PHASE I REPORT

**Participatory Poverty Assessments
in the Context of Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring Framework**
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**A Report Prepared by the Vice President's Office for
the Research & Analysis Working Group on Poverty Monitoring**

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I. Introduction

1. Background

In a Consultative Workshop held at the White Sands Hotel in October 2000, it was decided that Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) should become a routine part of Government's Poverty Monitoring System. However, neither the precise role of PPAs in the System or the nature of appropriate institutional arrangements was explored. This Report, which is the result of a consultancy (see Appendix I for the complete TOR) conducted by the Vice President's Office on behalf of the Research & Analysis Working Group for Poverty Monitoring, identifies and analyses the alternatives. It is intended for use as a background paper to facilitate informed discussion, debate and decision-making about the future of PPAs in Tanzania by stakeholders in a second Consultative Workshop in March 2001.

Both public and private institutions committed to poverty alleviation 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 multitopic surveys as their preferred means to measure, analyse and learn about poverty. In contrast with single-topic surveys (such as Employment, Income and Expenditure Surveys), these multitopic 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 PPAs 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 raw data, which is then synthesised to inform pro-poor policies. Some of the advantages to such a radical research methodology are obvious. First, data analysis does not depend on speculation by urban elites about the conditions poor people face. 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 in. Second, PPAs contribute to social 'democratisation' by involving poor people in policymaking processes.

> **PPA versus PRA**
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> Participatory Poverty Assessments and Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs) use many of the same methods (i.e. research tools). As a result, they look a lot alike! When you step closer and listen, the similarity between the two disappears.
>
> Indeed, PPAs and PRAs are very different. The primary goal of PPAs is to generate information and understanding to guide macro-level (typically national or supra-national) strategies for poverty alleviation. In contrast, the goal of PRAs is to produce information for local action.

On the basis of these characteristics, the Government of Tanzania is keen to integrate routine Participatory Poverty Assessments into its Poverty Monitoring System. As such, PPAs will be firmly enmeshed in national level planning processes. This is not to suggest that their findings will be irrelevant to Local Authorities. At the very least, PPAs will play a critical part in shaping the Sector Plans and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper that provide a framework of common values and understanding to orient, organise and empower pro-poor development planning at various levels of Government.

2. Purpose

There are many challenges to designing such an ambitious research programme (see Appendix II for further discussion). Fortunately, there is significant experience and expertise globally, regionally and locally upon which to draw. This Report incorporates lessons learnt abroad and from the 1995 World Bank and 1998 Shinyanga PPAs in Tanzania. Most importantly, it incorporates the insights of stakeholders interviewed during the first phase of this consultancy. Throughout these interviews, it was clear that stakeholders have a wide range of (sometimes contradictory) ideas about appropriate roles and institutional arrangements for PPAs in the context of Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring System. It was also evident that *every one* of these ideas raised important issues to be considered before conclusions about the way forward are made.

Thus, this Report is "content neutral." In other words, it does not offer recommendations. Instead, it focuses on clarifying the issues surrounding stakeholders' diverse perspectives. This information-base will facilitate accelerated debate, dialogue and decision-making in the Consultative Workshop on 7th March.

3. Methodology

Selecting institutions and individuals to interview for this Report was difficult because decisions inevitably implied some degree of exclusion. Choices were made in consultation with members of the Technical Committee currently driving the production of Government's Poverty Monitoring Strategy, members of the Research & Analysis Working Group, the Vice President's Office and others. The selection process prioritised institutions and individuals on the basis of:

- Their central involvement in the creation of a comprehensive Framework for Poverty Monitoring in Tanzania;
- Their likely participation *in* the Framework;
- Their (hoped for) use of poverty monitoring information in policy decisions.

Some of these criteria are clearly subjective. Their application, however, was consistent and in good faith. Thus, interviews were conducted with:

- Officials in central government;
- Local government officials in two regions;
- International financial institution and bi-lateral donor agencies;
- Senior staff in key non-governmental, academic and research organisations.

A Study Tour was also made to Zambia, where member of the Consultancy Team and a representative from the Vice President's Office met with government officials and NGO staff to learn about their experience monitoring poverty through a regimen of follow-up research to the 1994 World Bank PPA. See Appendix III for a complete list of those individuals and institutions interviewed during the first phase of this consultancy.

4. Structure of the Report

This Report is structured to provide cumulative information about the Tanzania's nascent Poverty Monitoring System, PPAs and the range of possible relationships between them. To this end, section two offers an update on the Poverty Monitoring System (PMS) and additional information about PPAs. Section three builds on this foundation by setting out and analysing the various roles that stakeholders proposed for PPAs in the PMS. Section four presents a framework to identify effective institutional arrangements for PPAs in Tanzania, and section five offers concluding comments.

II.   Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring Framework

1.   Introduction

Both public and private institutions committed to poverty alleviation have ideas about why it occurs, why it persists and how it can be overcome. The best ideas - that is, those with the greatest impact - are based on reliable information about cultural, social and economic realities. In Tanzania and many other countries around the world, we lack sufficient information to design, monitor, evaluate and evolve highly effective pro-poor policies. The seriousness of this situation became clear in the process of drafting Government's National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) in 1997 and the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS). Government's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and related processes likewise depend on knowing whether or not the activities they set in motion are improving people's welfare, how and why.

In answer to this now obvious need, the Government of Tanzania has recently established an institutional framework for monitoring and evaluating poverty. This Poverty Monitoring System will guide the timely collection, analysis and dissemination of information. It will enable policy makers to assess progress in its poverty alleviation strategies, identify shortcomings and make adjustments when necessary. It will also allow Government and its development partners to identify particularly successful initiatives so that they can be given adequate support and (where feasible) replicated.

This introduction outlines the poverty reduction policy framework in Tanzania and describes the steps taken and those yet to be made on the path to creating a robust Poverty Monitoring System.

2.   The policy framework for poverty reduction

Tanzania has developed a range of strategy papers and policy initiatives to guide its poverty reduction efforts. The major landmarks are:
- The Vision 2020 document for Zanzibar and Vision 2025 for Mainland Tanzania,
- The National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES),
- The Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS),
- The Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF),
- The Public Expenditure Review (PER) and
- The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP).

Vision 2020 and 2025 describe the general level of development the country wants to achieve during the next few decades. In contrast, the NPES sets more specific poverty reduction targets – including a 50 percent reduction in abject poverty by 2010 and its total elimination by 2025. The priority sectors targeted by the NPES are Education, Health and Nutrition, Water and Sanitation, Agriculture, Employment Creation and Income Generation. The focus is on the translation of long-term aspirations into concrete, short-term and medium-term targets.

In the NPES, poverty is seen as "multi-dimensional." In other words, poverty is understood to be a state of deprivation prohibitive of decent human life. This implies concern for people's material well-being and more. For example, it recognises the importance people attach to freedom from fear of violence or hunger and the value they place on feeling some measure of control over decisions that affect their lives. The usefulness of these documents depends on having adequate, accurate and timely information about poverty. Therefore, the Vice President's Office led a range of stakeholders to identify key indicators and begin planning a Poverty Monitoring System.

On another front, Government began drafting the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS) as a means to coordinate its development efforts with those of the international community. In order to function smoothly, the TAS will also need information about the changing nature of poverty and the consequences of Government and donor policies. Credible implementation of the Medium Term Expenditure Framework and Public Expenditure Review (two important processes through which Government is prioritising and tracking the effectiveness of pro-poor public expenditures) likewise demands data. Thus, each of these initiatives added its voice to the call for a comprehensive Poverty Monitoring System. Nonetheless, progress towards this end remained slow until its implementation was linked to debt relief.

In 1999, Tanzania qualified for debt relief under the Enhanced HIPC Initiative. As a result, Government produced a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper that was approved by Parliament and endorsed by the Executive Boards of the World Bank and IMF. The PRSP is 'narrower' than the Vision documents, NPES and TAS in the sense that it covers a shorter time span and entails more focused objectives. Government must monitor and evaluate progress toward these objectives in order to *receive* debt relief. This condition has lent urgency to the creation of a Poverty Monitoring System.

3. Steps taken towards the creation of a Poverty Monitoring System

As part of the PRSP drafting process, a short list of core indicators was chosen from those identified in the *Handbook for Poverty and Welfare Monitoring Indicators*. Selection was primarily based on the following concerns:
1. A baseline estimate for each candidate indicator had to exist already or soon be available;
2. It must be possible to provide at least one more estimate of the indicator during the implementation period for the first PRSP (2000-2003);
3. It must be possible for PRSP inspired activities to have a measurable impact on the indicator before 2003.

These criteria resulted in the selection of 27 core indicators for the PRSP.

