

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



The 2002/3 Tanzania Participatory Poverty Assessment

Site Report for:

Nzanza Village
Meatu District, Shinyanga Region

May, 2002

Released by the
Economic and Social Research Foundation



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ACRONYMS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
COBET	-	Complementary Basic Education
DAS	-	District Administrative Secretary
DPLO	-	District Planning Officer
DED	-	District Executive Director
EDSP	-	Education Sector Development Program
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PPA	-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	-	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RAS	-	Regional Administrative Secretary
VEO	-	Village Executive Officer
URT	-	United Republic of Tanzania
PRSP	-	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
STD	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TBA	-	Traditional Birth Attendant
ESRF	-	Economic and Social Research Foundation
ICS	-	International Christenlijk Steunfond
CBO	-	Community Based Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This PPA was conducted in Nzanza village, Meatu district between the 23rd and 30th May 2002. The objective was to examine forms of vulnerability associated with farming livelihoods and coping mechanisms adopted to reduce it. A number of participatory methods were employed to collect the necessary information.

Farming was found to be the major livelihood in the village followed by livestock keeping and petty trading. The community identified women, children, elderly and men as the most vulnerable social groups in the village.

A number of factors inhibit villagers from enjoying quality social services and hence exacerbate their vulnerability to poverty. The village has no dispensary so people obtain health services at the nearby health centre about 5kms away from the village or resort to traditional herbs and self-medication to treat the various ailments afflicting them such as diarrhoea and malaria.

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

From the PPA perspective it came out clearly that vulnerability of Nzanza community is triggered largely by high levels of corruption and people's inability to make use of their wealth specifically cattle to improve their living standards. It was found that although the people in Nzanza village have wealth in terms of large number of cattle, money after sale of cotton and earning of millions of shillings through mining, the living standard is still very low, characterized by poor housing, poor clothing, unplanned families, children not sent to private secondary school or vocational training, early marriages and in some cases food insecurity.

Despite the many hardships faced by the community a number of coping strategies were identified. These include diversification of livelihoods whereby apart from engaging in farming people at Nzanza preoccupy themselves with cattle keeping, double farming through crops rotation and petty trading.

The communities are not aware of various government policies governing the above and hence local governance bodies cannot plan and implement their development plans accordingly.

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

1.0 OVERVIEW OF THE TANZANIA PPA PROCESS

1.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 Objectives and Subject

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

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

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

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

1.3 Methodological Considerations

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

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

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

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

These innovative directions are elaborated upon below:

1.3.1 Ensuring Diversity

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

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

1.3.2 Positive Inquiry

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

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

2.0 KEY FINDINGS

2.1 Meatu District Profile

➤ Geography

Meatu District is one of the 5 rural districts of Shinyanga Region. It is bordered by Bariadi district to the north, Karatu, Ngorongoro and Mbulu district to the eastern part, Iramba District of Singida region and Maswa to the west. The Shinyanga district borders south Meatu. Until 5th July 1987 the present Meatu District was an administrative division of Maswa District. The administrative capital of Meatu District is Mwanhuzi.

The total surface area of Meatu District is 8835 Km². Almost half of this is occupied by reserved areas (4253 km²): the Maswa Game Reserve with 2094 Km²; the Makao Open Area with 1330 Km²; the Serengeti National Park with 694 Km² and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area with approximately 135 Km². All four areas have national economic importance though possessing different management structures. The rest of the District (4582 km²) comprises agricultural land and pastures.

➤ Climate

Meatu District can be classified as semi-arid, with a decrease in rainfall distribution from north to south. The southern half of the district receives a mean annual rainfall of 400mm while the northern half receives up to 900 mm per year. The rainfall pattern is bimodal, with most rains coming in November – December and March – April periods. A constraint of the agriculture sector is the great variance of rainfall pattern. It tends to fall in heavy, localized rainstorms, separated by dry spells. As a result a rainfall pattern of a given area tremendously rises from one year to another.

➤ Administration

Meatu District became an independently registered district on 1st January 1988. Because of its remoteness it is difficult to attract qualified staff to Meatu district.

The district is divided into three divisions: Kisesa in the north, Kimali in the centre and Nyalanja in the south. The divisions are subdivided into 19 wards, each ward having an elected representative in the district council. There are 7 nominated women councillors and 2 members of Parliament in the council. The total number of villages is 71.

➤ Economy

The economy of the District revolves entirely around agriculture and livestock production. Staple foods in the district are maize and sorghum. Maize cultivation, however, is risky in the southern part of the district due to erratic rainfall. As a result, serious food shortages occur every five years on average. Sweet potatoes are an important survival crop and are

grown by women near seasonal streams. The soils are too alkaline to allow the growth of cassava, especially in the south. Inhabitants of Meatu District are relatively big livestock owners. Dividing the total number of cattle (376,724) by the number of households (29,701) gives an average of 12.7 cows per household, but with variations between 0 and 2000.

Cotton is the major cash crop in the district. Meatu is the largest producer of cotton in Shinyanga Region.

Since 1994 cotton prices have increased and the establishment of private ginneries in and around Meatu District has encouraged inhabitants to grow more cotton, even to the extent that food security is in danger in some places.

The District has inadequate primary and curative health care. Forest Reserves are declining due to cutting of trees and overgrazing practices. Proper schooling facilities and clean water at reasonable distance are still inadequate. Tourist hunting and small-scale mining of gemstones are emerging economic activities. In September 1999 promising diamond and ferrous kimberlite was discovered in the eastern part of the district but intensive prospecting is yet to start. Nzanza Village.

➤ **The village and its location**

Nzanza is one among three villages of Mwabusalu ward. It is situated North of Mwanhuzi town about 78 km away. The total population is 2360 from which 1227 are women and 1133 are male.

➤ **Economic activities**

The main activities carried out in the village are

- (i) Agriculture: Crops grown are- maize, rice, millet, cotton, sweet potatoes and sunflower.
- (ii) Charcoal burning and selling.
- (iii) Employees: Schoolteachers and agricultural extension officer.

2.2 Concept of Vulnerability

Generally, Nzanza Community defined Vulnerability as a state whereby an individual, household or Community has no assurance of good and secured life due to lack of various assets like land and cattle, lack of education; poor access to social services; poor cotton harvests, corruption in health care and courts of law as well as lack of modern farm implements such as the plough.

(i) Experience and Perceptions by Different Social Groups

Nzanza Community comprises of the following social groups:

- Men
- Women
- Children
- Youth
- Elderly
- Orphans
- People with disabilities

Vulnerability was perceived by Single headed households and men as lack of assurance of good and secured life due to lack of cattle, land, low level of education, being referred to the court of law, polygamy, poor harvest in cotton farms, having many male children and having no female children.

Women experienced and perceived vulnerability as lack of assurance of good life due to corruption in health service and courts of law, low level of education, poor family planning and lack of land and cattle.

Children's perception on vulnerability was based on the lack of access to quality education, inability of their parents to support them in various needs, child labour and lack of adequate parental care due to unplanned/large families and polygamy.

Youth experienced and perceived vulnerability as having no assurance of better future due to lack of Land and Cattle, failure to invest due to prevalence of witchcraft, unemployment due to low level of formal and vocational education, high bride price, corruption in social services especially in health services and courts of law.

The elderly perceived vulnerability as inability to sustain the cost of living, physical abuse and poor health, due to being physically weak as a result of ageing. Inability to generate income, lack of cattle, lack of enough land, lack of source of income, drunkenness, superstitious beliefs, lack of social capital, shortage of food and corruption in social services are major constraints associated with vulnerability of the elderly.

