLAE managed projects in Tanzania, it was thought that it would not be expedient to look at all the projects in this study. Thus, random selection was made and two projects were selected. The activities supported in 1998 and 1999 are:

- 1. Fruits and vegetable processing in Mkuranga District;
- 2. Seaweed farming in Mbweni, Kinondoni District, Dares salaam;
- 3. Mushroom production in Maili Moja, Kibaha District, Coast Region;
- 4. Solar drying: Initially testing the technology at TAWLAE's office in Dar es salaam, later moved to Iringa Region;
- 5. Beekeeping in Nambala and Mangire, Arumeru District, Arusha Region;
- 6. Local chicken production in Inala, Tabora Rural District, Tabora Region;
- 7. Sweet potato processing in Gairo District, Morogoro Region;
- Tomato purées processing in Kipera village, Morogoro Rural District, Morogoro Region.

As noted, simple random sampling methodology was used in the selection of two projects, as it was not necessary to look at all the McKnight Foundation supported projects. Rather, the choice, randomly, of any two was deemed sufficient for the study purpose. The projects selected were therefore:

- Tomato purées processing in Kipera village, Morogoro Rural District, Morogoro Region
- Mushroom production in Maili Moja, Kibaha District, Coast Region

I. Tomato purées processing in Kipera village, Morogoro Rural District, Morogoro Region

1. Background and objectives

Mlali division in Morogoro region is one of the areas of the region growing and supplying fruits and vegetables to the city population of Dar es salaam. Tomato is an important crop, the cash earner for the rural communities of Morogoro region and is grown by most farmers between the two rainy seasons, the long and short rains, within any year. This is a dry period, although some farmers sow the crop near the end of the long rains period. Farmers rely on the moist soil to grow the crop and as the land gets drier, shallow wells are used to irrigate the crop to maturity. The land used for tomato growing is mostly what was previously used for rice or maize cultivation.

Kipera village, the project area, finds itself within Mlali division where tomato growing is an important economic activity. As the situation in Tanzania is, growing tomatoes and other vegetables or some other kind of crop cultivation is not the exclusive domain of the rural farmers. During the tomato-growing period, public servants in employment in training institutions and in government departments also hire or use own pieces of land to grow tomatoes. The extra cash they can get from the Dar es salaam market is an important addition to the income they earn from their formal employments. It is not surprising then, as most farmers and non-regular farmers switch to tomato growing that supply always exceeds demand and farmers suffer from low prices and waste. Again, in the long rains period other food crops also cash earners are grown; tomato growing in this period is inhibited by the weather conditions and as a result, there is general scarcity of tomatoes in the country. The price for the crop during this period soars: rural and low-income earners in the urban areas give up the luxury of having tomatoes in their diets.

These conditions make any intervention that could change the aforementioned circumstances welcome: making tomato cultivation pay to farmers, control waste and losses, and making tomatoes available and affordable throughout the year. It is for these reasons that the project initiators came up with the idea, and funds were made available for the project. Furthermore, the idea of giving rural women opportunities to increase their incomes and a time-filler but a productive activity was an important influence.

TAWLAE members in Morogoro region initiated the project. The project was aimed at meeting the following objectives:

- To Provide technical knowledge on processing and preservation of tomatoes;
- To improve income earning capacity of rural women in the area;
- To assist women to create a market for the products they produce.

2. Project methodologies and approaches

To achieve the above objectives women were to be identified, trained and were to be provided help and support. Two activities were found to have been taking place in the project area: tomato processing and the making of jams. Jam making, a later addition, was made possible by using 'Embe Ngongo' fruits or *Sclerocarya birrea* available from the off-farm natural growing tree locally known as 'Ngongo' (End of McKnight Foundation Technology Transfer Grant Report of September 2000). To identify the women who could take part in the project, the village leadership was approached. The village executive Officer went around the village and spoke to the women he felt were appropriate. One group member responding to a question about how she was identified by the Village Executive Officer (VEO) observed:

'I think he was looking for flexible and developmental ones. Like myself, I like development activities. We were also once selected for a goat breeding project in the same way but it never took place'.

Initially, 25 women took part in the training activity for tomato purée making. Twenty among them joined up together as a group to form 'Mwamko' women group. The village government provided the village warehouse to the women as the training and processing centre. TAWLAE provided them with the necessary practical training and other resources: a cupboard, cooking utensils, storing containers and bottles, and food processing chemicals were provided.

At the time the project area was visited in March 2002, the group had only nine members. Although some members disengaged themselves from the group earlier on, most left the group, as the activity that brought them together in the first instance was no longer practised. One member observed that some women were forced to leave the group to maintain harmony within their families:

'Some left the group because their husbands were not cooperative. To process the fruits we start early in the morning up to 6 o'clock in the evening. The seminars and training we were attending made the men angry'.

There was some production in the year 2000, where some 75 bottles of tomato purées were processed. In 2001, 98 bottles of jam were also produced. The processing of tomatoes to make purees was not done at all in the year 2001. The reason for this was said to be lack of the requisite chemicals. In early 2002, nothing took place. Although making of jams from the 'Ngongo' fruits did not require chemicals but sugar only, group members claim that the fruits dropped prematurely from the trees because of the heavy rains and were not usable. Some of the processed products in bottles were sold in the local area at a price of between 300 and 600 Tshs per bottle. The prices offered were slightly lower than the same products sold in the area produced by large-scale food processors. This is said to have facilitated local sales. However, most of their products were taken to be branded and sold by the TAWLAE members.

Members of the group also observed that once the extension agents stopped visiting them that was the beginning of the end – the extension agents visited the group for the last time in April 2001. Asked why this was to be so they responded that:

We will continue with the activity if we can afford the price of the chemicals.

They used to come and bring the chemicals to us free of charge and we do not know how much it will cost us now.

We do not know the market for our products and if we continue producing, we have to find the extension agents to help us sell the products.

After harvesting and marketing of the crops now growing in the fields, [it was near the end of the long rains season] we will look at the possibility of processing tomatoes again.

The group observed that they received an income of about 52,000 Tshs from the processing business. They deposited 40,000 Tshs in a bank and the remaining amount was advanced to group members to be repaid back. The advances were between 500 and 2500 Tshs, provided according to individual requests. The group also pointed out that instead of sharing the whole income they decided to grow tomatoes but they suffered losses from the low tomato prices in the market.

Responding to the question about the benefits of the whole exercise, the women observed:

The knowledge gained in preserving tomatoes and making jams. [The respondent felt that as a woman the knowledge was important even though she might not use it again].

We, some of the members, are now closer than before. We meet, chart, and plan other activities together.

Another said they got the opportunity of meeting different people in the seminars and people like me. 'A 'Mzungu' [a white man] also came and talked to us; there was someone else also from the University who came to talk to us.'

It was also made known that the group's secretary is now a member of the village assembly and intends to compete for a political post at the divisional level.

3. Assessment

The tomato-processing project cannot be regarded as a success as marketing opportunities, availability, and supply of raw materials were not properly considered. In addition, lack of adequate thought as to the best way of ensuring effective participation of the beneficiaries, other than having them only in a group, affected project's sustainability and made the beneficiaries unduly dependent upon the project implementers.

There are, however, other benefits coming out of the project such as increases in confidence shown by the rural women. The project has also raised the social profile of the women in the eyes of the villagers and village leadership. The village has been, because of the project, receiving visitors and the objects of attention have been the members of the Mwamko group.

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3.1. Innovatory ideas

The government and the profit private sector have not been able to create conditions whereby local farm produce of perishable nature will not go to waste because of the imperfect market conditions. As such, the NGO's idea, to bring processing of perishable farm produce at the village level might have been innovative. The problem was that marketing constraints as consequences of competition from similar products – imported and from local factories – were not considered in project design.

3.2. Holistic orientation

To facilitate the processing activity the women were identified and selected, they were organised and provided training and the necessary equipments and chemicals. The technical knowledge needed was provided and was, as was required at the time, adequate. However, important sustainability factors not considered included the fact that the processing activity was not a social activity, but a business or economic undertaking where profit or surplus will guarantee future interest, especially after the initial enthusiasm during its introduction is over.

3.3. Development and strengthening of community organisations

The project from the beginning involved a women's group through which the project activities were to be implemented. Although the possibility for the group activity of food processing to continue is bleak, there is, as already seen, indications that the group formed might endure in some form or another, even if it is going to be only for socialization purposes among some group members.

3.4. Agro ecological orientation

The element of the project involving jam-making activity from the fruits of the off-farm tree had the potential of increasing the value of forest trees to local people. This and the promotion of tomato processing to avoid waste due to excess supply of tomatoes, improve its availability during shortages and to increase women's income are indicative of the efforts by the NGO to promote beneficial utilisation of local resources.

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3.5. Poverty reach

Although there were no specific efforts to target the poorest villagers, the women involved in the processing activity were ordinary village women; their status was not in any significant way different from other women in the area. However, the selection process might have been a barrier to the participation of poorest women.

3.6. Building linkages

The most important link that was to have been created was between the producers and the consumers, or the market. This was not done. Nevertheless, the project involved the local village leadership and received its blessings and support. The indirect link created with the market was through another NGO, TAFOPA (Tanzania Food Processors Association). Labels and containers were acquired by TAWLAE from this association supporting processing activities among women, as it is the case now, mainly in the urban areas.

II. Mushroom production project in Maili Moja, Kibaha District, Coastal Region

1. Background and objectives

TAWLAE members in Kibaha district initiated the promotion of mushroom farming project in the district. A project write-up was submitted to TAWLAE headquarters for fund solicitation and was forwarded to AWLAE, the main implementing agency on behalf of Winrock International. Financial support for 2 years was made available in January 1998. The project was initiated with the aim of introducing and promoting a commercial crop among rural women in one of the poorest regions in the country to improve income and nutritional status of families. A particularly important objective was to provide a means of empowering local women economically. As due to cultural influences women were not supposed to work away from their homes and as such mushroom growing was believed could be done in their backyards and could, consequently, lead to increased women mobility induced by the need to seek for raw materials and marketing outlets.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ A cautionary note is necessary here. Indigenous Tanzanian women in general, regardless of religious affiliations have always been the important bread earners for the family, the producers of agricultural produce and sellers of produce in local markets. Women in Kibaha district are not constrained within the vicinity of

2. Project methodologies and approaches

As mushroom growing was new to both the target women and extension workers in Kibaha district, it was considered important to familiarise the district's extension workers with the technical aspects of the crop as well as the project and its objectives. TAWLAE members in the district underwent organized training of trainer's workshop, as they were to be the instruments through which the gained knowledge about the crop will be imparted to rural women. They were also supposed to encourage and mobilize women to adopt the crop. Other mobilization measures included a high profile workshop at the regional headquarters, where among other activities, food prepared from mushrooms were exhibited.

It was also planned that TAWLAE members should mobilize women and whenever 10 women in a single location show interest in the crop, they should be provided training and encouraged to farm mushrooms. Signboards were to be placed in the villages requesting interested women to register for training. Information imparted to the women ranged from increased income and nutritional benefits of the crop to the preparation requirements for mushroom farming. It was estimated that at a cost of 25,000 Tshs for inputs a farmer could harvest 2-3 kg of mushrooms per day, which would be worth between 4000 and 6000 Tshs. Seeds were said to be available from Kawawa's farm – a few kilometres nearby, the University of Dar es salaam and Uyole Agricultural Centre in Mbeya region.⁴¹ To promote further the crop, TAWLAE used the 1998 Farmers Day (Nane Nane) to show the relative importance of mushrooms to households' diets and income to the public. According to the 'End of McKnight Foundation Technology Transfer Grant Report' of September 2000, because of the project mushrooms worth 3,000,000Tshs (USD 3750) were in 1999 produced.

Although an elaborate process was planned, to mobilize, encourage, and train rural women to engage in mushroom farming, the project was only able to reach those called early adopters.

A member of TAWLAE in the project area asked about this development observed:

their homes and have small 'shambas' respectable distances from their homesteads within which they grow horticultural crops and rice.

⁴¹ Mzee Kawawa, a former outstanding and high-ranking politician during the Nyerere socialist leadership period, is said to have turned into a large-scale mushroom farmer in the new liberalised economic environment.

'Mushroom farming has not reached poor village women. If we had managed to reach some poor village women, others would have learned from them. We did not reach there'.

Asked the reason for this, she gave budget constraint as the reason. She gave an example of a rural farmer who was interested in farming mushrooms and who came to them to seek advice and help:

'We went to see the rural farmer and provided advice on how to build a barn for the purpose. We promised to visit again and provide further support. We never went back because we did not have the means to go there. We do not know how the farmer is progressing but since no more contact has been made, I think the farmer has despaired.'

Asked about the marketing aspect of the crop, she responded that the market is a problem as they get big orders they cannot meet. The orders come from tourist hotels and supermarkets and local consumption of mushrooms is still very low. One of the project initiators growing mushrooms decided to have her tearoom as a collection centre. The tearoom was visited and the small refrigerator was holding three kilograms of mushrooms. Another market outlet she observed was to sell through Kawawa's farm. She also acknowledges that the women needed to have opened their own collection centre.

However, this option might have come too late as the number of women growing mushrooms has decreased from 10 to three. A despaired woman farmer who has abandoned the crop made the following observations:

They encouraged us to farm mushrooms, build barns for the purpose, and incur costs...

Only Kawawa has the market because he can meet buyers' orders...

If you want to sell mushrooms, you have to join him...

We have no facilities for storing mushrooms when a day passes the crop goes bad...

If there is sun, you can dry but the market for dried mushrooms is not there...

It is better to have a plot planted with 'Mchicha' (a common vegetable that always has a ready market, as it is cheap)...

It is too expensive to farm mushrooms...

The price of a kilo is supposed to be 6000 but they give out 2000 or 3000 Tshs and sell in Dar es salaam for 6000 Tsh...

Mushroom farming here is poor...

We need loans for cooling systems... To promote the crop we cannot...

We need to process to have mushrooms in dried or in powder forms or make mushroom soup...

3. Assessment

Despite problems, mushroom farming is an ongoing activity among some very few of the women who are better placed socially and economically to carry it out. The prospective farmers were only brought together for training. However, mobilization for group activity in mushroom farming could have been beneficial. Having farmers organised in some way could have mitigated marketing problems and the lack of required facilities.

3.1. Innovatory ideas

Mushroom farming has never been a known and popular occupation in the country. In many areas of the country, people occasionally eat mushrooms though they do not grow them but collect them from the fields and forests. Mushroom farming activities were earlier restricted to agricultural research centres and institutions. Public employees working in these centres or their spouses undertook some small-scale mushroom farming. However, as a market developed in the urban centres because of the economic and trade liberalization policies, somewhat large-scale private mushroom farming emerged as an important activity to very few individuals. The TAWLAE implemented project was intended to introduce and demystify mushroom farming among the more local farming communities.

3.2. Holistic orientation

The design and implementation of the project did not take into consideration the conditions necessary to make mushroom farming a successful activity to the majority of the initial adopters.

3.3. Poverty reach

As indicated earlier, the intended target community for which the proposal for implementing such a project was formulated could not be the direct beneficiaries due to the nature of the project itself and the manner it was organised.

3.4. Building Linkages

The most important link that could have been made was with the private sector – the market. The TAWLAE member's collection centre has generally not been able to foster acceptable relationships between some of the mushroom farmers and the market.

III. The local chicken production project

1. Background

According to TAWLAE's programmes coordinator, Care IMARA funded the local chicken production project. Care IMARA as a project under Care Tanzania has been implementing a grant extension programme to local organisations. IMARA itself, meaning in Swahili language strong or durable, is taken as an abbreviation for 'Imarisha Mapato Riziki na Afya' in Swahili, a crude translation of it might read 'Improving Income, Income Earning Opportunities or Fortune and Health'. The project came about as a response by TAWLAE members, the female agricultural and livestock development staff in Dodoma region, to a newspaper advertisement by Care IMARA for project proposals from local development organisations. Mama Kisamba, an extension agent and one of the TAWLAE members responsible for the project, observed that they developed a project proposal for the local

chicken improvement project as a response to the offer of support for poverty alleviation projects by local NGOs in the country. The TAWLAE member proudly announced that their project proposal was one out of the 20 accepted for grant support among about 400 proposals submitted to Care IMARA. TAWLAE has a permanent office within the Dodoma rural district's administrative building and it is referred to as the TAWLAE's branch in Dodoma.

According to the Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001, the project initially received a grant of 25, 895,000 Tshs and was to be implemented in two years, July 2000 to June 2002, in two of Dodoma region villages. These are Iyumbu, in Dodoma Makulu ward, Dodoma urban district; and Mvumi, in Makangwa ward, Dodoma rural district. The two villages have a total population of 11,337 people or 2,573 households. According to the evaluation report, the direct beneficiaries were to be 240 households or 120 from each village. The table below describes the population of the two villages.

	Table:	7.1.	Village p	opulation
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Village	Households	Women	Men	Total Population
Iyumbu	1133	2300	3363	5663
Mvumi	1440	3100	2574	5674

Source: TAWLAE, Local Chicken Production Project - Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001.

The villages before the local chicken production project had earlier seen other externally supported development initiatives. At Iyumbu village, they related what they could remember. Some of the development projects they consider impositions and others participatory. The ability by villagers to categorise development projects in such a manner is certainly worthy of note. The ability comes about as earlier projects are replaced by new projects and with time, the villagers are implicitly empowered to make judgements not only about benefits and appropriateness, but also about the level and manner of their involvement and non-involvement in development projects and subsequent outcomes as a result. They can make comparisons and develop opinions.

Among the earlier activities supported, some show success while others have nothing much to show. About a school rehabilitation project, a villager and schoolteacher observed that villagers adequately supported and contributed to improve their school. They contributed labour and spent their own money on some elements of the construction process. A tree planting exercise was partly successful as some trees grown can be seen around the villagers' homes. Fuel-saving stoves introduced are in use in some few households. The carts introduced worked only for a month, the animals trained for oxen ploughing soon became wild because of both incomplete training and inadequate use, and the water well developed does not function as required. The vegetable preservation technique promoted is now familiar to the villagers. However, it is used with some modification.

According to the villagers, the earlier initiatives were brought to the villages and were, with the exception of the school rehabilitation project, 'ready made' activities. The primary school was decided by the villagers to be a village priority. Similar needs for support of priority to the villagers are, as they indicated, a health centre, improved access to water and support to acquire a grain-milling machine. These might be suggestive of the kind of activities villagers consider important and beneficial and for which their participation and commitment could be significant.

The local chicken production project was implemented among villagers who have some familiarity with external support and whose general behaviour to the project might have been, to some degree, influenced by their previous experiences in previous participative development initiatives in their villages.

2. Project methodologies and approaches

The project's aim has been to improve chicken keeping practices of villagers by introducing new breeds of cockerels and promoting better methods of poultry keeping. The people of the project areas have as their main occupation a mix of crop cultivation and cattle keeping. However, at Iyumbu village handicraft work by young village men and gardening by women is also common.

In the project areas, like elsewhere in the country, local breeds of chickens are commonly kept in most households and chickens and eggs are occasionally sold. Large-scale commercial keeping of chickens of any degree is not important in the villages. Large-scale chicken keeping is often practiced by the households of publicly employed individuals in the urban areas, but not in rural villages by common villagers.

This project was one of the efforts by TAWLAE to promote at village level improved semiintensive chicken keeping practices in the country. According to the Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001, the primary objective of the local chicken production project was to increase the income levels and to improve the nutritional status of rural women, youth, and households through improved productivity of local chickens in the two villages.

Mobilisation and beneficiary selection

Within the two villages, rural farmers were made aware of the project through village meetings. The project's intentions were communicated including the way in which the direct beneficiaries are to be identified. This activity took place for two days in the month of August 2000. The mobilisation meeting in Iyumbu village was attended by 63 men and 63 women and in Iringa Mvumi, 77 women and 40 men. The beneficiaries were informed that the project intended to work with 120 villagers or households from each village. The condition for participation in project activities was the possession of ten hens by each villager or by a villager's household (Chicken Project Report for Two Years, August 2000 to July 2002).

Capacity creation and improvement for project management

These activities can be observed from the support extended to TAWLAE the projectimplementing agency by Care IMARA the grant-making agency. Support efforts included the provision of office equipments for project administration purposes, training of TAWLAE members on project proposal writing and in the use of computers. In addition, staff of both the project implementing TAWLAE branch in Dodoma and the grant programme implementing sub office of Care Tanzania, Care IMARA, seemed to have worked in liaison in project preparation efforts and its evaluation mid-course.

The output of the mid-term evaluation carried out – the Mid-term Evaluation Report of August 2001 – show to comprise important elements used in assessing the project. These include the gauging of achievements against objectives and the examination of project's

status versus the sustainability issue. The latter involved assessing the project relative to the following criteria:

1) The project's financial capacity: Under this criterion, financial sustainability without external funding and after the initial financial support by Care was examined. It has been stated that a revolving fund system should have been in place for the financial sustainability objective to be realised, and was yet to be created.

2) Institutional capacity as a criterion was also assessed. Here, successful efforts are stated to include the funds provided to the implementing agency for office utilities, networking supported between the members of TAWLAE and other institutions, training provided, and the creation of the Village Project Management Committees in the two villages. Village Project Management Committees (VPMCs) were formed to support project activities. According to the report, the VPMCs had about equal membership between females and male beneficiaries. It has the following roles: the monitoring of progress, report writing for project activities, rendering of necessary technical and support services, for example, through home visits to carry out vaccinations; the setting of guidelines, rules and regulations for the project and their sanctioning, follow-ups on credit repayments and the creation and management of a revolving fund.

3) Technical/technological capacity: The methodologies and techniques promoted were considered relevant and not beyond the beneficiaries' abilities to understand and use. The materials used for project purposes are also said to be locally available.

4) Ownership issue and acceptability of the project: The project is said to serve the community and as an exit strategy, the VPMCs created were prepared to take over project responsibilities. Acceptability is said to be high and there have been requests from other areas for similar support. It is also observed that members of the beneficiary communities have been involved in monitoring efforts and evaluation processes.

Support services, training of farmers and inputs distribution

One of the early preparatory activities for project implementation was the training of the beneficiaries. According to the two years project report, the farmers were divided into three groups and each group received one week training. A total number of 140 farmers attended the training activities organised. It also stated in the report that ends of sessions evaluations were carried out.

Day	Subject/training elements
One	 Introduction to poultry keeping Poultry keeping practices Shelters/fences Feeding equipments
Two	 Making of poultry feeds Poultry diseases and their prevention Selection of better breeds of chicken
Three	 The essentials of poultry keeping Improving breeds Markets and preparation of produce
Four	Food and human nutrition
Five	 Sources of capital Savings and credit Revolving loan fund Record keeping Markets and investments Keeping money in banks

 Table: 7.2.
 Training Time Table and elements

Source: TAWLAE: Two Years Project Report, August 2000 to July 2002

Another preparatory activity was the baseline survey carried out. According to the two years project report, the survey involved the collection of general information about the villages and their inhabitants: information on health and nutrition, agriculture, economy and business, education, working in groups and social welfare services in the villages. Four TAWLAE members and a facilitator from the Institute of Rural Development and Planning in Dodoma took part in the baseline survey. The grant-making organisation Care Imara is

said to have given some basic directions to all NGOs supported to carry out baseline surveys indicating important areas or elements to be covered in the surveys.

The number of households participating in the project was 51, a lower number than the preplanned 240 households or direct beneficiaries. The project introduced new breeds of cocks, Rhode Ireland Reds, to the village from Kireka prisons in Morogoro. The table below shows the support services provided by the project.

 Table: 7.3.
 Distribution of inputs, vaccination of chickens, and the participating households

Village	Wire mesh	Bowls/Plates	Flashlights	Feeders	Cocks	Vaccinated chicken	Households
Iringa -Mvumi	20	42	42	42	21	361	21
Iyumbu	7	60	60	60	7	160	30
Total	27	102	102	102	28	521	51

Source: TAWLAE - Two Years Project Report, August 2000 to July 2002

Networking

The concept and practice of networking seemed important in the course of project implementation. Firstly, linkages between TAWLAE and Care IMARA to some extent transcended the grant giver being merely a passive conduit of grants made. Preparatory directions such as the carrying out of baseline surveys were given. In addition, the mid-term evaluation exercise was jointly undertaken. Secondly, there have been collaborations between the project and other institutions of the wider stakeholder community. The collaborations have been about the sourcing of expertise and inputs for project purposes. The table below identifies the important collaborating institutions and describes, briefly, the purposes.

Stakeholder/collaborator	Purposes/areas of collaborations
INADES Formation	Supply of educative materials i.e. reference books
DMPP – Dodoma Micro Projects Programme	Educative networking, information sharing, logistics e.g., transport etc.
Temeke ADRI – Animal Research Institute	Support services e.g., supplying of poultry vaccines, also information sharing and advices on poultry management
Sokoine University of Agriculture – Morogoro	Educative networking, information sharing, and advice
Livestock Training Institute, LITI of Mpwapwa, Dodoma	Educative networking, training on general poultry management and advice
IRDP – Institute for Rural Development and Planning, Dodoma	Baseline surveys and marketing
Individual farmers	Advice

Table: 7.4. Networking with stakeholders

Source: TAWLAE, Local Chicken Production Project: Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001

3. Economic and social benefits

Besides the primary objectives of the project, there have been project targets. The immediate goals, the targets, are stated to be:

- 75% of participating farmers to develop poultry shelters from the current 4.46%;
- to increase the number of chickens owned by 50%;
- to achieve reasonable weights among the chickens;
- to increase the number of eggs being laid;
- to have 50% of the households consume in their meals 3 chickens and 6 eggs or more a month from the current 5% level;
- to improve the ability of farmers to prevent poultry diseases and to halve the rate of deaths during outbreaks from the almost 100% at present (TAWLAE: Two Years Project Report, August 2000 to July 2002).

The following are the general and specific benefits attained, according to the Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001:

- Essential knowledge has been made available to participating farmers about improved chicken keeping practices.
- More awareness was created among the villagers about the nutritional benefits of eggs and chicken meat and especially to the health and growth of children.

- The participating farmers have built shelters for the chickens kept. Among the 140 villagers who participated in the training activities, 66 people or 47% of them developed proper poultry shelters.
- The villagers were supported to practice semi-intensive chicken keeping and the number of chickens kept initially increased several folds.
- Farmers can prepare using local available food substances appropriate chickenfeed.
- Efforts were made to control chicken diseases. These included helping farmers identify diseases and understand proper treatments for the different diseases. Both traditional practices such as the use of ground Aloe Vera and hot pepper and modern remedies including vaccinations for the prevention of the more serious killer diseases such as the New Castle Disease, were promoted and encouraged.
- The VPMCs were created to continue providing important support services to farmers and as a link between farmers and project staff.
- The impact of the project to community health and the environment is also considered important. The benefits seem numerous: a) the growing of the passion fruit plant for providing shade and protection to chickens whose movements are now limited, b) soil fertility improvement through the promotion of and now facilitated use of poultry manure, and c) the promotion of hygiene through the practice promoted of keeping separate dwellings for animals and humans.
- Some increases are noted in the use of eggs and chicken meat for food among participating households. 68.6% of project participants include eggs in their meals at least twice a month and 37.14% include chicken meat at least once a month.

Other benefits arising from the project as per the TAWLAE's Two Years Project Report, August 2000 to July 2002 are:

- The laying of eggs by well-fed hens has increased from 12 to 25 eggs per clutch.
- There have been increases in the number of chickens in some households from 15 to about 90.

• Villagers have developed the habit of keeping records about their income generating activities.

According to the TAWLAE's Two Years Project Report, some of the problems limiting aspired success in the efforts to change local attitudes on chicken keeping have been:

Failure for the implementation of the project to start as scheduled in September. This has affected villagers' participation in the preparatory training organized for the project. The training was carried out in October and November and it coincided with crop cultivation activities of the villagers.

During initial project implementation period, the chicken disease, New Castle Disease or 'Mdonde' in Swahili, killed chickens in the villages. This affected villagers' participation and the availability of appropriate participants as the project planned to improve the production of local chickens available within households.

Although local chickens were vaccinated against the New Castle Disease, they also suffered other diseases such as coryza, coccidiosis, fowl pox and the flee problem among newly hatched chicks.

In addition, it is also stated that inadequate rains affected grain harvests in the villages and thus availability of chickenfeed.

Following a visit to the project areas and through interviews with project personnel and farmers, some more light on the status of the project was gained.

Mama Grace Gritta of Iyumbu village, shares the following experiences:

I made available ten hens for the project and they hatched about 50 chicks.