According to the Vice President's Office, *Government's Poverty Monitoring System must be designed to see beyond this limited set of indicators and provide a comprehensive understanding of poverty trends and their reasons*. Following completion of the PRSP drafting process, a Consultative Workshop was held at the White Sands Hotel in order to accelerate creation of such a robust PMS. A number of important conclusions were reached. For example, participants decided that two new mechanisms for collecting information are needed. The first is a light quantitative survey designed to provide policymakers with a constant (and cost effective) stream of data tracking poverty trends. The second is a regular Participatory Poverty Assessment providing "The poor's perception of trends in poverty and impact of policy changes under the PRS" (National Bureau of Statistics. "Proceeding of a Consultative Workshop Held on 9th October 2000 at White Sands Hotel on Monitoring Systems and Institutional Framework in the Context of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper").

Participants in the White Sands Workshop also agreed on an institutional framework for the PMS. Accordingly, an inclusive Steering Committee composed of representatives from government, the private sector, civil society, and the academic/research community will provide leadership.[1] However, small technical Working Groups will be responsible for directing PMS activities. Thus:

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[1] In a follow-up meeting, it was decided that the PRSP Technical Committee would serve as interim Steering Committee for the PMS.

- ***The WG on Surveys and the Census*** (led by the National Bureau of Statistics) will establish a multi-year household survey program and annual poverty monitoring surveys.
- ***The WG on Routine Data Collection*** (led by the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government) will improve existing systems of administrative and routine data collection by various ministries.
- ***The WG on Research and Analysis*** – (led by the Planning Commission and Research on Poverty Alleviation, or REPOA) will set priorities for *ad hoc* research and analysis on poverty. This Working Group will also oversee implementation of routine PPAs.
- ***The WG on Dissemination and Sensitisation*** (led by the Vice President's Office) will develop and spearhead a strategy for the effective dissemination of findings from the PMS.

4.   Next steps

In sum, significant progress has already been made towards creating a comprehensive PMS in Tanzania. However, critical steps remain, such as operationalising the institutional framework described above. Then, each technical Working Group must shape its activities to take into account crosscutting issues such as HIV/AIDS, the environment and gender disparity. Finally, the WGs must produce a *Poverty Monitoring Master Plan* detailing how they will pursue their goals and what resources will be required.

These are formidable tasks, particularly in light of Government's goal to have a rough draft of the Master Plan ready in early 2001. This Report and the Stakeholders' Workshop it presages are, therefore, small pieces in an immense puzzle. Nonetheless, they are key to planning the routine PPAs that form a cornerstone in Tanzania's comprehensive Poverty Monitoring System.

5.   Participatory Poverty Assessments

The first PPAs were conducted in Africa during the early 1990s. Together with information generated through surveys and individual interviews, their findings were meant by the World Bank to show the complex relationship between poverty profiles, public policies, expenditures and institutions.

PPAs quickly spread beyond the Bank to other agencies, where they continued to evolve and develop in terms of methodology and objectives. As a result, there are many different definitions of what a PPA is and no apparent agreement on what a PPA is not. One of the most contentious issues is the question of whose views should be represented in PPAs. According to the World Bank, they should document the perspectives and priorities of multiple stakeholders – including local elites and donors. The U.K. Department for International Development (DfID), amongst others, disagrees. It argues that these voices are *usually* heard in policy fora. Thus, they suggest that PPAs should focus on bringing the insights and concerns of poor people into these spaces.

Struggling to Define PPAs

"A PPA is an iterative, participatory research process that seeks to understand poverty from a range of stakeholders, and to involve them directly in planning follow-up action. The most important stakeholders involved in the research process are poor men and poor women" (Narayan 2000, 15).

A PPA "is an instrument for including the perspectives of poor people in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it. Its purpose is to improve the effectiveness of actions aimed at poverty reduction… PPAs can strengthen poverty assessment processes through: broadening stakeholder involvement and thereby increasing general support and legitimacy for anti-poverty strategies; enriching the analysis and understanding of poverty by including the perspectives of the poor; providing a diverse range of valuable information on a cost-effective, rapid and timely basis, and creating new relationships between policy-makers, service providers and people in poor communities" (DfID website, 2000)

The many goals of PPAs have grown to include:

- Providing critical supplementary data (e.g. qualitative data) to inform effective pro-poor policies;
- Providing information about the perceptions and attitudes of poor people;
- Improving the accuracy of 'poverty assessments' based on conventional research methodologies (and thereby improving the quality of poverty alleviation policies);
- Explaining the causes and consequences of poverty;
- Engaging a range of stakeholders in the research process so as to stimulate local activities for poverty alleviation;
- Raising poor people's awareness of their rights and responsibilities (particularly vis-à-vis good governance);
- Building poor people's capacity to analyse and solve their problems;
- Changing policymakers' understanding of and attitudes towards poor people by involving government officials in the research process;
- Building governments' capacity for poverty analysis and policy design;
- Ensuring that Poverty Reduction Strategies reflect the priority needs of poor people;
- Promoting wide ownership and partnership in the implementation of Poverty Reduction Strategies.

Not all PPAs aim to meet all these goals, nor do all PPAs meet their goals. However, many are realised and have made critical contributions to poverty alleviation.

6.   Past PPAs in Tanzania

In 1994/5, the World Bank conducted one such PPA in Tanzania. It illuminated aspects of poverty and well being important to poor people themselves. It also showed how surveys can distort our understanding of poverty by papering-over the asymmetrical access to economic and non-economic resources experienced by individuals in the same household. Indeed, findings from this PPA contributed to growing recognition of poor communities and households as heterogeneous units whose members face an array of circumstances demanding a range of policy responses.

The 1997 Shinyanga PPA worked in a single region to inform local planning processes. Though this approach certainly has merit, the data it generates cannot provide a sound basis for making decisions about a nationwide Poverty Reduction Strategy.

Both these "First Generation PPAs" were designed to collect information about the nature, causes and consequences of poverty from the perspectives of poor people. They did this well, and have provided important information about the complexity, seasonality, etc. of poverty in Tanzania. Some understanding of their findings is evident in the 14 items selected as poverty and welfare monitoring indicators by the Vice President's Office (VPO). Recognition of the complex, multi-dimensional nature of poverty is also evident in the current PRSP and in some stakeholders' belief that participatory research must be an integral part of the Strategy's M&E and cyclical revision process in order to ensure effective pro-poor focus.

Unfortunately, neither PPA was designed as a comprehensive process to inform and influence national policy. As a result, their impact was limited. "Second Generation PPAs" in Tanzania must be designed through close collaboration between research users and producers to ensure they meet the needs of policymakers.

III.   Participatory Poverty Assessments: Goals, Functions and Roles

1.   Introduction

Stakeholders generally agree about the primary goals, or overarching objectives, of Participatory Poverty Assessments in Tanzania. These are illustrated in the 2000 PRSP (56-57):

> "The integration of a regular PPA in the PRSP monitoring system... will provide invaluable qualitative data, which will serve to cross-check quantitative data, help us judge the effectiveness of policy measures and more generally will help us understand the causal links between the action programmes of the PRSP and changes in poverty. But most importantly, it will help us listen to the concerns, perceptions and opinions of the poor themselves."

and again in a presentation by the Vice President's Office:

> "[PPAs] allow the poor themselves to express their views on how poverty is evolving, what the causes are behind changes in the level and nature of poverty and how different policies and strategies are having an impact on the poor. The data and information coming out of the PPAs will be invaluable to put the quantitative data in context and to enhance our understanding of them"

What are "Policies"?

Policies are high-level plans setting out goals and acceptable procedures. Resource allocation processes, strategies to deliver social services, legal and regulatory frameworks are all "policies." PPAs can make them more aware and responsive to the circumstances, capacities and perspectives of poor people.

Thus, the primary goals of routine PPAs in Tanzania will be to:
1. Improve policymakers' understanding of poverty and the outcome of poverty alleviation activities
2. Open-up political processes by involving poor people in decisions that affect their lives.

These quotes suggest two functions, namely a DESCRIPTIVE FUNCTION and an ANALYTICAL FUNCTION. In background interviews for this Report, stakeholders also proposed a PROSCRIPTIVE FUNCTION. In other words, they noted that PPAs can be designed to describe poverty-related phenomena, analyse/explain them, or develop appropriate policies in partnership with poor people.

In light of these functions, stakeholders recommended several roles PPAs could play in Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring System. Each role pertains to a perceived gap in information that interviewees believe could be provided more effectively through participatory research than conventional research.[2] This section presents each role and, drawing on PPA experiences from around the world, analyses their strengths and weaknesses. Each option is technically feasible. Thus, their pros and cons must be weighed on the basis of priority needs.

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[2]   In the context of this Report, participatory research is defined as a process in wherein professionals and 'everyday-experts' (that is, poor people themselves) collaborate to gather, order and analyze information. In contrast, conventional research is defined as a process in which information is generated and analyzed solely by professionals.

2.   Descriptive function

Monitoring depends on the routine production of descriptive information for comparison in order to reveal changes over time. The main purpose of monitoring is to help us determine whether or not our activities are progressing as planned. Take the example of a car trip between two towns. When passengers look out the window, they can monitor progress by observing the landscape, reading road signs and watching the sun. This information helps them determine if they are travelling in the right direction and whether or not they will reach their destination on time. PPAs could provide descriptive information to help Government see where its poverty alleviation programs are going, if and when they will reach their objectives.