The orphans' perception of vulnerability is based on their susceptibility to poor living standards due to loss of parents who could have provided for them , low level of education, lack of support from relatives, lack of parental love and lack of adequate food.

People with disabilities experienced and perceived vulnerability as failure to sustain life resulting from lack of education, single parenting, lack of adequate food, lack of reliable transport to the villages, having big families and poor support from the government.

(ii) Social Groups that are Perceived to be More Vulnerable, Reasons and Characteristics

The social groups that the Nzanza community perceived to be the most vulnerable were **men, children, women and elderly women.**

The men's vulnerability characteristics arise from the fact that, men being "bread earners" in the Nzanza community have to struggle to put food on the table and in the process they may have to take risks, such as traveling long distances away from their families. Under such circumstances the potential of becoming more vulnerable to other shocks like HIV/AIDS and the like, become very evident. Loss of property like land and cattle that may be sold to arrest an emerging or eventuality may yet increase their impoverishment.

Children both under 5 and above 5 years were perceived to be more vulnerable. The reasons being their state of dependency and susceptibility to diseases, inaccessibility to education due to the enrolment age set by the government in comparison with the age assumed by the Sukuma as school going age of (10 – 13) years, lack of facilities in schools, shortage of teachers, desks, classrooms, toilets, teaching and learning materials.

Women is another social group perceived to be more vulnerable due to their reproductive roles of which in this community they believe that women nowadays have various problems during delivery process than it was in the past. Also they are affected by corruption in health service provision, which leads to poor access to services rendered. Frequent births affects their health and power physically, mentally and psychologically thereby undermining their ability to play their roles in agricultural production, care for children, the sick and elderly.

The elderly social group in the community was seen to be the one that accumulates more capital assets in terms of physical and natural assets like cattle and large land. However elderly women were seen to be more vulnerable as they face the risk to be killed or physically abused due to beliefs that elderly women are witches. It was reported that two elderly women and one man are believed to have been killed in the past seven years due to such beliefs. Also elderly people in the community are more vulnerable due to drunkenness, physical weakness and poor health due to frequent attacks by various diseases like, malaria, chronic and acute bronchitis coupled with respiratory tract infections which are common ailments of the elderly in this area.

(iii) Causes and Consequences of Vulnerability

During the field study it came out clearly that different social groups in the community have different experiences on vulnerability issues. A number of factors were mentioned as a being the prevailing causes of vulnerability to the majority in Nzanza village. These include land infertility, lack of markets of farm produce and drought.

➤ *Soil condition*

Villagers mentioned soil infertility as one of the major causes of their vulnerability. Over cultivation leads to depletion of soil fertility and at the same time overgrazing leads to soil erosion, which then reduces the soil fertility. All these have been observed in Nzanza village where villagers testified that these are the major factors, which negatively affects them. The fact that the government has removed subsidies from fertilisers has made the prices to go up thus becoming unaffordable to many farmers. Harvesting less/no yields to them would mean going without food and other basic needs and hence more vulnerable to other shocks such as failing to get health services, lack of education to children and poor housing.

➤ *Lack of markets*

Lack of markets for farm produce was mentioned as the other cause of vulnerability in Nzanza village. Production costs are said to be very high comparing to the market prices. Traders who go to the village during harvesting period set their own prices, which are generally low. Lack of marketing information and inaccessible markets due to distances and poor roads increases the vulnerability of farmers as they are compelled to sell at whatever price that is decided by the buyers.

➤ *Drought*

Drought was mentioned as a cause of vulnerability to Nzanza people since it not only affects the crops in the farms but, also seriously affects livestock. Where drought leads to famine and hunger it also leads to a number of livestock deaths as animals lack pastures and water that is essential for their survival hence increases the vulnerability of the individuals due to loss of their important assets.

➤ *Land Scarcity*

Land scarcity was the other cause of vulnerability to Nzanza villagers. There are a growing number of landless people in the village who were either born of landless parents or are immigrants to the place from other areas. The other categories are those who have been forced by certain conditions beyond control to sell their land. Land is primarily obtained in the village through inheritance, meaning that where parents have no land automatically the youths are going to have none as well. This also applies to those who migrated to the place. This increases vulnerability of the people as they have either to rent for yearly payment (i.e. ten thousand per acre, an amount which was claimed to be very high] or work as casual

labourers on payment of food or cash - a condition which they expressed to lead them to a situation of uncertainty.

➤ ***Medical Costs***

Lack of a health centre in the village and the processes involved for one to be treated, is yet another cause of vulnerability to Nzanza people. The nearest health centre is 5kms away from the village where costs involved apart from distance, includes medication costs and bribe payments which were mentioned to be the obstacles depriving them from utilizing the services. As a result people are resorting to traditional healers, which sometimes complicate the problem thereby leading to diseases becoming chronic.

Sometimes this happens due to under/over doses or using the medicines that is not appropriate to the ailment. During the fieldwork, researchers managed to visit a traditional healer who had three patients in his house; one having stayed for 7months with no relief. When the patients were asked as to why they are not going to hospital, lack of money was the main reason that forced them to resort to a traditional healer where they are treated on credit.

(iv) Process Triggers To Vulnerability

➤ ***Polygamy Practices***

Polygamy practises were reported to be one of the processes that lead to vulnerability. Having multiple wives implies having many children, which increases the cost of taking care of the now large family. Daily spending increases every year as the family grows with time. Lack of education to children, poor clothing, poor housing, not enough food, and unaffordable health services, all contribute to the household's vulnerability. This will then lead to selling of assets if any, to get money to cater for other basic needs. As income generating activities done by these families are hand to mouth, it becomes very evident that it will be difficult to concentrate on development activities; hence continuing to become poor.

➤ ***Bride Price Payment***

Nzanza villagers associated their cultural norms and values of paying bride price with their vulnerability especially to the bridegroom. The process of paying bride price in Sukuma land involves payment of between 20-80 cows depending on the completion of the woman. Fair complexion attracts a hefty payment in terms of cows paid. The process was linked to vulnerability due to the fact that according to Sukuma norms and values a man marries even up to 4 wives and he has to pay bride price to all wives; hence the process slowly exposes the individuals to poverty. The extent of vulnerability also increases with the number of boys the family has, since all of them will need their parents to pay the bride price for them for the first wife, meaning that the more the boys a family has, the more the risk to becoming vulnerable to impoverishment.

➤ ***Excessive Drinking***

Excessive drinking is one of the processes that lead to impoverishment of the households. When a head of household has a tendency of drinking alcohol while he has no reliable sources of income this habit slowly jeopardises the wealth of the family as when he needs money for drinking he has to sell household properties e.g. cows, bicycles, goats etc this practice slowly leads households becoming impoverished.

➤ ***Environment and Vulnerability***

Environment was clearly defined by Nzanza Villagers to include such things as good houses, animals, enough pastures, fertile and arable land, rainfall, water, forests etc. The definition addresses good environment as one that favours human beings while unfavourable environment implies the one that does not support existence of human beings.

Environmental degradation is an issue of concern in Nzanza village. The vegetation mainly consists of thorny trees and shrubs. There are no intentionally planted trees and many natural/original trees have been cut mainly for clearing land for cultivation.

Human practices for their daily survival were cited as contributing environmental degradation. Example of such practices include cutting down trees for firewood, charcoal burning, building materials such as timber and thatching grass, getting a fresh land for cultivation as well as burning of forests for hunting purposes. All these practices (that are sometimes done for domestic purpose or as a source of income to sustain a livelihood) have an adverse effect/impact to environment.