Diseases kill the chicks only 20 or 10 of them live. If you are late in giving them medicine, they die.

I have been selling about 15 chickens every year. We eat eggs and five hens are now brooding.

We sell them for 1200 or 1500 Tshs each. I have to sell them to buy food.

You cannot keep a large number they get affected by diseases. We have to keep a minimum number. If I was not selling the chickens, they will be now about 70 or 80. I prepare chicken feed myself, we were taught how. My chickens are now about 20. Many of the newly hatched chicks die.

I have not vaccinated my chickens for along time.

The money I get from selling chicken helps me. I have also bought a goat.

There is a good market for chicken here. They come here. I have never gone to town to sell any.

The experiences of mama Masaulwa of Iyumbu village on the local chicken keeping project are as follows:

It was in November 2000 that they came to us. There was a village meeting and those interested in the project were to register their names for a preparatory seminar.

We were taught how to take better care of our chickens and vaccinations. They provided cocks, we were supposed to have hens and make other preparations. Building the shelters and having feeding equipments ready.

That is when we started the project, and then we started to experience the benefits and losses.

There were many people interested in the activity in the first week, but after the rains started, others could not continue they had to prepare their plots for planting crops.

Those who managed to build the shelters were about 30-35 and we were given feeders made of wood, drinkers, and materials for fencing around the shelters.

I had seven hens, and they multiplied to reach 50. I sold about 20 of them, when they grow up we sale them. It is true that we benefited. We sold the chickens we sold the eggs.

We travelled and they all died. We have bought three hens and have borrowed one of the better breeds of cocks introduced into the village. We intend to start again.

A TAWLAE member, made the following observations:

The project was well received by the villagers, however, when the newly hatched chicks started to die in great numbers that is when problems started. One has suddenly 50 new chicks and in a few days time they are reduced to less than ten, it created despair.

The problem is that they are often late with vaccinations and mass deaths occur.

The material costs for each household was 26,000 Tshs and was to be repaid back. There is 67,000 Tshs now in the Bank for the revolving fund purpose.

The VPMC is not very strong. The chairperson's chickens never hatched. The secretary mama Devota has travelled.

4. Assessment

The objective that has not been easy to achieve, is the control of outbreaks of poultry diseases, especially the New Castle Disease. Diseases have very unfortunately affected the desired level of success. How important the diseases problem is was manifested to both the project implementers and beneficiaries as it affected both preparations and the implementation of the project from early stages.

The rural chicken keepers are also familiar with the limitations to any large-scale chicken keeping practice. It is almost traditional for a household to loose all, or almost all, of its chickens and the few remaining 'the die hard ones' to reproduce again so that four or even ten chicks or twenty charm again the household before the next outbreak of the common killer diseases. This circle of events is as old as chicken keeping by households itself. The project has not been able to break this circle. The Mid-Term Evaluation Report of August 2001 identifies negligence, rather than lack of knowledge, as one of the major causes of chicken deaths from diseases. The other contributing factor mentioned is financial constraints on the part of the farmers.

Nonetheless, the project has succeeded in achieving some other equally important outcomes. They include the promotion of healthy animal keeping habits among a large group of people, better chicken keeping practices and the improving of local breeds. The project also represents initial efforts to change traditional attitudes of villagers towards chicken keeping. The relationships at operational level between Care IMARA staff and the TAWLAE members involved in the project might have improved the capacities of members of TAWLAE in some aspects of project preparation, implementation, evaluation, and reporting.

4.1. Innovatory ideas

The project is an effort by the NGO to change traditional attitudes of the rural people towards chicken keeping and to promote healthy livestock keeping behaviour. The specific practices promoted as seen below show important benefits. Some of the methodologies adopted such as the baseline surveys carried out, the efforts to link sustainability of the project with issues of ownership, local technical and financial capacities and the institutional capacity to adopt the practices promoted, to implement and manage the project are important to successful NGO projects.

4.2. Holistic orientation

There were some efforts to link poultry keeping and passion fruit growing.

- ✓ Although nutritional improvements were to come from more eggs and chicken meat consumed, a less than ordinary source, relative to the type of activity supported, is the fruits from the crawling passion plant promoted and grown.
- ✓ Efforts, or rather intentions, to establish revolving funds for the project beneficiaries are indicative of the concern by the project of local problems and needs. In this case, the problem of accessibility of financial support services to the villagers for project purposes was to be resolved by establishing the revolving funds in the villages.

4.3. Development and strengthening of community organisations

Efforts in this direction come in the form of the Village Project Management Committees (VPMCs). However, the effectiveness of this mode of community involvement and ownership has not been as desired. Had the VPMCs in the villages appropriately assumed

their intended roles, as earlier suggested, there would have been no reason for the project not to be successful in most of its aspirations.

4.4. Agro ecological orientation

The project intended to improve local chicken production. Efforts included cockerels of better breeds being introduced and the promotion of useful and better poultry keeping practices among villagers. Similarly, the building of chicken shelters and the twofold objectives realised of healthy animal keeping and poultry manure accumulation and the promotion of the passion fruit plant for multiple reasons and the multiple benefits expected, indicate productivity concerns and other noble and beneficial objectives by the project are supportive of each other synergistically.

4.5. Poverty reach

Although there was no specific targeting of the poorer members in the villages, the target beneficiaries are the rural households.

4.6. Gender concerns

Promoting more gender balanced communities has been the underlying objective of the NGO which implemented this project relative to its *raison d'être*. Improving the economic and social conditions of rural households and women were thus the important objectives of the local chicken project.

4.7. Building linkages

The project, as already observed, developed linkages with other organisations. Most associations have been to facilitate project implementation. The linkages have therefore been about sourcing of advice, materials and other services necessary to support project implementation. These relationships might have been useful when continued by the project beneficiaries. However, no such linkages seemed promoted in a manner to endure after the official ending of the project.

4.8. Scaling up

Scaling up might be observed from the following:

TAWLAE members in Tabora region also implemented a similar local chicken improvement project.

5. Conclusion

The focus of the poverty alleviation projects by TAWLAE was to promote women's advancement through income generating activities. Its initiatives included the following (a) technical productive innovations, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) networking/collaborations and (d) empowerment through group mobilisation and support.

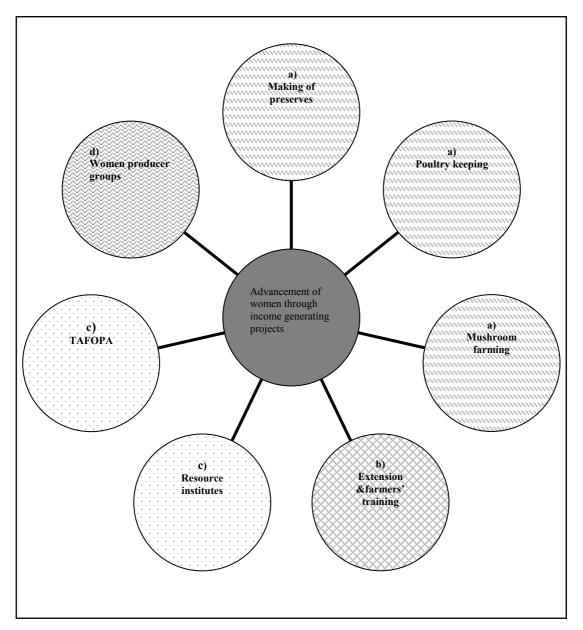


Figure: 7.1. The focus of TAWLAE's projects

The following concluding remarks are made in relation to the three TAWLAE implemented projects.

The local chicken production project has been successful to some extent. Social benefits are observed from the processing project. The mushroom farming project can be credited for the promotion of some commercial mushroom farming among women. However, the projects show that local NGOs need to learn more about successful project planning and implementation. The promotion of successful agricultural innovations takes both careful planning and sustained communication with potential beneficiaries.

Case 8: Organising Farmers and Networking: The National Network of Small-Scale Farmers' Groups in Tanzania, MVIWATA

Profile:

Status: Local NGO Origin: local an outgrowth of a development project- UMADEP	Status in country: National NGO	Main NGO purpose: Support to and promoting interests of farmers	Current main projects: Rural Markets Project, Rural Banks Project/Income Generating Project	NGO Age: A decade old	NGO Main sources of funds & support: AGRITERRA FERT European Union	NGO Geographical coverage: intention national, but currently represented in about 18 regions Head Office: Morogoro – Central Tanzania
Tanzanian small-scaleIfarmers, farmers in projectsareas, in areas covered by theSactivities of its partners andIgenerally, through lobbyingMand advocacy work andImedia use, the generalHfarmers of TanzaniaHCurrently it is also estimatedH		NGO main activities: Farmer training to improve productivity of agricultural practices and sustainable use of the natural resources Soliciting and attracting financial resources for development projects Lobbying and advocating for small-scale farmers Networking with internal and external institutions Improving gender relations among the rural farmer population Facilitating exchange of experiences between farmers Promoting and supporting savings and credit schemes and services Efforts to improve marketing of food and horticultural crops Facilitating sharing of expertise and knowledge between partners and stakeholders in support of the rural farming population				

1. Background

MVIWATA, registered in 1995 as a local NGO, stands for 'Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania' in Swahili language. It is a product of an agricultural development project – The Uluguru Mountains Agricultural Development Project, UMADEP. The project based in the Faculty of Agriculture of Sokoine University (SUA) is implemented in collaboration with the government extension system and farmers in Mgeta and Mkuyuni Divisions of Morogoro region. UMADEP mobilised group formation and used groups to facilitate dialogue between professionals and farmers. According to Professor Mattee, who was responsible for the UMADEP project, they have mobilized the formation of about thirty farmers' groups. It was also felt that farmers' groups should form networks at local level to allow the sharing of experiences among farmers and to strengthen their collective capacities. In 1993, a farmers' meeting was organised as a forum for farmer-to-farmer exchange of

experiences and 22 farmers from the four regions of Morogoro, Dodoma, Tanga, and Mbeya attended this meeting. SUA under the UMADEP project organised this meeting and floated the idea of creating a national network of small-scale farmers' groups with the desire and expectation of having local networks represented in a national forum to be created. The implementers of the UMADEP project wanted benefits of working with groups and groups' networks extended to other areas of the country. As networks of farmers' groups did not exist in other parts of the country other than within the UMADEP project areas, the creation of a national body was expected to act as a catalyst for network formation by groups at local levels and subsequently their affiliation to the national network. It was within the knowledge of those from whom the idea originated that farmers' groups of one kind or another, and at different stages of development and strength, exist in many local areas of the country. The groups have their origins either directly, or indirectly, from the development projects implemented by NGOs and agencies of multilateral and bilateral institutions in the rural areas of Tanzania.

The farmers' groups and networks from the experience of UMADEP are effective in:

- Facilitating communication between institutional researchers and extension workers on one side and farmers on the other;
- Facilitating communication among farmers within communities and between farming communities creating a process of sharing knowledge and experiences;
- Facilitating the creation of dynamism and momentum for action on those programmes agreed upon by group consensus. As such, this has resulted into concrete actions taken by farmers (Mattee and Lassalle (1999:109).

MVIWATA by the end of 2002 represented 120 local networks, almost double the number of networks it represented in the preceding year which was 75. It is estimated that MVIWATA is currently reaching between 10,000 and 25,000 farmers in the country. Support to the farmers' Network has been coming mainly from and through, according to the project coordinator, FERT⁴² of France and AGRITERRA of the Netherlands (a Dutch

⁴² Formation pour l'Epanouissement et le Renouveau de La Terre

organisation responsible for international cooperation between rural people's organisations.⁴³ Ninety percent of support received comes from these two external support organisations. Some of the other institutions supporting MVIWATA are Action by Churches Together (ACT-Tanzania), Leopold Foundation of France, PELUM,⁴⁴ and IVA⁴⁵ a Belgian NGO.

2. Methodologies and approaches

Policy changes at national level on the role of government in development, its resultant effect on the status of farmers' organisations and the creation of an environment conducive to the emergence of different civil society organisations facilitated the creation of MVIWATA. The social, political, and economic changes have brought about new challenges affecting rural farmers and the Tanzanian public at large. The changes also exposed weaknesses and problems previously hidden behind the façade of quasi-governmental institutions and organisations. In respect of the farming rural communities, the weaknesses and problems are lack of effective farmer organisations representing farmers' interests against those of the authorities and poor or ineffective operations of the supposed to be farmers' organisations.

MVIWATA is therefore a development of the new liberalized socio-economic and political environment in Tanzania. It represents the new alternative to the conventional forms of farmer organisations in the country i.e. mainly the primary producer societies, cooperatives and their apex bodies whose operations are concentrated in the important cash crop growing areas of the country with cash crop marketing as their main activity.

⁴³ AGRITERRA, in its website, <u>http://www.agriterra.org</u>, clearly indicates the amount of financial assistance accorded to MVIWATA and similarly to those other organisations and institutions of other countries supported by it. From 01.10.2001 to 31.12.2002, for the objective of institutional reinforcement and capacity building, it contributed 69,947.00 Euros. From 01.08.2002 to 30.10.2002 for the objective of strategic planning, its contribution was 14,825 Euros; and from 01.07.2003 to 31.12.2003, as support to MVIWATA - activity and budget, it contributed 78,956.00 Euros.

⁴⁴ Participatory Ecological and Land Use Management

Objectives and Organisation

The primary objectives of MVIWATA are to represent adequately farmers' interests, to support them in confronting the problems they face through promoting participatory communication, carrying out and supporting lobbying and advocacy and organisational strengthening activities. The objectives are to be achieved through:

- Organising farmers' exchange visits within and outside Tanzania;
- Organising regional and national workshops as forums for airing farmers' views, discussing and solving farmers' problems;
- Organising training activities for leaders and members of both the national and local networks;
- Documentation and dissemination of farmers' experiences and activities;
- Networking with other organisations and institutions of similar interests as MVIWATA;
- Looking for funding for agricultural and income generating activities by its members;
- Convening a general meeting for all the members once a year;
- Organising the Steering Committee meetings every three months.

MWIWATA is supposed to be a Network of networks: farmer groups in local areas are expected to form networks; network leaders who are supposed to represent their local networks in the mother Network are then selected. These representatives take part in the Annual General Meetings of MWIWATA and some of them constitute the Steering Committee or the Management Board, and sub-committees responsible for the specific functional activities carried out by the Network. The functional activities fall within its administration wing. The administration or management team is made up of professionals headed by a co-ordinator and the heads of sections of training and communications, finance and administration and gender and extension. There is also an economic wing represented by two projects under the jurisdiction of the Board of Trustees, which together with the management team are responsible to the Steering Committee and finally the Annual General Meeting of MVIWATA.

The two projects currently under the Economic Wing are the Rural Markets Development Project expected to cost 5.7 million Euros and the Rural Farmers' Banks and Savings and Credit Scheme (or, according to project staff, donors refer to it as 'Support to MVIWATA in the Development of Income Generating Activities'). For this latter project, direct financial support to MVIWATA is Euro 332,224.⁴⁶

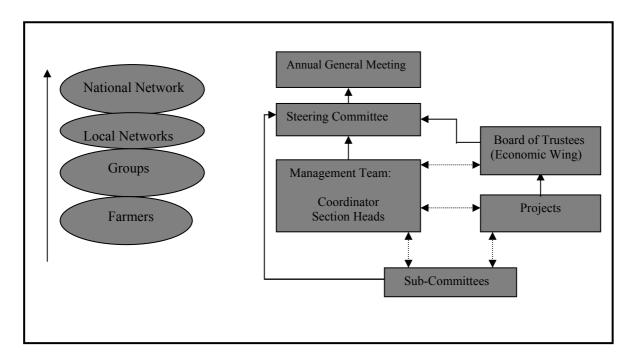


Figure: 8.1. *Network formation* and **Figure: 8.2.** *Organisation* Source: Interviews with the Coordinator and the Head of Finance and Administration Section, and the Network's Organisational Chart

The Board of Trustees registered in May 2000 makes MVIWATA unique as compared to the conventional forms of farmer organisations in the country and it is an important institution within the MVIWATA's structure. The following reasons are of relevance: 1) some of its members are the ones responsible for the idea behind its formation and core partners; 2) it provides strategic guidance and advice to MVIWATA; 3) it is designated with the responsibility of linking MVIWATA with sources of support, attracting financial resources for supporting initiatives to improve farmers' conditions. 4) It is also a control mechanism as a check and balance organ working between MVIWATA's management and the farmers, that way 'supplementing' the work of the Annual General Meeting; and 5) it is also

⁴⁶ This amount of Euro 332,224 is a direct allocation to MVIWATA. According to project staff, it is a part of the total amount of funds for the implementation of the project and which include allocations to MVIWATA's partners. MVIWATA's coordinator, at an interview, in early 2003, observed that they have requested about 2.7 million Euros from the European Union for the project.

responsible (or the members and the institutions they represent are) for training activities on behalf of MVIWATA on aspects pertaining to rural development.

Strengthening the Network's capacity

MVIWATA is currently faced with two major challenges: (1) Stretching its reach to cover more of the country's farmers so as to realize the image it has set to achieve and is developing for itself as a farmer organisation of national status and coverage. (2) The dilemma it faces in relation to these two following crucial objectives. The first one is the need to maintain its effectiveness as a national organ of strength representing farmers' interests on a nation wide basis at the national level. Secondly, at the same time, to act as an effective organisation that initiates, solicits resources for, implements and/or manages development projects at the local level and in an equitable manner among its different constituencies.

Efforts to strengthen the Network's capacity to manage its activities make reality of its intentions, and to raise its profile in the national and international scene as a credible organisation representing small-scale farmers in the country are going on. The Network (now a decade old) in the last few years has acquired new professional personnel including the co-ordinator and sectional heads. It is also during this time that it has been able to attract increased attention both within the country and internationally. The Network has recently focussed its efforts to expanding its reach and it does this through workshops organized at national, regional and at district levels. The workshops are used to publicise the Network among farmers and farmers are encouraged to form local groups and networks. The workshops are also used for raising awareness among the public at large about the Network. According to its coordinator, MVIWATA has managed to have some presence in 18 regions out of 26 regions of the mainland part of Tanzania.

Although there have been efforts to strengthen the local networks, there is an important change in strategy expected to help the Network overcome the dilemma it faces in relation to expansion and national coverage intents and effectiveness. Arguably, earlier isolated direct support to local networks in the regions (for example, IVA of Belgium has been supporting local networks in Kagera region and in collaboration with ACT-Tanzania regional workshops for strengthening local farmers' networks were carried out in Arusha in 2002),

might have encouraged the new earmarked strategy. This new strategy is the creation of new regional structures to be piloted within six administrative regions of the Mainland and Zanzibar.

The regions of Dodoma, Morogoro, Iringa, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Shinyanga, and Zanzibar Island have been selected to create these structures from the year 2003. The formal idea of creating intermediary middle level structures at regional level came about because of recommendations made by a team representing the Dutch Agricultural Youth Organisation (NAJK). The team carried out studies in collaboration with MVIWATA on local networks and groups in Iringa region. It was recommended that MVIWATA needs regional structures to strengthen its presence and linkage with the local grassroots level organisations that it purports to represent and which is not very strong.

Box: 8.1. Possible positive outcomes of regional structures for MVIWATA

Whatever the arguments for the regional structures, the following benefits are likely to occur to MVIWATA and the farmers' groups and networks it represents:

Firstly, it is an indication that the NGO is developing and evolving and maybe its national farmer representation role and national coverage objectives will be made more achievable.

Secondly, its capacity to attract and absorb resources might be increased. This might happen because: 1) the regional structures may look independently for their own sources of support thus complementing efforts at the national level; 2) the regional structures could be ideal to donors who want to closely identify themselves with activities they support and which might be less practical at national level where there could be many similar players and overcrowding; 3) a more opportune environment to meet the tastes and preferences of different donors might be created. The former integrated rural development programmes supported by different donor countries in the different administrative regions of the country might have made some donor countries familiar with regional potentials and problems and they may be inclined more to support MVIWATA in those regions or administrative zones of the country.

Thirdly and more important perhaps is that decision making and control might be better shared between MVIWATA at the headquarters' level and the local groups and networks. A different structure might evolve with time, as the earlier structure becomes obsolete, giving farmers more control over their organisation at the national level.

Fourthly, in conjunction with the above, there might result some division of functional responsibilities between the headquarters level and the local level, leading to activities such as advocacy and lobbying or strategizing, which might be more appropriate at the national level, and the implementation of economic projects at the local level, be effectively carried out and managed at appropriate levels.

In addition, other important activities such as the representation of farmers at the national Network's level might be improved with the strengthened regional structures. MVIWATA might be in a position to challenge at the regional level the conventional forms of farmer organisations the cooperative societies and maybe force change in these organisations (the regional level is the power base for the cooperatives). Collection of membership subscription fees and follow up of other responsibilities on the part of the farmers will also be facilitated. In addition to strengthened links with the grassroots, at the national level linkages appropriate at that level might be more effectively developed. At the local level, linkages appropriate and useful at that level such as those with grassroots' groups and grassroots' support organisations might also be created and strengthened.

(Personal reflections made upon the planned changes)

Training and skills building

These are important activities to MVIWATA as a young organisation still in the process of defining and consolidating its identity and role. However, as can be observed from the objectives it has set for itself, its primary goals are clear. Nonetheless, there is the question of strengthening its capacity to develop and manage its activities better, adapt to changes and meet challenges of new demands as it expands its scope and focus. Its basic building blocks the farmers' groups and networks must also see efforts to strengthen them to manage their own activities and serve members effectively. In addition, efforts to change farmers' circumstances in the country ought to include making accessible to them new or improved knowledge, techniques and practices.

Farmer exchange visits seem the most preferred mode of training of farmers by MVIWATA. Most exchange visits occur in the areas where NGO development activities or donor-funded projects such as the UMADEP project are or have been operating. For example, Morogoro and Dodoma regions are MVIWATA's strongholds, Morogoro is the UMADEP project area, and Dodoma region is home to PELUM, INADES, and LVIA (Lay Volunteers International Association) which are partners to MVIWATA, working closely with it. Iringa region as one of the areas worth visiting by farmers has seen numerous development activities of TIP, Concern and multilateral organs such as FAO and IFAD. The Mbeya areas of Mbozi and Isangati have local NGOs ADP Mbozi and ADP Isangati the products of VECO's operations in those areas. Again, the Arumeru area has seen the work of the Hanns Seidel Foundation and Heifer International in promoting better dairy keeping practices.

To generally reach farmers in the country, the radio programme and the newsletter – 'Pambazuko: Sauti ya Wakulima' literally translated to mean 'It has Dawned: the Voice of the Farmer' – are used and a television program is planned. These media instruments are also used to raise awareness about MVIWATA among the public at large. Participation in national trade fairs also serves similar purposes.

Efforts to strengthen the capacity of the organisation itself include the training of farmers' leaders to improve the managerial capacities of the local networks and groups. Training of farmers' leaders is also used as a means through which improved knowledge, techniques, and practices are disseminated among the general farming communities. The specific projects such as the one for the rural markets also require local farmers to take part in some elements of the project. This has led to the selection of some farmers and their training for the purpose. The training of staff and top leadership, members of the Steering Committee/Board, is also undertaken. The table below describes MVIWATA's training activities.

Activity	Number and type of participants	 Elements involved in the training activities and exchange of experiences organised Savings and credit skills, group leadership, leadership, planning and management, formation and management of farmers' banks, planning and mgt. of income generating activities, use of animal manure for making bio gas, rain water harvesting, indigenous knowledge for pests and diseases control in crops and livestock, creating and managing grain banks, dairy cattle keeping, artificial insemination and zero grazing, and marketing and management of farmer owned markets 	
Farmers' exchange visits	 8 farmers from Iringa visited farmers in Mufindi 9 farmers from Shinyanga visited farmers in Dodoma 8 farmers from Kilimanjaro visited farmers in Morogoro 9 farmers from Arusha visited farmers in Kinole and Mgeta, Morogoro 5 farmers from Zanzibar visited Mgeta farmers in Morogoro 7 farmers from Mbozi Mbeya visited Nyandira and Langali farmers in Morogoro 10 farmers from Dodoma and Singida visited Kibaigwa and Mkoka in Dodoma 12 farmers from Shinyanga visited Iringa networks 15 farmers from Monduli visited Arumeru farmers 		
Training of farmers' leaders	21 farmers' leaders participated – 10 from Shinyanga; 3 from Singida; and 8 from Dodoma	Communication, creation of economic groups, innovations, and strengthening of economic activities at household level and leadership	
Training of farmers' representatives from the Rural Market Project areas	20 farmers participating	Institutional development of farmers' groups and networks to organize and manage rural markets and market infrastructure	
Training of staff and farmers at local level to allow and improve their participation in public media activities.	Selected members of local networks and partner organisations	The collection of information and development of articles, generally to enable contributions in the production of the newsletter and radio programmes	
Training of staff and Board /Steering Committee members	9 Board members and 5 staff trained	Accountability, lobbying and advocacy and good governance	
Workshops	A national workshop in December 2002, 150 farmers participated	General themes: Globalisation, food security, and sustainable development –'Feedback from Johannesburg's Worlds Summit for Sustainable Development'	

Table: 8.1.Types of training activities and themes in the year 2002

	A national workshop in January 2002, 120 farmers participated	General themes: HIV/Aids and Agriculture	
	Network meetings (Several)	Themes: Leadership and group management	
National Farmers Day	25 farmers participated	Involved in experience sharing with other farmers, MVIWATA also received second NGO price.	
Radio Programme 'Ijue' MVIWATA - started in February 2002.	Until end of December 2003, 43 programmes aired Programmes earmarked for January to June 2003 are 30	 The themes of the earmarked programmes for half of year 2003 include: Lobbying and advocacy workshops Farmers' leaders training Rural markets project. Letters from the public Experiences of farmers' groups on MVIWATA's services Use of indigenous knowledge and techniques Sustainable agriculture in MVIWATA's experience Economic activities and MVIWATA's support services. 	
Pambazuko Newsletter.	In 2002, 3 issues, each 2000 copies distributed	Themes: 1) Participation of Women in Groups and Networks 2) Rural Financial Institutions, and 3) HIV/Aids and Agriculture	

Source: Compiled from two reports by MVIWATA: AGRITERRA – MVIWATA Activity Report: January to December 2002; and FERT – MVIWATA Activity Report: June to December 2002

Policy influence activity

Attempts by the Network to influence policy at the national level to safeguard and promote farmers' interests and to work on farmers' problems have also been going on. In 2001, a national workshop on the future of farmers' financial institutions and a seminar to deliberate upon relationships between Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) in the country and other financial institutions were organised. MVIWATA cautioned the SACCOS not to make agreements with private banks without consultations with members and experts.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The Cooperative and Rural Development Bank, (CRDB), has already entered into agreements with some SACCOS. In May 2002, while launching the 'Mshikamano' SACCOS Bank in Gairo district of Morogoro (reported in the Guardian Newspaper in May), the CRDB director announced the Bank has placed 500 million Tshs for the SACCOS. This could be a deliberate strategy to co-opt the SACCOS, as they might be potential competitors in the future. The SACCOS might need financial support, which is not forthcoming from the government, and any source

Considering how important this activity is to MVIWATA as the alternative 'voice' of the farmer, there are efforts undertaken and planned to create and improve its professional capacity to influence policies and practices in favour of the farmers it represents. The efforts include the training of its staff and top management on advocacy and lobbying skills. However, more importantly, according to the coordinator, is MVIWATA's plan to acquire the services of an external organisation (the BBO⁴⁸ another NGO from the Netherlands) to help it determine how best to prepare MVIWATA for such important but difficult task of policy influence. Among the ideas to be examined is the possibility for creating a system of lobbying and advocacy at the parliamentary level through a committee made of farmers skilled in carrying out such campaigns.

Policy influence is also through some less direct means carried out. These indirect means contributing in some way to its ability to influence policy are:

- involving key government officials in its activities;
- participating in national NGO forums, hosting national workshops and inviting partners and other stakeholders;
- working with partners and being open to working with other organisations; in a way important
- is the ability to attract external funds thereby increasing its repute and strengthening its alliances.

Networking and linkage building

MVIWATA as a network representing local groups and networks is a body there at the apex whose identity is closely linked to the relationships it has or envisages with networks and groups it encourages and those already formed by other NGOs and external funded development projects. The relationships represent one essential type of the vertical linkages it is nurturing: other similar linkages include the relationships it is developing with external organs such as the European Union and organisations and countries of the European Union. Interactions with national level governmental agencies and institutions represent as well

of capital is likely to be appreciated. It is also, looked at positively, a contribution to poverty alleviation in the country: although a rural development bank, it has not been able to reach the rural areas as effectively as it is supposed to and it probably intends to correct the anomaly through the SACCOS.

important vertical linkages. The Network also invites officials from the regional governments and from sector ministries of agriculture and marketing to take part in its national workshops and in international exchange visits it takes part in.