Role A: Supplementing survey data

PPAs can supplement data generated through conventional research. Several stakeholders pointed out that surveys typically leave significant gaps in descriptive data sets and that some of these holes could be filled by PPAs.

Providing qualitative data: For example, surveys frequently fail to record qualitative data about people's productive/reproductive assets, the social services they access, etc. Yet the MTEF and PER processes (amongst others) largely depend on having this type of data. Clearly, Government's Poverty Monitoring System must provide it. The question is whether or not PPAs are the best means to do so...

Arguably, the answer is no. In fact, both PPAs and surveys can collect qualitative data. This is well illustrated by the Tanzania Social Action Fund's Community Service Delivery Survey. Indeed, it collects a wide range of quantitative (e.g. How many households are there in this community?) *and* qualitative data (e.g. What type of latrine is used by most households in this community?).

The advantage to collecting this data through surveys is that their results are statistically representative. PPAs cannot generate statistically representative data. Instead, their findings are *indicative*. So, they indicate the range of circumstances that people face - some of which are necessarily missed by surveys

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Methodology vs. Data Type

Surveys and participatory research are two ways - or 'methodologies' - to generate information. *Both* have been effectively used to produce quantitative and qualitative data.

Quantitative data is information expressed in terms of an amount (e.g. an amount of sickness or agricultural production). *Qualitative data* is information about the nature of things (e.g. the nature of sickness or agricultural production).

An example of a quantitative question is: 'How many times have you seen a health care professional this year?' In contrast, the following question is qualitative: 'Was the care you received in the health clinic satisfactory?'

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focusing on the middle ground. As a result, qualitative data provided by PPAs offers policymakers an opportunity to see the *range of consequences* their decisions have had or may have if implemented. The noteworthy danger lies in mixing the results of PPAs and surveys as if they were both representative (or indicative). Doing so risks painting a misleading picture of poverty in Tanzania.

Providing difficult data: In broad based consultation with its development partners, Government has created an extensive list of 75 indicators reflecting the complex, multi-dimensional nature of poverty. However, it remains unclear as to how many of them can be reliably monitored. Some stakeholders suggested that PPAs - with their innovative tools to tease out otherwise inaccessible data - should track indicators that cannot be

captured through surveys. Examples in Government's handbook for "Poverty and Welfare Monitoring Indicators" are found in Items 11 (Household and Family Relations) 13 (Empowerment and Participation) and 14 (Traditions and Norms).

PPAs can access this information. However, tracking changes over time (i.e. true monitoring) would require a very specific arrangement since PPA data cannot be statistically representative of the Tanzanian population.

Role B: Rendering data in human terms

PPAs can describe the significance of abstract, quantitative figures in human terms.[3] Surveys, for example, can tell us roughly how many women and/or child-headed households there are in Tanzania. But it is only through open-ended, participatory research that we can discover and communicate what this means in terms of lived experience.

Role C: Understanding trends in poverty

A number of interviewees envisioned using PPAs to monitor trends in poverty-related issues. In doing so, PPAs would pursue some of the same data as surveys. This does not imply redundancy, since PPAs would be generating information through a wholly different process. Such "triangulation" (i.e. asking the same question in a different way to see if the results tally) would greatly enhance the reliability of poverty monitoring data.

The PPA methodology would also allow it to measure aspects of phenomena - such as their intensity and differential impact on certain social groups[4] - typically missed in surveys and uncover the 'story' behind data. In other words, PPAs could describe:
1.   The events that led to how things are and
2.   What specific changes imply for individuals, households and communities.
In sum, surveys can only capture a certain type of descriptive information; namely, outcomes. In contrast, PPAs can capture *processes.*

Zambia is the only place where PPAs have been used for poverty monitoring. In 1993, an initial PPA was conducted in 10 communities as part of a World Bank study. In 1994, the original research team formed a Participatory Assessment Group to monitor changes wrought by the implementation of Structural Adjustment Policies. The Group returned to 9 of the communities where they used the same participatory methods to ask the same questions every year until 1998. This allowed it to track changes both in the scope and degree of poverty. PPAs could advantageously be used to similar ends in Tanzania.[5] However, doing so would fail to capitalize on the greatest comparative advantage of participatory research; namely, its capacity to analyse complex data in partnership with poor people themselves.

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[3] See page 50 in the *1998 Shinyanga PPA Report.*

[4] The issue is explored in some depth by Deepya Narayan in Chapter 4 (Gender Perspective: Development for Whom) in the 1995 *Voices of the Poor* Tanzania PPA.

[5] There is broadly perceived need to complete the circle of participatory development by enabling groups and communities to conduct their own monitoring and evaluation (M&E) through their own baselines and indicators. However, it remains unclear how this approach could be reconciled on a large scale with the need for standard indicators and information (see Robert Chambers. 1998. Foreword. In J. Blackburn and J. Holland (eds.) *Who Changes? Institutionalising Participation in Development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

3.   Analytical function

Evaluation is not the same as monitoring, but they are related.   Evaluation is the point at which you pause to take stock of where you are, how you got there and what steps must be taken to get where you want to go. Evaluation is about *comprehensive analysis* of the past in order to make wise decisions about the future.   In the context of poverty alleviation, evaluation should determine whether specific objectives are being met but also whether realizing those objectives is still the best way to get where you want to go.
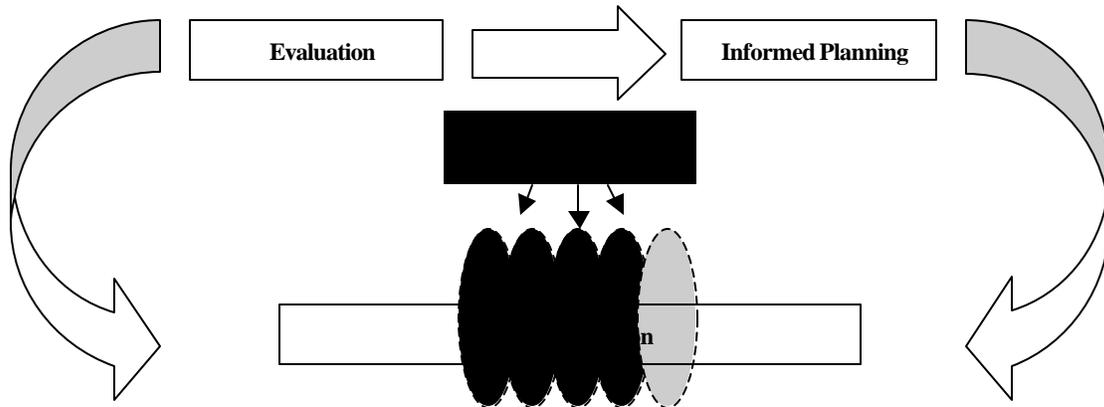
Evaluation typically draws on descriptive information collected through monitoring.

Both participatory and survey-based studies can generate quantitative and qualitative information.   Yet, the restrictions that surveys almost invariably place on interviewees' answers make for much easier comparison than the open-ended format used in participatory research.   In contrast, this format is ideally suited to exploring how cultural, environmental and economic forces (amongst others) interact to affect changes in poverty-related issues.   Indeed, PPAs are exceptionally effective at explaining phenomena (such as changes in poverty profiles, social service provision, public perceptions, etc,) because they use open-ended questions in a process that actively encourages poor people to guide investigation.[6]

Role D: Explaining data from other sources

PPAs can be used to explain data gathered through other research tools, such as the PRSP annual poverty monitoring survey, Household Budget Surveys or the Education Management Information System. For example, they could be used to analyse the following question:

> The enrolment of girls drops as children move into higher grades at school.   Why?

The 1993 Human Resources Development Survey could identify, but not explain, this trend.   Through its open-ended questions, the 1995 "Voices of the Poor" PPA found that:

Close vs. Open-ended Questions

Close and open-ended questions have different (and, arguably, complimentary) strengths and weakness.   An example of a close-ended question is: 'Was the care you received in the health clinic satisfactory?'   An example of an open-ended question is: 'How did you feel, **and why**, about the care you were given in the health clinic?'

Close-ended questions can always be answered by a *yes, no* or equally narrow (and generally predictable) set of alternatives.   This quality makes them well suited to comparison and noting changes.

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[6] D. Narayan. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* Oxford University Press for the World Bank: New York.

20% of parents in the villages it studied preferred educating their boys over girls because sons could bring in more income; 25% considered educating their daughters a poor investment because they would get married and leave home; and 24% feared their daughters would get pregnant if they went to school versus being kept at home.

These findings suggest that, even if secondary school fees were abolished, girls would still face many obstacles to staying in school - obstacles that can be targeted for policy intervention once they are known.

Role E: Explaining original data

PPAs can also be used to explore original data generated through their own research processes. For example, PPAs could be designed to learn whether women's participation in village-level government is increasing or decreasing and then ask, "Why?"