Land scarcity in the village was also mentioned as a factor leading to environmental destruction. This forces people to clear forests to get open spaces for cultivation leading to deforestation and hence increasing vulnerability.

Livestock keeping is part of Sukuma culture and serves as a potential wealth accumulation. An individual's wealth in the village is determined by the number of cattle he has, meaning that the more the cattle an individual has the more wealthy he is perceived. This contributes to environmental degradation, as when there are large herds of cattle grazing limited pastures, they tend to leave the land bare, which exposes it to wind as well as to soil erosion.

Drought and excessive rain also affects the environment of Nzanza villagers and hence exposes them to vulnerability. Too much rains leads to soil erosion where top soils are washed away leaving the land bare. In the process fertile soils are washed away. On the other hand when there is drought famine set it.

Just like crop production, livestock production is highly seasonal. Livestock become less productive during the dry season. They become emaciated and sometimes becoming so weak that they can no longer walk. During severe droughts most milking cows do not produce milk

at all and a number of cows die due to lack of pastures, which then increases peoples' vulnerability.

The villagers mentioned lack of environmental education as a "major" factor that leads to environmental degradation. Environmental conservation issues are not well understood by villagers. As a result there is high practice of cutting trees, poor sanitation and poor disposal of wastes to the extent that some of the villagers do not even have toilets. They attend to call of nature in nearby bushes. This contributes to spread of diseases like diarrhoea and other waterborne diseases.

Much as human beings are the major causes for environmental degradation, they are also the one who are highly affected with the degraded/depleted environment.

For example cutting down trees or burning down forests that leads to drought and soil erosion, contributes to hardships in farming specifically low yields from the farms which then exposes the community and households to famine and hunger. To cope with the situation, households have to dispose off some of their assets (cows, land etc] to get money to buy food and other necessities, a situation which makes them more vulnerable to becoming poor.

2.2.1 Economic Reforms and Vulnerability

In order to address the domestic structural weaknesses and other external shocks that persisted across the world as a whole, the government of Tanzania has adopted market policy and other socio-economic reforms. The overall objectives of the reforms have been to ensure macro economic stability and improve market efficiency, empower local communities to manage efficiently their resources and thus reducing their vulnerability. With the change in world economy most of agricultural produce lost or have continued to loose their demand in global market. Thus, this has had a negative trickle down effect to the Tanzania's economy and to the farmers.

(i) Major Consequences of the Removal of Subsidies on Agricultural Inputs

Withdrawal of agricultural subsidies, has led farmers at the Nzanza village to purchase inputs such as hand hoe and pesticides at high prices. Similarly many of these inputs are not even available in the market not even at Meatu district market. In the course of focused group discussion with the community members, many people complained that they have failed to expand their farms to increase yields due to use of the traditional hand hoe and high pesticide prices. Along with this many people especially the most vulnerable productive people in Nzanza village would not afford the inputs due to high price. As such, a farmer would require 6 litres of pesticides for spraying only one acre of cotton. One litre costs T.shs 3,000/= and thus it would cost a farmer T.shs 18,000/= for one acre. In Nzanza village farmers have farms ranging between 5 to 20 acres.

Few people (especially older men who have lived in the village since its establishment in the 1970s) have more assets such as livestock and huge land (ranging between 1 to 1,000 acres) while majority specifically the youthful generation are landless. The village government's effort to re-distribute land equitably has failed because the financially capable people are powerful in many aspects. One aspect includes using their resources or assets to make sure that they control land at any cost, whereas other less able people in the village have continued to be vulnerable or landless. Consequently these landlords also rent land to the landless people for a fee of between Tshs. 8,000/= to 10,000/= per acre per annum.

The landless people who cannot afford such cost have the following three options: **One option** is to sell their labour power to the landlords by working in their farms and thus earn money for renting land. The **second option** of the vulnerable people is to become fulltime landlord's labourers until they earn money so as to rent land. The **last option** of the poor people is to migrate elsewhere even to other districts or regions where land is abundant as a coping mechanism. However during the discussion with the youths and women, they pointed that it is difficult for someone to migrate to other villages or districts in Shinyanga region because land is not as abundant as most people think. Along with this, the youths said that they have no information about availability of land elsewhere. Furthermore they observed that even if land is available in other places, they would not have transport cost or fare to enable them access land for cultivation and resettle in the new found land.

(ii) Cotton Marketing and Price Formation

Until early 1990s the sole cotton buyer in Shinyanga region or Meatu district was SHIRECU (Shinyanga Regional Cooperative Union). The then Tanzania cotton marketing board set the price. Following government reforms, the market or a number of private buyers has come into the region to compete with SHIRECU in buying cotton. Some of these buyers have constructed their own ginneries in the zone. During the discussion with the community, many people noted that the market is now more superior over the public institution-SHIRECU. They argue that the market offers competitive prices. Although the price offered during the harvesting season is low, it gradually increases depending on the market forces of supply and demand. As such in the year 2,000/01, the market or business people purchased one kilogram of pure cotton at between T.shs 110/= to 250/=.

SHIRECU bought at only Tshs 150/= per kilogram in the same year but on credit and sometimes delayed payments for several months. Presently SHIRECU has stopped buying cotton from farmers due to among other reasons financial constraints.

In Nzanza village, people lack access to market information on their products. Business people have capitalized on this by purchasing farmers' products at low price as compared to the price of the manufactured goods (pesticides, ox-plough etc). As a result, they sell their cash crops such as cotton at very low price. Hence, Nzanza people have mentioned the

unequal terms of trade between the price of manufactured goods and the agricultural products compounded with the removal of subsidies in the inputs as one of the fundamental causes of their vulnerability.

The multiple tax and levies imposed on products and petty trading have also been mentioned as the critical problem adversely affecting the community's livelihoods and therefore making them more vulnerable. These levies increase the production cost which in turn reduce the marginal profit of the farmers after selling the products to the market.

(iii) Impact of the Policy Reforms on Access to Quality Social Services: Education and Health

(a) Education

As part of economic reform in education the government has introduced specific initiatives, which are already being implemented under the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP). However, these education initiatives have not been friendly to Nzanza people and hence many have failed to enable their children to access education especially secondary education. In the course of community dialogue most parents raised a concern that they have failed to educate their children because of high school fees charged by the public and private secondary schools. Although the government has waived primary school fees and introduced grants to all primary schools in the country, Nzanza primary school is still faced with inadequate educational materials both teaching and learning. During the focus group discussions with school pupils in the village, the team noted that parents have to purchase many educational materials including exercise books for their children contrary to what is expected under ESDP initiatives. Furthermore the school environment is also not favourable for both teaching and learning. When visiting the school it was observed that many classrooms were overcrowded due to shortage of classrooms and some of the pupils were sitting on the floor. Thus such poor environment coupled with inadequate educational materials discourages many pupils to continue schooling. Some have dropped out of school especially girl children. People's access to secondary education in Nzanza village is also very limited largely because of low farmer's incomes. During individual interview with various social groups, it was found that females have less access to education compared to males. At the primary school level the enrolment rate for both boys and girls is the same but the drop out rate is higher for girls than for boys. This could be the reason why many people in Nzanza community especially women are illiterate.