MVIWATA also takes part in some important activities by the government such as the efforts by the ministry responsible for agriculture to develop the Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP).⁴⁹ It has also been working with other NGOs and the same ministry on the question of certification of organic products in the country.⁵⁰

Horizontal linkages of enormous importance come in the form of its relationship with its core partners. The partners make available to it ideas capable of attracting support and the expertise to run important activities as the training elements of its programmes. The Network works closely with INADES Formation, PELUM, Cooperative College, LVIA, and Sokoine University of Agriculture.

In the international scene, it has been able to get access to international forums. It is one of the initiators of the East African Farmers Union and it has managed to have farmers in Tanzania to network with farmer organisations of other countries. For example, in the year 2001 farmers from a local network in Mbozi district of Mbeya (MVIWAMBO, Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Mbozi) were able to exchange experiences with experts and farmers from a regional agricultural and horticultural organisation in the Netherlands (LTO). It also has contacts with the Dutch Agricultural Youth Organisation (NAJK) and with farmers unions in the East, Central and South African regions of Africa. It also participates in the activities of the International Pesticides Elimination Network, this is part of the linkages it is creating with other organisations with whom it shares some values.

⁴⁸ Stands for Bureau Beleidsvorming Ontwikkelingssamenwerking

⁴⁹ According to PADEP's project document (2003), PADEP is one of the projects under the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP). The project was previously SOFRAIP and it had to be revisited and changed from its technical orientation to adopt a participatory approach. It is likely to be the first formal experience of participatory agricultural programme by the public bureaucracy under the new agricultural and rural development framework.
⁵⁰ On 21st July 2002, there was a workshop organized by PELUM 'A National Workshop on Organic Standards and

⁵⁰ On 21st July 2002, there was a workshop organized by PELUM 'A National Workshop on Organic Standards and Certification'. Its main objective was to form a task force as the preliminary effort to develop guidelines on standards of organic products and their certification in Tanzania. It was observed that Tanzania's organic products are defined

External resource pull

MVIWATA has so far not only been able to survive and grow, but it is also reasonably managing to execute one of its functions of becoming an effective link between needy farmers and sources of support. Besides the now regular financial support it has attracted from it sponsors such as AGRITERRA, the Network has been able to access international resources for a project worth 5.7 million Euros. This project is expected to run for three years and is now in preparatory stages – the construction of the project infrastructure was earmarked to begin in the year 2003. The project has the objective of improving rural markets in Morogoro rural districts and Kongwa district of Dodoma. The Rural Markets Development Project is financed through the AFD (Francaise de Développement – East Africa Office) and it will directly benefit the following four villages here described:

Box: 8.2. Rural Markets Development Project – Villages

Tandai / Kinole in Morogoro – important for traditional tropical agriculture of crops such as bananas, pineapples, and spices and is as well an important rural market centre.

Tawa in Morogoro - it used to be an important rural trading centre for crops such as bananas and citrus fruits, not any more due to poor roads.

Nyandira in Morogoro - is a dynamic market allowing the development of a prosperous horticultural centre.

Kibaigwa in Kongwa Dodoma region – is a maize market located along the Dodoma - Dar es salaam highway.

Source: A public relations pamphlet issued by the Project Monitoring Unit (FERTILE/GRET Consortium.⁵¹

Important elements of the project include the following: 1) each village will benefit from a new market developed, 2) feeder roads will be rehabilitated and a one kilometre tarmac road to easy access to the Kibaigwa market will be constructed, 3) traditional irrigation systems in Nyandira area will be rehabilitated, and 4) domestic water supply schemes will be developed to provide clean water to the markets.

by outside standards and certification is done outside the country. This makes the process of certification cumbersome and expensive. Standards followed are those of Switzerland, Germany, the UK, and France.

⁵¹ The public relations pamphlet by the Rural Markets Development Project indicates that MVIWATA has contracted consulting services from a consortium of two French Non-governmental organisations, FERTILE and GRET.

Sustainable systems in the management and operation of infrastructures and markets will be developed. This activity is expected to involve farmer organising and training to be undertaken by its partners: Cooperative College of Moshi, UMADEP/SUA, INADES Formation of Tanzania, and LVIA operating in Kongwa district.

Besides the deliberate efforts to improve production and supply systems, improving the marketing system being a central activity, there are other beneficial objectives sought. According to MVIWATA's coordinator, horticultural products are given emphasis as women members of the beneficiary villages are mostly engaged in such activities. He also pointed out that there are other important efforts to improve women conditions. One of these is to have a sizeable number of women participating directly in project activities. There is also a plan intended to change the traditional domination of males in grain-cleaning activities in the markets. The sieves used for grain cleaning are going to be somewhat mechanised so that women can use them and they will be encouraged to participate in the activity.

Another important external financial support attracted into the country is that for the Rural Farmers' Banks and Savings and Credit Scheme or the Support to MVIWATA in the Development of Income Generating Activities. The project will be implemented for a three-year period, 2003-2005. The objective of the project is to promote micro-financing activities among low-income groups. It includes efforts to promote and create microfinance centres/or rural banks and creating and improving local capacity to effectively manage such micro-finance institutions. Communities are said to have already established such institutions in the village of Kibaigwa in Dodoma region and villages in Morogoro region of Mkuyuni, Mgeta, and Chenzema. The project is to cover these areas and around which the rural markets project is being implemented. Other areas to be covered by the project include Hai, Same, and Mwanga districts of Kilimanjaro region. Partners to MVIWATA in the implementation of the project are FERT, UMADEP and LVIA.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that, using a list of the networks and groups linked to MVIWATA, 90% or 108 of the 120 networks and groups the Network represents come from Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya, Kilimanjaro and Morogoro regions. These are only four regions out of 18 regions it is said to have representatives. This may suggest that the five regions were made ready to receive beneficial developments such as MVIWATA itself. It also implies that where efforts to organise farmers into groups have not been as numerous and relatively

effective, the foundations necessary for the approach to rural development represented by the work of NGOs and particularly MVIWATA might be lacking. Shinyanga region is one of the regions earmarked for the regional MVIWATA structures. However, by the end of 2002 it had only two groups or networks linked to MVIWATA. MVIWATA's operations in that region might be worthy monitoring as success might be of profound importance. Shinyanga, of course, is the region with the highest number of cooperative societies and related organisations whose origins are mostly the different eras of colonialism and state control.

3. Assessment

The focus of MVIWATA is to organise farmers and to promote networking between farmers and farmers' groups. To achieve these, its initiatives have included the following (a) technical productive innovations and services, (b) a variety of extension and mobilization methods, (c) networking/collaborations and (d) empowerment through mobilisation and support of groups and networks.

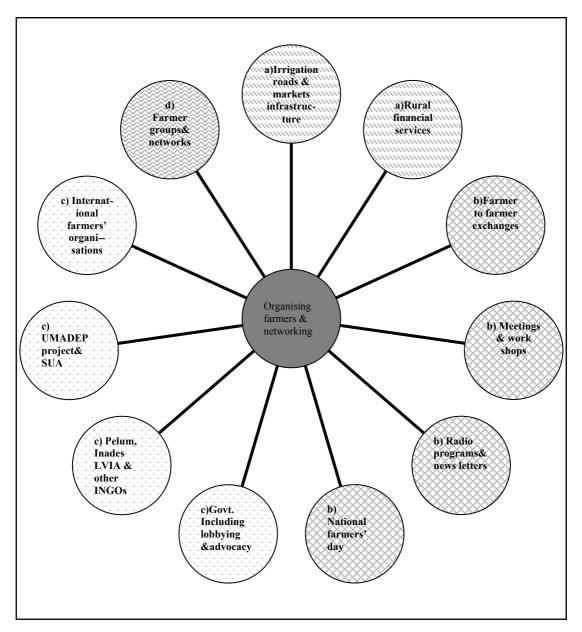


Figure: 8.2. The focus of MVIWATA

It is obviously too early to come out with an objective and conclusive assessment of its performance as the organisation is relatively young. However, certain general observations can be made. The growing popularity and interest it is creating at national as well as the international level is likely to see it growing in strength and influence; it should, however, be matched by a presence at the grassroots level which is significant in strength and is beneficial to the farmers it seeks to represent and support. These conditions met, MVIWATA is likely to provide the small-scale farmers with an organ that effectively promotes their interests and works to improve their economic and social well-being. The linkages it has with farmer organisations of other countries and its involvement in regional activities are indications of a bright start for MVIWATA.

The Case Studies

3.1. Innovatory ideas

MVIWATA is itself an innovatory idea that has brought about a farmer organisation whose origin, basic philosophy, ownership or membership characteristics, focus, structure, and mode of operation are distinctly different from the conventional forms of farmer organisations traditional to Tanzania. It is therefore a new alternative to past forms of farmer organisations, a challenge, and a possible future competitor. Its distinctiveness has led to benefits, some of which have never been before attributed to the conventional forms of farmer organisations in the country and these include (1) it has been able in its early stages of development to achieve external recognition and link itself with somewhat similar external organisations, (2) it has embarked directly upon the task of attempting to influence government's policies and the practices of the private sector that affect the welfare of farmers in the country, (3) it has been able to directly draw in resources from abroad for the purposes of improving farmers' conditions including the development of the necessary marketing infrastructures, (4) it originates from and attempts to serve the areas of the country where cash crop production and marketing are less important and where after the liberalization policies the conventional forms of farmer organisations were mostly affected such as Morogoro and Dodoma regions, and (5) it is subsequently working to improve the marketing infrastructure for food crops such as maize, fruits and horticultural crops, contrasted from the overemphasis made on known cash crops by the more conventional cooperatives such as coffee or cotton, possibly creating better conditions for food production, availability and improved income to farmers.

3.2. Development and strengthening of community organisations

MVIWATA's basic existence is groups formed by farmers. It also came into being as a body linking together the small-scale farmers' groups. Local groups in turn are supposed to create local networks as MVIWATA's basic building blocks. MVIWATA can literary be described as a Network of networks of farmers' groups. The mobilisation for the creation of farmer's groups and their development is integral to its existence.

The Case Studies

3.3. Holistic orientation

The activities necessary for it to achieve its objectives, planned and the efforts already made, as seen, indicate an integrated approach to small-scale farmers' problems. The organisation is strengthening itself, trying to become more representative and effective; it also attempts to influence policy and practices of influential actors; it facilitates access to external resources; it promotes farmer support organisations; and it is tackling marketing problems. It also organises training activities whose purposes include improving the agricultural practices of small-scale farmers, strengthening leadership capacities in groups, and the capacity of the Network itself to manage its activities and undertake its duties more effectively.

 The rural marketing project epitomizes the holistic approach to a rural problem and it might be setting precedence so that other development projects implemented under MVIWATA are to be as integrative.

3.4. Agro ecological orientation

Efforts to improve agricultural production are made through training activities, exchange of experiences between farmers and through other activities such as the newsletter it issues and the radio program. However, there is no any indication that the practices cherished and encouraged by MWIWATA are inclined more to production or agro ecological orientated approaches. However, as the organisation is 'modern'and open to influences from both internal and external organisations and as it works closely with other NGOs and partner organisations supporting agricultural development or sustainable agricultural development, best practices given existing conditions, needs, applicability and practicality are emphasised.

3.5. Poverty reach

The circumstances and conditions in rural Tanzania also apply to MVIWATA. In its efforts to improve the conditions of the small-scale farming communities in the country, there is scope that its activities and efforts may reach the majority rural population.

The Case Studies

3.6. Gender concerns

Working for a more gender-balanced society underlines its conviction to gender equality as an organisation. MVIWATA has a specific section responsible for gender issues. In addition, by design the extension function is managed within this same section. It is to be presupposed and expected that there might be a strengthened ability within the Network to deal better with gender problems and to influence gender equality among groups and networks it supports.

MVIWATA's coordinator observed that gender is a key issue to them and that there are efforts to ensure women participate in MVIWATA's activities equally as men. There are deliberate efforts made to increase women participation at the managerial level of the Network such as in the sub-committees and in the management of projects.

3.7. Building Linkages

It was indicated earlier that farmer organisations are to be effective when they are representative, do not attract greed and be subjects of corruption as well as having the ability to link themselves with other organisations vertically and horizontally. MVIWATA is itself made up of linkages with farmer groups and networks and is linked to organisations and institutions with the same interests inside and outside the country including the government and its agencies. The important pre-condition of networking characterises the organisation and pre-supposes future beneficial linkages.

3.8. Scaling up

✓ It allows for the proliferation of useful ideas, knowledge, experiences and practices between and within networks and groups. Bearing in mind that those behind the formation of groups and networks now part of MVIWATA are different organisations and institutions, there is always the possibility for learning to occur in for example approach to problems, emphasis, etc.

- ✓ There is also the expansion issue. This is related to the nationwide coverage objective to strengthen its legitimacy as a national organ. With regional structures, expansion as some form of decentralisation could counteract some of the negative outcomes from expansion.
- ✓ Extra means through which its ideas and values reach important audiences whose actions directly or otherwise affect small scale farmers in the country are the following: its representation in influential structures and institutions, the use of public media, its participation in national forums and its efforts to affect its functions of advocating and lobbying for the interests of the farmers it represents.

4. Conclusions

We have a very unconventional form of a farmer organisation in the making created to offer grassroots' farmer groups and organisations a next level apex body to link them together. It possesses both the characteristics and structure of a membership support organisation and a grassroots service organisation, adopting the difference given by Caroll (1992:11) between the two types of NGOs both serving the primary grassroots organisations. The NGO is clear in terms of what its goals are and what is to be done to achieve them. It has already successfully acquired desired recognition from the government and its institutions, a respectable place among the civil society organisations in the country and external recognition and support. However, the national and international status it is developing for itself does not equal the necessary and legitimizing aspect of being adequately represented at the grassroots. MVIWATA has certainly a less easy task in reaching the areas of the country where NGOs and other projects have not been able to mobilize and foster social organisational forms among the rural communities. However, to solve its representation problem and weak grassroots presence, it is planning to establish regional MVIWATA structures to be piloted within six regions of the country and Zanzibar Island. This is an important development and challenge facing MVIWATA probably since its inception. As MVIWATA is still in its infancy and lobbying and advocacy functions are important activities for organisations representing farmers' interests, only time will tell whether the organisation will undertake them adequately to eventually live up to its promises.

Chapter 6

The Role of NGOs in Agricultural and Rural Development in Tanzania: Focus, Approaches, Practices and Methods

1. The changes NGOs promote in agriculture and in rural communities

1.1. Empowering peasants and rural women by promoting their organisation in groups

By far the most frequently promoted activity by the NGOs, as illustrated in our survey - mentioned by 78% of the forty NGOs surveyed -, is capacity building of farmers' and women's groups.

As can be gathered from the case studies, such capacity building:

- may simply mean calling together as a group those whom the NGO wishes to make familiar to the opportunities offered by a particular project to be implemented;
- this may include training, as a group, individuals who are expected to undertake new activities and encouraging them to continue sharing their experiences;
- to the extent that some NGOs use genuine participative approaches in their project work and the fact the villagers are encouraged to discuss problems and opportunities related to their present situation and future, it is also meant to turn them into more active and better organised protagonists of their own development beyond the individual projects in which they are taking part;
- in one case observed, the group formed comprised, on purpose, both pastoralists and settled farmers to overcome traditional barriers of communication and animosities and to facilitate new kind of collective actions;
- in few cases involving off-farm activities, groups are promoted that use some new means of production when equipment would be too big and expensive to be used by individuals alone;

- it may also mean enabling certain community task groups to build through self-help activities certain infrastructures and/or to organise committees to maintain new infrastructures, for example wells or irrigation channels, after the completion of ongoing projects;
- it often involves the mobilisation for savings and credit associations and the training of farmers in their management;
- in some cases, there are efforts to train and encourage groups and/or train their leaders to articulate themselves better in their relationships to governmental agencies or political institutions at local level;
- in few cases, it also means inviting peasants in general or rural women in particular to become part of a wider regional or national organisation.

Peasants in general and women in particular are by no means strangers to group approaches, as this has been the preferred mode of interaction with the peasants in Tanzania by government agencies for the last forty years. However, organising of the peasants was being undertaken without necessarily giving them more control over their own affairs. The additional capacity building that actually ensues from the initiatives of the NGOs is likely to vary considerably. Nonetheless, NGOs claim to do what they can to induce self-organisation rather than dependency among the beneficiaries. Whether this aim is seriously attempted and reached or not, requires special investigation: it was unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study to look more closely at the real depth of empowerment of beneficiaries or rural communities by NGOs that is taking place.

There are three main reasons related to the importance given to the development of social organisational forms at the local level: first, it is important for the local people to be organised in certain ways, compatible with some aspects of the external support, to allow members of the communities to participate in project/programme activities. Secondly, it is necessary to ensure that local forms of social organisations are present to manage, after externally supported development projects end, the physical developments such as wells, roads, schools and irrigation canals created. These views, which indicate that Participation and Sustainability are the driving forces behind the emphasis on working with groups and other forms of social organisations among the beneficiary communities, are widely held by NGOs in the development field (Oakley 1991, Caroll 1992, Farrington and Bebbington 1993, Edwards 1999). Thirdly, forms of social organisations are also promoted as a means of

empowering local rural populations to enable farmers to avoid dependence on the goodwill of patrons and on the market environment that do not favour those with limited resources (Esman and Uphoff 1984). Here, interest shifts to emphasis on creating conditions necessary to bringing about favourable socio-economic and political environments for development efforts at the grassroots' level to be effective; the ability to influence policy and practices of both the public and private sector in the long-term becomes important.

Most of the cases studied suggest that NGOs, at project level, tend to limit their efforts to mostly the promotion and creation of social forms of local organisations to facilitate implementation and to ensure sustainability of efforts and benefits derived. Policy influence is important only for some NGOs but usually takes the form of advocacy at the national level. For example, Concern is the current NGO responsible for organizing lobbying and advocacy activities on policies affecting agricultural development in the country in a new institution formed by the NGOs at the national level, the NGO Policy Forum. MVIWATA as a national organ representing farmers' interests has policy influence as one of its important activities. Efforts to understand and influence beneficial changes to the local market environments are also apparent; VECO, MVIWATA, and Concern, among the case studied NGOs, show to be working in this area.

Policy influence in general is yet within the domain of the NGOs themselves, the ones that have national presences, mostly the advocacy NGOs located in Dar es salaam. Policy influence is also organised, by the NGO Policy Forum, through theme-based groupings of the NGOs, to lobby and advocate on matters related to particular themes or sectors concerned e.g. the environment, agriculture, etc. In this, however, the peasant groups at the local level are not involved.

The community natural resources management initiative, important part of the UCCP project, show numerous instances of the use of varied types of local forms of social organisations necessary for the effective implementation of the project, and, equally necessary, to the continuity of the efforts set in motion so that benefits are sustained long after the project period is over. These include efforts to strengthen the village natural resources committees, use of local scout groups and the promotion of the environmental groups and environmental clubs in primary schools.

A different approach to groups is that of Concern's food security programme with emphasis given to social organisational forms as support mechanisms facilitating the development of important physical utilities and their maintenance. For every service improved, a committee to be responsible for the service was formed; members of committees were trained to manage the services. To strengthen irrigation management in the different wards and to enable irrigators to move a little closer to policy and decision makers, it encouraged the formation of ward level irrigation committees as a sort of an aggregation of village or sub village level committees, with the extra function of liaising with policy makers at ward and district level.

An integrated rural development approach, working through and with local partners, provides a slightly different focus on the promotion of local organisations among beneficiary communities. The VECO's approach intends to strengthen local capacity to manage development by supporting and strengthening the programming and implementation capacities of local organisations. These are the local NGOs and include the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the NGO network (SANGO), SAWODE etc. Other local organisations are as well supported such as the local Chamber of Commerce and the local savings and credit association. Link with all these organisations is facilitating the effectuation of its new approach of collaborating to support rural development.

In one of the cases studied, the local groups serve as the foundation of a national organisation. The relationship between social organisational forms at local level and one of the organisations studied is that of a house and the bricks used to create it. For this NGO, MVIWATA, its legitimacy as an organ created at the top depends on groups and networks at local level, which are encouraged, and their creation promoted. A similar relationship is supposed to exist between AMKA and the Kilimanjaro Natural Food Co-operative Society. The success of the solar drying processing activity as a whole will ultimately depend on the effectiveness of the support organisation AMKA has created.

1.2. Gender Concern

World conferences on women, in Mexico in 1975 (where the United Nations Decade for Women was established), Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995, are said to have provided powerful platforms to discuss women concerns and the setting of agendas at world level. The efforts it is argued have led to the concept and practice of gender mainstreaming, leading to increased representation of women at many levels of the UN system and greater integration of gender issues in the activities of all development agencies (Beneria 2003:11). FAO (1997) describes these developments as they translate to the country level in Tanzania as follows. It is first observed that earlier development planning efforts in the country emphasised transformation of the rural socio-economic structures for 'improvements' and the Ujamaa villages settlements programme was an important element, while there was little concern on gender relations within communities. In 1985, a WID -Women in Development – unit was established in the Ministry of Agriculture liaising with WID units in the regions and within other agencies involved in women and rural development. Activities promoted were training in agricultural credit matters, entrepreneurship, and organising seminars and workshops with similar minded organisations. Gender consideration in policy is said to have become obvious in the agricultural policy of 1997, as the policy went beyond the previously mere acknowledgment of women's contributions in agricultural and rural development. Specific sections of the policy identify and state areas of support to women and these are access to land, credit, education, information, suitable technologies, and extension services. According to Beneria (2003), following protestations against tokenism and to mainstream gender in policy, planning, and action, the WID concept and its implementation units were changed to GAD or gender and development.

The productive role rural women play in Tanzania revolves around agricultural production and produce marketing, especially food crops and food crops processing. Women also make up about 51% of the total population and 48% of the total labour force. They are also said to constitute 85% of the labour used in agricultural production (FAO 1997:4). Besides, the Agricultural Policy of 1997 estimates that the ratio of males to females in the agricultural sector is 1:1.5 and women produce 70% of food crops while still contributing to export crops and livestock production. The role of women in the economy, its significance and in relation to males might have also changed to become more important in the current liberalised socioeconomic environment as the importance of food crops, production of food crops, food crops processing and marketing have increased. For example, 41% of households in the country are said to depend on food crops as their most important single source of income, while cash crops are main sources of income for only 17% of households. There has been also an increase in women headed households and now 23% of households are on average headed by women (Tanzania Household Budget Survey 2000/01). Under these conditions, it is therefore imperative that agencies and institutions promoting development in the country involve women for their efforts to be effective and successful as women are important development actors in their own right.

Mc Call (1987) suggests that women carried heavier burdens but less weight because of the villagisation policy in Tanzania. The villagisation policy, representing former economic control policies, contributed to changes in customary division of labour within households affecting traditional social relationships, it led to long distance treks to farmlands and fuel wood collection and it promoted intensive farming affecting sustainable land use practices. In addition, marketisation and related deliberate policies pushed women into the market economy and into a system where males became the link to local support institutions thereby increasing men control over resources and women's income. Nonetheless, important services of benefit to women like water, health centres, primary schools, and adult education were brought closer to the people. However, women involvement in planning and decisionmaking was limited by local culture, indifferent institutions and increased demands on women's time as reproductive roles of women were compounded by increased productive roles in the marketised local economy. It is also observed that legal ownership of land and physical use of land, providing access to the important land resource, had different importance to rural women. Although physical use of land by women was generally uninhibited by lack of ownership, allocation of land usufruct to women was legally sanctioned though not commonly practiced.

Are women now because of the liberalised socio-economic system carrying more burden and heavier weight? According to the Tanzania Household Budget Survey 2000/01, the absolute number of people living in poverty has increased in the 1990s and 11.4 million Tanzanians are said to live below the basic needs poverty line, while 87% of the poor live in the rural areas. The above statistics illuminate the general plight of rural women and rural Tanzanians in general. The following, to name only a few, contribute negatively to the welfare of

women and their family members: population pressure and scarcity of arable land, limitations on cash crop production and marketing due to decreased public support affecting subsidized inputs, weaknesses in support institutions limiting access to credit, and the impact of HIV/AIDS on income, productive time, and health.

Literature on gender identifies two areas of support to women: support to women practical gender needs and support to strategic gender needs or the higher order needs. Although support to one type of need does not exclude support to the other type of need, knowledge on gender roles within communities facilitate proper planning and appropriate actions in support of women's needs. According to ODA (1995: 216-221), practical needs are often what women are concerned about to make their day-to-day lives easier and better. Strategic gender needs relate to changing the status quo with equity and equality objectives being important. Again, it is argued that in developing countries women play multiple roles: the reproductive role of bearing, looking after and educating children and general family maintenance; productive roles such as the sale of labour, professional employment and work on family farm; finally, is the women's community management role: the provision and allocation of community resources through the creation and distribution of items of collective consumption and memberships of committees. It is suggested that practical gender needs are addressed through efforts to reduce women workloads, improving health, education, transport and clean water supply services, improving women's income through skills training, memberships in credit groups and improving access to markets. Strategic gender needs are achieved by improving education opportunities for women, improving access to productive assets through legal status on land ownership, rights to use common property resources and access to private credit facilities, etc. In addition, the achievement of strategic needs may require increased participation of women in decision-making facilitated by local committee memberships and leadership by women, women participation in elections, mobilisation and support to women groups and equal opportunities and treatment in employment.

Observing the integration of women into development projects by NGOs, Yudelman (1987) offers that since NGOs share characteristics of operational flexibility, use of participatory approaches, openness to change and innovations they should be far ahead of governments and the bilateral and multilateral agencies in dealing with women issues. However, it is further suggested that as women economic activities continue to be viewed as the extension

of their domestic role-mechanisms to earn extra money for the household, projects to benefit women may tend not to have the objective of increasing women access to education and training, credit and land, resources required to incorporate them into the economy.

As previously observed, NGOs in Tanzania have to incorporate women in their programs, first, as institutional imperative and, second, as dictated by the socio-economic and demographic characteristics in the local context. The NGO sector itself comprises several women development and advocacy organisations some of these are of national level stature such as TGNP, TAWLAE, TAHEA, TAWLA, TAMWA, etc. Additionally, the survey element used in this study suggests that the targeting of women by NGOs in the development projects/programs implemented is important to almost all the NGOs. Women as the direct beneficiaries of NGO activities in Tanzania show to come only second to interventions directed to all farmers. Moreover, related to gender-aware development efforts by NGOs, the surveyed NGOs suggest that the formation of women's groups is one of the important methodologies employed in projects/programs implementations as 60% of the NGOs surveyed indicate that they mobilise and support women groups in the country.

The case studies developed provide more insight as to the manner in which NGOs involved in agricultural and rural development in the country engage with the gender issue. It is important to acknowledge first that all case studied NGOs/their projects and programs consider women and their needs important.

The NGOs studied as far as gender relationships and improvement of women conditions are concerned show the following features: they often have as organisational goals, or as basic goals of the development initiatives implemented, the improvement of women conditions and participation of women. Some of the initiatives as seen have women as the main beneficiaries of activities promoted; where women are part of the community supported, deliberate and discriminatory efforts are sometimes taken to understand their circumstances and activities are tailored to facilitate their participation and involvement. In addition, NGOs have either gender units at headquarters' levels and more appropriately individual programs have own gender personnel and units. MVIWATA as seen has functionally linked gender with extension services.

Although there are other micro credit NGOs operating in Tanzania such as PRIDE and FINCA – operating mainly in urban and peri-urban areas, only one of the case studied NGOs, CARITAS, implemented a credit scheme as part of its development program and women were its direct beneficiaries. Other NGOs MVIWATA, AMKA, VECO and Concern show to indirectly promote credit service availability to beneficiaries including women as community members: for example, support to SACCOS and the new programme of income generating activities by MVIWATA; AMKA and the promotion of KNFC to provide marketing, financial services, etc.; Msosa SACCOS promoted by Concern and VECO's support to local SACCOS.

It is important to note that as women are and as they increasingly are becoming mainstream producers and bread earners in their own rights, activities promoted to improve their income earning capacities must take into consideration the changing nature of women's productive roles. Therefore, marginal activities promoted relative to the narrow homemaking role may be appropriate to some women, but not to others. This necessitates appropriate knowledge on women's characteristics within beneficiary communities to make possible matching of activities promoted with the characteristics of women beneficiaries.