PPAs have repeatedly demonstrated the methodology's capacity to identify complex forces and dynamics driving poverty. However, PPAs have also frustrated policymakers by failing to dig deep enough. Indeed, PPAs sometimes stop at stating the most superficial and obvious causes of poverty. This is because, despite its extraordinary potential, the methodology offers no miracle-cure. Thus, upon occasion, it will fail because a people lack:
- Necessary information;
- Critical-thinking skills; and/or
- Time to 'get to the bottom' of an issue.

All three of these reasons can be linked to the quality of facilitation. Inadequately informed, uncritical and poorly trained research teams will produce poor results.[7] This implies that 'analytical' PPAs require an even higher calibre of researcher than 'descriptive' PPAs. This comes with a higher price tag that may be merited by findings with even higher use-value.

4.   Proscriptive function

NGOs and government initiatives around the world have demonstrated the advantages - in terms of enhanced suitability, efficiency and sustainability - to engaging the intended beneficiaries of development projects/programs in decision-making processes. The point of engagement has, over the years, moved steadily backwards in the project cycle. Beneficiaries were initially involved only in making decisions about *how* to operationalise initiatives conceived of by others. Increasingly, they are being involved in decisions about *what* to operationalise and how to assess its outcome.[8]

PPAs have been defined as "an instrument for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it."[9] To the degree that this definition is valid, the primary purpose of PPAs is to engage a wide variety of stakeholders (but, most importantly, poor people) in the process of determining development ends and means. This goal

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[7] For additional discussion on research teams and 'quality facilitation,' see Rosemary McGee with Andy Norton. 2000. *Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: a synthesis of experience with participatory approaches to policy design, implementation and monitoring*. IDS Working Paper 109. Page 29.

[8] Participatory Impact Assessments are a common method for evaluating poverty alleviation efforts that emphasizes the collaborative problem solving by professionals and their intended beneficiaries through the generation of knowledge and its use.

[9] A. Norton, B. Bird, M. Kakande and C. Turk. Forthcoming. *Participatory Poverty Assessment: an Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Draft (Special permission for citation granted by authors.)

is motivated by an interest in increasing the efficiency of poverty alleviation efforts and by the belief that people have a right to influence decisions affecting their lives. However, PPAs generally engage poor people only in the production of descriptive information and/or its analysis. Thus, the translation of research results into policy recommendations remains the sole prerogative of elite professionals.

Role F: Creating policies in partnership with poor people

Several individuals interviewed for this Report stressed the value of using PPAs to develop policies in partnership with poor people. Reflexive Participatory Policy Research, such as the "Bitter Seeds" and "Tender Shoots" studies conducted for the Ministry of Education, UNICEF and World Bank in The Gambia, was designed to assess the viability of formulating policies in partnership with poor people.[10] They "indicate that communities are capable of devising and assessing socially acceptable and culturally sensitive 'best-bet' initiatives to address their educational problems [and] that innovative ideas come from all sectors of the community…" (*ibid.*, 35-36). In other words, poor people can make sound policy recommendations - especially when they are provided with important information (particularly about constraints) through dialogue and debate with conventional policymakers.

PPAs could also be used to help assess conflicting interests amongst poor people and tradeoffs between development needs. No one wants to waste their time receiving or producing fanciful wish lists that cannot be met. Like central planners who are forced to make tough choices in the face of limited resources, poor people make tradeoffs every day in order to survive. Like planners, poor people know that every problem cannot be solved simultaneously. Previous PPAs (see pages 30-32, Tanzania "Voices of the Poor" PPA) have engaged poor people in debate over these complex issues. Doing so on a regular basis would improve tough decision-making processes by ensuring that they are wiser and more widely owned...

There are many significant challenges to creating policies in partnership with poor people. The magnitude of these challenges does not, however, diminish the advantages to struggling through them. The challenges are technical, ethical and attitudinal. The last is frequently overlooked with fatal consequences. Indeed, elite policymakers who do not perceive the knowledge of everyday-experts (i.e. poor people themselves) as authoritative, effectively prevent the participatory production of development policies. But even when experience helps them overcome such prejudices, "…we cannot afford to ignore the impact of development history nor the legacy of poverty. Many communities suffer from a lack of confidence, low self-esteem, and do not experience themselves as empowered to make decisions, put forward suggestions, or implement courses of action (*ibid*, 42).

To overcome these circumstances, Research Teams must have exceptionally high-order skills. They must also have a good deal of knowledge about specific policies in order for the PPA to generate breakthrough recommendations. Multi-disciplinary teams could be designed to meet these demanding criteria. However, other concerns remain. For example, such an ambitious programme would risk manipulation to legitimate pre-determined policy proscriptions.

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[10]   E. Kane, L. Bruce and M. O'Reilly de Brun. 1998. Designing the Future Together: PRA and Education Policy in the Ghambia. In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.) *Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

4.   Subjects

These research roles can be combined and focus on specific sectors, policies or cross-cutting themes.

Subject A: Participatory Sector Assessments

Sectors could be prioritised as subjects for intensive research in light of their bearing on poverty. Then, in partnership with appropriate institutions, research agendas could be fashioned to:
1.   Identify poor people's sector-based needs and gaps in service provision;
2.   Document and analyse the impact of current initiatives on poor people's well-being; and
3.   Recommend policies/programmes that reflect changing realities at the grassroots.

In such a way, PPAs can "provide a forum for the poor to voice their own demands for change in public service provision by reflecting on their own experiences in dealing with government services."[11]   Participatory Sector Assessments have been conducted in other parts of the world (e.g. 1994, Education in El Salvador).   In light of such experiences, focused PPAs clearly have much to offer (particularly to the formidable task of sector wide planning) by providing information about the circumstances, capacities and perspectives of poor people.

Subject B: Participatory Policy Assessments

PPAs can be used to describe and explain the diverse consequences that specific policies or programs have on poor people.   Thus, this role is identical to that of common Participatory Impact Assessments - though on a much larger scale.   The 1994/5 Cost Recovery study conducted in Zambia is one example of a successful Participatory Policy Assessment.[12]   It sought to learn how poor people and their communities contend with the introduction of health care user-fees and sharp increases in the percentage of school costs that must be covered by local revenues.   Amongst other key findings, the research revealed a dramatic gap between policy-in-principle and policy-in-practice regarding exemption from health-care user fees for the destitute and those with infectious or chronic diseases.

Subject C: Participatory Thematic Assessments

PPAs can also focus on particular themes, such as the environment, good governance or gender. One example of theme-based participatory policy research is the 1995 World Bank study on urban violence and poverty in Jamaica.   Research was conducted during a five weeks period and data analysed over four weeks.   The result was a timely report that provided penetrating, pragmatic information used by the Government of Jamaica and World Bank to identify and plan appropriate policies and projects.

5.   Summary

Selecting one role for PPAs to play in the context of Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring System does not preclude others.   Indeed, a number of them fit well together; as in the scenario of Participatory Sector Assessments described above.   The tradeoff is simple: the more roles

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[11]   M. Brocklesby and J. Holland. 1998. Participatory Poverty Assessments and Public Services: Key Messages from the Poor. DfID Social Division Report.
[12]   D. Booth. 1998. Coping with Cost Recovery in Zambia: A Sectoral Policy Study.   In J. Holland and J. Blackburn (eds.) *Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

assigned to a PPA, the narrower its subject should be. This is particularly true of initial PPAs. As institutions and individual researchers become more comfortable with the methodology, they will be able to take on additional responsibilities. Even so, some roles are inescapably more demanding than others. Roles A through F have been presented in rough order of increasing technical difficulty. Thus, E and F require greater skills and knowledge from Research Teams than roles A or B.

Clearly, difficult decisions must be made. The following table summarises each option to facilitate reference and comparison:

ROLE	DESCRIPTION
A: Supplementing survey data	PPAs can fill some of the gaps typically left in data sets by survey-based research. For example, PPAs could collect qualitative data or other data that surveys would have a difficult time collecting.
B: Rendering data in human terms	PPAs can describe the significance of abstract, quantitative figures in human terms.
C: Understanding trends in poverty	PPAs can be used to monitor trends in poverty-related issues. This would significantly enhance the reliability of poverty monitoring data. The PPA methodology would also allow it to measure aspects of phenomena - such as their intensity and differential impact on certain social groups - typically missed in surveys and uncover the 'story' behind data. In other words, PPAs could describe poverty-related *processes*.
D: Explaining data from other sources	PPAs can be used to explain data gathered through other research tools, such as Household Budget Surveys.
E: Explaining original data	PPAs can also be used to explore original data generated through their own research processes.
F: Creating policies in partnership with poor people	PPAs can be used to assess conflicting interests amongst poor people and tradeoffs between development needs. On the basis of this and other information, 'best bet' policies can be formulated in partnership with poor people.