Such illiterate people will find it difficult to cope with the ever-changing world. They will not be able to access technology or market information for their products. Illiterate people tend to have large family size and thus they are more vulnerable to risks as opposed to literate people largely because the latter are more cost conscious. Generally a large household finds it difficult to access basic services especially under the resource constraints which most people in the Nzanza community experience.

(b) Health

Under the health sector reforms introduced in late 1990's, special attention is paid to gender and extreme vulnerable social categories across the country. Along with this line, the poorest people including women and children and the elderly have been exempted to pay fees in all public health facilities. But implementation of these initiatives has been severely affected by the inadequate supply of drugs to the public dispensaries and health centres. At Nzanza village, there is no dispensary it is only now that the village government in collaboration with the community has planned to construct one. Meanwhile they have to walk 5 km to access such services at the nearby village at Mwandoya Health Centre, which is supplied with medical kits once per month. The kit medication is generally inadequate and is enough only for about 15 days per month.

During this period, usually there are many patients seeking health care. However they end up getting consultation services because there are no drugs. Patients are normally advised by the medical staff to buy their own medications, which are also not available in the village. Only few financially capable people can afford drugs and the most vulnerable groups such as the elderly and orphans suffer most. As an alternative one can go for the traditional medicine, borrow money from friends or relatives in order to bribe the medical staff to access health care services or wait for your death. In the course of individual interviews, one youth noted that *"if one has no money one would suffer and thus await death"* because all public services now are sold like any other goods in the market. According to him under the market oriented economy all things are determined by market forces of supply and demand.

This argument is contrary to the Health Policy, which states that the vulnerable people such as pregnant women, children less than five years, and patients with chronic illnesses such as T.B are exempted from paying cost sharing in all public health facilities. Although health services in all the health centres and dispensaries in the Shinyanga region are free including Mwandoya health centre, practically they are not free. Most people have continued to access services only after offering bribes at the Mwandoya health facility and thus services are not free. The staffs are notoriously corrupt, a fact also known at the district.

Medical health insurance has also been introduced and the civil service employees like teachers have continued to contribute 3 percent of their basic salaries towards the scheme as part of the cost sharing initiatives so as to improve employees' access to health care services. Despite this initiative, these employees have failed to access health service because they are not free.

The most frequent health problems in Nzanza community are malaria and communicable/infectious diseases. Many Nzanza people have lost their labour power and time because of sickness especially malaria and other diseases. Such labour time could be utilized productively elsewhere especially in farming and hence increasing productivity and

reducing people's vulnerability. The leading killer diseases in Nzanza village for infants and under-five are malaria and communicable diseases.

(c) Water

Under the water sector reform, specific initiatives adopted include involvement of communities and the private sector in water resources investment including financing through cost sharing option. In this arrangement communities are required to open up their accounts and manage them effectively and thereby sustaining domestic water use throughout the year. Under this new initiative Nzanza community has been able to implement such policy as required. Nzanza has constructed 9 shallow water wells in collaboration with the technical support from the district. In order to sustain them they have opened water accounts and use funds to rehabilitate water pumps when they break down. This is a commendable effort at local level in such a poor community.

(iv) Transport Infrastructure:

(a) Roads

People's livelihoods depend to a large extent on the transport infrastructure in terms of trading, markets, and also the provision and people's access to basic social services. In the village, there is no permanent road that links the village and Meatu district headquarters. The road network which exist especially from the Mwandoya health center to Nzanza community is in very bad condition and impassable during the rainy season. Poor roads limit mobility of farmer's products and people. It increases production cost and transportation costs which ultimately lead to high agricultural input prices and low product prices, which in turn hit the vulnerable people hardest. Transport is cheaper on tarmac roads than on earth road.

In Nzanza village the main means of transport are ox-carts, bicycles and also on foot largely because cars and lorries can not access road properly especially during the rainy season. However, only a handful financially capable people access the modern means of transport by hiring cars and lorries from the Meatu district headquarters. The rest have to walk on foot if there is a pressing need to go to the district (e.g attending court cases or sick people)

2.2.2 Governance and Vulnerability

One of the major aims for good governance is that the public service should be delivered timely and effectively and that every individual, household and community at large should know how the government resources such as revenue are being collected and spent at all levels of governments.

The main focus is on limiting corruption, improving transparency and accountability of the government to the public or community at large, capacity building and, strengthening financial management and justice system especially at local level. From the individual and

focus group discussions with the Nzanza community among the key dimensions of governance discussed include: the rule of law, electoral legitimacy, transparency and accountability of the local/village government to the public or community and competent village government leaders to manage effectively community affairs.

(i) The Structure of Nzanza Village Government and Relations

The village government is headed by an elected village chairperson assisted by the village executive officer (VEO) who is the district council employee. There are a total of 25 members who forms the village government. Women representatives and participation in decision making both at the village government and household levels is generally low. The village government has three standing committees: the security committee (8 members, of whom 1 is female), the planning and economic committee (10 members, of whom 3 are female) and the construction committee (7 members, of whom 1 is female).

According to the Sukuma culture, women are not allowed to access land and other assets at household level and thereby they are poorer than men. Thus, poor women in general cannot get any leadership position to run the village government. Being poor is really disadvantageous largely because one becomes marginalized and less trusted less valued as human being and hence being more vulnerable.

Along with this, most women in the Nzanza community therefore are considered to be more vulnerable than men. One of the major reasons assigned for having fewer women in the village government as compared to men is that women are less confident and incapable of leadership than men. Similarly many men also observed that women are not allowed to inherit land and other assets at household level because men pay a huge bride price ranging between 10 to 35 cattle, which alone, is like buying a wife.

There is strong relationship between one committee and the other. As such, the security committee (*traditional defence group named sungusungu*) has played an important role in the Nzanza community. The role of the sungusungu is to ensure that there is peace and harmony in the community and has all powers of arresting all misbehaving people as well as cattle rustlers. Usually the arrested people are handed over to the legal institutions such as the police for action. Sungusungu works more actively against cattle rustlers. The local sungusungu offers their services free of charge.

(ii) Accountability and Transparency of the Nzanza Village Government

A government is accountable when its leaders both elected and appointed are responding to the expectations and the demands of the governed people. Respect for the rule of law and an independent judiciary constitute key mechanisms for enforcing accountability of the government to the people.

In order to ensure accountability and efficacy of different governance mechanisms, it is important that the citizens have access to government information regarding resources or revenue collected and how the same has been spent and also information on action and services provided by the government at all levels. In Nzanza, the village government collects a lot of revenue accruing from multiple taxes and levies imposed on people, goods, livestock and petty trading. 75% of the revenue collected by the village government (as agency of the district council) goes to the district council and the remaining is spent at the community.

Out of the 25 percent of the revenue, 6 percent is payment for the tax collectors and the village chairperson. The remaining (which is not much) is spent by the village government for the community priority programs. The village government through its institutions also receives support in the form of grants or subsidies from the district and central governments and also from the NGOs, which exist in the village. The central government has provided capitation and investment grants to the primary schools. Also the Meatu district council has continued to provide funds for the construction of classrooms. Furthermore in the year 2000 the *International Christelijk Steunfonds* (ICS) which is a Netherlands based NGO has continue to construct the community based organizations office (CBO) in the village and also planned to construct classrooms. Similarly TASAF, which is a government fund, has planned to do similar work by constructing classrooms.