It might be also true that the NGO sector has provided a new platform upon which potential women leaders and women of influence emerge. Previously, membership to women organisations affiliated to the ruling party and other state sponsored forums, provided women the platforms for recognition and involvement in policymaking and politics. The NGO sector has enabled some women to overcome social constraints to position of influence in former male dominated social organisational forms as the marketing co-operatives and to emerge as leaders in organisations some of which are of their own creation, albeit with support from the donor community.

Table: 6.1. Gender needs addressed by the case studied NGO/NGO projects and programs

Actions to address Practical gender	Either needs addressed	Actions to address Strategic gender
needs	or creating conditions to addressing Strategic gender needs	needs
VECO		
Better food production practices and technologies promoted and improved food storage facilities	Training and support to women in production activities e.g. mushroom farming, poultry keeping, fish farming, food processing	Facilitating local participation in national and international women's events
Improved irrigation		Sponsoring women's meetings
Support to rain water harvesting from roof tops for household use		Support to and encouragement for the formation of women's groups
		Sponsoring gender sensitization workshops
		Support and working with local women NGOs and CBOs and the women unit at district authority level
		Sponsoring district level workshops of development stakeholders and having women organisations participating
		Efforts to influence change in traditional cultural biases against women within the Maasai community
UCCP		
Promoting fuel wood saving stoves	Improving production practices and new technologies in fish farming,	Promoting and supporting women economic groups
Moringa as a perennial crop means less labour for women than tobacco The possibility for improved availability of fuel wood from the tree	beekeeping and oil seeds processing Promoting activities for increased income earning opportunities among beneficiary women groups	Inducing gender- sensitive group formation and behaviour among community members
Reduced distance to farm plots as shifting cultivation encouraged by tobacco cultivation is replaced by Moringa	Soleneitary wonien groups	
The crops and sunflower promoted have useful direct consumption properties for the households, while tobacco use affects family members- health		
The promotion of frameworks for sustainable access to forest resources (Fruits and herbs for the women)		

Concern		
Improved food availability through improved irrigation and practices	Participation in training activities and farmer exchange visits	
Safe drinking water provision Sanitation improvement	Membership of women in water user groups and irrigation committees	
Promoting vegetable gardens		
Introduction of high yielding crop varieties		
Supporting communities to fight and control health problems such as malaria and HIV/AIDS		
АМКА		
Weaning food availability increased	Promoting activities for increased income earning opportunities among	Membership and leadership in producer organisation created
Nutritious and income earning crops promoted such as hibiscus growing and processing	beneficiary women groups	Facilitated credit access and support services
		Efforts to reduce women dependence on land that is discriminatorily owned by men
CARITAS		
Day care centres	Behaviour changing sensitization classes involving men on nutrition	Mobilizing the formation of women groups and support provided
Support to malnourished children and their mothers	and parenthood responsibility Rotating credit groups facilitating	Credit provision to women groups
Care for TB and HIV patients	credit access	creat provision to women groups
Increased food production and sustainable production promoted	Important services and products availability improved by the income generating projects such as milling machines and dairy cattle keeping	
TAWLAE		
Equal emphasis given to the objectives of improving nutrition and income through women activities supported	Promotion of practices and technologies to promote and support women productivity efforts and increased income earning	Education support to women at different levels to higher professional qualifications
	opportunities such as food processing, mushroom farming, beekeeping, semi-intensive chicken	Advocating and lobbying for women's interests and rights
	keeping practices, seaweed farming	Mobilizing and supporting group membership and leadership by women

The HSS Promotion of practices and techniques for improved agricultural productivity and sustainable utilisation of resources Emphasis given to horticultural crops, fruit plants, milk production and its processing generally considered important among women than men MVIWATA	Appreciation of gender roles and adaptation of training to facilitate participation of women without affecting their important productive and reproductive roles	
Emphasis on food crops, horticulture, and dairy cattle keeping Interest in food security, food prices and markets Improvement of rural infrastructure, roads and markets	Promoting participation of women in groups and networks Promotion of rural financial institutions assuming women may have access to financial services Gender sensitive extension services	Encouraging and supporting women to take on leadership positions within the network and in the management of projects

1.3. Improvements in agriculture, animal husbandry, off-farm activities and economic infrastructure

The impressive variety of changes in agriculture to improve productivity and sustainable use of natural resources promoted by various NGOs found in the case studies were also found in the larger survey (see Table 6.2). To find out whether the activities mentioned in the case studies are more common, the important activities identified were listed and the respondent NGOs in the survey were asked which of them they support or promote. It turned out that many of the initiatives taken by the NGOs in the case studies are quite common among the agriculturally oriented NGO community and thus the NGOs appear to be willing to try anything new that works to promote rural and agricultural development.

	Activities promoted	Frequency N (40)	Percentages
0	Better variety of crops/seeds known and grown	26	<u>65</u>
0	Diversification based on crops to some extent known and grown	15	<u>38</u>
0	Introduction of new crops/varieties not known	21	<u>53</u>
0	Small gardens and vegetable plots	19	<u>48</u>
0	Organic farming	23	58
0	Better cropping patterns	21	53
0	Improved use of fertilizer/ pesticides	7	18
0	Draught animals and ox-drawn equipment	19	48
0	Better soil management methods	15	38
٠	Beekeeping	17	43
•	Fish farming	10	25
٠	Rabbits rearing	4	10
٠	Pig rearing	9	23
٠	Poultry keeping	8	20
\triangleright	Promoting dairy farming	14	35
\triangleright	Improving veterinary practices	8	20
\succ	Improving range management	5	13
۶	Development of bore-holes /water for animals	13	<u>33</u>
*	Agricultural produce processing: drying	14	<u>35</u>
*	Agricultural produce processing: cooking, pickling	9	<u>23</u>
*	Introducing milling, grinding machinery	10	<u>25</u>
*	Agricultural processing: other small scale industries	8	<u>20</u>
\checkmark	Watershed management	7	<u>18</u>
√	Rain water harvesting from roofs	13	<u>33</u>
√	Irrigation-small scale	21	<u>53</u>
√	Irrigation-large scale	5	<u>13</u>
√	Digging wells and boreholes	12	<u>30</u>
Θ	Building feeder roads	5	<u>13</u>
Θ	Credit provision/credit groups	16	<u>40</u>
Θ	Forming of credit and saving societies	17	<u>43</u>
Ω	Improvement of post market storage	11	<u>28</u>
Ω	Improving marketing of existing crops or livestock	19	<u>48</u>
Ω	Assistance with marketing of new or processed crops, livestock	16	<u>40</u>
€	Integration of tourist industry/wildlife reserves	9	<u>23</u>
₿	Social forestry	17	<u>43</u>
\	Alternative energy sources	18	<u>45</u>
۲	Training in business skills, record keeping	24	<u>60</u>

Table: 6.2.Activities promoted by the NGOs

On the whole, practices which might be less expensive to the NGOs and the farmers are the more frequently promoted practices than those that require larger investments, more logistics or greater technical expertise. If one looks at the most frequently promoted activities by NGOs, that is activities practiced by most of the NGOs surveyed, it can be seen that the focus is more often on crop cultivation, which is the major occupation of peasants in Tanzania, rather than on other activities:

According to the survey results, better varieties of crops and seeds that are already grown in the rural areas concerned are promoted by 65% of the NGOs. New crops or new crop varieties are introduced by 53 % of the NGOs surveyed. Usually, with the exception of the Moringa tree, some new fodder trees and some new cover crops are promoted; the crops promoted are often crops or crop varieties which are not entirely new to Tanzania as a whole, but new to the particular area or farmers concerned. In some cases, special benefits are derived from the promotion of some high value crops: garlic, hibiscus, vanilla, turmeric, mushrooms and American varieties of apples. In addition, organic farming is promoted by 53%, better cropping patterns by 53% and small scale irrigation by a surprisingly high 53% of the NGOs surveyed. Training in business skills and record keeping is an important activity for 60% of the NGOs surveyed.

One might argue that, apart from small-scale irrigation and training in business skills, other most frequently promoted activities are what the government extension service has been doing over many years, but with mixed success. In some cases, the extension messages by NGOs might even be repetitions of what the peasants already know but have not adopted for one reason or another. Our case studies, however, suggest that even some smaller improvements by the NGOs are often quite innovative such as, for instance, the use of barley straw for managing irrigation canals or the combination between the growing of passion fruit trees and the keeping of chicken or particularly well-designed cropping patterns. At least from the case studies, the impression that many NGOs are more innovative in the practices and technologies they promote appears to be warranted even if this issue could not be followed up in the quantitative survey.

There is, moreover, the problem that due to lack of funds the government extension service is currently not very effective, while peasants may be under stronger pressure than before to change their agricultural practices to react to such problems as climate change, soil deterioration, the need to intensify agriculture due to relative shortage of land, lower prices for traditional cash crops as well as to the new opportunities coming from new outputs from agricultural research stations. The emphasis on organic farming corrects a bias of the extension service that has promoted the 'chemicalisation' of agriculture in the seventies and eighties and may also be taking into account new market opportunities for organically grown agricultural products.

Among the activities promoted by a smaller number of NGOs (40-48%) are small gardens and vegetable plots promoted by 48% of the NGOs. Small gardens and vegetable plots are usually encouraged under the heading of improving household nutrition and supporting women, although too often when the gardens are successful and women are interested in selling their produce, they lack adequate marketing outlets. In the field of off-farm activities, modern beekeeping is promoted by 43 % of the NGOs surveyed. In the field of technological improvements, the use of draught animals is promoted by 48% of the NGOs; and 43% of the NGOs surveyed are in the field of integrating agriculture with other pursuits such as social forestry. In the field of infrastructural improvements, improving the marketing of existing crops and livestock is supported by 48% of the NGOs surveyed and improving the marketing of new crops and livestock by 40% of the NGOs. Emphasis on marketing structures is very important and lack of proper functioning markets and appropriate marketing facilities are major obstacles to agricultural development. As can be learned form the case studies, more emphasis on improving marketing structures might be needed as marketing problems are sometimes responsible for project failures regarding the introduction of new crops or new crop varieties.

Another issue which has attracted the attention of the NGOs is credit: 40% of the surveyed NGOs suggest providing agricultural credit or support credit groups and 43% of the NGOs support the development of credit and savings associations in their areas of operations. Another activity, alternative energy sources, has attracted the support of 45% of the NGOs surveyed.

The changes promoted by 20-38% of the NGOs surveyed are mainly of supplemental nature to crop production: in crop cultivation, 38% of the NGO surveyed promote diversification to crops already known in the areas concerned. In off-farm activities, fish farming is promoted by 25% of the NGOs and which is fairly new to Tanzania; pig rearing by 23% and poultry keeping by 20% of the NGO surveyed. In animal husbandry, 35% promote dairy farming, improving veterinary practices 20% and providing water for animals 33% of the NGOs surveyed. The storage of agricultural products is promoted by 28% of the NGOs surveyed; agricultural processing such as drying by 35%, cooking or pickling by 23%, and milling and grinding by 25% of the NGOs surveyed. Better soil management is promoted by 38% of the NGOs, collecting rain water from roofs by 33% of the NGOs and digging wells and boreholes is also on the agenda of about a third of the NGOs i.e. 30%. Some of these off-farm activities are technically quite innovative including the use of solar technology, fuel saving stoves, oil pressing machines or the promotion of the use of wild fruits to make preserves.

The activities in which less than 20% of the NGOs indicate promoting are especially projects which in Tanzania are usually implemented on a fairly large-scale and would therefore usually be taken up by multilateral or bilateral donor agencies or the government such as improving range management, watershed management, large scale irrigation and building of feeder roads.

The impact of those interventions aiming directly at agricultural change by introducing new practices or products is difficult to assess. As it is illustrated in the case studies, they mainly entail convincing one farmer after another or one small group after another to change certain agricultural practices. However, it is not easy to ascertain the extent of adoption of the ideas and practices promoted. Sometimes changes are not sustained; sometimes they spread spontaneously to reach more and more farmers even after the NGO has long moved on.

1.4. Agro ecological concerns

The following data from the survey underline the fact that ecological practices are high on the agendas of NGOs. Some agricultural projects are directly linked to issues of biodiversity such as protecting game parks or forests. Social forestry also belongs to this category. Many other projects are oriented towards organic agriculture in general and a whole variety of measures to maintain or improve soil fertility by using natural means and resources. In particular, the NGOs promote alternative energy sources such as solar technologies, the use of biogas and special fuel or multi-purpose trees such as Moringa Oleifera and jatropha. The introduction of draught animals is also promoted not only because this mechanisation is affordable to the small farmer, but also because it is more ecological friendly.

 Table: 6.3.
 Promoted ecological friendly agricultural practices

Practices	Organic farming	Better cropping patterns	Better Soil management practices	Social forestry	Integration of tourist industry/wildlife	Alternative energy sources	Draught animals
[N(40)	N(40)	N(40)	N(40)	N(40)	N(40)	N(40)
Frequency	23	21	15	17	9	18	19
<u>Percentage</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>48</u>

Important individual examples of particular ecological significance are:

- The AMKA solar drying project, promoting the use of renewable solar energy to tackle wastage problem and to make agriculture more paying to farmers, is a case example of promoting optimal resource use by turning the common use of renewable energy into a possible viable economic activity.
- The effort VECO is making to create agro-pastoralist society by promoting and encouraging crop cultivation among the Maasai. This is based on the profound motives of: a) creating livelihood options for the pastoralist communities whose grazing land is becoming more and more depleted and inadequate; and b) as a possible way of inducing more inclination to crop cultivation than animal keeping to mitigate the consequent environmental damage by overgrazing.

- The introduction of new legumes Mucuna and Lablab beans, with nutrient recycling properties.
- The supporting of traditional water harvesting and management methods as promoted by the Roman Catholic Church in Same – the 'Ndivas', and which necessitates proper management of off-farm catchments' areas as the natural sources of water.
- Visits between farmers from local networks are used by MVIWATA to disseminate, for example, the use of manure to produce biogas and the application of natural pest management practices.
- Another example is MVIWATA's participation in the forum for the elimination of the use of pesticides, the International Pesticides Elimination Network.

2. Holistic orientation

What does issue or holistic orientation mean as regards NGOs and their support to rural communities? The answer to this is partly found in the rationale provided on the relative effectiveness, or, more appropriately, the characteristics associated with NGOs capable of making them different and more effective than the state in the provision of needed services. Ironically, one of the sometimes referred to be their disadvantage, smallness limiting the resources that is at their disposal, leads to some major benefits, seldom associated with the public sector, of flexibility and creativity. These together with other attributes of better work environments, recruitment decisions and reward systems contribute to NGO participatory approaches to research and extension, more orientation to needs and quick response to changing local and technical demands (Farrington and Bebbington 1993: 37). The limitations of public sector agricultural development services of research and extension are associated with the following: hierarchical and centralized management structures which are highly layered and widely dispersed, less emphasis on monitoring and evaluation and inadequate efforts to get feedback from users, institutional barriers to communication and to joint activities between research and extension and poor research methods and gender bias i.e. commodity or discipline led approaches to research needs of large scale export crop farming and in favourable climatic conditions (ibid. 32). In contrast, NGOs concern

themselves with integrating technology change with nutrition, education, marketing, processing etc. and the addressing of the constraints in these areas (ibid. 39).

As can be seen from the case studies, NGOs in Tanzania conform to the picture that their activities are less narrow in focus than, for instance, the way governmental departments of agriculture usually are. The case studies, in fact, illustrate how each project implemented by NGOs revolve around a central core, a particular issue they want to address, which is then approached through a variety of different additive or complimentary activities. This is particularly true of the integrated rural and agricultural development projects presented in the case studies.

The reasons why Tanzanian agricultural NGOs adopt holistic approaches maybe the following:

First, the NGOs have, in most cases, to justify to potential funding or co-funding organisations that they are adequately aware of the development problems to be tackled and the possible best ways of doing so. What results are the detailed proposed plans covering all possible issues of importance and which certainly differentiates their approaches, posing them as alternatives to the more narrowly focussed development initiatives by the mainstream multilateral and bilateral agencies which have been often coming as specific as, for example, a housing project, or irrigation infrastructure project, or a children immunisation project etc. In addition, the perceived different approach to development problems and the perceived effectiveness resulting there from is what, in the first place, has led to the increase in confidence about the NGOs by both the funding governments and multilateral institutions.

Second, local development problems are not, generally, accommodative to simple answers, nor can they allow themselves to be easily and objectively be boxed down into narrowly defined problems. The solving of one problem may result into some other problems. A problem may be a consequence of multiple reasons. What is perceived a problem by the beneficiaries might only be the symptom, or only one of the problems with similar importance as other problems, or be closely linked to some other problem; what is established a problem by a development agency might be only one of the problems and change to better conditions my therefore require less narrowly focused solutions. It is also

obviously common that a solution to a problem may also trigger chain of events necessary to make it realizable and meaningful; a perceived solution to a problem might not work and alternatives must be quickly sought. As such, to be meaningful and sustaining, solutions should not only be accommodative and open, but are to be more robust and adaptive to changes.

Thirdly, NGOs' presences at the local level and their efforts to cultivate closeness and trust between them and the beneficiary communities prompt the NGOs to look into a wider range of issues that are important to those they serve.

In order to measure the degree to which NGOs adopt holistic approaches or the level of interdepartmentalism practiced by the NGOs covered in our survey, the activities in which NGOs are engaged were grouped into categories or specific fields. Table 6.4 shows the groupings. Among the ten main categories or fields of activities identified, field of activity 1 (i.e. Improving of agricultural practices, promotion of new crops, seed varieties) is the most often promoted and 90% of the NGOs surveyed are engaged in this field. Irrigation and water conservation labelled as field of activity 5 is second in importance and is supported by 28 or 70% of the NGOs surveyed. This is closely followed by the support and promotion of dairy farming (field of activity 3), where 27 or 68% of the surveyed NGOs indicate to be active in this area. There follow Off-farm non-crop cultivation (field of activity 2), the support to and development of rural infrastructure (field of activity 6) and Training in business skills and record keeping (field of activity 10); 60% of the NGOs surveyed or 24 NGOs support each of these three main fields of activities. Marketing and storage as field of activity 7, and field of activity 8 labelled Community natural resources management, closely follow where 23 NGOs or 58% of the surveyed NGOs suggest supporting each of these two fields of activities. The promotion of and support to agricultural produce processing (field of activity 4) seems less widely promoted as previously mentioned fields of activities. Nonetheless, 21 of the surveyed NGOs or just over half of the NGOs surveyed indicate to promote this field of activity. Except for field of activity 9 (i.e. Alternative energy sources), as has been seen, all other fields of activities are supported or promoted by over half of all the NGOs surveyed. Field of activity 9 is indicated to be promoted by only 18 NGOs or 45% of the surveyed NGOs.

Table: 6.4.Fields of activities promoted by the NGOs

	Activities promoted	Frequency N (40)	<u>Percentages</u>
1.	Improving agricultural practices, promotion of new crops and seed varieties	36	<u>90%</u>
0	Better variety of crops/seeds known and grown	26	<u>65</u>
0	Diversification based on crops to some extent known and grown	15	<u>38</u>
0	Introduction of new crops/varieties not known	21	<u>53</u>
0	Small gardens and vegetable plots	19	<u>48</u>
0	Organic farming	23	58
0	Better cropping patterns	21	53
0	Improved use of fertilizer/ pesticides	7	18
0	Draught animals and ox-drawn equipment	19	48
0	Better soil management methods	15	38
2.	Off-farm non-crop cultivation activities	24	60%
•	Beekeeping	17	43
•	Fish farming	10	25
•	Rabbits rearing	4	10
•	Pig rearing	9	23
•	Poultry keeping	8	20
3.	Dairy farming	27	<u>68%</u>
>	Promoting dairy farming	14	35
, >	Improving veterinary practices	8	20
>	Improving range management	5	13
>	Development of bore-holes /water for animals	13	33
4.	Agricultural processing	21	53%
*	Agricultural produce processing: drying	14	35
*	Agricultural produce processing: cooking, pickling	9	23
*	Introducing milling, grinding machinery	10	25
*	Agricultural processing: other small scale industries	8	20
5.	Irrigation & water conservation	28	<u>70%</u>
√	Watershed management	7	18
✓	Rain water harvesting from roofs	13	33
✓	Irrigation-small scale	21	53
· √	Irrigation-large scale	5	<u>13</u>
√	Digging wells and boreholes	12	<u>30</u>
6.	Rural economic infrastructure	24	<u> </u>
<u></u> Θ	Building feeder roads	5	<u>13</u>
Θ	Credit provision/credit groups	16	
Θ	Forming of credit and saving societies	17	<u>40</u> <u>43</u>
7.	Marketing and storage	23	<u>45</u> 58%
γ. Ω	Improvement of post market storage	11	<u> </u>
	Improvement of post market storage	19	
Ω Ω livestoc	Assistance with marketing of new or processed crops,	19	<u>48</u> <u>40</u>
8.	Community natural resources management	23	<u>58%</u>
	Integration of tourist industry/wildlife reserves	9	23
	Social forestry	17	43
9.	☆ Alternative energy sources	18	45%
	 Training in business skills, record keeping 	24	60%

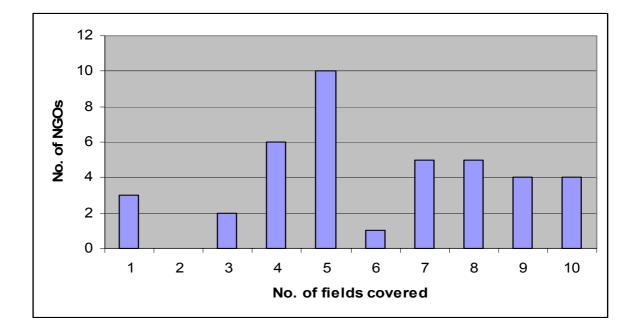


Figure: 6.1. Degree of holistic approach by NGOs

As can be seen from Figure 6.1, only some few NGOs (three NGOs) show to be specialists and deal with only one field of activity in agricultural development. The most common approach by NGOs is to be involved in several fields of activities. For example, ten NGOs are involved in five different fields; five NGOs in seven fields, another group of five NGOs are engaged in eight fields. More holistic orientation is shown by four NGOs engaged in nine of the fields of activities and again there are four NGOs indicating to promote or to support each of all the ten fields of activities. As such, 28 NGOs or 70% of the surveyed NGOs show to adopt wider approaches to rural and agricultural problems. They suggest being involved in five or more fields of activities in agricultural development.

It is again possible to show that the fields of development activities promoted and supported by NGOs are inter-related which points at the holistic approach adopted by most NGOs. Table 6.5 shows how the fields of activities are interrelated. Table: 6.5. Inter-relatedness between fields of activities promoted by NGOs surveyed: frequency & percentage of field of activity relative to other fields of activities promoted by the NGOs

Field of Activities	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Improving agricultural practices, new crops & seed varieties	36 (100%)	23 Or 96%	26 or 96%	19 or 90%	27 or 96%	22 or 92%	22 or 96%	21 or 91%	16 or 89%	21 or 88%
2. Off-farm non-crop cultivation	23 or 64%	24 (100%)	22 or 81%	15 or 71%	19 or 68%	16 or 67%	16 or 70%	17 or 74%	12 or 67%	16 or 67%
3. Dairy farming	26 or 72%	22 or 92%	27 (100%)	15 or 71%	21 or 75%	17 or 71%	17 or 74%	20 or 87%	14 or 78%	18 or 75%
4. Agricultural processing	a19 or 53%	15 or 63%	15 or 56%	21 (100%)	17 or 61%	16 or 67%	17 or 74%	12 or 52%	12 or 67%	15 or 63%
5. Irrigation &water conservation	27 or 75%	19 or 79%	21 or 78%	17 or 81%	28 (100%)	20 or 83%	19 or 83%	17 or 74%	15 or 83%	18 or 75%
6. Rural economic infrastructure	22 or 61%	16 or 67%	17 or 63%	16 or 76%	20 or 71%	24 (100%)	19 or 83%	14 or 61%	15 or 83%	19 or 79%
7. Marketing & storage	22 or 61%	16 or 67%	17 or 63%	17 or 81%	19 or 68%	19 or 79%	23 (100%)	14 or 61%	13 or 72%	17 or 71%
8. Community natural resources mgt.	21 or 58%	17 or 71%	20 or 74%	12 or 57%	17 or 61%	14 or 58%	14 or 61%	23 (100%)	12 or 67%	15 or 63%
9. Alternative energy sources	16 or 44%	12 or 50%	14 or 52%	12 or 57%	15 or 54%	15 or 63%	13 or 57%	12 or 52%	18 (100%)	13 or 54%
10. Training in business skills and record keeping	21 or 58%	16 or 67%	18 or 67%	15 or 71%	18 or 64%	19 or 79%	17 or 74%	15 or 65%	13 or 72%	24 (100 %)
Frequency of each activity as promoted by 40 NGOs	36	24	27	21	28	24	23	23	18	24

The lowest degree of inter-relatedness between fields of activities is between field of activity 1 (i.e. Improving agricultural practices) and field of activity 9 (i.e. Promotion of alternative energy sources). Among the NGOs promoting field of activity 1 only 16 or 44%, or less than half of the 36 NGOs promoting that field of activity, also promote field of activity 9 or alternative energy sources. Overall, despite this anomaly, the NGOs surveyed

show that for each field of activity supported, half or more of the NGOs support other fields of activities. For example, field of activity 2 (i.e. Off-farm non-crop cultivation) is supported or promoted by 24 NGOs or 60% of the 40 surveyed NGOs and those NGOs supporting this field of activity also support other fields of activities: 23 or 96% of them support field of activity 1 (i.e. Improving agricultural practices, new crops, new seeds); 22 or 92% support field of activity 3 (i.e. Dairy farming), perhaps indicating close relationship between non-crop cultivation activities promoted; 15 or 63% of them support field of activity 4 (i.e. Agricultural produce processing); 19 or 79% support field of activity 6 (i.e. Rural economic infrastructure); 16 or 67% of them support field of activity 7 (i.e. Marketing and storage); 17 or 71% of them support field of activity 8 (i.e. Community natural resources management); 12 or 50% of them support field of activity 9 (i.e. Promotion of alternative energy sources); 16 or 67% of them support field of activity 10 (i.e. Training in business skills and record keeping).

Irrigation and water conservation are important activities given the country's dependence on unreliable rain-fed agriculture and the importance of water as a resource. It is encouraging that 70% of the 40 NGOs surveyed indicate promoting and supporting this field of activity. The NGOs promoting irrigation and water conservation show to support other important fields of activities as improved agricultural practices and introduction of new crops, marketing and storage, dairy farming, off-farm non-crop cultivation activities, agricultural processing, rural economic infrastructure, community natural resources management, alternative energy sources and training in business skills and record keeping.

Another observation is made in relation to field of activity 4 (i.e. Agricultural produce processing). It is a field of activity suggested to be promoted by 52% of the NGOs surveyed, which is significant. In addition, NGOs promoting this field of activity show to promote significantly other closely related fields of activities possibly creating necessary forward and backward linkages. These are production related fields of activities of improving agricultural practices and crops, promotion of off-farm non-crop cultivation activities, dairy farming, irrigation and rural economic infrastructure; conservation and sustainable utilisation of natural resources related fields of activities of water conservation and the use of alternative energy sources; and post-production fields of activities of marketing, storage, rural infrastructure and training in business skills and record keeping.

The marketing and storage (i.e. field of activity 7) is suggestive of similar pattern as agricultural produce processing. This field of activity is promoted or supported by 58% of the 40 NGOs surveyed. NGOs supporting this field of activity also significantly but to varying degrees support other fields of activities. Important perhaps are production related fields of activities of improving agricultural practices and crops, off-farm non-crop cultivation and dairy animal keeping. It also includes irrigation and water conservation and the development of rural economic infrastructure. Other fields of activities such as training in business skills and record keeping and agricultural produce processing are also of relatively high importance among the NGOs supporting marketing and storage.

Development problems are thus suggested to be tackled mainly through: 1) making people aware of their interests, providing them with mechanisms for support and giving them common more respectable voices by having them organised in some way; 2) supporting them to grow better and more productive crops, or keep better animals; 3) enabling farmers to get the most out of the limited arable land resource and in sustainable manner through better land and crop management practices; 4) promoting the use of more on-farm resources requiring less scarce or unaffordable external inputs; 5) preparing rural farmers, knowledge and skills wise, for the post harvest difficult but important activity of dealing with the outside non-farm world of quick profits at least cost and which might be more difficult when one is not organised and has individually to confront the middle men; 6) helping them to rely less on rain fed agriculture through irrigation, enabling them to grow crops several more times in a year than rain fed agriculture would allow, it also enables farmers to get premium prices for harvests during off-peak seasons; 7) promoting better health, nutrition and household income through vegetable gardening; 9) helping farmers to be independent of the hand held hoe a symbol of subsistence farming by mechanising agriculture affordably through or at the same time by optimizing the utilisation of animal resources; 10) finally, but not completing the possible set of interventions to improved rural conditions, are the efforts of helping farmers to exploit better market opportunities and deal with constraints. Most of the case study NGOs also show to see marketing as an important problem, needed to be understood better and be made beneficial to rural producers.