IV.   Participatory Poverty Assessments: Institutional Arrangements

1.   Need for a Consensus on Institutional Arrangements

While two PPAs have been conducted in Tanzania, the concept of integrating routine PPAs into a national Poverty Monitoring System is new. As mentioned in the earlier sections, neither the World Bank nor the Shinyanga PPAs have had substantial influence on poverty alleviation policy. It has already been suggested that in large part this is because no institutional arrangement was incorporated during the designing stage to mainstream the PPA findings in the regular policy making process. The PPAs' policy ramifications were taken for granted. Hence, if the current PPA initiative is intended to have a significant impact on policies institutional arrangements have to be properly worked out at the very outset to facilitate this outcome.

In view the above, this section of the paper analyses the possible scenarios for an institutional arrangement to implement the PPA initiative in Tanzania. In so doing the advantages and disadvantages of the different scenarios are discussed. The paper has deliberately avoided prescribing a "best scenario". It is expected that the Workshop participants will decide this.

2.   The Possible Scenarios

There could be more varieties of scenarios that could be considered in the context of Tanzania. For the purpose of this Workshop, however, the Research Team thought two main scenarios were the most relevant. These are outlined as follows:

A Single Institution Scenario
This scenario has four main options, namely:
a)   One government institution to be solely responsible for the implementation of PPAs
b)   One academic institution to be solely responsible
c)   One civil society organization (e.g an NGO) to be solely responsible
d)   One private institutions to be solely responsible.
The options listed above may include both local and international institutions and/or organizations.

A group of Institutions Scenario
The options of this Scenario include nine components as follows:
a)   Consortium of government institutions (i.e more than one) to implement the   PPAs
b)   Consortium of civil society organizations (CSOs)
c)   Consortium of government institution(s) and CSOs
d)   Consortium of government and academic institution(s)
e)   Consortium of government and private institution(s)
f)   Consortium of academic institutions
g)   Consortium academic institution(s) and CSOs
h)   Consortium of either academic or government and private institutions
i)   Consortium of government-academic-civil society-private institutions

Categories of different institutions

Table 1 illustrates examples of the various institutions/organizations contained in the scenarios and options mentioned in the preceding section. The Report does not attempt to include all the possible institutions/organizations mentioned during the interviews as the list would be too long. The Report picks only a few illustrative examples. However, some of the institutions have been

deliberately omitted because of their nature, which according to the views of the Research Team, are not suited to the operationalization of the PPA process.

As it can be seen from Table 1 the type of institutions mentioned by the respondents were varied, ranging from the President's Office to fairly small and relatively new organizations. Included in this spectrum are international outfits that have been operating in the country for a long time. Therefore, during consideration for the different institutional arrangements this whole spectrum has to be taken on stride. In order to prepare grounds for such a consideration the section below discusses the pros and cons of the different institutional set-up, as proposed by some respondents. The Report will start with the One Institution Scenario followed up by the Consortium Scenario.

Table 1: Examples of the major institutional categories mentioned for operationalization of the PPA process

Category of Institution	Examples
Government institutions	President's Office - Regional Administration and Local Government, Vice President's Office, Ministry of Finance, Planning Commission, National Bureau of Statistics
Academic institutions	University of Dar-es-Salaam, Sokoine University of Agriculture, University College of Lands and Architectural Studies, Institute of Development Management, Institute of Finance Management, REPOA, ESRF
Civil Society Organizations	**NGOs** International- OXFAM, Save the Children Fund, HELPAGE, Action Aid, CARE International **Local- Tanzania Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO), TACOSODE.** **Research and advocacy organizations** Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) **Professional Associations** Association of Journalist and Media Workers (AJM); JET
Private Organizations/Institutions	NORCONSULT, NORPLAN, Local Perspective, AGRICONSULT, CEEST

3. Advantages and Disadvantages of Single Institution Scenario

As observed in Section 2.1 above the Single Institution Scenario has four options. In this section the Report discusses the advantages and disadvantages of these options. The observations made are largely a result of the consultative process that w as done as part of this exercise.

Option 1: One government institution to be solely responsible

This option entails that one government institution is made responsible for taking through the PPA process. This could be a ministry, a government department or its agency. As noted by some respondents who favour this option, there are three advantages to it. The first and perhaps most important advantage is that government institutions are better placed to mobilize and

prioritize the allocation of resources for the implementation of PPAs. Secondly, a government institution may make it easier to implement the recommendations of the PPA processes. It may also guarantee continuity of the PPA process beyond the research period.

However, there are also some disadvantages for such an option as pointed out by the critics of this option interviewed during fieldwork. The first and most telling criticism made is that currently in Tanzania no Government department has the experience for conducting PPAs nor of following up advisable recommendations. This is more so at the Local Government levels. It was moreover, pointed out that the current trend for the Government in Tanzania is to move away from direct implementation of development initiatives and concentrate on policy formulation and coordination. The other disadvantage noted is that in the event the PPA process comes out with radical results their implementation may cause problems because the government may want to moderate it and maintain the status quo. If this happens and gets publicly known it may create problems of credibility thus undermining the whole initiative.

Option 2: One academic institution to be solely responsible

This option entails that one academic institution, local or otherwise, being responsible for taking through the PPA process. In the Tanzanian context, the academic institutions range from the well-established universities to colleges and institutes. Almost all these credible academic institutions are public. They run on subvention budgets from the Government of Tanzania. It should be mentioned, however, that there are a number of new universities located in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, these are new institutions that may not have the capacity and infrastructure to coordinate a big undertaking such as PPAs.

On the whole the interviewees in favour of this option mentioned a number of advantages for it. Four of these were as follows. First, it was argued that if carefully selected a college, a faculty or an institute may most likely guarantee availability of expertise. This is because academic institutions have the highest concentration of highly trained staff than any other institutions in the country. It was also mentioned that academic institutions have wide international connections that could improve the implementation of PPAs through exchange of information and experiences. Equally important is that these institutions strive towards maintaining academic integrity. It was argued that this could guarantee objectivity in the PPA process.

It was further pointed out that the extensive and wide connectivity (locally and internationally) of academic institutions in Tanzania may also facilitate wide dissemination of the outputs from the PPA processes. This was also the case with international academic institutions doing research in Tanzania. The role of IDS Sussex in the Shinyanga PPA was mentioned as case in point. It was, however, pointed out that despite of this advantage, the style of presentation of the PPA outputs may not be easily interpreted by the policy makers, particularly in the lower administrative levels.

In the Tanzanian situation mobility of academic staff in academic institutions is very low. In the context of PPAs this was mentioned as a big advantage if academic institutions are taken on board in the PPA processes. This is because the low mobility guarantees continuity of the process. More importantly, it also guarantees in-country institutional memory. However, possible danger was pointed out to the effect that in the event the results are radical, they could be labeled as "academic" by the critics and subsequently ignored as has happened to many research findings of this nature.

Despite the advantages of academic institutions outlined above, the respondents mentioned some few disadvantages. First and foremost, it was argued that academic institutions lack the

capacity for policy dialogue and advocacy. Some respondents pointed out, however, that there are positive changes immerging on this front. An example was given whereby academic institutions (such as UDSM's IDS) are increasingly being used by government to facilitate policy formulation and dialogue.

The other disadvantage pointed out by the respondents was that teaching academic institutions may not always be free to deliver the required results in the shortest time possible because of their dual responsibilities of teaching and doing research. It was pointed out, however, that this shortcoming could be overcome through adequate planning.

Option 3: One Civil Society Organization (e.g an NGO) to be solely responsible

This option entails that one CSO is given the responsibility of carrying through the PPA processes. Kossoff (2000) points out that the term civil society is used to cover a wide range of organized groupings that provide linkages between the state and individual citizens. Essentially, they are interest groups. As for the foregoing options, the respondents interviewed pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of this option. The proponents of the option were of the opinion that the good knowledge of participatory methods inherent in some of these CSOs is a particular advantage for the option. However, it was argued that to take advantage of this quality, one needs to be very careful in selection of these CSOs. It was also pointed out that CSOs have a comparative advantage of being good at policy dialogue and advocacy.

The disadvantages raised by critics of this option included the following:
a) In Tanzania CSOs are weak
b) Most of the CSOs in Tanzania are not nationwide
c) The trust between CSOs and Government is yet to be fully consolidated. So far the government does not see CSOs as credible data producers
d) At this points in time CSOs in Tanzania are yet to be perceived as legitimate entities to be involved in policy debate
e) With international NGOs the issue of lack of continuity and institutional memory is introduced

Option 4: One private institutions to be solely responsible

This options entails that a private institution is given the responsibility of taking through the PPA process. According to the proponents of this option, the advantage of such an arrangement is that normally private institutions have wide experience that is backed up with international exposure. However, its critics pointed out two major disadvantages as follows:
a) Private organizations have neither the mandate nor experience for policy advocacy
b) Private institutions are profit making and they always work to sustain their business. Therefore, they may be inclined to go by the inclinations of the client thus compromising on objectivity.