However during the focus group discussions and individual interview with some members of the Nzanza community, the PPA team was informed that most people were not aware of these NGO initiatives nor were they informed about the amount of revenue collected by the village government and how it has been spent. In general people were complaining that the officials misuse their contributions including taxes and levies collected in non-priority activities. They do not understand how the officials at local level are spending their money. Since the establishment of the village in 1977, people said that apart from constructing a primary school with the help of the district no any other developmental initiative has been made at the village. During the individual interview with the ward executive officer (WEO) and the VEO, the village leadership confirmed that people are not informed about revenue and expenditure information.

In order to ensure transparency and accountability to address critical priority problems adversely affecting the people across the country, the government has to be accountable to the people. The public should know the amount of the revenue to back up the plans and expenditure. Holding the local government accountable to the public or community is the bottom line requirement to reduce people's vulnerability and promote trust between the government and the governed. It is important that the community should access policy information on taxes and levies imposed by the government and the resources. As such whenever the village planning and economic committee approves a new project the entire community should participate and be informed of the decision and the details of the project

costs before implementation because it is the people who would contribute both monetary and non-monetary materials for completion of the planned activities in the community.

Regarding competency of the village government leaders in management of resources, during the interview with the village government leaders, it was revealed that the leaders have undergone a one-day training on leadership conducted by the district officials in the village and was very inadequate. This is an obvious conclusion. They need routine capacity building in all fields including financial and project management if they are to deliver and lead their people in the war to eradicate poverty.

2.2.3 HIV/AIDS and Chronic Illnesses and Vulnerability

(i) Awareness on and Transmission of HIV/AIDS

Awareness levels of Nzanza villagers on HIV/AIDS pandemic were noted to be quite low. In the Women's focus group discussion that involved 12 women, only one had knowledge of the disease. According to health official, of Mwandoya Health center, among the top 10 diseases STD/STIs feature on the list. People do frequently report having contracted STIs and it is mostly those men and women who are sexually active meaning that there are sexual contacts that are risky. It follows then that if people are contracting STIs, then we can therefore infer that people in Nzanza are already infected with HIV.

According to the health official at Mwandoya health centre which serve 6 villages including Nzanza, people with AIDS have shown up at the centre suffering from diseases that exhibit symptoms of an AIDS sufferer. Since the centre has no testing facility, such patients are referred to Meatu District hospital for screening but none have come back to confirm HIV status so that the centre could keep data on the same.

According to the health official the centre has a strategy of addressing HIV/AIDS through its health education program which is implemented by the Primary health care committee composed of 13 members from Mwandoya village. For this reason it can safely be said that Mwandoya village cannot extend its jurisdiction to Nzanza village and this explains the lack of intervention in Nzanza to raise people's awareness on HIV/AIDS.

Nzanza Community's sexual behaviour is not in consonance with what is required to curb HIV/AIDS spread. Polygamy and promiscuity have been cited as vulnerability factors that not only fuel the spread of STI/STDs but also cause conflict and depletion of family resources. The practice of polygamy in Nzanza entails having multiple sex partners not only on part of men, but also on part of dissatisfied, jealous and neglected wives. The most prevalent diseases in Nzanza are malaria, upper respiratory infection, Diarrhoea, worms, bilharziasis, STI/STDs (especially syphilis and vaginal/urethral discharge), ear infection, conjunctivitis as well as outcome of accidents such as body injuries.

(ii) Maternal Mortality

Maternal deaths are alarming at Nzanza and they are attributed to late reporting to the centre during delivery and superstition arising from promiscuity whereby if a woman was having extra-marital affair before conceiving it is believed that if she goes to the hospital to deliver she will die in the process. She has to go to traditional practitioners to be cleansed and get help during delivery. In case of maternal complications, such practitioners lack the necessary competence and instruments that could be needed to handle difficult and/or complicated delivery. In such situations delivering mothers and/or their baby often die. Promiscuity and polygamy are coping strategies for women but are also sources of their suffering in terms of diseases and loss of life.

(iii) Relative Accessibility to Health Care For The Elderly

Old people also do suffer from various diseases including malaria, vomiting, and body ache. They often go hungry which then increases their ill health. Old people who are living alone can not walk the 5 km to Mwandoya health centre to seek treatment some do not go at all because they lack financial means to buy medicines that will be prescribed by the doctor. The only alternative is to live with the disease or resort to traditional herbs self medication as they may not have money even to pay the traditional healer.

2.2.4 Social Power and Vulnerability

(i) Who Has the Power

Nzanza community is made up of mainly the Sukuma cattle keepers. The larger the herd of cattle, number of wives and number of children a man has, the significant the individual becomes and he is respected by many. A person (man) with no cattle is considered poor regardless of any other attributes like education or having a good house. Lack of cattle/few cattle is equivalent to being poor. Those who have large herds of cattle can intimidate others or even decide their fate. It is cattle that is used in corrupt practices to influence governance at village level, to access medical treatment at the health centre and also to buy freedom in a court of law. It is also used to frame false charges against others and also to grab other people's property or rights.

Women rarely own wealth which is largely cattle because through payment of bride price she is also acquired alongside other types of wealth. This means that women and girl children are excluded from governance at family level to community level. This explains their lack of confidence even to speak during the PPA process even in the same sex group discussions. Women lack exposure to many opportunities including education, which explains the inability of majority of women to speak Kiswahili the national language that is used as the medium of instruction in schools and general conversation.

Girls are given least priority in self-development. They are considered an asset for marriage where fathers draw up to 50 cattle as bride price. Boys are considered future social security to care for ageing parents. They are exposed to leadership and confidence building at a young age. This makes them realize that they are more important than women and this contributes to the relegation of women throughout their life cycle.

2.2.5 Abuse and Vulnerability

(i) Forms of Abuse

The most common forms of abuse identified in Nzanza are those linked to conflicts over land, which then culminates into physical violence. Also there are domestic violence incidents where by men beat their wives. There is abuse of power whereby those with property (cattle) use their economic power to influence law enforcement machinery to dispossess others who have no economic power. On the same level, those in power such as health officials use their position in corrupt way to extract money and valuables from those in need of service. In this way a sick person is made to suffer more due to his/her difficult economic position, which forces him/her to comply.

Violence against women in the family, which is rampant, is the result of the inferior position of women in the family. A woman is regarded as a child and hence can be chastised. Nzanza women highlighted on the reasons for such violence as jealousy and suspicion on part of men, and drinking behaviour of their husbands. Unlike in other places visited in the PPA process, family conflicts rarely ensue in Nzanza as a result of women demanding their rights, including a share in the family resources. This supports the hypothesis that women are socialized to believe that they are like children and have no rights worth of demanding.

Abuse of the elderly also featured in Nzanza. Old women with red eyes are at risk of being abused and even killed. Nzanza people are superstitious. They will always look for a reason behind a relative's death by linking it with witchcraft practices. Through consultation with traditional practitioners, cause of death will be a neighbour or relative who is an old person especially a woman. A bereaved parent will then hire contract killers to get rid of such a bad person before she finishes the whole family. Some elderly women and few men have fallen victims of such barbaric practices.

(ii) Dispute/ Conflict Resolution

According to Nzanza village government members, land related conflicts are serious. They involve dispute over boundaries and grazing cattle in other people's farms. The village government has the mandate to resolve the disputes but people are so used to corruption so much so that they side-line local governance institution and rush to courts of law where they bribe and distort justice. Those who are most affected are Women, Widows and Cattle - less

people. There are cases where although the village government ruled in favour of the rightful owners, the court disregarded this verdict and testimony and ruled in favour of the encroacher. Women/Widows with the economic ability to give bribes also testified to have won cases in courts of law regardless of gender.