3. Methods of extension, mobilisation and farmers' training

The different methodologies the NGOs use in fieldwork activities, facilitating beneficial contacts between the NGOs and the target communities, and the relative importance of the different methodologies are as shown in the table below.

Methodologies	Frequency N(40)	<u>Percentages</u>		
Demonstration plots	23	<u>58</u>		
Model farmers	14	<u>35</u>		
Individual advice to farmers	25	<u>63</u>		
Use of primary schools	10	<u>25</u>		
Farmers' Training	28	<u>70</u>		
Farmer to farmer visits	22	<u>55</u>		
Use of media: radio, newspapers	11	<u>28</u>		
Training: multiplicators /animators	12	<u>30</u>		
PRA planning workshops with villagers	25	<u>63</u>		
Other types of public meetings	18	<u>45</u>		
Working with existing groups of farmers	21	<u>53</u>		
Encouraging farmers' groups formation	26	<u>65</u>		
Encouraging farmers' associations	18	<u>45</u>		
Encouraging the formation of women's groups	24	<u>60</u>		
Encouraging the formation of youth groups/ scouts	13	<u>33</u>		
Supporting co-operative societies	8	<u>20</u>		
Using government employed extension agents	38	<u>95</u>		

Table: 6.6.Fieldwork methodologies

A close look at the methodologies used suggests that NGOs just as they adopt more holistic approaches to problems, use varied number of methods as complementary solutions to earmarked problems. It is first important to note that it is common for NGOs to work with and depend on publicly employed extension staff in implementing agricultural development projects (this is the case for over 90% of the NGOs surveyed), a practice probably adopted from projects and programs by international agencies. This happens because government extension personnel are allowed to spend time working with NGOs and they earn extra money and get other benefits. NGOs on their part might have difficulty in finding suitable personnel elsewhere. The question is whether the NGOs can train and motivate government

extension staff to enter into dialogue that is more productive with the farmers and which might even be carried over to what they do in their government jobs. Other important observations are the following: arranging for farmers training to disseminate knowledge, impart skills and improve practices is a widely used methodology, 70% of the respondent NGOs indicate it to be important. Encouraging the formation of groups, and to a lesser extent, working with existing groups, are also important. Actually, 65% of the NGOs surveyed indicate encouraging the formation of farmer groups, making it one of the most important means by which the beneficiaries are best reached and supported. The use of PRA workshops follow in respective importance entailing that popular participatory methodologies are not foreign to NGOs in Tanzania, nor are they limited in use to some well to do NGOs, PRA workshops are more commonly run and 63% of the NGOs suggest knowledge and use of them. Unexpectedly, of as much importance as group methodologies is the working with individual farmers – a methodology indicated to be used by 63% of the respondent NGOs. Use of women groups, meaning working with groupings of women and encouraging such groupings, are also important aspects of the NGOs' activities, 60% of the NGOs surveyed indicate working through or with women groups. More than half of the NGOs also practice farmer-to-farmer visits as a method of dissemination of agricultural practices, techniques, knowledge and skills, which is somewhat a novel approach in Tanzania. One methodology used by one of the NGOs in the case studies with success is competition among farmers in the framework of public festivities.

NGOs in Tanzania are, as it is to be expected, not predisposed to working with and to support cooperative societies. NGOs view themselves as better alternatives to the status quo – the provision of public services by the state and its apparatus. In Tanzania, as observed before, cooperatives and the primary producer societies affiliated to them were more or less state instruments, non-performance of the state and its instruments is what created the 'gaps' and facilitated the increase in NGO development support and activities in the country. NGOs have generally ignored these sometimes important socio-economic structures in the country; they have mainly decided to chart own paths, develop or promote new forms of social organisations – specifically mainly small groups for specific purposes – rather than attempting to make existing organisations more independent, beneficial and useful to the much more large number of people they represent. Only 20% of the respondents encourage cooperative societies, though, however, other forms of farmer associations are promoted by 45% of the NGOs surveyed. Other less used methodologies include use of primary schools

for disseminations of new knowledge, skills, and practices – used by only 10% of the respondents; the use of the media is also indicated to be a less used method, cost implications and limited geographical coverage by NGO projects might be the reason that only 11% of the NGOs use media.

What also needs to be looked at is the relationship NGOs create between research and extension. Some examples from our case studies show that many special relationships exist between research and extension and it involves some division of labour between farmers and researchers whereby farmers themselves carry out adaptive research in the villages. Nonetheless, for the adoption of results by communities supported, the results are to lead to better conditions at no unexpected extra costs and be acceptable. Decisions on usefulness and acceptability are to be based on commonly accepted criteria and local specific criteria that might be quite as important and must be essentially known.

A good example of need based agricultural research cum extension activity, is the Concern's use of farmer research on farmer own trial plots. Here the promotion of the new varieties of crops and seeds was the process of farmer research itself. The research outputs of higher yields to those interested in only yield increases, common with national research centres, was quite adequate and would have meant the end of a perfect job well done. To the NGO the issue was different as adoption was as much important as the yield results; this came out clearly and led to the introduction of new seed varieties for crops promoted to meet, the now realised important, local taste and marketability needs.

Another example comes from Caritas' initiatives; the trial plot it owns serves dual purpose: it is used for carrying out trials on new seeds and crop varieties; it is also an extension facility where farmers can see research results, are persuaded to adopt better seeds and crops coming out successful. Similarly, though different, are the ways in which the NGOs manage the different project activities. AMKA is making constant efforts to identify what farm produce can be made more profitable and of higher value if solar processed, this information is sent down to the beneficiaries. At the same time, how best the solar processing of the produce is going to be carried out is researched upon and is made known to the beneficiaries. Market trials and identification of outlets have also to be carried out. The HSS, as another example, brought the researchers and trainers to the farmers, enabling them to blend theories with actual practices and to appreciate local circumstances and farmers' needs.

4. Networking and scaling-up

The literature on NGOs has often stressed for the last 15 years the necessity for NGOs to aim at scaling-up their activities through their own efforts or through collaborations with other governmental or non-governmental institutions. Some scholars, such as Carroll 1992, Robinson and Riddell 1993, and Edwards and Hulme 1992, have closely related NGO performance and effectiveness to their ability to widen their impact or scale up. Carroll (1992:34) describe the widening of impact or scaling up as to refer to 1) the ability of NGOs to innovate and to transfer ideas, methods and techniques through the demonstration effect where diffusion and wide sharing can be used to asses wider impact. 2) The ability to influence the policy process meaning the ability of NGOs to move beyond the micro effects of distinct projects to the macro policy agenda as to influence the economic, social, political contexts in which the NGOs work. Broader impacts may be sought at regional, sector, or national level. Robinson and Riddell (1993:72) making reference to Edwards and Hulme (1992), suggest that as the role of NGOs in development has gained prominence, the issue of project replication and NGO influence has become important. They, however, acknowledge that most projects studied were not designed for replication and the common form of replication has been for NGOs to repeat what other NGOs have done in other areas, but with modifications in line with local circumstances.

Edwards and Hulme (1992) devoting a whole book to the task of capturing, describing and examining the wider influence wider impact scaling up approach to making a difference, further developed the scaling up concept – its different forms and manifestations highlighted. Scaling up was the encompassing term utilised in a workshop in 1992 whose theme was *Scaling up NGO Impacts: Learning from Experience* and was the basis for the volume itself.

The scaling up concept as identified to NGOs and their efforts to promote development is found to occur mostly in the following manner (ibid. 15): (1) through additions taken to mean direct expansion of programmes or the increase in NGOs' size. (2) Through the multiplication strategy, not implying growth but impact is said to be achieved through deliberate influence, networking activities, or training. (3) Finally, it is through the diffusion strategy where spread is informal and spontaneous. Chambers (1992:40) uses the same categorisation to come out with another methodological strategy said to crosscut the others. The strategy could be both multiplicative and diffusive of generating, spreading, and

improving approaches and methods. Two examples of RRA (Rapid Rural Appraisal) and PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal), as methodologies that spread and improve are used to describe this strategy.

Scaling-up by NGOs may also be described in the following manner: as purposes intended or sought by scaling-up and which include the following: (a) mere coverage of more people and wider geographical areas; (b) mere widening of the sphere of support by working on more problems social, economic, or political; (c) widening sphere of support through different but complimentary and supporting efforts to increase the magnitude, strength, or relevance of outcomes and impacts; (d) finally, it is the making use of whatever benefits available, for example pulling in resources, facilitating access to communities, expertise, knowledge, finances, etc.

As the strategies or processes to scaling-up or widening impact and which include the following: a) Expansions; b) Replications; c) Policy influence; d) Capacity building of local organisations: promoting, encouraging, and facilitating the adoption of values, beliefs, knowledge, skills, methods, approaches and techniques; e) Precipitating the formation of new NGOs.

The techniques, tactics, and the methods for scaling-up and which are the following: a) Working with governments; b) Linking the grassroots to lobbying and advocacy; c) Direct lobbying and advocacy; d) Networking and alliance building; e) Joint implementation of projects/ programs and training activities; (e) Conditionality attached to support and may be implicit, for example participatory elements in planned projects, etc.

Empirical observations on scaling-up have usually pinpointed positive examples, but there are also criticisms that these are the exception rather than the rule. Our case studies suggest that in Tanzania the willingness and ability of agricultural NGOs either to scale-up their own activities or to co-operate with other organisations and institutions is remarkably high and appears to be standard practice. This may be partly due to the presence of a large proportion of big international NGOs (BINGOs) and often having large-scale operations. It may also be because the political culture in Tanzania invites and to some extent necessitates the cooperation and interdependence between NGOs and governmental agencies. The small number of NGOs in the field of agriculture may also contribute to the tendency of

cooperation between the NGOs. These arguments can be demonstrated by experiences from the case studies.

Beginning with VECO's Same Local Governance for Sustainable Agriculture and Economic Development Programme, the following patterns are revealed:

There has been expansion of geographical coverage by the programme and a general increase of programme activities. Before the current programme, it supported the activities of a local NGO in the district, SAIPRO, whose coverage and resource capabilities were limited. The new programme has scaled-up its operations through wider geographical coverage, made possible or more feasible by joint activities with and support to many local organisations. Initial programme activities mainly promoted improved irrigation agriculture and productivity, the use of animal draft technologies among the Ruvu ward communities, attitude changes from traditional dependence on livestock keeping to some crop cultivation and to better gender relations among the traditional male dominated Maasai society. Through partners, the programme expanded its focus and extent of support. The scope of activities was extended to cover beekeeping, fish farming, and poultry keeping. Support has been provided to create better socio-economic infrastructures in the district: support to the local chamber of commerce, saving and credit association and SANGO the local network of NGOs and CBOs in the district. In addition, to facilitate its influence on gender relations in a wider geographical coverage it supports the Women Economic Groups Coordination Committee working at the district level.

Like most NGOs in the country implementing development projects/programmes, VECO utilizes the government employed district extension staff to implement its activities as the available source of skills, expertise, and labour. The extension personnel may acquire beneficial knowledge, skills, practices and values to which they are exposed. Important perhaps is the skills on and relevance of participatory approaches to promoting development. Similarly, the same happens to its other partners: the religious development organisations, non-religious non-governmental organisations, the private sector and community organisations with whom it works.

Working with and supporting SANGO making possible for it to attend national level NGO meetings and other forums, represent its indirect approach to influencing policy by facilitating and improving the capacity of the district's civil society organisations to take part in national level deliberations.

Wider coverage in terms of geographical area and different activities is facilitated by what those it is working with can offer. Sharing of and utilising resources, skills, knowledge and other factors like linkages and connections, influence and authority possessed by other development actors in the district are made possible. In addition, it has been, commendably, organising forums that seek to improve familiarization between the different development actors in the district allowing for joint deliberation on district's needs and problems. Networking among local development actors promoted is creating a basis for effective present and future relationships. In these forums, important external organisations participate therefore allowing district's ideas to be subjected to outsiders' scrutiny and contributions and as well to allow those ideas considered relevant to transcend the district's borders.

The Concern's Food Security Programme has also been able by using government extension staff to implement a food security programme covering a broad range of issues. These include improvement of traditional irrigation and local road infrastructures, promoting improved agricultural practices and productivity, provision of clean and safe water and promoting improved sanitation, efforts to raise the status of women, promoting savings and credit society, and working on marketing problems in the areas covered by its programme.

Working with government staff makes it possible for the NGOs to implement huge programmes without much worry about recruitments of qualified staff for the activities embarked upon. Often expansion of activities does not mean a corresponding increase in NGO size. A regional programme coordinator and three support staff, and two coordinators one for each division, for example, were implementing Concern's programme. This small number of people was responsible for the three years programme. However, without the help from government extension staff in the district, programme implementation would have required more recruitment of own staff.

It may be appropriate to observe that the availability of staff already familiar with externally supported development work in an area contributes to the inducements which attract similar development activities by different organisations in that area. This is in addition to the assumption that in the location where there has been some previous NGO activity the knowledge, skills, values, and beliefs acquired by government extension personnel may be useful in the long term to the local government's own operations.

The UCCP with similar characteristics to the above programs in relation to the scaling-up agenda has the following identified to it: first, is the contribution it has made to the elevation of the practice of community participation and management of natural resources to a national level agenda. It has been one of the first organisations to promote the practice in Tabora region. Secondly, it has introduced new or improved crops into the project areas including Moringa Oleifera now researched by the national agricultural research centre located in the region whose partner is ICRAF. Thirdly, it has been promoting and supporting local organisations as vehicles for encouraging adoption of practices promoted. In addition, efforts to create green gardens by youth groups using organic farming methods indicate that the UCCP's legacy will be of long-term benefit. Finally, it is the open war it has waged against tobacco growing, making common knowledge the negative environmental and social outcomes from tobacco cultivation by the local communities. This effort has prompted the multinational alliance representing tobacco traders to start tree-growing campaigns as joint efforts with the local authorities.

AMKA is different from the other NGO initiatives studied: it does not directly use government extension staff to implement the project. There are three factors associated with the promotion of improved solar drying technology having relevance to the scaling-up theory. The first one is the creation of the Kilimanjaro Natural Food Cooperative Society. This society is to offer its members a link to the market and resources. It is to be the intermediating organ between its members and the outside world. However, this form of scaling-up depends on the future viability of the solar drying activities and its importance to the KNFC members. Secondly, AMKA's project is a pioneer activity trying to improve traditional use of renewable solar energy to create sustainable and valuable income generating opportunities. Thirdly, the Sokoine University of Agriculture the only agricultural university in the country, main source of labour, ideas on policy and practice in agricultural development, is experimenting with the technology. The solar dryers promoted by AMKA are now used in a collaborative arrangement between AMKA and the Faculty of Food Science in experimenting with meat preservation and a project for sweet potato preservation was at the time of study planned.

Caritas Mbeya as the other NGO studied represents typical expansion of programme activities. The first activities were the welfare services such as the support provided to malnourished poor children and their mothers. A big expansion of scope and magnitude of activities followed and improving agricultural productivity, cash credit and input loans became the main elements of its development program in the diocese. After this came very conveniently a complementary activity of promoting sustainable agriculture. Again, it is the only NGO studied which not only used government extension staff in implementation of project activities, but also involved public personnel and institutions in planning and decision-making. Caritas has also led to the birth of a new organisation headed by one of its former staff. This probably happens with staff from other NGOs and local people having some useful NGO backgrounds create new organisations.

The HSS' program, a training program, may be expected to show dissimilar characteristics from the other projects/programs studied. However, as a training program by an NGO it embodies similar elements as any other projects/programs by other NGOs. These include dealing with a variety of problems in its integrated training program, where increased productivity takes the same importance as sustainable utilisation of resources as are post-production activities of preservation and marketing. Similarly, it has been utilising government extension staff and personnel from local agriculture training centres. In addition, the use of publicly employed personnel enabled it to implement a particularly large-scale training program initially covering nine regions of the country. The training program was also an extension of an earlier supported program providing support directly to local training centres implementing programs in commercial livestock keeping and horticulture.

MVIWATA is an intermediary NGO, a development from international development cooperation as are the other local NGOs whose development activities have been examined. Although aid flow largely finances its operations, it has in contrast to the other NGOs a membership base taken to qualify it, in principle, as a membership support organisation. Here follows a list of how the scaling up concept relates to MVIWATA.

- One of its primary objectives is to influence public sector policy and practice.
- MVIWATA has also acquired an enviable status amidst other local intermediary organisations as it has received national recognition and represents the NGO community in forums and preparation of national programs such as PADEP. It also participates with other stakeholders in key issues as the question of certification of organic produce.
- As a Network of networks, it has both important vertical and horizontal linkages. Vertical downward with its member farmer groups and networks helping it to achieve the farmers' representation role it seeks. At the same time, it gets the legitimacy of seeking external funds for activities beneficial to members of the groups and networks it represents and undertakes initiatives to improve the leadership and management capacity of the local networks and groups. The vertical linkages upwards are with its sources of funds and with national governmental bodies.
- It has important horizontal linkages with its core partners who are sources of expertise and ideas that are capable of generating foreign financial support. These are, as already seen, INADES Formation, PELUM, Cooperative College, LVIA, and Sokoine University. In addition to the aforementioned benefits, the linkages give it extra strength, legitimacy, and credit for whatever positive outcomes from the relationships.
- It also intends to strengthen its representation at the grassroots level by creating regional structures. However, MVIWATA to turn into a highly layered and bureaucratic organ is not an option. A coordination role, where deliberations on general strategy are made, a meeting point and source of advice and a link to support may be the appropriate roles for MVIWATA where project implementation is left to local level bodies.

5. Poverty orientation

Deciding upon the type of development activities to support is important to the NGOs; of equal importance, is the choice of where to locate the development activities. For international NGOs not having physical geographical boundaries to restrict their operations, the latter decisions involve deciding upon what regions of the world are their services most needed and where the socio-political environment is accommodative. At country level, decisions as to where to locate a project or in how wide an area the programme is to be implemented are also important. The national NGOs, those operating in more than one political region of a country have to make those decisions, as well as the local NGOs whose choices of areas to run projects or to cover can be as small as one or two villages in a single district.

Since NGOs are supposed to correct what is seen as a bias of governmental agencies and private business services to support better off farming communities, one would expect them to make special efforts to reach poorer farming communities. This seems to be the case with agricultural NGOs in Tanzania, although not all of them have this characteristic. When the NGOs were asked in the survey why they have chosen the areas they operate in, the following answers were given:

Criteria	Accessibility/ existing links	Suggestion by Govt. officials	Agricultural potential	Known motivation of target groups	Low agricultural output	Ecological considerations	General poverty Conditions	High level of malnutrition
	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)	N (40)
Frequency	13	7	21	20	15	11	28	11
<u>Percentage</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>28</u>

 Table: 6.7.
 Criteria for NGO choice of project/programme areas

The survey results suggest that most NGOs initiate and implement development interventions in particular areas because of general poverty conditions of those areas, 70% of the respondent NGOs identify this as the most important influence. The second criterion in importance seems to be the agricultural potential of project areas, indicated by 53% of the NGOs. What is also worthy noting is the fact that though poverty is the main influence,

followed by agricultural potential in the choice of project locations, known or perceived motivation of target groups is important to half the NGOs surveyed. Suggestions regarding project location by government officials did not usually influence the choice of areas of operations. Those few NGOs influenced by government officials are large international NGOs. These international NGOs apparently felt a need to coordinate their efforts with important sections of government.

From the case studies, four different considerations regarding the choice of particular locations can be discerned:

- 1. NGOs implementing projects whose objectives are to improve directly agricultural production and food security situation, tend to operate in specific geographical areas where the rural conditions are worse than in other areas. Concern and its food security programme working with the poorer divisions of Iringa rural district, Caritas Mbeya implementing food security, nutrition and sustainable agricultural initiatives in the more vulnerable villages of the Mbeyan Diocese, are good examples, as well as VECO and its choice of Same district, a relatively dry district in Kilimanjaro region.
- 2. NGOs pursuing specific ecological objectives linked to forest or wildlife protection choose areas where these issues are important irrespective of relative economic conditions of those areas. The UCCP is an example of this.
- **3.** Organisations with national perspectives do not concentrate operations on poor regions. NGOs that see their activities within a framework of a national agenda and are not restricted to a particular region or area choose where to implement activities mostly on the basis of convenience and familiarity. MVIWATA and TAWLAE with a national focus as well as the HSS training programme are typical of these.
- 4. Post production value adding resource use, such as the processing of fruits and vegetables, as the main activity promoted by NGOs also affects the decisions as to where development initiatives are to be implemented and who are to be the direct beneficiaries. TAWLAE promoted tomato processing in Mlali partly because of the plentiful seasonal availability of the produce in that area. AMKA started to promote

solar drying enterprises in Kilimanjaro region partly because banana, one of the initial fruits considered appropriate for this exercise, is seasonally plentiful in the area.

If NGOs choose areas that are economically less favoured, it does not mean that within these areas they necessarily concentrate on those who are the poorest. There are of course some infrastructural improvements that are likely, in some way, to benefit every household or most households. However, as much of the efforts of agriculturally oriented NGOs target households' production directly, the issue of how beneficiaries are chosen is important.

The survey also yielded the following results:

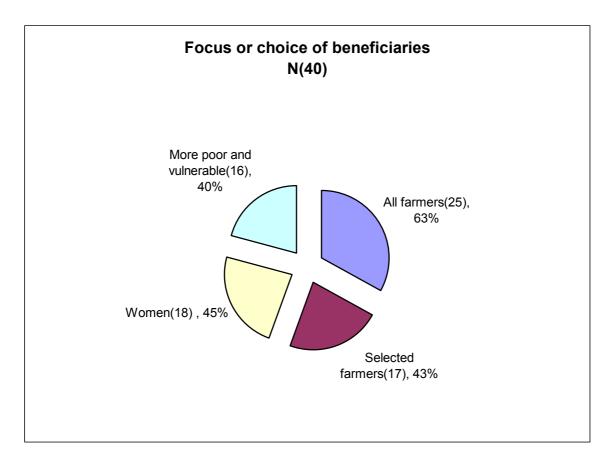


Figure: 6.2. The Selection of Beneficiaries by NGOs

The above distribution of responses suggest that all farmers in a particular geographical location tend to be the target group for support of many agricultural development initiatives implemented by NGOs in the country: nearly two thirds of the NGOs surveyed responded positively to this criterion. More than two fifth of the NGOs also tend to select those beneficiaries who are more eager to participate in the project. In many cases, these individuals will be found among the more prosperous farmers. Those who are wiling to be supported are referred to as the selected farmers. A significant minority of the NGOs surveyed claim to target specifically, or implement projects which target, the more poor and the vulnerable, though to a lesser extent than the focus on women.

Even the claim by two fifth of the NGOs that they select their beneficiaries on the basis of poverty has to be taken with a grain of salt. It might, as can be learned from the case studies, merely refer to the selection of less favoured areas again.

The UCCP clearly did not make any efforts to understand differences in poverty conditions and to plan for the participation of the more poor community members. It had of course as one of the main project objectives to work and improve women conditions, although differences among women in wealth or household influence were not decision factors as to which women are supported. Conversely, the project has shown to rely more on the community members who are mostly better of wealth wise and with better connections. Again, institutions were as much important vehicles for the achievement of UCCP's objectives as individual community members.

The TAWLAE's projects are not very different as well. As in most cases, more developmental women were involved. Often, the type of activities promoted and requirements of resource contributions to projects barred the participation of the more poor community members.

VECO's programme is slightly different from the other projects above in that it directly relies to accomplish its objectives on the support of and joint efforts with local NGOs, public and private organisations. The specific targeting of the more poor has not been the practice encouraged. Although women organisations and groups are supported, they do not necessarily have members belonging to the more poor households. The contractual agreements entered into with partners do not contain any clauses referring to discriminatory

targeting to identify and reach the poorer. Promoting crop cultivation among the pastoralist community members, the Maasai, as one element of VECO's programme in Same, has found it difficult to get audience among the poor or poorer Maasais, those who do not own cattle.⁵²

MVIWATA is not different from the others. Efforts to improve women circumstances are important, but identification of the more poor and their directly targeting is not in its agenda. Rather, general conditions and productivity of small farmers are to be improved.

The HSS as a training programme depicts similar characteristics as the other programmes and projects studied. Women were as well given due importance and their participation encouraged, however targeting of the more poor community members was not the objective.

Concern's food security programme looks to be the only programme to undertake socioeconomic analysis to categorise the beneficiaries according to their wealth status. It has managed to distinguish among its beneficiaries, the rich, the medium status individuals, and the poorest. It also took into consideration the fact that among women there could be differences depending on wealth status within households and women were as well categorised between the different wealth classes. However, in practice where participation was sought what the programme could offer to the beneficiaries show to have determined involvement. Although seeds were provided, obviously, the poorer often face some other problems that keep them in their poor status. No other discriminatory services favouring the poorer were seen to be provided. As such, the required participation of the more poor seemed curtailed by the inability of the programme to offer them specific support, and resources they might have needed to facilitate their effective participation.

⁵² Increasing number of Maasai male youth is flocking into the big urban centres to seek wage employment as security guards and the plaiting city women hair as second less formal jobs. Not owning cattle or enough cattle and as such the local economic and social conditions being unfavourable, is one of the important reasons behind such movements into the urban centres. Ironically, the circumstances this group finds itself in their local environments, as marginalized community members, might make them interested in activities promoted not directly related to the cause of their fates–not owning cattle. Nevertheless, it never happens that way, as these people yearn more not to further isolate themselves from their own community by engaging in activities making them less Maasais, however beneficial they might be. This people could be better helped if they are understood, specifically targeted, and shown sympathy to. Promoting zero grazing among the Maasai can go this route, though not a simple venture, through pilot work with the poorer non-cattle owning Maasais. This will complement efforts to promoting crop cultivation. NGOs might be better placed at taming such marginalised people and nurturing the process of change, but as a low scale long-term experimental activity.

Caritas programme although similar in many ways to the other development programmes/projects examined, offers some slight difference in approach to the plight of the poorest community members. Non-discriminatory targeting and community-wide development efforts also characterise Caritas' efforts. However, the poorest who are such due to the obvious circumstances they are in, are offered services specific to their conditions to help them survive and/or improve the quality of their lives. The efforts include the social welfare support services offered: children day care centres, nutrition rehabilitation centres for children and their poor mothers, family education on nutrition and health matters, and care for the sick such as TB and HIV/AIDS patients.

In the case studies there is only one NGO which actually undertook a survey to study economic differences among community members – with special emphasis on the conditions of women in the community. Even in this case, the poorer sections of the community were not the only beneficiaries of the support offered by the projects. There maybe several reasons why the NGOs usually do not really focus on the poorer people within their areas of operations:

One reason may be a continued belief in the trickle down mechanism assuming that if better off farmers succeed they can provide an example to the poorer ones or that more cash available in the community might eventually help poorer farmers to find better employment opportunities or market for their products. That there could be also a negative outcome is not taken into account, namely, those who move ahead economically may do so at the expense of the poorer sections of the community.

A second reason for not singling out the poor for support maybe due to the impression held by NGOs that on the whole income and welfare disparities within the rural communities are not that big. There might be only very few prosperous farmers while the majority of the middle farmers are relatively poor. It has been argued that in large parts of sub-Saharan Africa disparities within particular communities are not that great and the principle of gains for everybody might be the appropriate basis for designing development projects (Riddell and Robinson 1995: 86). The third reason is that it is easier to introduce new products and practices to those people who come forward showing interest, rather than singling out those who might need it most but have less initiatives of their own. Furthermore, exercises of singling out and favoring the economically weaker might disturb relationships among the community members as a whole or with its leaders.