4. Consortium Scenarios

As observed in Section 2.1 above this scenario has nine options. In this section the paper discusses the advantages and disadvantages of these options as presented by the respondents interviewed.

Option 1: Consortium of government institutions

This requires that a group of government institutions carries through the PPA processes. According to its proponents this option has the advantage that members of the consortium may be able to develop each others capacity in poverty monitoring and development of pro-poor policies as these are missing in many such institutions. However, some respondents were critical of the option on two grounds, namely:
a) Sectoral focus: It was pointed out that usually government departments have a sectoral focus. It may, therefore, be difficult to coordinate a multisectoral initiative like PPA within such a consortium. It was noted, however, that the VPO and Bureau of Statistics are notable exceptions as they address cross-cutting issues.
b) The tendency to compete: It was argued that given that financial resources are limited, there may be a tendency for government institutions in a consortium like this to compete.

Option 2: Consortium of civil society organizations

In this option two or more CSOs team up to take through the PPA process.   The respondents in favour of this option mentioned four advantages of this option as outlined below:
a) A consortium of CSOs may be able to improve their capacity in general, though this may not be sufficient to ensure rigour and quality of the PPA process.
b) Many CSOs have some experience in participatory and action oriented research
c) Many CSOs have a pro-poor agenda that allow/ encourage advocacy activities. This advantage could be used to foster advocacy for the PPA process
d) Some of the CSOs have extensive international connections that could be drawn upon to tap key (human and information) resources.

Its critics, on the other hand, pointed out three important shortcomings of such a Consortium as listed below:
a)   The improved capacity may not be significant
b)   Given that financial resources are limited, there may be a tendency for CSOs in a consortium to compete as was the case for Option 1.
c)   Usually CSOs have a focused portifolio/agenda. It may, therefore, be difficult to bring together such organizations.

Option 3: Consortium of government institution(s) and CSOs

Under this option government institution(s) team up with CSO(s) to carry through the PPA processes. Here too the respondents interviewed listed both advantages and disadvantages of the option. The advantages, according to its supporters, are that with such a Consortium there is the possibility of enhancing each others capacity. Also there is the possibility of bringing together the different comparative advantages that are inherent in the two different set of institutions. It was pointed out, for example, that CSOs usually have a better grasp of grassroot issues than national government institutions. This quality would be a useful tool to the involved government institution.

The main disadvantages as pointed out by some critical respondents were that government departments have different operational systems from those of CSOs. This may bring about coordination problems for the Consortium. This problem, however, is expected of all the consortia involving institutions with completely different set-ups. The other disadvantage of such a consortium mentioned by the respondents is that some of the CSOs have an activist approach which may conflict with the government position. This may make the consortium not viable.

Option 4: Consortium of government and academic institution(s)

In this option a government institution teams up with an academic institution(s) to carry out the PPA processes. According to the proponents of such a consortium, there are two advantages for such a consortium. First, there is a possibility of eliminating the weakness inherent in each of them as mentioned in Scenario 1 above. Also the consortium may enhance the possibility for mainstreaming research findings into government's decision-making processes. This is an important advantage.

A major disadvantage mentioned by some respondents is that, as it is the case with any consortium involving two different organizations, government departments and academic institutions have different operational systems. This may bring about conceptual and coordination problems that may impinge on the smooth implementation of the PPA process.

Option 5: Consortium of government and private institution(s)

This option entails that a government institution joins a private sector institution to carry out the PPA process. Some interviewees favoring such a Consortium thought that such an arrangement could enhance the possibility of bringing together the different comparative advantages that are inherent in the different institutions. Some respondents were, however, of the opinion that in such an arrangement relationships of the two organizations may not be quite clear. One is a service provider while the other works for profit. Secondly, both government and private institutions are not best places to do advocacy work for policy change. Government institutions will more or less stand to maintain the status quo, while the private institution be inclined to go by the whims of its client. Thus such a consortium may leave a vacuum for carrying forward the PPA process.

Option 6: Consortium of academic institutions

Under this arrangement two or more academic institutions join hands to take through the PPA processes. Some interviewees noted that such an arrangement enhances capacities which in turn may facilitate timely delivery of research results. However, the lack of capacity for policy dialogue and advocacy inherent in these institutions was pointed out as a major weakness in this arrangement. It was also felt that two different academic institutions may have conflicting conceptual, ideological and methodological approaches. This may cause serious implementation problems for the PPA process.

Option 7: Consortium academic institution(s) and civil society organization(s)

In this consortium one or more academic institution team up with one CSO. Here too, the proponents of this arrangement thought there was the possibility of bringing together the different comparative advantages that are inherent in the different institutions. It was noted, however, that the interests and levels of conceptualization of a problem could be totally different resulting into serious implementational problems for the PPA process.

Option 8: Consortium of academic, government and private institutions

This consortium involves a rather complicated arrangement, whereby academic, government and private sector institutions come together to carry forward the PPA processes. The advantage of such an arrangement, according to some proponents, is that it enhances the possibility of

bringing together the different comparative advantages that are inherent in the different institutions, as is the case with some of the consortia mentioned above. The main disadvantage, according to its critics, is that it may be difficult to coordinate and implement the PPA initiative as there are too many stakeholders involved.

Option 9: Consortium of government-academic-civil society-private institutions

This an even more complex institutional arrangement proposed by some respondents. It involves government, academic, CSOs, and private sector institutions. The advantages and disadvantages given for this consortium are similar to those mentioned under Option 8 above.

5.   Summary

As already pointed out in the introductory sections of this Report, views on institutional arrangements were sought from a spectrum of stakeholders. However, details at an operational level are still to be worked out.   Some respondents advocated a single government institution (like Tanzania Bureau of Statistics) to be given the responsibility of carrying through the PPA process, while others objected to the single government institution option on the basis that no single government institution has sufficient experience and expertise to implement PPAs.   A majority, however, stressed the advantages of implementing PPAs through a consortium of institutions. One example given was that of Government, University of Dar-es-Salaam, and some NGOs. This was based on the observation that the different institutions have different comparative advantages in terms of resources, expertise and experience in advocacy.   It was further recommended that the PPAs should be anchored at the Research and Analysis Working Group of the National Technical Committee that has been established to coordinate monitoring of PRS. It was also suggested that the Local Government should be involved in whatever scenario of institutional arrangement adopted because among their routine activities include the collection of administrative data to feed in the PRS monitoring process. Some of these data may be relevant for the PPA initiative.

V.   Conclusions

The interviews upon which this Report is based represent a range of stakeholder perspectives on, and insights into, the optimal design of Participatory Poverty Assessments in the context of Tanzania's Poverty Monitoring System.   Analysed in light of past PPAs, this information provides a sound starting-point for critical reflection, discussion and consensual decision-making.

To this end, the Research and Analysis Working Group is convening a Workshop on 7th March, 2001 for key stakeholders in order to determine:
1. The role(s) of PPAs in and
2. Best-bet institutional arrangements.
On the basis of these decisions, the consultancy's second phase will develop a clear plan of action to operationalise routine Participatory Poverty Assessments in Tanzania.

**Terms of Reference for a Consultancy to design PPAs for the
Poverty Monitoring Framework in Tanzania**

Local stakeholders in Tanzania have decided that the poverty monitoring system for the country should include regular Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs). The PPAs will allow the opinions of the poor on trends in poverty and the impact of socio-economic policies to be heard and taken into account by decision-makers in government. A consultancy service is required to assess previous PPA experiences in Tanzania and to make recommendations on the design of future PPAs for poverty monitoring. The focus of the exercise is to ensure that future PPAs are mainstreamed and institutionalised, to ensure that findings are taken into account in the policy and decision making process. Affordability and sustainability of the PPAs will also be an area addressed by the consultancy.

The exercise is divided in two stages. The first stage is expected to highlight lessons learned from previous PPAs in Tanzania and other countries, particularly Uganda. Furthermore, the first stage is expected to result in a description and an assessment of the institutional framework in which the future PPAs will take place and to map out the capacity of the stakeholders in future PPAs. The end result of the first phase is envisaged to be a package of well-documented options for future PPAs.

The second phase will concentrate on the design of the PPA methodology, taking into account the preferences expressed by stakeholders in a workshop to discuss the findings of phase one.

Background/context

Poverty is a widespread and persistent phenomenon in Tanzania, despite the fact that the country declared war against poverty soon after its independence in 1961. In the period immediately following independence, the Government of Tanzania formulated plans and programs for basic social services, which put people at the center of the country's development process. Important achievements were made in the social sectors during this period. However, economic shocks in the late 1970s and 1980s meant that high public expenditure on social services became unsustainable, which hampered the government's efforts to reduce poverty. From the mid–1980s, the government embarked on a long process of economic reforms to improve the macroeconomic environment necessary for increasing economic growth and poverty reduction. After a period of radical economic changes the government began to put a greater emphasis on development strategies, with poverty reduction at their core. These strategies include Vision 2025, The National Poverty Eradication Strategy and more recently the Tanzanian Assistance Strategy.