2.2.6 Other Shock and Vulnerability

(i) Corruption and Vulnerability

Corruption triggers people's vulnerability largely because it reduces their farm incomes and assets. Instead of using money to access basic services, such money is used to bribe some officials who provide services. It is also used to **"oil the system"** and also influence outcomes of legal proceedings. Thus, corruption violates the socio-economic right of the people especially the vulnerable people.

Almost all social categories, which the PPA team discussed with including individual interview with the elderly people, they all admitted that corruption is rampant especially at the Mwandoya health center and the primary court. Some officials in these institutions request money openly in the form of bribe before offering services to patients or justice seekers. At the primary court, officials request bribe during dispute settlements related especially to land. Therefore vulnerability, which persists across the Nzanza community, is due to poor governance environment particularly corruption. However, most people may argue that it is very difficult to prove that a certain official is corrupt. Some people who offer bribe usually are not ready to provide testimony that they have bribed a public officer so as to access service. Despite this difficult, there are some people who are committed to exposing injuries through testimony about corruption as the case study discussed below shows;

(ii) Testimony on Corruption

Mr. Pascal Kija is one of the inhabitants of the Nzanza community and is a farmer. He is aged 60 years old and married with several children.

***The Saga:** Seven years ago, his wife had maternal complications, she was expecting to give birth. When labour pains began, the husband hired an ox-driven cart to ferry her to the Mwandoya Health center, which is just 5 kilometers away from the village. Unfortunately she delivered alone without any support on the way to the center. After delivery they all proceeded to the health center and were received by the nurses.*

The mother had to explain concern that she had delivered prematurely because her due date was some few months to come. Consequently the nurses also confirmed this, besides the baby was not able to suckle at all. The father expressed his fears that if nothing is done, their baby's life would be endangered. As a condition for being attended, one of the nurses openly demanded a bribe to induce her to attend the premature baby. However, the mother insisted on seeing the medical officer who

was Mr. Msuya. Mr. Msuya (doctor) too confirmed the premature state of the baby and advised that the baby has to be hospitalised. Mr. Kija agreed to this timely advice. However, what shocked him was the “doctor’s” demand for bribe as well. Kija had no money and he stated so with a promise of looking for some money after the baby has been attended to as an emergency. The doctor told him “if you have no money your child will die” and he demanded Tshs. 3,000/= as a bribe. Kija had only Tshs.1, 000/= which the doctor refused to accept. Later on he accepted it as part of payment and insisted on getting the balance of Tshs.2,000/= before attending effectively to the distressed child. On the following day, Mr. Kija went home to search for the Tshs.2, 000/= and managed to get the balance of the bribe requested by the doctor. Apart from receiving the bribe from Mr. Kija, the doctor however did not really attend the patient as required. Moreover as condition, Msuya once again demanded bribes for the second trip. At this time Kija refused to pay and as a result the doctor left without attending the infant. Kija’s baby was rescued by one of the medical staff that knows Kija. Being a primary health care staff, he advised the parents to take their child home and care for it, and it would survive and stated that “Uzima wa mtu uko popote” meaning that anybody’s survival can be anywhere. He told the parents not to fear. Further he informed the parents that the baby could die even at the hospital. The parents then agreed to take their baby back home and they were taught on how to care for the child including; feeding and clothing. The parents did exactly what they were advised by the medical staff. Fortunately the infant survived, it is now a 7-year-old boy schooling in standard 1.

Although Mwandoya health center is supposed to provide free services, people argue that what is considered to be free services are not at all free. Patients have continued to pay huge bribe to some of the medical staff as a condition to provide services to the people. Those people who have assets or livestock, can afford to pay corruption, and are the ones who access health care services. However, there are other people in Nzanza community who cannot afford to bribe and hence become more vulnerable. They have to sell assets such as cattle and land so as to get money to bribe officials.

Lack of the financial power is a barrier to accessing health services. Attempt to address corruption at the village has really failed. The vulnerable poor people have limited option to avoid corruption and also address the poor governance issue. Because of low level of education attained by most villagers, when people are physically abused or forced to bribe, the poor normally fear the officials and thus pay corruption to access services or avoid harassment from the officials. Consequently one would argue that addressing corruption across the country would really be very difficult if the current situation continues to prevail. One of the options could be to make sure that the poor are empowered to manage the public facilities themselves and the public officials to be made accountable to the public or communities.

According to the health sector reform programs, all health facilities are required to have health boards or committees, which would manage all health resources at local levels. Members of the board could include communities. Such government initiative would actually empower people to manage health facilities as theirs. Such policy initiative is yet to

be implemented by the Meatu district authority and hence makes it difficult to reduce the level of corruption at the facility. As a result, the level of corruption has continued to persist in these facilities.

The second alternative option for addressing effectively could be to introduce mail or suggestion box across all the health facilities or in village government offices which would allow people to mention names of officials who receive bribe from the communities. Such a message or suggestion box should be sent monthly by the VEO without opening it to the special district official for perusal and action. When the authority responsible for corruption at the district level has taken action, such mailbox should be taken back being closed and locked by the VEO for the same monthly exercise. Further, such initiative would to a large extent reduce the level of corruption, which is currently, rampant in some communities in the country.

(iii) Food security

Nzanza villagers have a tendency of stocking food after harvest. However in terms of crisis they sell to get money to address various contingencies that face households. If there is little food in the house women and children are the one who suffers most due to the Sukuma culture of women and children eating last. A woman has to cook, serve men first with elderly boys in the family. Women have to eat last with their young ones. This is because men don't like disturbances, so they have to eat first and go on with their business. This practice increases women's vulnerability to hunger and sometimes may end up eating non-nutritious food.

(iv) Hail stones

In the year 2000 there was heavy rainfall accompanied with hail stones that lasted for 7 (seven) days. All tropical animals and aquatic living things including fish perished under heavy mass of clogged hailstones. Cattle, goats and other domestic animals suffered from reduced pastures and drinking cold water from melting hailstones. Food crops were severely affected which then led the community to be vulnerable to famine and hunger.

(v) Army worms, grasshoppers and stalk borers

Army worms and stalk borers are yet other shocks that affect crops, particularly maize crops. These insects come during the farming seasons on annual basis while the grasshoppers and army worms eat away the green leaves and growing plants, the stalk borers reside inside at the center of the stalk and eat away the inside (the growing parts), The plants literally die hence increases the vulnerability of the community to famine/ hunger and becoming more poor.

At the time when maize is just about to dry and cotton is ready for picking armies of rodents occasionally invade the fields. They eat dry maize still in the field and would invade household looking for stored grains. In extreme cases they would eat away the epithelial layers of human skin (feet and palm). Even dry parts of umbilical cords of human babies have been reportedly eaten away by rodents.

2.2.7 Coping Mechanisms

(i) Preparedness to Face Shocks and Actions

The Nzanza community is situated in a place historically known to experience spells of droughts almost on annual basis. The topology of the place allows for high water tables such that small amounts of rain may cause seasonal rivers, which tend to dry as soon as the rains come to an end. As such drought is one of the commonest shocks that is expectedly annual.

The fact that this is known to have a periodic occurrence, Nzanza community always cultivates drought resistant crops such as millet; this is inter-cropped with cotton and occasionally with maize and groundnuts. Other shocks such as cattle theft appear to be of low profile but the community has always established traditional defence groups popularly known as Sungusungu. These groups are arranged in small units (at hamlet level), which have unit commanders. The unit commanders are centrally administered such that the village has central command when cattle theft incidents have been reported.