Finally, there is also the issue that the poorest of the poor may not be able to benefit from income generating projects. This may be the reason why Caritas, which is in our case studies, has social welfare programs for the destitute and vulnerable rather than income generating activities specifically targeting these groups of poorer people. Carroll (1992) and Riddell and Robinson (1993) as referred to by Farrington and Bebbington (1993:184) suggest that few income generating projects by NGOs reach the poorest of the poor. One of the reasons given is that the poorest include the chronically poor who lack the means to satisfy their basic food requirements as well as the elderly, orphans and poor widows who are economically not so active. In addition, there are amongst the poorest sections of the population a number of people who might not participate in development projects due to suspicion, lack of motivation or pressure from the dominant social groups. They are said to be often a minority and beyond the reach of most economic interventions and stand to benefit more from improved social services, rather than through development projects designed to promote self-reliance (Riddell and Robinson, 1995: 65-66).

6. Summary and conclusions

Tanzanian agriculturally oriented NGOs see it as their first and foremost mission to enhance the capacity of farmers in general and women in particular to organize themselves in groups in order to look after their own affairs, to define their own interests and priorities and to actively pursue various opportunities of development in communication with a wider local, regional or national framework.

All these NGOs take into account gender perspectives and try to promote the advancement of women in one way or another.

The changes which the NGOs try to introduce include a large variety of usually smaller improvements. Among them are the introduction of better seeds or better crop varieties and sometimes new crops, they also promote better farming practices, off-farm activities and livestock and dairy keeping. Irrigation, particularly small scale, marketing and rural credit are also supported. Many NGOs focus on agro-ecological issues ranging from forest conservation and social forestry to organic farming and the use of alternative energy sources.

Most NGOs adopt holistic approaches trying to look into and work on most relevant issues related to agricultural production and to the livelihoods of rural people.

A variety of methods are used to motivate farmers and to disseminate knowledge. PRAs, farmers' training, the use of demonstration plots and farmer to farmer visits are quite common. In fieldwork, there are efforts to work with farmers' or women's groups although extension services are also provided to individual households. Almost all NGOs make use of government extension agents in their fieldwork.

Most agriculturally oriented NGOs in Tanzania are not only scaling-up their own activities but are very active in networking with each other and with governmental institutions and in some cases, private firms as well. Co-operation among various agencies involved in rural and agricultural development and making use of each others' expertise and facilities appears to be the rule rather than the exception.

While some NGOs concerned with ecological or certain technical issues or the creation of a national structure may not focus so much on poverty, most NGOs try to contribute towards the alleviation of poverty, they do so, however, mostly by setting up their operations in economically less favored districts or areas and usually not by specifically targeting the poorest sections of the communities in which they operate.

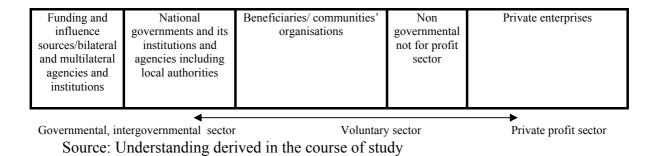
Chapter 7

Building Linkages and Inter-institutional Relationships

1. Introduction

Esman and Uphoff (1984: 62) observe that within the local government system some local development organisations tend to be the extension of the community more than the government itself. They also argue that among organisations of the beneficiary communities, membership and involvement may be voluntary. According to Korten (1990:100-102), community organisations referred to as people's organisations are said to show both the characteristics of the prince, merchant and citizen. The citizen (including the global citizen) is represented within the nongovernmental voluntary sector where power is integrative primarily dependent on appeals to shared values as the basis for mobilizing human and financial resources. The prince represents governments exercising legitimate coercion, the merchant representing business with economic or market power. The appeals to shared values are directed to individuals as private citizens and the organisations and institutions they belong to, make, or own. Voluntarism, thus, transcends whatever socio-economic and political boundaries. It is also illustrative of the divisions of functions and responsibilities within the general society. The use of governmental funds for voluntary work by NGOs described often as public service contracting is an indication of the view by some governmental/intergovernmental agencies on the comparative advantages of NGOs as voluntary organisations with distinctive competencies over other sectors e.g. in the promotion of democratic or citizen participation and in reaching the poor.

Table: 7.1.Development actors and collaborators



Therefore, the already present relationship between the different development actors and collaborators are often exploited to further and sustain individual or collective preferences, needs, and values through either individual efforts or collective efforts of some form. The current importance given to sustainable development and human rights is strengthening this sense of shared values and the need for collective efforts. Arguably, the effectiveness of the voluntary NGO sector in the promulgation and furtherance of the shared values depends on the linkages it develops with other development actors. Utilizing the description on linkages provided by Esman and Uphoff (1984:149-155), linkages refer to interactions and exchanges of information and other resources on regular and reliable basis between lower and higher level organisations and institutions (vertical linkages); and between organisations and institutions at the same level (horizontal linkages). The extent and effectiveness of communication and institutions at the same level of organisations and institutions, and between and among organisations and institutions at the same levels of organisations and institutions, and between and among organisations and institutions at the same levels of organisations and institutions.

The creation of effective linkages that NGOs have to nurture is one of the important elements contributing to the sustenance of the NGOs as useful organisations. Fowler (1997) uses the term relationship to describe the type and manner of interactions between NGOs and their primary stakeholders, those who fund them, with other NGOs, governments, the public, etc. Edwards (1999) underscores the relative importance for NGOs of strong and active linkages vertically and horizontally to facilitate the drawing in of resources and the influencing of wider structures.

⁵³ Esman and Uphoff (1984: 149-155) adopt a definition of linkages from an earlier study on local organisations that focussed on linkages between lower and higher level organisations in a tier formation (Uphoff and Esman 1974:26). This definition was expanded to include horizontal relationships with different organisations. It is expanded in this study further to include vertical relationships between different organisations and institutions not necessarily on a tier format.

2. Non-governmental organisations - state interactions

In the third chapter, it is suggested that in developing countries favourable relationships between NGOs and the state depend on whether NGOs are considered beneficial by the state, the level of political openness and tolerance present within society and where the influence of the international bilateral and multilateral agencies is strong. The relevance of political considerations rather than development gains from NGO work was also given importance as determining NGO-state relationships. These three conditions play significant roles in Tanzania. The socio-economic and political liberalisation polices are as much a result of the economic crises of the 1980s as they are of the influence of the IMF and the World Bank. In addition, the current level of tolerance and political openness is closely identifiable to the changes resulting from and reinforced by the role, made possible by the changes, of the bilateral agencies working with or through the civil society organisations.

Relationships between NGOs and the central government represent important vertical linkages. In addition to NGOs being tolerated by the state and its organs, which may carry the connotation that NGOs are to play only certain predetermined and specific rather limited roles within society, NGOs need to develop into institutions having legitimate presences capable of determining their own roles in society and that role might include the ability to influence government practices.⁵⁴

As linkages and relationships with government at the level of national policy making and programmes planning represent the vertical dimension of linkages, linkages at the level of implementation of policy or programme either through joint activities, exchange and sharing of staff, skills and knowledge or public service contracting arrangements can be described as horizontal in nature. Although linkages are between organisations or institutions of different positions, strength and status in society, working relationships at the level of policy and programme implementation are based on differences in or lack of certain capabilities possessed by the other and sharing.

⁵⁴ The importance of NGOs developing into institutions as conditions for NGO effectiveness and sustainability is emphasised by Brinkerhoff (1992), Fowler (1997), and Garilao (1987).

The strengthening of the NGO sector and creation of the necessary legitimacy is facilitated by the actions of both the bilateral and multilateral agencies in the country, the government, and NGOs themselves. Although the NGO sector has been active in the country working in partnership, of some form or other, with the government and the private sector before, formal policies have only recently acknowledged the role of the NGO sector. As has been the case, changes in practices have generally been ahead of formal policy changes and policymaking has tended to be informed by the already developed practices.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, public policy now explicitly acknowledges the role played by NGOs in the development process and poverty alleviation.

The following actions have been helpful in bringing NGOs into the mainstream as important development players in the country. (1) The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper might have marked the onset of more formal relationships between NGOs and the state. The PRSP involved close collaborations between donor governments, the multilateral agencies and international NGOs; OXFAM is particularly associated with the preparation of the PRSP, and emphasis on pro poor sectors and poverty alleviation might reflect NGO inputs.⁵⁶ (2) Drawn from the PRSP or to effect the PRSP are sector programmes, from which sector strategies are developed. Working groups at the ministerial level or departmental level in executive agencies, determining sector policies and strategies, comprise participants from international donor governments who actively promote more involvement of the civil society in policymaking, sector strategy development and programmes implementation. (3) So as to facilitate NGO participation in national level policy and practice, NGOs have created their own NGO Policy Forum encouraging theme or sector oriented groupings and from which representation from the NGO sector is made possible. (4) In the second step agencies, such as the Tanzania Commission for Aids (TACAIDS) or the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC), in addition to the working groups, the commissioners are

⁵⁵ To give direction to different practices after the socio-economic and political liberalisation in the country from the mid-1980s, the government has come about gradually with different sector-wide policies, strategies and programmes and as well different regulatory mechanisms have been instituted under different legislations. As the processes have been gradual, several practices have evolved without any central direction and guidance. In most cases, it has been relatively easy to accommodate the new developments into new policies and legislations. However, there have been few instances when new central directions have to conflict with established practices. One of this was the New NGO Act. The process for the development of the NGO Policy and the policy itself seemed acceptable, but the NGO Act led to some contention and NGOs had to lobby directly the parliamentarians for changes. One of the contentious issues was that it sets out to establish a national organ of NGOs, the NGO Council, seen to take over and restrict the activities of national umbrella NGOs that were already present.

⁵⁶ Source: Interview with Mr Likase, Policy and Advocacy Officer, OXFAM Tanzania

drawn from the business sector and the nongovernmental non-profit sector. (5) The government has also been facilitating civil society participation in national policy development and in the monitoring of government practice. There have been, at national level, yearly consultative group meetings where NGOs participate. For example, in December 2002, the NGO Policy Forum representing the voluntary sector developed NGO statements on nine themes or sectors: macro issues and the poverty reduction strategy, local governance, agriculture and rural development, education, health, water and sanitation, HIV/AIDS and road and transport. The consultative practice is spreading even to individual ministries, for example, the Ministry of Home Affairs managed to arrange for a consultative conference on the implementation of the Drug Control Master Plan in early 2003. Other examples include the Public Expenditure Review processes and the creation of bodies such as the Tanzania National Business Council, as an organ to facilitate beneficial governmentbusiness relationships, inaugurated in April 2001 by the incumbent president. Again, worthy of note as representing the government opening up to other development actors is the practice of directly consulting the business sector seeking business sector inputs in preparation of the national budget as initiated in the budget for the year 2002. (6) A practice becoming important as well is for programs implemented through the support of international agencies, for example IFAD, inviting the NGO sector to bid for some elements of programmes as public service contractors such as in irrigation infrastructure development. (7) In addition to some public service contracting, there has been joint implementation of programmes by NGOs with public agencies such as that experienced by the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) in the recent Participatory Poverty Assessment exercise. Public agencies involved are the President's Office Planning and Privatisation, Ministry of Finance, the National Bureau of Statistics and the University of Dar es salaam. Other NGOs participating included Care Tanzania, Concern Tanzania, the Pastoralists and Indigenous NGOs' Forum (PINGO), Save the Children Fund, AMREF, Action Aid, Christian Social Services Commission, Maarifa ni Ufunguo. (8) The new NGO Policy of 2001 and the subsequent NGO Act of 2002, as regulatory and control instruments initiated by the government, contribute to more legitimate NGO influence on government policy and practice. The regulatory instruments act as catalysts for more formal and democratic NGO representations. The NGO Policy also states the government's recognition of the significance of the role of NGO in society and offers to work in partnership with NGOs. The legislation provides some order and formality to NGO activity; therefore, it is more than a mere tool for control.

On the relationship between NGOs and the central government, the TANGO Chairperson, Mama Mwingira interviewed in January 2003, made the following observations:

'There has been some development in the voluntary sector since the 1990s. The NGO sector and the Government are all getting to understand each other better. There is some defensiveness both ways and tension, but there is also greater understanding at the same time. The consultative meetings are becoming very important and NGO views are taken into consideration. It is clear that the government is open to public input more than it was before. The concept that the NGO sector is a development partner is getting more acceptable. We NGOs need to acquire the right skills to engage with government better. We are still more in the service delivery function; lobbying and advocacy are much more demanding activities.'

Box: 7.1. Excerpts from the NGO Statement on Agriculture and Rural Development: the Consultative Group Meeting, December 2nd to 5th 2002

The Statement remarkably opens with outright appreciation of governments' efforts in the agricultural sector by making it a key priority in the poverty reduction strategy. The government is also commended for increased spending on agricultural development, the production of sufficient food in the country and the relatively efficient and competitive internal food markets.

Besides the commendation, tasks a head are highlighted. We are reminded that more needs to be done to achieve levels of development adequate to lift millions of Tanzanians out of poverty and to a more dignified life. The following are advised or highlighted:

Aggregate farm incomes are reduced by unsympathetic taxation system and less than effective efforts to control local government tax regimes.

Regulatory measures especially on cash crop production and marketing are inadequate and do not reflect the realities of global market conditions.

We are reminded of the catastrophic outcome of collateral use of land without adequate provisions for the protection of peasants.

We are told that better macro issues including perhaps improved terms of trade are going to be of little effect on rural poverty, unless adequate attention is placed on micro factors. Poor soils, poor communications, scattered population, and unreliable rains do not very much help in the efforts to overcome 'market failure' by either state led or private sector support.

Highlighted are the double standard practices in global markets where participants compete in unequal footing as tariff barriers and subsidies protect farmers in rich countries.

Important conclusions are:

The agricultural, livestock and natural resources oriented CBOs and NGOs are not numerous, and many do not have the capacity to engage effectively in policy dialogue and critique. Decisions appear to be made by a small circle of government and donor representatives.

An important challenge put forward relates to the ways in which Tanzanian farmers could take advantage of opportunities offered by globalisation without being overcome by its negative consequences.

The final comments, surprisingly so, is that 'Finally, the role of co-operatives requires particular mention. While co-operative unions have been abused and discredited, the primary cooperative societies, in different forms, continue to be a potential key to rural poverty reduction. However, a coordinated strategy is needed to build a public climate in which primary societies are strong, independent actors in the market and in which their take over by personal or political interests is socially and legally excluded.'

Source: NGO Policy Forum: NGO Statement on Agriculture and Rural Development: the Consultative Group Meeting, December 2nd to 5th 2002

Directly relevant to the agricultural sector the Agricultural Sector Development Programme Framework and Process Document (Final Draft, 2003), identifies formal NGO linkages to national level policy, programme development and implementation planning in the agricultural sector. This document also seeks to shed light on the possible future role of NGOs in agricultural and rural development.

The Agricultural Sector Development Programme Framework and Process Document, provides the background and sets forward a framework for future agricultural development efforts delineating roles and relationships between the different development actors. The organisations identified to represent private stakeholder community and with which the ASDP will closely work with include the following. The Confederation of Tanzanian Industries (CTI), the Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Industry and Agriculture, the newly established Tanzania Chamber of Agriculture and Livestock (TCAL), TAWLAE, Tanzania Society for Animal Protection (TSAP), TANGO, PELUM, Agricultural Economist Society of Tanzania (AGREST) and Mtwara Small Scale Entrepreneurs Association (MSEDA). According to ASDP the level and manner of involvement of NGOs and CBOs is going to vary, however, at national level the ASDP will liaise with and provide direct support to umbrella organisations such as TANGO and PELUM. The following proposed management of the ASDP highlight the role of the different actors at different levels.

There is going to be an Annual Conference of Stakeholders (ASC) where all stakeholder groups will participate. They will be informed of progress and express their views on performance and progress.

There will be a National Steering Committee (NSC). In addition to the participation of government departments, the NSC will be comprised of four donors and five private sector

representatives. The Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF) will appoint the private sector representatives. The members of the TPSF come from business sector organisations, economic NGOs and public institutions created to promote private sector development. The NSC is the national level implementation coordination and performance-monitoring organ.

There will be also an Agricultural Sector Advisory Committee (ASAC). Seven representatives from the public institutions, seven from farmers' associations, NGOs and the wider civil society and one donor representative will constitute it.

In advisory capacity, there is also the existing consultative forum, the Food and Agricultural Sector Working Group (FASWOG) composed of multilateral and bilateral development partners active in the agricultural sector. FASWOG's chairperson is the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security; its secretary comes from the FAO's country office. Other members come from other relevant government departments: lead ministries in the agricultural and rural development sector, the Prime Ministers' Office and the Ministry of Finance.

At the district level, also proposed is the District Agricultural Sector Advisory Committee (DASAC). It is to liaise with the district council at local authority level where the Districts' Agricultural Development programmes (DADPs), drawn from the national level ASDP, are to be implemented. The DASAC will include the districts' agricultural, livestock, cooperatives/community, planning, and land and natural resources officers. To be represented as well are NGOs active in the agricultural sector at district level, the primary cooperatives, farmers and livestock keepers' associations, the private sector and from the local agribusiness community. This body chaired by a private sector representative will be the advisory organ to the District Management Team.

The Agricultural Sector Development Programme Framework and Process Document (Final Draft of March 2003) illuminating the changes set in motion and reflecting desired new attitudes, understanding and relationships between the NGOs or civil society organisations and the state organs, describes in the following lines the Civil Society and its role in agricultural and rural development in the country. Annex, page 8, provides the following in relation to NGOs and CBOs:

This is a diverse group of actors, comprising both local and international organisations. Community based organisations (CBOs) are also emerging as important players, especially with the present emphasis on participatory approaches. The most critical roles of NGOs and CBOs in the course of ASDP implementation include:

- Providing extension and credit services;
- Lobbying and Advocacy for policy changes and development;
- Funding community-based interventions;
- Providing public services based on contracts.

Because of the ASDP, NGO role in agricultural and rural development and their relationships with government agencies at different levels will become more formal and institutionalised. Nonetheless, an advisory role only for the various non-governmental stakeholders at the district level might not be adequate and it differs from the arrangement at the national level, where donors and the private sector are represented in the National Steering Committee responsible for the national level implementation, coordination, and policymaking.

A review of the NGOs studied gives more light about the linkages and relationships that exist between NGOs and the state and its agencies. The case studies are all except one about specific NGO projects/programmes, and relationships are identified in relation to the specific projects/programmes implemented by the NGOs. The exceptional case involves a general examination of the activities of MVIWATA, what is referred to as the unconventional form of a third level membership support organisation in the country, its relationship with the state organs will also be identified.

It is a fact that most NGOs in Tanzania implement their development activities in the different districts making use of government extension staff in addition to their own. This is the most basic and common form of horizontal linkage relationships, where projects/programmes by NGOs are linked to local authorities as sources of skilled human resources and expertise. NGOs are also often accommodated within the administrative compounds of the local authorities. There might be some formalization regarding the use of government staff through memorandum of understanding developed with the district authorities, though participating staff are often selected and remunerated from informal

agreements with individual staff members. Some NGOs might also be extended invitations to formal local authority meetings.

Beyond such simpler relationships are direct involvement of local authorities and officials as partners having needed legal and legitimate power, authority and influence. The power, authority and influence of local officials might be necessary for the agendas propagated by NGOs to be either acceptable or implemented successfully. Examples of these deeper relationships include the following: a) The UCCP's efforts to promote the adoption of Moringa Oleifera the alternative to tobacco, where senior local authority officials, councillors and local politicians acted as models to the larger community. b) Without the endorsement and outright involvement of local authority officials at all levels, the PLUM exercises and the land demarcation activities as part of the community natural resources management initiative could not have be carried out at all. d) The UCCP had as well provided fingerlings to support fish farming in local prisons, these institutions were to be reliable sources of fingerlings to the community and perhaps sources of encouragement and skills. e) Similarly, VECO's efforts to improve marketing in the district required the participation of important stakeholders including the district's local government authority officials without whose involvement the whole exercise might have been less meaningful.

In addition, certain NGOs allow greater involvement of local authority personnel in decision-making, planning and implementation of development projects and programmes they support. They do this for the following reasons: either to facilitate greater participation of governmental units at local level or because they have inadequate human resources and skills available within themselves or they lack the desire to create own capacity to manage and programme their own activities. Caritas has made greater participation of government officials and community members in planning and program implementation possible through the advisory committee at the top – at diocese level and the programme also heavily relys upon the publicly employed extension staff in the agricultural development element of its area development programme.

MVIWATA as an organisation is itself indirectly linked to government extension staff through the networks and groups it represents and its partners some of whom are public institutions and others who utilize government extension staff. However, beyond efforts to improve conditions at the micro level – immediate farmer environment, MVIWATA has to develop links at the national or macro level as it is expected to represent and advocate for farmers' interests at the national level. It has shown some success in linking itself with higher-level national policy and decision-making bodies. For example, as observed earlier, similar to TAWLAE, PELUM, etc. the proposed National Agricultural Sector Development Programme acknowledges MVIWATA as a participating organisation. MVIWATA has as well participated in the development of the Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP).

3. NGOs and national agricultural research and training institutions (NARTIs)

Some other important horizontal linkages between NGOs and the public institutions are with the national agricultural research and training centres and institutions.⁵⁷ The following types of relationships are identified. First, NARTIs as the origins of NGOs: This represents the outright relationship between many indigenous NGOs and the NARTIs. A good number of important local NGOs originate from the initiatives of the public employed personnel from these institutions. The part played by Sokoine University of Agriculture and the UMADEP project in creating MVIWATA and the ongoing relationships between them illustrates what role public institutions can play in creating relevant civil society organisations capable of attracting resources for societal benefit. Similarly, public institutions have been sources of ideas, human resources and leadership to many local NGOs – the examples of TAWLAE, TGNP, HAKIELIMU, Envirocare, SURUDE, AGREST and the ESRF etc.

Secondly, NGOs as sources of funds and activities to NARTIS: As there have been no formal inter-institutional relationships between NGOs and public institutions, relationships have often depended upon initiatives of individual units or persons within the NARTIS who seek collaborations with NGOs implementing development programmes/projects in some

⁵⁷Source of information, people interviewed from NARTIS: Benjamin Gama, zone research coordinator Western Zone NARDC in Tumbi, Tabora; Dr. Kisimba extension and liaison officer Northern Zone NARDC in Seliani, Arusha; Dr. Madata the Ag. Director Southern Highland Zone NARDC in Uyole Mbeya; and Dr. Mwendwa of the TFNC.

proximity to the NARTIS. Whether efforts to seek collaborations are successful or not, seem to depend on the resources the NGO has at its disposal, whether the offered expertise is relevant and needed and the attitude of the NGO to NARTIS as public institutions or to collaborative arrangements in general. The NGOs, therefore, indirectly link the NARTIS to external resources. This fits in with the 'contracting in' arguments offered by Anderson and Crowder (2000: 374) where external finance is used for collaboration with state institutions.

The fourth type of relationship comes in the form of NARTIs being sources of ideas and expertise to NGOs. This is descriptive of NGO efforts to link themselves with the public institutions as to utilize knowledge, skills, expertise and human resources available within NARTIs. For example, such linkage facilitated the training programme by HSS. There have also been relationships between the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC) and many NGOs including Africare, TAFOPA and AMKA on food processing expertise. NARTIs have the comparative advantage in technology development that might be useful to NGO efforts. For example, success is said to have been impaired because the suitability of Moringa Oleifera in the UCCP area was not researched upon in collaboration with the research centre at Tumbi.

Thirdly, NGOs as sources of ideas and values to NARTIS: Innovatory ideas, methodologies, and practices by NGOs are sometimes seen to be useful and valuable and are taken up by the NARTIS. This comes in two forms: a) through the adoption of NGOs' innovations that are further experimented upon and used for research purposes. In addition, the ideas are used to develop projects or programmes for which donor/NGO financial support is sought; the NGO from which the idea originated might be identified as a collaborating partner. Examples of this kind of relationship include the research on Moringa a crop introduced by the NGO Africare by NARDC at Tumbi; as well as the improved solar drying technology an innovation by AMKA, experimented upon and for wider purposes by Sokoine University of Agriculture. b) There is also the belief that NGOs have developed certain values and expertise which might be essential and needed by the public institutions, such as participatory orientation, skills in grassroots mobilization and ability to serve the needs of the poor, etc. The current policy orientation and development planning for the agricultural sector, as illuminated by the ASDP and the restructuring of agricultural research, intend to institutionalise relationships between NGOs and public institutions as to exploit the comparative advantages believed possessed by NGOs.

Fifthly, NGOs may act as the linking pins between farmers and NARTIS. NARTIS develop technologies and the NGOs might provide farmers with which the technologies are tested, on-farm. This makes possible the testing of technological innovations by NARTIS, at the same time it encourages the development of technologies appropriate to small farmers' needs as technology dissemination and technology development are brought usefully together. Caritas Mbeya, as seen, provided the opportunity for on-farm testing of maize varieties developed by the Southern Highland Zone Research and Development Centre at Uyole. Use of group of farmers organized by NGOs to promote developed technologies provide technology testing and promotion environment at no extra costs to NARTIS. Identifying and forming farmer groups to work with requires specific expertise and incentives, they may not be available within NARTIS.

Sixthly, the activities of international agencies including NGOs have made it possible for research activities and personnel to be active in research and dissemination. Otherwise, the agricultural research centres were mostly active in agricultural research only and direct contact with farmers was often limited.

Seventhly, NGOs acts as links between different development players in the locality: NARTIs and NGOs are essentially not self-serving: their client is the farmer, the local citizen, whose efforts they support. For that matter, NGOs whose views on development problems are often more integrative and holistic, bring together in training activities and workshops different development players including personnel from NARTIs and officials from farmer associations and local authorities. These useful forums, which bring together different development players in a locality, are useful contributions by NGOs towards integrating local efforts.

Finally, NARTIs and NGOs can become institutionalised partners – either for practical reasons or through the influence of donors on whom the public institutions and NGOs depend upon for financial resources. The ASDP, as seen, is clearly setting the scene for more formal and regular relationships between NGOs and public institutions of the agricultural sector. Relevant as well to the country's agricultural research and training institutions are the reorganisation and restructuring of agricultural research. Following sequenced efforts from 1986 of the National Agricultural and Livestock Research Programme (NALRP) and TARP II (Tanzania Agricultural Research Programme supported by the World Bank) agricultural

research is now organised into zone level arrangements. There are now seven lead National Agricultural Research and Development Centres (NARDC) in different zones as coordinating units for the numerous and scattered research centres available within similar ecological zones. Facilitating the coordination are the following mechanisms: internal programmes review, zone level technical committee, zone level executive committee and stakeholders' meeting. The stakeholders' meeting have NGOs and farmers participating beside the research and extension personnel. As illustrative of the developing close relationships, the Southern Highland Zone Agricultural Research and Development Centre, at Uyole in Mbeya, intends to have as common practice one member from the NGO community participating in its internal programmes review. Likewise, following increased interactions between particular NGOs and personnel of the research centres and as to strengthen such interactions for common good, some personnel from the research centres become members of some NGO management boards. In addition, the zone level agricultural research funds created are to facilitate resource flow to a decentralised research network and to encourage collaborations in research. Already there is some new emphasis on clientoriented research and proposals for research are to reflect specific farmers' needs and technologies that are environmental friendly. The NGOs can also through their contributions to the research funds and their involvement in planning and decision making activities within the zones and through collaborations in field activities, as they already do, influence changes in agricultural research in Tanzania.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Also interviewed are the Acting Director of Policy and Planning, Mama Simanga and Mr Kapange the Scientific Information Officer, both of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security.