Building on some of these strategies and experiences, Tanzania became eligible for debt relief and entered into the PRSP process late 1999. The Tanzania PRSP was submitted to the World Bank and IMF in September for endorsement by their boards. The board meeting took place in the end of year 2000.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the PRSP is its emphasis on monitoring. Progress towards the PRSP targets will be reviewed annually, which leads to a high demand for reliable and timely data on poverty levels and trends. The poverty-monitoring framework will

collect both quantitative and qualitative data. It will serve as a tool for policy makers to measure progress made and to correct the strategy where necessary. But it will also be an accountability tool for the public at large. It is of great importance that the voices of the poor are heard in the monitoring process. For that reason, it has been proposed to include regular PPAs in the monitoring framework. The main challenge will be to ensure that the findings of these PPAs are taken into account by decision-makers in government.

Tanzania has a vast experience in participatory methodologies, as documented in a recent study "A Survey of Current Approaches to Participatory Planning at District Level" Kikula, 1999. Two major PPAs were undertaken in the country, namely the national 'Voices of the Poor' study funded by the World Bank (1997) and the Shinyanga PPA funded by UNDP (1998). Both PPAs provided important insights on how people themselves perceive the causes and dynamics of poverty as well as the people's priorities in overcoming poverty. Both reports recognize the importance of linking the information from participatory research into a broad policy dialogue among a cross-section of stakeholders, leading to increased awareness, attitude shifts, and changes in policy and the policy delivery framework. However, neither of the past PPA experiences have been very effective in influencing the policy framework in spite of their key recommendations.

This, then, poses the main challenge for a successful implementation of PPAs as integral part of the poverty monitoring system: the need to make sure the findings of the PPAs are better linked to the decision and policy-making processes in government. Another key challenge is to design the PPAs in such a way that they are affordable and sustainable. Previous PPAs in Tanzania have been relatively costly.

Scope and objectives of the consultancy

In the light of the development of the Poverty Monitoring Framework and the emphasis on PPAs the first phase of this exercise will in broad terms assess the achievements and the design of previous PPAs in Tanzania and draw lessons learned from these and similar experiences in Africa, especially in Uganda. In this context, the institutional framework for previous PPAs should also be assessed, in particular to identify reasons for the low take-up of findings among policy and decision-makers. The capacity of the involved institutions should also be reviewed. Further attention should be paid to assessing and describing the institutional framework in which future PPAs will take place and to making recommendations on how the PPAs can be designed to suit the needs and interests of the stakeholders.

Besides assessing the institutional framework for future PPAs the first phase of the exercise should also focus on mapping the capacity of local partner institutions for the implementation of the PPAs and the analysis of their findings. In this light recommendations should also be made on institutions/organisations with a capacity to translate the multi-dimensional information and recommendations resulting from the PPAs into relevant and specific information for decision-makers with a sectoral outlook. This will result in the identification of platforms for implementation of the PPAs.

The end result of the first phase should be a package of options for PPA methodologies and implementation models, clearly describing advantages, disadvantages and cost implications of each option. These options are envisaged to be presented to a forum of stakeholders for their review and consensus on the most appropriate PPA methodology and implementation model. It would be the task of the consultants to facilitate this stakeholder forum and ensure that the opinions of all relevant stakeholders are taken into account in the process.

The second phase of the consultancy is envisaged to concentrate on the detailed design of the chosen PPA methodology and translating the recommendations of the stakeholders into an implementation strategy. The specific objectives of the task will be developed based on the recommendations of the stakeholder forum.

Specifically the consultancy will:

1.   Assess previous PPAs in terms of methodologies used and the context in which they took place, paying specific attention to institutional arrangements. To the extent possible, extract lessons learned and highlight their relevance in relation to future PPAs.

2.   Assess relevant lessons from PPA experiences in other countries in Africa, particularly Uganda. Highlight linkages, which can be explored in the design and implementation of various PPAs. If necessary a study tour to Uganda could be arranged under the exercise.

3.   Assess and describe the institutional framework in which future PPAs will take place and provide a SWOT matrix on the institutions involved.

4.   Assess and make recommendations on how the PPAs can be designed to suit the needs and interests of information users at all levels from local to national. An inventory of the potential information users should also be provided.

5.   Assess the capacity of local partner institutions for the implementation of the PPAs and the analysis of their findings. Hence make recommendations on institutions/organizations with a capacity to translate the multi-dimensional information and recommendations resulting from the PPAs into relevant and specific information for decision-makers with a sectoral outlook. Provide a broad outline of potential tasks for partner institutions in the implementation of the PPAs.

6.   Make recommendations on the design of future PPAs, presenting a package of options, clearly describing advantages, disadvantages, capacity building needs and cost implications for each option. Design issues to be addressed include the coverage of the PPAs in terms of content, geographical spread and sampling; the tools to be used in the PPAs; linkages with other data collection instruments, in particular the annual quantitative poverty monitoring surveys; and the institutional framework. All options should be carefully weighed against the criteria of affordability and sustainability.

7.   Make a presentation of the options identified to a forum of stakeholders and build consensus on the most appropriate option taking into account the opinion of stakeholders at all levels.

8.   To design the chosen PPA methodology in detail, in line with the conclusions reached by stakeholders. The detailed ToR for this assignment will be provided upon completion of the first stage, taking the recommendations of the stakeholder forum at the end of first stage into account.

Methodology

The exercise will be carried out in two stages. Stage one will concentrate on objectives 1 to 7 above, while the second stage will concentrate on objective 8

The following methodology will be used:

1. Desk review

The individual team members will, as part of the preparation, review several background documents such as: the Voices of the Poor (World Bank 1997), The Shinyanga Human Development Report (UNDP 1998), A survey of Some Current Approaches to Participatory Planning at District Level, I. Kikula 1999. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GoT 2000) and, to the extent possible, documents on PPAs carried out in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa.

2. Consultations

The team will review a selected number of PPA experiences on-site in Tanzania. Further consultations will be held with possible further partner institutions in the implementation of PPAs in Tanzania. This might involve limited travel within Tanzania.

3. In depth interviews and review

The team will undertake in depth interviews with relevant government and non-government institutions and past and prospective users and producers of PPA information in order to assess the expectations and requirements of the PPA information.

Consultancy team

The consultancy team will consist of two consultants, one international, preferably from within the region and one national consultant. The international consultant will be the team leader, but in the required tasks the consultants will work as a team. The team leader will be responsible for the report on the various potential options for future PPAs, but both consultants will contribute to the written output as well as the facilitation of the presentation of the findings at the stakeholders forum.

It is envisaged that the consultancy team will continue with the task outlined for the second phase of these ToRs.

In addition possibilities will be explored to have a representative of the Vice President's Office included in the team. The role of this team member should be to represent the Vice-President's Office, which have the overall mandate for Poverty Monitoring and the initiation of the PPAs

Time frame

The consultancy assignment will be for 20 working days – including report writing and facilitation of the stakeholders forum. It is intended that the assignment commence early February 2001 and the duration will be as follows:

2 days	Desk review of material, planning of assignment and presentation of the adopted approach and timeframe.
4 days	Consultation with key institutions and potential partners in Dar es Salaam
6 days	Visit to selected regions in Tanzania with a strong PRA/PPA practice.
1 day	Presentation of initial findings and conclusions to VPO and UNDP. In this presentation, options should be flagged and discussions should be undertaken with VPO and UNDP on which of the flagged options should be elaborated in detail.

2 days Final consultations and follow up on issues related to initial findings

2 days	Report writing and Submission.
1 day	Facilitation and presentation of the options on PPA methodologies at the stakeholder forum.

Phase two

The time frame for phase two is envisaged to be 10 working days for two consultants. Breakdown of the task will be provided at the end of phase one. However it should be highlighted that phase two is planned to follow shortly after phase one.

Outputs and reporting

The consultant team will prepare documents during the assignments as follows:

a) **Initial brief:** Within 2 days of commencing the assignment, the team will prepare a Brief (up to maximum of 5 pages) summarizing the team's interpretation of the TOR. The Brief will also propose a schedule for the team's work during the first 10 days of the assignment, including proposed visits to the PRA/PPA sites in the regions as well as meetings with government officials and partner organizations, so as to provide a basis for logistical support from the UNDP Backstopping Officer.

b) **Interim brief on options:** After 12 days, the consultancy team will brief VPO and UNDP on progress made, highlighting options of interest, which could be relevant to pursue in detail. They will outline initial findings and conclusions and flag options for the design of future PPAs, which could be looked into in detail in the remaining time of the consultancy.

c) A **final report** should be submitted to the DRR (P) with copy to the RR and the Backstopping Officer in the end of the consultancy task. This will be a comprehensive and detailed report addressing the objectives and scope of the exercise. The report will to a large extent include recommendations for future support in the area of PPAs, which will serve as a strategic guidance for the stakeholders forum when deciding on the future PPAs in the Poverty Monitoring Framework.