The occurrence of shocks is sudden, such that preparedness of the community is minimal and actions are taken as and when it happens. The occurrence of drought always leads to onset of hunger. Apart from cultivating drought resistant crops that are fast maturing, other actions include buying food supplies from nearby villages not similarly affected. Sometimes the government supplies food stuffs e.g., maize grain. This occurred once in 1986 when the community was hardest hit with severe drought.

The village elderly who are reportedly the founders of Nzanza village are the biggest landlords and have managed to own large plots of land of a reportedly maximum of one thousand acres. As a result a good number of the Nzanza inhabitants are landless. The "landlords" usually lend pieces of their land at a cost of 1000/=Tshs per acre on yearly basis. The land borrower is free to use it for one season and would have to pay another ten thousand shillings if he needs to use it for the next season. Due to land scarcity and the fact that the landless do not always have the funds to pay for land 'rent', there are frequent quarrels and disputes over land. Sometimes these result into physical violence leading to bodily harm and injuries

At this juncture such issues may need to be taken to district courts through the village government and the ward council. In order to solicit and win the court favours the culprit's resort to giving bribes as a coping strategy. Those who cannot pay the bribes, which are generally high, lose their right. The bribes involve giving of cattle and sometimes selling pieces of land. This is a major impoverishing force that continues to make people destitute.

(ii) Health Issues

Common diseases like malaria, worms and epidemics like measles and cholera frequently affect the community at Nzanza village. At times venereal diseases pose as a silent problem because people still feel shy to report them to hospital. Although most people would pursue medical services at Mwandoya health centre, quite a number of inhabitants still resort to using traditional medicine.

Though very effective in treating certain clinical cases e.g. measles, traditional herbs can fail to cater for other ailments like venereal diseases; this makes them more chronic and difficult to treat when referred to the health centre after prolonged delays in getting medical attention.

The responses to some epidemic ill health issues depend on what is practical or what is advocated for when they occur. Boiling drinking water and sanitary practices are general responses to the appearance of cholera in Nzanza village. These are neglected immediately as soon as the epidemic subsides, it's no wonder that its recurrence is more common during rainy seasons.

(iii) Food Security

The village population typically consists of small-scale farmers depending heavily in maize cultivation as the only staple food. Inter-cropping practices in the maize farms leads one to plant groundnuts and sometimes sunflower. Because Nzanza community has cotton as a major cash crop and keep a lot of cattle, the sale of maize for cash is minimal. Individual households always make sure that enough food is kept aside for the rainy day. The community has developed mechanisms to dry partially cooked sweat potatoes (*matobholwa*) that can be stored for a long time and used during food scarcity.

2.2.8 Sources Of Coping Resources

Nzanza community adopts different strategies to try to reduce the shock or types of vulnerability that may befall it or affect individual households. Most of the frequently occurring shocks in this village are related to illness, accidents or medical problems requiring major operations.

When shocks of this type are experienced, the individual households mobilises resources mainly by selling some of the domestic animals to obtain funds enough to cover the accrued expenses. However, initially one would tend to use any savings before resorting to selling the animals. When the required costs are not so exorbitant, selling some maize (part of the households food] may be the immediate alternative. This is so because of the added value to which Wasukuma attach to cattle, so much so that selling cattle is a grave decision to a Wasukuma.

For those who do not keep or own cattle, they resort to disposing of their land; one individual participant of the landless focus group, narrated that he had to dispose of part of his land so as to obtain funds to have his wife operated at Shinyanga regional hospital. He had to sell the rest of his piece of land for the required funds for transportation of his diseased wife back to Nzanza and cover all burial costs. This has sent this person into untold misery and destitution.

In minor cases where cash is required as a coping resource, individuals prefer to use their savings first before borrowing funds from neighbours or relatives. Disposing of household wealth e.g. cattle and land, are done only when other alternatives have been exhausted.

(i) Frequency, Intensity and Effect

The commonest shocks that affect the Nzanza community are, on the average, of low frequency i.e. they rarely occur when averaged over a year. Cattle theft however, occurs on an average of two incidences in a year, this would be the highest frequency for all the shocks experienced in Nzanza village.

However, though very rare, some shocks can be very detrimental to life and properties i.e. the severity is on the high side when they do. The least severe as scored by many participants would be the rodents, which rarely appear in the fields and at home. Apparently these are easy to cope with and their effect on farm produce (both in the houses or still in the fields] is minimal

The coming of hailstones in the Nzanza community has the least frequency. It is reported to have occurred only once in 1985 but when it did, many crops were destroyed. Rivers were clogged with hailstones and tropical aquatic animals and plants died. Most plants and grasslands were all covered with hailstones making it difficult for grass to grow and food for domestic animals were all destroyed. The overall effect was that all social groups were severely affected, but the farmers were most affected in that any cultivation had to stop for all seven days when ice had covered the land.

(ii) Resilience

In Nzanza village and actually across the whole of Sukuma land, there are families who are relatively able to cope with poverty and vulnerabilities when these do occur. According to the communities themselves, the type of households and individuals in this category are those who own land on which both food and cash crops can be grown.

Resilience in the Sukuma culture is associated with cattle ownership. Although cattle are never killed for food, it adds value and increases the social strata of individuals and households in general. In fact a person without cattle has no social significance and recognition at any levels whatsoever.

A seemingly strange resilient characteristic is associated with girl children. The idea of giving away girl children for marriage is still deep rooted among Wasukuma people. Marriages involve payment of bride price cattle and in this area; the latter is paid in terms of cattle ranging between 20-80 herds of cattle. With a large herd, a household's life is measured.

On the contrary non-resilient households usually have no large herd of cattle, have fewer children especially girl children they live in low cost poor houses that are generally grass thatched and plastered with soil to serve for corrugated iron. Incidentally these households may have appreciable amount of funds earned from sale of cotton, the major cash crop in Nzanza village. Despite this "seasonal" wealth, the communities are unable to build modern houses for fear of keeping the money too long in their houses. To use it immediately they resort to buying cattle and marrying other wives hence increasing their vulnerabilities because of increasing family size. This is however not an issue of concern for Wasukuma.

Yet struggle for life continues, as households fight to ensure the families are food secure as a priority. Cotton growing and cattle keeping are necessary to enable households meet their monetary requirements including payment of taxes and meeting necessary costs for social services particularly health and education.

(iii) Changing Trends

The coping strategies generally employed by the Nzanza community have undergone little changes if any over a long period of time. The community is being made aware of current situation in environmental changes and degradation but people continue to keep large herds of cattle and tree cutting for preparation of cultivation continues unabated. This is because of little awareness of environmental degradation and the consequences that result from such trends thereof.

Responses to common diseases such as malaria are generally on the increase with respect to prevention measures. Use of mosquito nets included those treated with or dipped in mosquito repellents are on the increase at the village level. The use of toilets at household level has also increased based on general awareness on sanitary requirements. With the growing social service provision in the education sector, coupled with moral education by religious institutions, the killing of elderly on witchcraft issues are also on the downward trend. There are generally few reported cases of the elderly that suffered from this effect within this year compared to previous reports over the media in the last five years.

Due to the increase in population, there is a corresponding increase in land requirements, increased competition over the same pieces of land, and has tended to increase conflict among landlords and the landless. The idea of borrowing land for one season from the landlords is a new concept in land property utilisation.

3.0 POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

The field findings captured from Nzanza village had various policy implications in terms of implementations of existing policies and/or need for new policies. There are various issues learned in the site concerning vulnerability factors in relation to the different social groups and various livelihoods.