NARDCs/ other research and training institutions visited	NGOs with whom they collaborate	Areas of collaboration	Activities or crops involved
Northern Zone Agricultural Research and Development Centre – Seliani, Arusha	VECO FARM Babati World Vision Catholic Relief Services Tanzania Farmers Service Centre Heifer International VETAID Global 2000 FAIDA Technoserve	On-farm and on-centre research, technology, skills and knowledge disseminations	Soil salinity Weed killers Soil analysis Beans and Maize Sunflower, pigeon peas Conservation activities Veterinary services Paravets Participatory Rural Appraisal exercises Marketing research and training Drought resisting groundnuts Cover crops - Mucuna and Lablab
Western Zone Agricultural Research and Development Centre – Tumbi, Tabora	Most relationships with ICRAF or facilitated by ICRAF Tabora Development Trust Fund World Vision Africare (mainly source of research interest on Moringa at the time) TAWLAE	Research on-farm and on-centre and technology, skills and knowledge disseminations	Agro-forestry Tree planting on- farm Fodder banks development Nitrogen fixing plants: Leucaenas, Gliricidia- sepium etc Comparing artificial and organic fertilization Moringra Oleifera Women group processing of indigenous or wild fruits such as Amarulla
Southern Highland Zone Agricultural Research and Development Centre – Uyole Mbeya	ADP Mbozi ADP Isangati CARITAS	Mostly technology transfer but also some technology development on-farm Training and workshops organising	Beans and maize varieties, Pests problems – e.g., bean stem maggot Post harvest preservation techniques Soil and water management
Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC)-Dar es Salaam	AMKA Envirocare TAFOPA AFRICARE	Technology research and dissemination, training and marketing exhibitions activities	Agro processing Solar drying technology for vegetable drying Weaning food preparations

Table: 7.2. NGO-NARTIs linkages

Source: Information collected for this study

4. NGOs and the Donor linkage

The donor community, represented by the multilateral and bilateral agencies, have much to do with the changes in socio-economic and political orientations in the country. As such, they facilitated a more tolerant environment for civil society organisations to emerge and for them to have some influence on the state and its organs. To NGO efforts and performance in agricultural and rural development, such sympathetic environment is important, of similar relevance is the relationship the donor community develops and maintains with NGOs. This ultimately boils down to funding relationships and their implications. However, this study could not adequately examine this linkage, as it deserves a more separate and focussed study. Nevertheless, some observations are made from case study material and as well from the questionnaire developed to seek some limited but relevant information from the donor community. Ten questionnaires were given out and six responses were obtained: from the Royal Netherlands Embassy, The German Embassy, The Department for International Development (DFID) East Africa (Tanzania), The Norwegian Embassy, The Finish Embassy, The Swedish Embassy and the World Bank. The World Bank does not extend financial assistance to NGOs but encourages more involvement of the civil society in national policymaking.

Important items about which the questionnaire elicited information are the channelling of funds to NGOs, changes in funding relationships, if any; increase or decrease in funding to NGOs, and other non-funding relationships. It is suggested that donor funds are channelled in respective importance: 1) to local NGOs but through international NGOs/ their branches in the country, 2) directly to local NGOs, 3) directly to international NGOs/ their branches and 4) indirectly through the Tanzanian government. The first two are of similar importance, followed by the third of lesser importance, and the last one as the least important method of channelling funds to NGOs. Some donor countries channel funds directly to local NGOs: Some use intermediary organs created. The DFID has created an organisation called The NGO Foundation as a different mechanism to continue supporting local NGOs.

Encouraging NGO participation in national policymaking and planning is mentioned as the non-financial support provided by the donor institutions to NGOs. Again, only one donor country indicated funds to NGOs have not increased, while all the others have indicated increases.

We can also identify through the case studies ways through which local NGOs have access to donor funds. The local NGO, TAWLAE, has accessed funds from McKnight Foundation but through two intermediaries: Winrock International and AWLAE; AMKA has had its activities supported by the DFID through northern NGOs/not for profit support organisations from the donors' home of origin – Traidcraft Exchange and APT Enterprises. The HSS's training programme, VECO's programme in Same and Africare's UCCP represent activities by international NGOs supported through individual donor country support to home country NGOs, directly or through bilateral agencies. A different fund accessing mechanism is that illustrated by the European Union funded, or partly funded, programmes of international NGOs/branches of as Concern's food security programme. The European Union also facilitates a funding relationship through which recipient country organisations access financial support through projects implemented in partnership with NGOs from European Union members, as is MVIWATA a local organisation and its relationship with FERT of France.

Table: 7.3. Funding sources, channels and recipients

Sources:	Bilateral agencies,	multilateral agencies-the EU	, International		
NGOs/Philanthropic organisations/charities					
-	International NGOs, C O regional/national netwo	2	Foundation/Foundation for		
Recipients only:	Lo	ocal NGOs			

Source: Information gleaned from the study output

In relation to the modality for channelling funds, the following trends can be observed: (1) The modality to channelling of funds seems to be evolving: from international NGOs being channels of funds to local NGOs and from donor country governmental agencies directly disbursing funds to local NGOs, to the creation of bodies responsible for managing donor governments' support to and relationships with local NGOs. (2) NGOs from the European Union member countries have access to financial resources from home country governments and civil society as well as financial resources from the European Union to implement development projects in third countries non European Union members.

It might have been important for donor governments and agencies to promote the development of civil society organisations to facilitate the transition from state monopoly to socio-economic liberalisation and political pluralism. The many local NGOs that have emerged since the mid-1980s have their emergence facilitated by donor funds available to support the activities or purposes for which they were created. Although donors provide funds directly to local NGOs, international NGOs/their sub branches are also used as intermediaries by the bilateral donor agencies. Some other donors have also recently established different intermediaries such as the NGO Foundation. To encourage local NGOs, small one-off grants have been common, larger grants seem to go through intermediaries or to support some joint programme/project implementation arrangements between local NGOs and international NGOs. Smaller one-off grants might be appropriate to stimulate initial NGO sector development. They are however less relevant in encouraging better performance among local NGOs. Funding through intermediaries, such as the Care Imara project, with some element of strengthening local NGO capacity might be more appropriate. However, it might not be very effective when relationships are only for one-off definite projects.⁵⁹ Other intermediary mechanisms, for example the NGO Foundation, can be beneficial to improving local NGO performance only when the strengthening of the capacities of local NGOs define the funding relationships beyond funded single projects. Small one-off grants provided based on proposals submitted solicited through the mass media might be, in the long term, counter productive. Especially when government institutions are encouraged to involve NGOs in policy and planning, and, in return, the government seeks to improve its understanding of the NGO sector through the creation of a central NGO coordinating mechanism. These two conditions demand effective local NGOs for the sector to survive and to continue to be useful as the unusually important tool for influencing change in government policy making and practice.

⁵⁹ A cautionary note is necessary that not all international NGOs/branches have capacity good enough to be useful in strengthening the programming capacities of local NGOs/indigenous NGOs. Some NGOs like Care International develop that capacity and make efforts to create frameworks to guide its relationships with other development actors in the country. A partnership strategy outlining key elements pertinent to conditions for and effectiveness in collaborations it has developed is an example of its capacity to manage effective collaborations with local organisations.

5. Relationships with the private commercial sector

Using the analogy by Korten (1990), the private commercial sector is the merchant and the market is its source of power and influence. However, it is also a source for voluntary work. Private exchange activities are the sources of wealth in market economies and, directly or indirectly, both tangible resources and intangible as empathy flow to sustain voluntary work. The sudden rise of NGOs in number and influence in developing countries in the last two decades has been because of direct support to the country by the wealthier market economies influencing changes in state attitudes to voluntary associations and encouraging more involvement of NGOs in government policymaking and practice. Information from the questionnaire exploring donor NGO relationships establishes that funding relationships and direct encouragement of NGOs to get involved in policymaking are the important activities by the agencies of donor governments in their relations with NGOs. Moreover, some NGOs in the country have been receiving financial assistance from such organisations as the Ford Foundation and similar institutions whose sources of financial wealth is the commercial businesses from which they originate.⁶⁰ In other countries, in addition to the direct private sector contributions the tax system provides the mechanism for resource flow to voluntary work, Germany is an example.⁶¹ Nielsen, examining the work of foundations in the US observes that there is also a constant exchange of human resources between the state, the voluntary sector and the private commercial sector. In the Tanzanian experience much of the stronger and influential NGOs, although no much financial resource contribution from private citizens to the sector is in record and most resources are coming from the global citizens of the West, have their origin from or their leadership comes from public sector institutions. In Tanzania, apparently, besides NGO staff and leaders being part of both the state institutions and the NGO sector, there have been instances where personnel have moved from the state institutions to the NGO sector and from the NGO sector to state institutions of the recently created specialized agencies.

⁶⁰ Nielsen (1972) describes the relationships between foundations and the business commercial sector from which the foundations originate.

⁶¹ In the last decade, community foundations have been springing up in Germany, although created to fit local conditions, the concepts in their creation resemble those of similar charity organisations in Anglo-Saxon countries. See <u>http://www.buergerstiftungen.de/g.htm</u>

The organisations of the private commercial sector, in addition to the resources flow relationships, according to Farrington and Bebbington (1993:168-171), have linkages with NGOs in the following manner:

- They are sources of technologies and other inputs needed by NGOs and those they work with.
- The NGOs may use the market to aid the dissemination of an innovation indirectly through developing a market for products derived from that innovation.
- Using of the market directly through distributing innovations through the market.
- Through linking the beneficiaries to services provided by the market, which might have been initially provided by or though the support of the NGOs.
- Efforts by NGOs to improve gains from market exchanges through the promotion of income generating opportunities among the communities they serve.

The more recent discourse on private sector-NGO relationships describe NGO-business linkage as essential business practice to 'a healthy bottom line' being part of a cooperative effort to uphold the human right principles of the Global Compact between business, governments, the United Nations, business associations and non-governmental organisations.⁶²

The Global Compact elements launched by the Secretary General at the 1999 annual meeting of the Wold Economic Forum challenge the business associations to support the following nine principles.

⁶² See the Preface by Mary Robinson (UN High Commissioner for Human Rights) for the Business and Human Rights: A Progress Report 2000, Geneva. Accessed 10.03.2004 from the internet, http://www.unhchr.ch/business.htm

Box: 7.2. Elements of the Global Compact

Human rights:

- 1. Businesses should support and respect the protection of international human rights within their sphere of influence; and
- 2. make sure their own corporations are not complicit in human rights abuses.

Labour:

- 3. Businesses should uphold the freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;
- 4. the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour;
- 5. the effective abolition of child labour;
- 6. the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation. **Environment:**
- 7. Business should support a precautionary approach to environmental challenges;
- 8. undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility; and
- 9. encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies.

Source: Business and Human Rights: A Progress Report 2000, original source <u>http://www.unglobalcompact.org.htm</u>

This has been a framework instrumental in promoting NGO efforts as collaborators supporting and providing advisory services to the private commercial sector. The Global Compact represents a cause for partnership though the parties concerned might be reluctant to the partnership itself.

Hamilton (1999) from a study of NGO-private sector collaborations identifies the following motivations for partnerships.⁶³The first reason given relates to NGOs working with, linking the communities the NGOs are serving to, and influencing change in, the private sector to accomplish the core purposes for which NGOs are established as reflected in their mission statements, such as sustainable development and human rights. For example, the Ethical Trade Initiative gives NGOs concerned with poverty alleviation or improvements in working conditions the opportunity to influence change through the adoption of NGO guidelines by companies.

⁶³ The Nature of NGO-Private Sector Collaborations for Development In Developing Countries, December 14 1999, accessed from the internet <u>http://www.sanrem.uga.edu/rio10_files/HamiltonNGOprisect1</u>

The second reason is the need by private business to avoid risky behaviour, to wade off, or manage negative campaigns against their operations and to help them adhere to acceptable social standards. Damages to company brands through campaigns against abuses of social and environmental standards by pressure groups are avoided through linking with NGOs. One of the examples given is the Living Earth Environmental Action Project by Living Earth and Shell in the Niger Delta promoting sustainable development within communities as a move to establish peace with Nigerian communities. Another example is 'The Clean Clothes Campaign' comprising a network of NGOs, trade unions and Swedish garment retailers as an independent monitoring system formed promoting better social practices at product sources.

The third reason is the 'do good' feeling as a motivating factor. One of the examples given is that of retired German experts from the Senior Expert Service giving voluntary assistance in Asia, Africa and Latin America by transmitting their accumulated experiences and skills to their counterparts.

The fourth motivating factor is the earning of a desired social image and respect. Given as an example is the Business Links Initiative where multinationals in collaborations with NGOs identify small and medium sized local businesses to which they provide training materials. Business Links Initiative show that companies have the capacity to work together outside direct business relationships and which is considered good to the image of the business community.

The final reason given is exchange of experiences as a motive for collaborations. Through collaborating with NGOs, companies may acquire different practices and methods that can be beneficial to the long-term functioning of a company.

Generally, according to Hamilton, the following are the success factors to NGO-private sector partnerships:

- Openness and trust;
- Respect of differences;
- Realistic ambitions between NGOs and the private companies in their relationships;
- Good understanding of project and partner;

- Working on well-defined projects and the identification of measurable outcomes;
- Identification of common goals and common values;
- Profit and market share motives of the commercial sector need acknowledgement within their efforts to play the earmarked positive roles;
- Again, both moral and financial support is necessary to prevent frustrations in NGObusiness relations;
- It is essential to have some form of participation of local and national governments including making available financial resources to promote such partnership where necessary.

Problems to desired partnerships, according to Hamilton, include: 1) different backgrounds affecting methods of operations and values. A good example given is the difference between the blueprint approach and standardized system brought by Shell and its partner, Living Earth, planning for a more value led process for earmarked social development project. 2) Stereotypes: NGOs have difficulties in reconciling between their roles as pressure groups often campaigning against business practice and working with business making use of business resources. The commercial sector regards NGOs as having inadequate knowledge or having lesser appreciation of the business environment, its needs and problems.⁶⁴

So how do NGOs and the private sector relate in the country? Within the limits of this study, are the following observations.

The case studies show that the private sector has been, in some cases, a partner and sub contractor for some elements of NGO projects/programmes. Important but less successful or less satisfactory relationships are the following: 1) the UCCP has been having OPTIMA as the essential and important organ in its efforts to promote Moringa Oleifera in Ugalla area; (2) The construction of physical infrastructures by Concern, wells and irrigation infrastructures, had also private sector involvement. Both these relationships might be highlighting the relative difficulties that could arise because of lack of experience by NGOs in dealing with the commercial business sector. They might also highlight stereotypical attitudes of the private sector toward the NGOs, for example, the notion that NGOs are mostly driven by the significance and value they attach to their goals but perhaps without adequate needed competence and preparation levels to achieve them.

Initially considered for the case study approach to this study is the activity by APPROTECH (Appropriate Technologies for Enterprise Creation) of Micro Irrigation Improvement Project in Tanzania. The project involved the promotion of pedal-pumps to promote small-scale irrigation. The commercial private sector received support to locally manufacture the pumps and be responsible for its promotion and distribution to small farmers. An evaluation of the project carried out in 2002 revealed that a productive relationship as established between manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers. Also observed, at least initially, was some discrepancy between efforts to create the essential supply chain and efforts to encourage the survival of the chain relationships without project support.⁶⁵

Through the survey carried out of NGOs, as the other methodology for this study, Enterprise Works shows to engage with private sector businesses as sources of agricultural equipments such as ram presses for seed oil extraction. Eight workshops in Iringa, Rukwa and Mbeya region owned by different individuals make a list of its partners.

AMKA has created a support organisation for its clients whom they are to depend upon for the services now provided by AMKA. The organisations created or supported are either for the purpose of: 1) making more accessible the commercial sector services to the communities the NGOs support; and/or 2) making the rural communities have stronger common informed voices while dealing with the private sector business intermediaries as outlets for their produce. 3) NGOs might also find it necessary to engage with organs of the private commercial sector as key partners to facilitate the achievement of particular goals. A typical example is the linkage between VECO and the Chamber of Commerce seen important for VECO's market development initiative at the district level. At the national level, there is the private sector foundation the membership of which includes NGOs promoting private sector development.

⁶⁴ More about NGO-private business sector relationships see Heap, S. (1998)

⁶⁵ Leon Tomesen (2002), Output to purpose review of the Micro Irrigation Promotion Project (MIPP): A Report for the Department for International Development (DFID).

The case studies also reveal the efforts of MVIWATA to influence private sector practice. MVIWATA attempted to influence relationships between the CRDB and farmer associations, with the benefit at least of enlightening farmers' associations on the pros and cons of relationships with the organs of the private commercial sector and with a perspective towards improving the relationship between savings and credit associations and the commercial banking sector.

Another type of linkage to the private sector is created in the case where NGOs help their beneficiaries to become business oriented private entrepreneurs in their own right and to move away from subsistence peasant economy. Some NGOs make considerable efforts to improve the participation of communities in the exchange economy of the commercial sector. The following examples are relevant. The UCCP made efforts to increase and improve the economic activities the rural residents of the Ugalla area were depending upon. This was for the purpose of encouraging suitable and improved utilization of resources and at the same time creating alternatives which could free them from their over dependence upon tobacco traders for their livelihood. AMKA, UCCP, TAWLAE and VECO have been promoting processing activities and these efforts represent similar NGO initiatives in the country to improve women conditions by creating alternative economic activities. In some cases, efforts to improve women conditions circumvent some inherent problems such as land ownership or scarcity offering fewer avenues of improving women conditions. NGOs have also been promoting higher value crops and have tried to link farmers with markets, sometimes utilising the services of other organisations having experiences in such activities, as was FAIDA on contract farming arrangements for spices whose services were utilised by both VECO and Concern. During data collection, the PSI (Private Sector Initiative) visited had an earlier activity of promoting seaweed farming and provided support services to a private firm Kingsway and seaweed farmers, facilitating business linkage and relationships between the farmers and their market.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Private Sector Initiative is an offshoot from USAID supported programme, as FEDA, Finance and Enterprise Development Associates and EDC, Enterprise Development Centre also are.

6. Summary and Conclusions

The analogy of prince, citizen, and merchant, borrowed from Korten (1990), is used to assert that relationships between the state, voluntary sector and the private commercial sector are rather given and that voluntary work is as much an outcome of deliberate actions of each of the three set of actors as it is of the interactions between them. The NGO sector in developing countries like Tanzania, taken to represent the voluntary sector, and whose emergence and sustenance is development aid is said to be dependent either directly or indirectly on the global citizen of the West. This dependence is through the direct action of Western governments, the Western voluntary sector and the direct and indirect actions of the Western private commercial sector. Where developing countries' governments, it is a reflection of the perceived value of NGOs or the voluntary sector in society. It is also acknowledged that the increasing importance accorded to sustainable development and human rights is leading to a strengthened sense of shared values and calling for more collective efforts between the different development actors.

The NGO sector is developing and becoming of increasing influence due to the actions of both the bilateral and multilateral agencies in the country and the government. Public policy is said to explicitly now acknowledge the role played by NGOs in development and poverty alleviation. A list of developments as stimulating increased interactions, strengthening and widening relationships between NGOs and the wider civil society and the state is provided to include the following. The PRSP as 'a natural consequence' of liberalisation, sector policies, programmes and strategies being drawn from it, all represent similar and connected catalysts to increased NGO-state interactions. Other catalysts and examples include the following: the participation in management bodies of second step governmental agencies by the business sector and the nongovernmental non-profit sector; consultative group meetings and conferences as venues for accessing the views and opinions of the civil society on national matters; the establishment of national bodies of government-private business sector memberships; offers of public service contracting to NGOs in activities funded by bilateral and multilateral agencies and joint implementation of programs between NGOs and governmental units. Significant as well are the NGO Policy and the NGO Act as regulatory instruments but also acting as catalysts for more formal and democratic NGO representations. They both state government's recognition on the significance of NGOs. The

legislation is said to provide some order and formality to NGO activity and is more than a mere tool for control.

The case studies developed and the survey carried out highlight the following relationships mostly in project/programme implementation. First, the use of government extension staff is the most basic and common form of horizontal linkage relationships. NGOs are also often provided offices within local government authority premises and sometimes are invited in formal meetings at the district's authority level. Secondly, legitimate power, authority and influence of local authority officials and politicians might be necessary to facilitate successful implementation of NGO initiatives. Thirdly, public institutions might be used as mechanisms through which activities or innovations by NGOs are to be sustained. Relevant is the example of local prisons supported by Africare to become reliable sources of fingerlings to the community. Fourthly, is the fact that certain NGOs allow greater involvement of local authority personnel in decision-making, planning and implementation of development projects and programmes they support. It is argued that they do this for the following reasons: either to facilitate greater participation of governmental units at local level or because they have inadequate human resources and skills available within themselves or they lack the desire to create own capacity to manage and programme their own activities.

Examined differently are the horizontal linkages between NGOs and the national agricultural research and training institutions. The following linkage relationships are identified: (1) NGOs' origins are associated with NARTIS. (2) NGOs are the sources of funds and activities to NARTIS. (3) NARTIS are sources of ideas and expertise to NGOs. (4) NGOs are the sources of ideas and values to NARTIS. (5) NGOs are the linking pins between farmers and NARTIS. (6) NGOs and international agencies have made NARTIS active in both research and dissemination of research outputs. (6) NGOs might link different development players in the locality bringing NARTIS closer to other organisations and institutions. (7) Finally, NARTIS and NGO can become institutionalised partners. This is illustrated by NGOs having presences in the management processes of NARTIS and vice versa.

The examination of the linkage between donors and NGOs revealed that international NGOs or sub branches of are important channels of funds to local NGOs. Secondly, some donor countries channel funds directly to local NGOs; thirdly, donors also use intermediary organs

created or existing to channel funds to NGOs. Fourthly, in-country donor funding to international NGOs or their branches in the country is not very important. Finally, the channelling of donor funds to the country government for re-channelling to NGOs is not yet common practice.

Support not related directly to funding relationships and provided to NGOs is the encouragement of NGO participation in national policymaking and planning. It also observed that there has been generally an increase in funds provided to NGOs.

It is also suggested that the projects/programmes case studied are indicative of the importance the NGO sector has been receiving among donors in the last decade. Adequate financial resources are said to have positive contributions to NGO performance in general. However, the needed levels of financial resources are mostly available to international NGOs/their branches, while the local NGOs have their performances affected by inadequate financial resources, affecting choice of development ideas to support, preparations and implementations.

It is as well suggested that for NGOs to play the useful roles aspired for them in society they need to be strengthened, and it is more about strengthening the local NGOs than the good performance and effectiveness of international NGOs/their branches. The current efforts to coordinate the NGO sector coupled with efforts to increase NGO influence in government policymaking will lead to new levels of transparency in formal relationships and, as such, weaknesses and strength of the NGO sector will become more known.

It is argued that whatever modalities of funding, funding relationships should be long-term and beyond single definite projects. Small one-off grants might have been relevant in stimulating the growth of the NGO sector. They might continue to be useful when provided to NGOs with good performance records and for improving some aspects of already existing or already supported projects: they might be counter productive to the long-term sustainability and effectiveness of the NGO sector when they continue to attract opportunistic behaviour. As far as the relationships between NGOs and the private sector are concerned, the following linkages can be observed: (1) the private sector acts as the essential partner or subcontractor in some elements of NGO development programmes. (2) Through beneficiaries' organisations they promote, NGOs encourage better relationships between the people they support and the private commercial sector. The organisations created or supported are for the purpose of: a) making more accessible the commercial sector services to the communities the NGOs support; and/or b) making the rural communities have stronger common informed voices while dealing with the business intermediaries of the private sector as outlets for their produce. (3) Similar in importance are the efforts by NGOs to improve the participation of communities in the exchange economy of the current ones. This has been happening through: a) promoting higher value economic activities, b) promoting activities with more potential for gain and improvement, c) attempts to reduce the private sector dominance over community life and livelihood, and d) improving of the utilisation of natural resources such as the linking of and encouraging both on-farm and off-farm economic activities.

Chapter 8

NGOs in Agricultural and Rural Development in Tanzania: Problems and Weaknesses

1. Problems

Asked about the problems they face almost all the local NGOs in the survey mentioned lack of funds (see Appendix). Some also complain about the insecurity of funding as funding is usually granted on a year-to-year basis, or at best for a period of two to three years. There are some local NGOs having some problems in meeting their office expenditures, but many others lack funds to extend programs they have started to a wider clientele. One of the local NGO complains about the inability to attract volunteers, but this a good sign. It shows the NGO is trying to draw on local resources. Another NGO complains about lack of suitable field staff that might point to a more serious issue: apparently, NGOs do not have their own training facilities for field staff, while the agricultural training institutions tailor their programmes to the requirements of public extension service. As the poaching of this extension staff cannot go forever, some solution will be needed in the future.

The international NGOs have different problems: a few complain about the inadequate capacities of the local NGOs and the target groups with whom they work, or they complain about a 'dependency syndrome' among the beneficiaries. These indicate that motivation and mobilisation efforts and possibly participative approaches have not been adequate or effective. There are also some indications in a few of the cases studied that beneficiaries were not really involved in the planning and implementation processes in the kind of genuine dialogue that is part of a participative approach. Some NGOs have stated that they have problems with the 'policy environment'. Since they did not specify in the questionnaire what critiques they have in this respect, one can only take this remark as a complaint about lack of influence over the policy environment in which they operate. Despite the fact that NGOs are increasingly involved in various policymaking forums, it cannot be said that they have been strong or are effective in the field of advocacy addressing general structural conditions that work against the farmers and the rural poor.

One local affiliate of an international NGO complains that they are expected to come up with rapid results that maybe achieved at the expense of proper planning and implementation of development projects by NGOs. Implications of this problem will be examined in detail later in the chapter.

2. Weaknesses

As far as the weaknesses of NGOs that can be concluded from the case studies are concerned, a thorough analysis is difficult due to one general weakness of almost all the NGOs: they either do not regularly evaluate the impact of their activities or do not make these evaluations available to outsiders. From the case studies, the following additional weaknesses were noted:

- Limited time is often available for the implementation of projects and programmes. This led in some cases to premature discontinuity of activities.
- 2. A multitude of activities are sometimes implemented without following them through properly.
- 3. In at least three of the cases studied, the necessary marketing links for new crops or crop varieties introduced and promoted were not attended to properly.
- 4. Base line surveys are carried out as rituals. Information sought from baseline surveys is often of general nature and of no direct use to the immediate needs of projects/programmes.
- 5. Attitude and outlook differences may occur between NGO staff and government extension agents with whom they often have to work:
 - a. NGO staff might see and demand government extension staff's cooperation as moral responsibility.
 - b. Government extension personnel perceive working for NGOs or with NGO projects/programmes as extra non-mandatory work deserving extra incentives.

- 6. In some cases, ready-made NGO projects/programmes or inability of NGOs to understand and appreciate local needs and problems limit the desired level of participation by beneficiaries or lead to passive participation on the part of the beneficiaries and frustrations on the part of the NGO staff.
- Participation fatigue may be a consequence of multiple activities by different NGOs or one NGO of limited tangible benefits to the local community, which might even be repetitive.
- 8. There might be flawed assumptions on the part of NGOs as to what local potentials really are. For example, the activities of local or non-local business intermediaries might be in some cases the available sustainable alternative as outlets for community produce given the difficulty of effectively and in sustainable manner organising community trading through CBOs.
- 9. NGOs sometimes seek to implement and achieve over ambitious ideas and objectives.
- 10. NGOs might tend to project the principles guiding their behaviour and that of beneficiaries to relationships they wish to create with the private-profit sector. This often does not work, as it fails to appreciate the profit motive of the private sector.

Nogueira (1987) conceptualizes the development of NGOs through the life cycle concept. A particular stage in the life of NGOs is shown to have direct relationship with (a) organisational learning and, (as a logical consequence) (b) organisational performance; it is also argued that (c) performance assessments, as well as (d) funding agencies' relationships with the NGOs ought to reflect upon the stage in the NGO's life cycle. The life cycle concept and its implications are going to be examined in this section in relation to NGOs in Tanzania and as examined in this study. Furthermore, an attempt is made to answer the following question: is there some parallel between NGO life cycle and NGO project/programme cycle?

(a) Stages in the NGO life cycle

The first stage in the NGO life cycle is the gestation stage. Critical observations made in this stage include first, as reflected in the following quotation:

'The origin of the organisation is a critical factor determining the networks of relationships into which it is integrated, the sources of funding it turns to and the institutional profile adopted. It can be said that this stage defines the growth path. It involves renouncing future margins of freedom by adherence to theoretical and the methodological frameworks or to institutional groups build upon common values or shared funding sources.'

(Nogueira (1987:173)

Secondly, at this stage support received by the NGOs is often limited, provisional and tend to be for specific, small-scale, low complexity projects.

Thirdly, the institutions and networks now belonged to provide the NGOs with new ways of conceptualizing reality and action. The NGOs gain experience on how the funding agencies work and the funding agencies even unintentionally provide a structure for the NGO's procedures and choice of projects.

Fourthly, institutional image and sense of self-esteem start to consolidate.

The second stage in the NGO's life cycle is the institutional development stage. Important observations made as regards this stage include the following:

- There is increasing number of projects, wider geographical spread of activities and tensions of growth are manifest.
- The organisations' capability is shaped by the nature of the projects in progress.
- Restrictions in funding make the organisation to take on staff only as required by the specific projects.
- The projects for which funding is obtained are the ones which determine institutional design. Strategies are the result of project activities and not otherwise.