Past PPAs in Africa and further abroad have demonstrably:

1. Improved policy makers' understanding of poverty by revealing, for example, important distinctions between the nature of rural versus urban poverty;
2. Catalysed and facilitated pro-poor planning in line ministries;
3. Identified priority development needs;
4. Improved relations between Government and Civil Society Organisations;
5. Tapped poor people's creative problem-solving skills by asking them what policies could be instituted/transformed in order to improve their lives.

This is not to say that PPAs are without their limitations. Several are worth mentioning:

1. Total participation yields total pandemonium. Thus, it would be counter-productive (and logistically impossible) to involve *all* stakeholders in PPAs informing Government policy. Selective representation is necessary… and dangerous because some points of view may (wittingly or not) be excluded from the PPA.
2. PPAs are time consuming and expensive in comparison with the process of elites meeting behind closed doors, speculating about the lives of poor people and setting policy;
3. Many development issues are extraordinarily complex and far removed from the experiences of poor people. Therefore, it may not be possible to explain and debate some issues without demanding too much time from people literally struggling to survive. In sum, there are some important development issues that apparently don't lend themselves to participatory analysis and policy planning.
4. PPAs are more effective when used in combination with other techniques better suited to capturing the broad spatial dimensions of phenomena. In other words, participatory research is highly effective at generating qualitative and quantitative information and explaining why people do what they do. However, it is less effective at identifying the scope of certain conditions and practices across a region or country.
5. Participatory research does not necessarily "help" conventional decision-makers. To the contrary, it is much easier for them to make decisions without the information provided by PRAs. Good research exposes competing interests, challenges orthodox assumptions and reveals complexities that make decision-making very, very difficult. One can only hope that policy makers who have access to this information will struggle through the challenge of using it to improve their decisions.
6. Villagers won't necessarily want to invest their time in participation… particularly when they expect a "welfare" relationship to government or lack faith that the time they invest will actually result in a response from government.

Interviews were conducted with the following institutions and individuals:

I.   Central Government

Mr. Kaimu. Acting Director General, National Bureau of Statistics
Mr. Athmann. National Bureau of Statistics
Dr. Suleiman. Local Government Reform Programme
Mr. Msimbe. Ministry of Community Development, Women & Children's Affairs
Mr. Kija. Policy Analysis Department, Ministry of Finance
Mr. Mwakapugi. Planning Commission
Mr. Assay. Vice President's Office
Ms. Mwasha. Vice President's Office

II.   Local Government

A.   Mtwara Region
K. Nsa-Kaisi, RC
S.E. Pamgisa, Regional Planning Officer
T. Chelechele, Planning Officer & DPRT Chair
L. Mrumapili, Acting District Executive Director, Mtwara
J. Adkins, RIPS - Project Coordinator
K. Smets, RIPS - Monitoring & Evaluation Advisor
F. P. Madembwe, RIPS - M&E Officer
J.A.R. Wembah-Rashid, RIPS - Senior Programme Advisor

Regional H.Q. (Round-table Discussion):
Col. K. Nsa-Kaisi. RC
H.I. Matuwira. Acting RAS
S.E. Pamgisa. Planning Officer
J.A.R. Wembah-Rashid. RIPS, Senior Programme Advisor
S.H. Ngatomela. Ofisi Ya RAS, Accountant
S.H. Geugeu. Ofisi Ya RAS, Water
A.B. Duue. Ofisi Ya RAS, Establishment Officer
W.C.H. Mleche. Regional Livestock Adviser
J. Adkins. RIPS, Project Coordinator
K. Smets. RIPS, Monitoring & Evaluation Advisor
F. P. Madembwe. RIPS, M&E Officer

District Participatory Resource Team (Round-table Discussion):
T. Chelechele. Planning Officer & DPRT Chair
H. Mpella. District Agriculture Officer
J. Liganga. District Agriculture Officer
P. Hamisi. District Health Officer
J. Simbua. Community Development Officer
Z. Nalingo. District Agriculture Officer
H. Alcalama. District Agriculture Officer
L. Kinyunyu. District Natural Resources Officer
N. Temba. District Livestock Officer

J. Mwakagugu. District Agriculture Officer
G. Solomon. District Agriculture Officer

Ufukuni Ward Extension Workers & Technical Staff (Discussion Group):
D.W. Nandonde. Ward Executive Director
A.R. Mchedengele. Ward Revenue Collector
D.S. Uchae. Village Facilitator (Kangala)
P.H. Nnunduma. Ward Agriculture Officer
S. Kontha. Ward Revenue Collector
M.S. Lihipuka. Chair Village Facilitators
J. Ungani. Community Development Officer
A. Alubano. Village Facilitator (Kangala)
M. Azi. Village Facilitator (Kangala)
H. Selemani. Village Facilitator (Mbae)
Z.S. Mapafu. Village Facilitator (Mbae)
M.M. Iddi. Village Facilitator (Mbae)
M. Yusufu. Village Facilitator (Mbae)
I.M. Mtuli. Village Facilitator (Mbae)
S.A. Nambunga. Village Facilitator (Kangala)
[*Meeting co-ordinated and translated by:*
B. Msalya, Participatory Methods Training Officer, Mtwara Regional Admin.
G. Solomon, District Agriculture Officer, Mtwara District Council]

Mayanga Ward Development Committee & Msijute Village Gov't. (Discussion Group):
B.R. Hamangaya. Head Teacher
S.S. Hamisi. Village Chairman
A. Hamisi. Sub-village Chairman
M. Salumu Ndembo. Sub-village Chairman
A. Feruzi. Sub-village Chairman
A. Yusufu. Sub-village Chairman
S. Hamisi. Sub-village Chairman
A. Sadi. Member of Village Government
S. Saidi. Member of Village Government
A. Abdala. Member of Village Government
L. Joni. Member of Village Government
F. Chihima. Member of Village Government
I. Ahamadi. Member of Village Government
I.H. Namukono. Member of Village Government
I. Kolhala. Village Secretary
I. Mohamed. Head Teacher
J. Nalinga. Village Secretary
A. Sawanda. Village Chairman
H. Lingondo. Head Teacher
I. Mwanya. Pump Attendant
H. Mlanji. Ward Agriculture Officer
Y. Nangapomi. Ward Water Officer
I. Bubba. Councillor
S. Mnali. Ward Health Officer
A. Mtungwe. Ward Education Officer

[Meeting co-ordinated and translated by:
G. Solomon, District Agriculture Officer, Mtwara District Council]

B. Iringa Region

P. Clausen. HIMA
A. Mgimwa. Distict Manager, Iringa Rural District
Ms. Mushi. Iringa RAS
Ms. Athanase. HIMA
Visit to Mkungugu and Ilula-Mwaya Villages, Iringa Rural District

II. International Agencies

A. Albee. Social Development Advisor, DfID East Africa
M. Eirola. First Secretary, Finnish Embassy
O. Mascarenhas. Ireland Aid
J. Lindstom. SIDA
M. Bergstrom. SIDA
S. dam Hansen. Programme Analyst, Poverty Eradication Unit, UNDP
C.A. Mushi. Programme Analyst, Poverty Eradication Unit, UNDP
A. van Diesen. Poverty Monitoring Advisor, UNDP
V. Leach. Head: Analysis, Monitoring, Comm. & Advocacy, UNICEF
M. Mishael. Tanzania Social Action Fund (World Bank)

III. National and International CSOs

J. Semboja. Research for Poverty Alleviation
M. Mbilinyi. Institute of Development Studies (& Co-ord. Rural Food Sec. Group)

International NGO Forum (Round Table Discussion):
A. Bapoo. Country Manager, Agha Khan Foundation
P. O'Brien. Country Director, Concern Worldwide
J. Nightingale. Concern Worldwide
R. Mtingwa. Plan International
S. Rindahl. Faraja Trust Fund
R. Spoerri. Interteam
A. Ijumba. PSI

IV. In Zambia

M. Milimo. Poverty Assessment Group
L. Kwibisa. Poverty Assessment Group
G. Nkhata. Poverty Assessment Group
N. Sii. Poverty Assessment Group
L. Nkhata. Team Leader, National Poverty Reduction Action Plan
B. Nsemukila. Poverty Monitoring & Analysis Manager, Zambia Social Invest. Fund
C. Mambo. Programme Director, Zambia Social Invest. Fund
C. Mbao. Social Development Specialist, the World Bank
D/P/S, Ministry of Community Development
D. Mwale-Yerokun. Programme Analyst/Gender Focal Point, UNDP

Dr. Musokatwane. D/P/S - PRSP Coordinator, Ministry of Finance
J. Moonga. Programmes Coordinator, Women for Change
P. J. Henriot. Director, Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
M. Muweme. Assistant to Director (Coordinator, Food Basket Monitor), JCTR
C. Mphuka. Coordinator, Jubilee 2000-Zambia.

V.   Additional discussions in Tanzania have been held with:

The JWG/UNDP (UNDP Programme Staff)
Participatory Development Discussion Group