3.1 Issues For Policy

From the field findings there were gaps identified in implementation of various policies and some issues that require policies.

(a) Gaps in implementation of existing policies

The process of implementing education policies concerning enrolment of standard one pupils had poor preparations where the facilities are not adequately available in comparison with the number of pupils enrolled. Also the MEMKWA (Kiswahili acronym for COBET) programme for enrolment of the children aged above seven years who were left out after enrolment of the group of seven years old children is not yet implemented.

The following are examples of this gap: -

- The number of teachers in Nzanza Primary School is only four (4) against 11 required desks are only 45 out of 162 required deficit is 117 desks, classrooms are only 4 and the requirement is 11, deficit is 7, Pit latrines are 4 out of 20 required, there is no store room and there is serious shortage of reference and text books. In most cases Sukuma people in the agricultural and pastoral livelihoods send their children to school at the age of 10 to 11 years therefore the out of the School are those of age above 7 years which are 8, 9, 10 and 11 years when they need these children to herd cattle. Therefore the number of Children who are now at home and were supposed to join **complementary basic education** (MEMKWA) is big showing that the implementation of policy was not well planned and therefore creating a policy gap.
- The implementation of **health sector policy** is such that in Meatu District, cost sharing is implementable at the district level (Government District Hospital) all the other health centers and dispensaries are supposed to provide their services free of charge, but due to prevalence of corruption people are forced to not only pay for the service but pay heavily than the amount prescribed by the cost sharing policy.

- The policies concerning **good governance** in terms of fighting **corruption** have not adequately involved the Community (by sensitizing and training them on how to deal with this malady). People in this community have been giving bribes and later on start complaining. The policy requires that before some one pays “thank you money” s/he should inform the police or prevention of corruption personnel for legal action. Government officials have been soliciting bribes before rendering services for which they have been hired to do. It is difficult for the responsible anticorruption institution to get enough evidence to prosecute the culprits. Therefore in implementation of the anti-corruption related policies and regulations there must be an element of sensitization and advocacy to the community on their roles in the war against corruption.
- The Government policy concerning **Children’s rights** also addresses child labour but in real sense child labour practices have been prevalent in various Communities including Nzanza village Community. Although Children are not employed in the formal sense, parents don’t send them to school but rather involve them in farming and livestock keeping. School children are found working on teachers’ farms instead of attending classes. Examples are the eight out of school Children whom we discussed with, they were all involved in farming and livestock keeping activities. Also in the discussion with school children they said that they were the ones to cultivate and weed cotton farms owned by Nzanza Primary School Teachers.

(b) Issues Requiring Policies

There are two major issues requiring Clearer Policies: -

- The issues concerning Elderly people to ensure their security. The Elderly people from our findings were the ones who are in danger of being killed or physically abused. The major reasons being their physical weakness and the belief in superstition. A good policy on this is required at this point in time
- Although the Village Land Act 1999 gives powers to village authorities to distribute village land, there seem to be some gaps in that such authorities have been taken to court for trespassing on other people’s property while trying to redistribute land. The Land Policy and land laws should be user-friendly to ensure equitable distribution of land at village level instead of few people hoarding huge land, which they do not use.

ANNEXES

Annex I: A Summary of Comments from the District Officials on the Findings

In general the district officials agreed with the PPA national team about the findings from the Nzanza village.

1. Regarding corruption which is rampant in the village of Nzanza and other villages in the district, the district officials agreed and confirmed that they would use the PPA team advise to address effectively the corruption issue especially at the Mwandoya Health Centre and the primary court.
2. The district officials expressed concern on the issue of land. In order to address this, they noted that they would work closely with villages to ensure there is re-distribution of land equitably to the needy people. However the officials said that villages have been empowered to distribute land to the villagers.
3. The village has no dispensary for the time being, people access health services at Mwandoya health centre. In order to address this, the village has planned to construct a dispensary. However according to the district officials Nzanza village is not allowed to construct it because criteria do not allow them to do so. One of the basic criteria for a village to qualify for constructing dispensary includes: The village should have at least 8000 inhabitants and that the distance from the village and the nearest dispensary where the village get health service should be at least 5kms which is the distance from the village to Mwandoya Health Centre.
4. Concerning the shortage of teachers at Nzanza primary school, the DED said that in general there is severe shortage of teachers across the district and that they have failed to employ new ones. They have attempted to advertise so as to recruit new teachers but no response from the applicants. At present the district has 180 teacher shortages [there are only 525 teachers and total pupils enrolment is 45146 pupils].
5. HIV/AIDS continues to remain on the agenda and most people are not aware about it. The DC cautioned on making jokes about how transmission occurred. He advised the people that the best preventive measure is abstinence and not the condom.
6. Concern was expressed on the extension services that staff posted into the villages are not that competent and do not do their role in the villages as required as a result farmers have no farming skills and produce low yields.
7. Regarding vulnerability in the Nzanza community, the district officials noted that people are poor because they have low level of education {mainly standard seven education or less} and that the Sukuma culture also contributes to it. The Sukuma people are attached to or value cattle more than anything. As such a person with 155 cattle would rather sell cotton after harvesting and use money to purchase more cattle than constructing better houses. Thus most people who are vulnerable include also the people with a lot of cattle and huge land.

Annex 2: Participants to the District Feedback Workshop on PPA – Meatu District

S/N	NAME	ADDRESS/ DEPARTMENT	DESIGNATION
1.	M.H. PAZI	MEATU DISTRICT	DC
2.	G.S.KAGOMBA	MEATU DISTRICT COUNCIL	DED
3.	J.K.N. MULAZI		DPLO
4.	B.M.H.I. GWANDU		DAS
5.	D.I. YAMAWASA		DCO
6.	ARRON, E.M		DE
7.	J.L MWANILANGA		DEO
8.	DR. BAKILILEHI, F.E		DALDO
9.	E.N. MAKIYA		DWE
10.	DR. N.MARWA		DMO
11.	D.I. YAMAWASA		DCO
12.	A.I. MUMIKE		DLDO
13.	WILFRED A.N. MUSINGI		DCDO
14.	BETRICE RUMBELI		TASAF-OFFICER
15.	FABIAN N. MGINA		DIVISION SECRETARY
16.	LEAH JEREMIAH		ACCOUNTANT
17.	NGOKO BUKA		PLANNING OFFICER
18.	ATHMAN .A. KILOWALOWA		MAALIM [ISLAM]
19.	FELISTER LIBALI		NM-AHEAD
20.	SAAD Z. MWAKISUMBE		NRO
21.	PASTORY MWESIGA		DPM – HASHI
22.	SULUDI SUMUNI	OCIS	FIELD OFFICER
23.	WILSON K. MUNA	LUTHERAN CHURCH	PASTOR
24.	KHALPHAN K. KASHINJE	MWABUSALU WARD	WEO
25.	SAMWEL NG'HOLONGO	NZANZA VILLAGE	VEO
26.	BUSIGA MANGE	NZANZA VILLAGE	VILLAGE CHAIRPERSON
27.	SCHOLASTICA MASANJA	NZANZA VILLAGE	VILLAGE GOVERNMENT MEMBER
28.	GABRIEL MBULANYA	ESRF	RESEARCHER
29.	EZEKIEL MPANDA	ESRF	RESEARCHER
30.	EMMY METTA	ESRF	RESEARCHER
31.	RENATUS KIHONGO	ESRF	RESEARCHER
32.	FORTUNATA TEMU	ESRF	TEAM LEARDER