- Learning becomes erratic, develops from particular project experience, but it becomes extremely difficult to accumulate experience and to compare hypotheses. Learning takes place but there is little possibility for its future use. The experience gathered exceeds the organisational capacity to articulate and make it explicit.
- Institutional development efforts, if they exist, are directed to consolidation of the institution that the project structure has disintegrated. Planning and assessments units appear and they are attempts to produce a synthesis, to serve as areas of reflection to bring about socialization of experience.
- The efforts do not succeed as the organisation is often overwhelmed by the dynamism of its actions. Project funding aggravates the situation especially if it is from different sources.
- The situation leads to the need to review the normal practices of the funding agencies. Efforts should be aimed at integrating the different resources and activities, strengthening institutional capacity for reflection and critical analysis so that experiences are translated into learning for the whole organisation rather than those in charge of each experience.

The final stage is referred to as the consolidation and transfer stage. This stage is entered into when the NGO's institutional legitimacy and capability has been established.

- There is consolidation within NGO's context; there is expansion of its relations and transfer of learning to other spheres.
- It has accumulated experience, has organised it systematically and has set out its institutional strategy. It has a stable flow of resources from diverse sources.
- The stage gives rise to new forms of identification and exploitation of learning.
 Relations with academic institutions seem to be most productive.
- The organisation does not only use diagnoses drawn by others, and transfers conventional methodologies, but now has its own assessments of social situations

and has developed modes of action for each set of problems. However, support still need to be focused, i.e. funding to be provided for specific purposes.

(b) The life cycle and NGOs in Tanzania

There should be several factors important in determining NGO performance or the effectiveness of the activities they undertake. However, in reference to the life cycle theory, NGOs' levels of maturity and, consequentially, the implications might be important. The life cycle concept might be a particularly useful tool for analysis in respect of the NGO sector in Tanzania as most local NGOs are still young either at the infant stage or between the infant and the institutional development stages of their life cycles. The local NGOs, AMKA, TAWLAE, and MVIWATA, whose activities have been examined in this study, like many other similar local NGOs in the country, have their origins in the later half of the 1990s and so most of them have been in operation for only a few years.

AMKA's solar drying project is a good idea but such innovative and demanding projects need time and long-term commitments for their full potential to be realised. It is going to be wasteful of resources if there is lack of further support to the project. Now is probably the right time for reflections, to determine what works and what does not, what can be with some extra help turned into success and what need to be abandoned. MVIWATA, another ingenious idea, clearly needs support in its efforts to be somewhat self-financing and to embark on a growth pattern, which will facilitate the achievement of a sustainable identity. TAWLAE is a typical case of those NGOs in the second stage of their life cycles and which might move into the consolidation and transfer stage, if helped to develop in the right manner. It has had the experience of accessing funds for different projects from different donors, and due to its structure, it has the ability to carry out different projects in different parts of the country. However, it might have not developed an effective system of pulling in experiences so that the next similar activities embarked upon are more successful.

The way these local NGOs are supported, i.e. consistency in the manner and purpose of support provided and long-term commitments, determine how they develop and beneficial they can be. Poor performance is often encouraged by limited funds being made accessible to resource poor local NGOs to accomplish the 'impossible'. At the same time, funds provided tend to be small to be of any significance to the provider to warrant real demands

for performance. After all, one off-support of 10,000 or 20,000 Euros will be very expensive to follow up on use, although it may be significant enough to show genuine care and charity to the poor of the developing world.

Again, the practice has often been, where the process of identifying local NGOs for financial support is thought to be organised meaningfully and democratically, to make newspaper advertisements for NGO proposals; hundreds of applications are then received. The selection criteria, to selectors who have limited knowledge of the local organisations and prefer to fund local NGOs in spontaneous fashion, are likely to be the proposals' contents, geographical location of NGO activity or the previous activities funded as only stated in the proposals for funding. Without consistent funding arrangements creating stable and longterm relationships between the funding agencies and the organisations they fund and in a manner that the element of performance becomes important in the next funding decision to be made, many local NGOs might often end up referred to as opportunistic NGOs. This label, often than not, befalls the local NGOs. Edwards (1999), comparing different performances by NGOs in India and Bangladesh, concludes that clarity in long-term direction complements and contributes to the right organisational characteristics and which is the basis for effective performance. Clarity in long-term direction is said to be made possible by donors who are flexible and take long-term view offering supportive relationships. It is logical to conclude, therefore, that such long-term perspectives and supportive relationships by donors in their relationships with local NGOs is responsible behaviour, and opportunistic behaviour as a result among local NGOs might be hindered.

(c) Project/programme cycle and performance implications

Above, the discussions have been more about local NGOs. International NGOs, their branches or sub offices registered in the country, are more difficult to fit into the theory of NGO life cycle in similar fashion as the local NGOs. This is because 1) their growth efforts and patterns might not necessarily follow the NGO life cycle stages and might revolve around attempts to create a 'mirror image' of the NGO sub-offices or branches from which the senior staff originated. 2) They might have already established relationships with their sources of funds, in some cases they are quickly sources or conduits of funds to local NGOs; and 3) they probably moved into the country with some previous experiences – brought more directly by senior staff deployed from other branches or their headquarters.

To bring international NGOs/ branches of /their sub offices in the country, on board the life cycle concept and in a manner relevant to the discussions embarked upon, the life cycle concept is utilized in relation to specific projects/programmes. The following stages of the common theoretical project/programme cycle: problem diagnosis, design, implementation, evaluation and feedback are used. First, in the design stage, the main objectives and the main activities to be pursued by the project/programme are developed; these might represent the initial more conservative agenda at hand. Secondly, pre-implementation studies postproject/programme approval, normally termed base line surveys, carried out properly create more knowledge about local conditions and may lead to the re-examination of previous assumptions, and other activities not previously planned might emerge and processes adjusted. Thirdly, during implementation knowledge on local circumstances increases and project ideas might need to be adapted to fit the local demands resulting now from the interactions between the project and the local administration setup, other local organisations of the civil society, or their members. Resources availability at the time, money and time, make such adaptations acceptable and possible. Here, if the ability of project/programme staff to effectively manage the dynamism resulting and consistently to gauge progress against purpose is limited, the momentum created might overwhelm them and the project/programme might loose focus. The activities and processes set in motion could become ends in themselves. Fourthly, change to narrower focus or smaller geographical coverage near the end of the project/programme period become necessary as resources become more limited and as the NGOs are reminded that performance and some tangible achievements are important. This readjustment of focus and approach might especially come about when either there is change of leadership at the project or organisational level necessitating inventory of activities or because of funding agencies' commissioned evaluations, or due to recommendations by external change agents whose services the project/ programme invited.

The projects/ programmes by the international NGOs/ their branches show to have gone, or their progress can be explained, through the above stages. The UCCP has gone through all the above stages as well as the training program by the HSS. Concern's food security programme has fairly gone through the stages, though only three years for the programme was not adequate. VECO's program in Same district showed to be in the middle stage where the local dynamism and momentum created increasingly influence the programme. The effects of this stage was yet made apparent as it was yet to receive the aid of programme

evaluations to make some sense of progress and provide a reflection opportunity. However, projects implemented by local NGOs, as earlier on pointed out, whose resources might be more limited, might not follow similar patterns, but rather, as circumstances force them, every pre-planned or expected activity might be superficially and quickly gone over before the resources run out.

(d) Parallels between NGO life cycle and NGO project/programme cycle

Each stage in the growth of NGOs is a learning experience as is each stage in the project/programme cycle.

Initial assumptions, knowledge, agendas and attitudes, etc. are always challenged by new experiences when the new NGO and NGO project/programme interface with external influences. Making sense of this new inputs and adaptation seems to be critical factors.

The middle stages are often associated with some disorientation and a period where events created or caused to occur take over while organisational and project/programme objectives become distant focal points.

Some taking of stock, or the ability to take on stock, of the present circumstances, orientation, process effectiveness, and progress, is necessary for the NGO as an organisation to assess progress, understand the dynamics associated with external forces, accumulate knowledge and experience, and to help it determine future direction and relationships. Projects/programmes also need to take on stock of progress; the exercise tends to be more a reminder of responsibilities, limitations, and corrections of any deviations from intended objectives deemed necessary and as available resources allow.

Practices of the funding agencies become at some point critical. In respect of projects/programmes by local NGOs (the resource poor NGOs), funding arrangements need to allow for adequate time for preparations and implementation, and enough financial resources for projects to effectively go through and acquire the experiences resulting from each stage of the project/programme's cycle. In respect of NGOs as organisations, they should be supported to acquire the ability to reflect on experiences, accumulate generated knowledge, and develop mechanisms to facilitate knowledge use.

There is often less time available and capacity for adequate reflections to be made, useful learning to occur and the learning to be used effectively while projects/programmes are being implemented. Post-project/programme reflections might be more useful for the synthesis of accumulated knowledge and therefore a) some mechanism to facilitate such reflection need to exist within organisations, and (b) there should be, not necessarily through replication, opportunities through which whatever learning that might have occurred and knowledge accumulated are put into use. This might necessitate, perhaps, the encouragement by donors of more focussed specific competencies to be developed and some specialization among NGOs.

The following argument is made as concluding the above observations. The theoretical and methodological frameworks guiding NGO actions are better when they are less rigid and less rigidly followed. Actions, processes, the examination of actions and processes must not necessarily follow any rigid formulas, pre-established but not necessarily proven correct. They should rather be journeys and processes of discovery where previous beliefs, ways of working, values, and expectations are challenged and success provides the knowledge, learning and experience with which new journeys are planned and new discoveries are made.

Chapter 9

Changes towards a more Integrated Rural and Agricultural Development Front in the Future

Only a small number of NGOs cover large numbers of people and as well have large budgets for the development programs they undertake. It is difficult to estimate how many people actually benefit from the activities of agriculturally oriented NGOs, because not all of those living and working where an NGO operates actually become the direct beneficiaries of the development activities by the NGO. The number of people who come within the sphere of influence of the NGOs studied here and who could be potential beneficiaries is about 6 million. The total annual NGO budget derived from the figures provided by the NGOs surveyed is about 32 million US Dollars; over three quarters of this amount is shared between three international NGOs.⁶⁷ This total annual NGO budget is surprisingly only slightly smaller than the figure provided as the approved estimated budget for the year 2003/2004 for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security of about 33 million US Dollars.⁶⁸ Since our study does not cover all the agriculturally oriented NGOs, but it does include the big ones, the total number of potential beneficiaries and total annual NGO budget may be 10-20% higher. Tanzania with about 34 million people the majority of whom are the poor rural inhabitants is fertile ground for increased activities and support by NGOs, whose presences are appreciated and needed. Tanzanians also underwent a historical period where local people were involved and organised in state sponsored activities, they are, as a natural consequence, accommodative to voluntary participatory activities by NGOs.

At present, as this study shows, agricultural NGOs make important contributions to rural and agricultural development in Tanzania. They are enabling some peasants to use productively their land and labour. They are introducing new crops or crop varieties, livestock and off-farm activities, they help to enhance the status of rural women and assist in the building of credit and market facilities. The NGOs also increase the areas under irrigation and improve

⁶⁷ The BINGOs such as Care International and World Vision their operations in the country are of different kinds. Their annual budgets given may include funds for agricultural and rural development programmes but also significantly for other activities supported in the fields of education, health, water, and capacity building of local organisation, etc. both in the rural and urban areas.

marketing opportunities for agricultural produce. They are also active in promoting ecologically desirable technologies and the protection of biodiversity. At the same time, they have integrated themselves into a policy and service network linking them to public and governmental institutions relevant to rural development as well as the private sector.

For the time being, the more important protagonists in this development are big international NGOs whose long-term presences and operations at similar scales cannot be taken for granted. While the local NGOs are organisationally often still rather weak and very dependent on the financial support of the BINGOs, so far, few of these NGOs have been able to do anything about the situation of the poorest stratum of the rural population. Worse still their projects and programs are too few and far between to reach the majority of the rural population most of whom suffer to some degree from economic deprivation and uncertain future. Looking at the future any of the following institutional developments could contribute towards social and economic development of rural and agricultural communities.

1. Increased organisational and financial capacity of government

There is a general increase in development assistance and/or internal revenue targeted at rural and agricultural development. The central government's ability to develop and coordinate appropriate development plans is strengthened. Government agencies and other public sector institutions have their capacities to implement national plans, coordinate resources, and the different development efforts by different actors improved. Government and multilateral or bilateral donors adopt successful NGO approaches and methods to expand the economic infrastructure for agricultural development and to reinvigorate farmers' training and the extension service. Local government authorities have developed appropriate and effective development plans that take into consideration, resource endowments, local constraints, and potentialities. Efforts have also been made to create effective regional level development agencies to complement the work of local government authorities to attract external resources, mobilise local resources and to coordinate cross-sector and cross-institutional development efforts in the regions or districts.

⁶⁸ Source: Agricultural Sector Development Programme Framework and Process Document - Final Draft of March 2003, page 38. It is also indicated that there are additional donor resources which do not go through the national budgetary process.

2. Scaling-up by international NGOs

More resources are provided to international NGOs so that every other international NGO/their branches in the country are implementing large projects or programmes in different regions of the country. The projects/programs are implemented over at least five-year periods (if necessary, over longer periods). Most of the international NGOs plan their initiatives in a manner that project implementation is carried out jointly with local organisations to promote their capacities, while encouraging and facilitating inter-institutional relationships between local level organisations.

3. More technical and financial support to local NGOs

The ability to support local NGOs to become more effective development actors has been made to be one of the important criteria for judging the performance of both donor efforts to promote the NGO sector in the country and the performance of international NGOs/their sub branches in the country. The Tanzanian government has set up as well an independent agency that assists efficient, innovative and successful NGOs to cover some of their recurrent costs. Mechanisms and bodies created to support funding relationships between NGOs and donors have the objective of influencing effective development of local NGOs. As a result, a good number of Local NGOs have been nurtured to be performance oriented and they have evolved to become institutions with long-term plans and have obtained the capacity to develop programs and to implement them as effectively as international NGOs/their branches in the country.

4. Productive relationships between the government and local NGOs

The framework created for NGO coordination in the country has led to desired benefits and as a result, the NGO sector is stronger, accountable, and effective. The NGOs and responsible government agencies supported by international partners have developed effective relationships that do not lead to significant and negative erosion of authority, freedom, and autonomy of either partner. The relationships are built from rigorous efforts made to develop mutual understanding and respect of each other's circumstances, purposes, roles, constraints, and limitations.

5. Promoting more regional equality

To avoid NGOs promoting conditions for increased regional inequality in the country, donor influence and efforts by NGOs have seen the distribution of development initiatives by NGOs that is more equitable across the different areas of the country. Donors have developed a strategy of rewarding the behaviour by NGOs to develop programs for the areas of the country that are neglected by the NGOs.

6. Improvement of NGO performance

Non-performance by individual NGO projects/programs or their specific elements are no longer accommodated and appropriate planning and programming of activities relative to available resources are encouraged. A culture of self-evaluation has developed in the NGO community as well as the habit of using methods of business planning to ensure the most efficient use of resources. Better projects are planned and project ideas are encouraged to be original and different from the common to avoid unnecessary replication of projects that are generally limited in benefits. Knowledge of local conditions are important inputs to NGO projects/programs facilitating better decisions on projects and the selection of beneficiaries relative to such factors as local socio-economic constraints and potentials, market knowledge, etc.

7. Linking of NGOs and cooperative societies and other existing CBOs

That donor policy recognises the importance of the conventional cooperatives in the country to some significant sections of the population. Therefore, there are efforts by donors to encourage NGOs to develop appropriate and innovative approaches to work with these organisations still important in many cash crop growing areas. Since primary producer societies are not legally linked to cooperatives as they were before, then efforts by NGOs to develop appropriate ways of influencing useful changes in the cooperatives have started with the primary societies as the first level grassroots organisations.

8. Further strengthening of links between NGOs and national research and training institutions

NGOs in Tanzania are supported and encouraged to link effectively with public sector research and training institutions. The linkages are encouraged to help NGOs develop appropriate projects, access expertise, knowledge and skills and other resources necessary to make NGOs more effective. The linkages provide avenues of scaling up of NGO innovations, improving of practices and methods of public agencies. Through joint evaluations of progress, NGOs are helped to collate their experiences effectively, use and share the experiences.

9. Initiatives to strengthen the culture of rural civil society

There are efforts by international development partners and the government to promote other community activities among rural communities such as reading clubs, cultural centres, scientific and environmental clubs, etc. Activities not directly related to productivity or income and which are essential leisure time activities by people with common interests. Support provided include mobilisation and limited relevant resources and the activities are linked to welfare departments in local government administration. These will be appropriate efforts to recreate the civil society from the grassroots to complement the quick fix approach adopted to develop civil society organisations through externally financed NGOs in the urban areas as the medium through which democracy and popular participation is promoted after years of state sponsored and controlled civil society organisations.

10. Improvement of social infrastructure and social welfare services for the rural poor

Welfare services are more widely provided. In addition to NGO programs providing some of the services, other appropriate local institutions such as welfare units within local authorities are supported to provide better community welfare services, appropriate health, and educational facilities for all. HIV/AIDS counselling centres for patients and family members, women and children rights centres, etc. are promoted at district or division level and with mobile units to reach village areas. NGOs also develop specific programmes most suitable for the economic advancement of the poorest sections of the village communities.

11. Gender orientation

Development agencies and the government provide more support to women NGOs and NGO activities targeting women as they recognise the importance of women to the country's development ambitions. As women are becoming increasingly important as family bread earners and producers *de jure*, NGOs in Tanzania acknowledge the changing role of women in society and they develop and tailor development interventions to support women socio-economic activities as mainstream actors in the economy. NGOs in general and women development NGOs in particular are more pragmatic in the choice of development projects to be implemented among women as they make deliberate efforts to understand the socio-economic characteristics of the particular women beneficiaries and their needs. NGOs also use the knowledge they have about women within specific communities to develop programs for and to facilitate the participation of poor women.

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APPENDIX

Some details of NGOs involved in agricultural and rural development surveyed

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
1. INADES - FORMATION	International NGO/ affiliate	Dodoma	Directly: 8 districts, Indirectly: several	30,000	Tshs 226m	Up to three years	A bit insecure	Our process approach often not compatible with demands for quick results from partners	Capacities built of target communities to self organisation and managemen Improved sustainable use of resources and technical knowledge to better socio- economic conditions
2. Tanzania Gatsby Trust	Local branch of International NGO	Dar es Salaam	15 districts	Over 15,000	-	Up to three years	Very secure	Low capacity among target intermediary organisations and target clients	Our contributior to poverty reduction
3. Compassion for Peoples Initiatives Foundation	Local NGO	Iringa	2 districts, 15 villages	200	Tshs 4m	Up to two years	A bit insecure	Credit needs of farmers cannot be met Wishing donor support to start a credit scheme	Regular visits and advice to farmers Support to crop marketing

0	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
4. Tarime Rural Development Trust Fund	Local NGO	Tarime	One district, Tarime 42 villages	14,500	Tshs 800,000	On an annual basis only	insecure	Inadequate funds to implement programmes	Income increased through improved agriculture and dairy keeping
5. Heifer Project Tanzania	International/in transition to having local board of governors	Arusha	26 administrative regions, over 100 districts Approx. 1,100 villages	19,550 families Visible benefits to over 120,000 individuals	Tshs 1456m		Very secure	Low local consumption /market for milk	Dairy credit programme pioneered and copied by man others Much practica impact – increased smal holder share of urban milk market from 5 th to 25% in 20 years
6. Open Heart Tanzania	Local NGO	Mbeya	One district 3 villages	360 people	Tshs23m	Up to two years projects	Quite insecure	Lack of enough funds to run office and provide more support to target area Difficulty in getting volunteers to work with us as we are still young	Ability to identify a targe group Able to attract financial suppor from two partners Able to mobiliz one community to construct an irrigation scheme

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
7. Tanzania Association for Draught Animal Power (TADAP)	Local NGO	Mbeya	Two districts 4 villages	280 people	-	Up to two years projects	Afraid of having to close down soon	How to generate revenue for internal sustainable project financing	Publication of ox-weeding promotion posters and a book on adoption of Animal Draught Power
8. Roman Catholic Diocese of Same	Local religious NGO	Same	Two districts, Same and Mwanga 35 villages	14,000 people	Tshs120m	Up to three years projects	A bit insecure	Limited funds	People are aware of and manage their problems using available resources
									Community management of Programmes
9. TAWLAE	Local NGO	Dar es Salaam	All over the country	Thousands	About Tshs80m	On annual basis only/up to three years projects	insecure	In adequate funds	It has promoted food security among the poor
						projects			Supports education for girls and professional women

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GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
10. Enterprise Works Tanzania	International NGO	Mbeya	14 districts	26,000 people	Tshs 640m	Longer term funding	Very secure	-	Treadle pumps target: 150, actual: 162. Tree crops- seedlings targe 32,000 actual: 1.2m
11. Sasakawa Global 2000	International NGO	Dar es Salaam	8 districts 20 villages	1,000 people	Tshs over 120,m	-	-	-	seedlings Support to poverty reduction efforts, Agricultural intensification and environmental
12. Traditional Irrigation and Environmental Development Organisation	Local NGO	Kilimanjaro	7 districts Over 100 villages	Over 100,000 people	Tshs 400m	Up to three years projects	A bit insecure	Dependence on external resources	friendly practices promoted Leaving behir strengthened farmers' organisations Promoted sustainable us of natural

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
13. Caritas Same	Local NGO, international affiliation	Same, Kilimanjaro	2 districts Over 20 villages	About 170,000 people	Tshs150m	Up to three years projects	A bit insecure	Unreliable donor funds Arid climate of district affects community development efforts.	Land opened fo irrigation through food fo work: target 600 acres; actual 1500 acres Drought resistant crops promoted Wide area adoption of better land use practices We have established ourselves as a
14. CARE	International	Dar es	51 mainland	-	Over Tshs	_	-	Inconsistent	credible link between externa institutions and local communities Support to local
TANZANIA	branch/local office	Salaam	districts		15billion			funding	NGOs. Working with over 200 local NGOs

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GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
15. TATEDO	Local	Dar es Salaam	5 regions	Thousands	Tshs197m	Up to three years projects	A bit insecure	Policy environment Limited funds	Raised awareness and increased adoption of environmental friendly energy technologies
16. Techno serve Tanzania	International branch/ local office of	Arusha/Dar es Salaam	7 districts 44 villages	20,000 people	-	-	Not applicable	Policy environment Poor infrastructure	Enabled farmers to earn up to 50% price premium for crops we support
									Linked farmers to Western markets previously not accessible
17. Tabora Development Foundation Trust (TDTF)	Local NGO	Tabora	6 districts 11 villages	2,200 people	-	Up to three years projects	Insecure	Lack of support for capacity building and project/programme management	Improvement of household food security and water supply through shallow wells and boreholes

G O	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
18. Tabora Voluntary Development Society (TADESO)	Local NGO	Tabora	7 districts 20 villages	2,500 people	Tshs 40m	On an annual basis	Insecure	Inadequate funds to support activities	Helping people to identify needs, development priorities and best approach in achieving them
19. ADP Mbozi Trust Fund	Local NGO	Mbeya	One district, Mbozi 56 villages	725,000 people	Tshs 203m	Up to three years project	A bit insecure	Little financial contribution by communities for the activities being undertaken	Increased maize and beans production per unit area by 6000 households: Maize from 2.4 t/ha in 1980s to 3.2t/ha in 1990s; Beans likewise, from 0.6t/ha to 1/t ha
20. Tanzania Tree Planting Foundation (TTPF)	International NGO/local branch of	Mkata Handeni, Tanga	4 districts 15 villages	4,000 people	Tshs 56m	Longer term funding	A bit insecure	Shortage of funds	Regular supply of funds from donors
21. Rural Access Technology, Information and Institutional Services (RAATIS)	Local NGO	Morogoro	One district 3 villages	10,000 people	Tshs20m	Up to two years projects	A bit insecure	Inadequate financial support limiting required access to clientele	Adoption of technology and knowledge: use of donkeys for transport and source of traction power

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
22. Tanzania Home Economic Association (TAHEA)	Local NGO	Dar es Salaam	In many districts	-	-	On annual basis only	Very secure	Inadequate financial assistance	To have TAHEA members all over Tanzania
23. Concern- Tanzania	International/local branch of	Dar es Salaam	4 districts	Several thousands	Over Tshs 250m	-	-	Policy environment Nature of farming subsistence agriculture	Improving farming practices, Improvements i traditional irrigation sanitation and hygiene, and infrastructure such as roads
24. Foundation for Sustainable Rural Development (SURUDE)	Local NGO	Morogoro	One district 6 villages	250 people	Tshs8.6m	Up to two years projects	Very secure	Not enough dairy heifer to distribute	Improved household income and health from mil sold and consumed
25. World Vision Tanzania	Local NGO branch/ international affiliate	-	32 districts 56 Area Development Programs about 800 villages	3m	Tshs12Billion	Longer term funding	Very secure	Dependency syndrome: communities viewing us as donors and them recipients	Community mobilisation for development that is community based and sustainable

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
26. INYUAT E MAA (Maasai Advancement Association)	Local NGO	Arusha	2 districts 8 to 4 villages from each district	16,000 people	Tshs about 42m	On annual basis	A bit insecure	Donor dependency results into delays affecting programmes implementation or leads to no implementation of planned programmes	Raised awareness on use of own resources to bring development
27. Food and Agricultural Research Management	Local branch of international NGO/ affiliate	Manyara	Manyara	80000people	Tshs 200m	-	-	-	Adoption of better agricultural practices and techniques
									Introduced successfully dairy goat keeping
									Promoted community forest management
28. FORUM SYD	International NGO/local branch of	Dar es Salaam	10 districts	No statistics	-	-	-	-	-

0	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
29. VECO Tanzania	International NGO/local branch of	Dar es Salaam	6 districts	Over 2000 households	About Tshs 400m	-	-	Demand exceeds resources available	Transfer of technology to a large number of farmers e.g. Animal Draft Technology
									Over 85% of population served have participated in participatory research and extension
30. Earth Greenery Activities, Japan	International NGO/local office of	Dodoma	2 districts 9 villages	Over 100,000 people	Tshs 16m	-	-	Lack of strong village leadership is a problem in sustaining village projects	Attitude change among the people on: planting and managing tree nurseries, use of safe environmental practices, reduced use of chemical inputs
31. Organisation for Orkonerei Pastoralists	Local NGO	Simanjiro, Arusha	6 districts 52 villages	530,000 people	Over Tshs 200m	Up to three years projects	A bit insecure	Official policies affecting pastoralists' rights	Advocacy for pastoral land rights
Advancement 32. Ilkisongo Pastoralists Initiatives	Local NGO	Monduli, Arusha	One district 73 villages	540,000 people	-	On annual basis	Insecure	-	-

GO	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
33. Kagera Development Trust Fund (KADETFU)	Local NGO	Muleba, Kagera	One district 12 villages	1500 people	-	Up to two years projects	Insecure	Limitation of resources	Sense of ownership attained by communities
34. Africare Tanzania	International NGO/local branch of	Dar es Salaam	5 districts	-	-	-	-	Limited funding	Introduction of new alternative crops such as moringa, and sunflower
35. Ukaya Trust Fund	Local NGO	Gairo, Morogoro	2 districts, Kilosa and Kongwa	About 67 people	-	Up to two years projects	Afraid of closing down	Lack of funds to facilitate program execution	Reaching the poorest through improving food security and storage facilities
			23 villages						
36. Tanzania Grassroots Oriented Development	Local NGO	Iringa	One district, Iringa rural	38 people	Tshs 2m	On annual basis only	A bit insecure	Low motivation by the target group	Provided skills in preparation and utilisation of
			8 villages					Dependency syndrome on aid	compost manure
								support by 100%	Target group grow and marke new potato crop about to start a credit scheme

0	Status	Head office	Geographical coverage	Number of people served	Annual NGO budget/ expenditure	Funding duration	Financial security	Main organisational problem	Specific achievements
37. Tanzania Social Welfare Development Foundation	Local NGO	Iringa	One district	Several	Tshs1.3m	On annual basis only	A bit insecure	Lack of funds capacity building and working gear problem	Not very successful due to lack of fund
38. Friends in Development (FIDE)	Local NGO	Babati, Manyara	2 districts Over 20 villages	30,000 people	Tshs100m	Up to two years projects	A bit insecure	Problems of administration at village level	Improved agricultural production through better techniques and agro forestry
39. Kilimo HAI	Local NGO	Peramiho, Ruvuma	One district 7 villages	500 people	-	On annual basis only	Very secure	Less than desired level of participation	-
40. The Farmers and Environmentalist Association	Local NGO	Mbeya	One district 23 villages	1500 people	Tshs10.5m	On annual basis only	Very secure	Lack of extension workers	Introduction of new crop, paprika has increased earnings and improved livin standards