



Graduate School of Development Studies

**GENDER IN THE PARTICIPATORY AGRICULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT PROJECT
2003-2008**

A Case Study of Iringa District Tanzania

A Research Paper presented by:

Irene Mkini Lugalla

(Tanzania)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:

**Women, Gender, Development
(WGD)**

Members of the examining committee:

Dr Sylvia Bergh (Supervisor)

Dr Thanh-Dam Truong (Reader)

The Hague, The Netherlands

November, 2008

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Research papers are not made available for circulation outside of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address: Institute of Social Studies
 P.O. Box 29776
 2502 LT The Hague
 The Netherlands

Location: Kortenaerkade 12
 2518 AX The Hague
 The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Table of Contents

List of Figures	5
List of Acronyms	6
Abstract	7
Dedication:	8
Acknowledgment	9
Chapter 1 Introduction	10
1.1 Introduction:	10
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem:	11
1.3 Background information about Iringa District:	13
1.4 Research Objectives:	14
1.5 Research questions:	15
1.6 Methodology:	15
1.6.1 Study Area	16
1.6.2 Research techniques and Sources of Data:	16
1.7 Relevance and Justification	17
1.8 Limitation of the Study	17
1.9 Reflexivity of the researcher:	18
Chapter 2 : Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks:	20
2.1 Introduction:	20
2.2 Empowerment:	20
2.3 Empowerment and power:	22
2.4 Participation and Empowerment:	23
2.5 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA):	24
2.6 Intersectionality:	25
2.7 Poverty, Gender, and vulnerability:	26
Chapter 3 Institutional set up of PADEP:	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Institutional Management of PADEP:	30
3.3 Significance of PADEP in Agricultural Development:	31
3.4 Community Investment Subprojects (CIS)	32
3.4.1 Construction of fishing Pond in Mangalali Village:	33

3.5	Farmer Group Investment Subprojects (FAGIS)	34
Chapter 4 Findings and Analysis:		36
4.1	Introduction:	36
4.2	Research Questions	36
	(RQ) 1 (a): What are the direct and indirect mechanism of inclusion and exclusion in the PADEP?	36
	RQ 1 (b) Impacts of Cost Sharing Requirement by PADEP to the Poor and Vulnerable households:	38
	RQ 2: What are gender norms for participation and how are they reflected in the male-female representation in the project and in the community level?	39
	RQ 3 (a): How has the Intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, age, income and disability been conceptualised in the project implementation?	42
	RQ 3 (b): How have power, empowerment and decision making has been conceptualised by the project implementers?	44
	Powerlessness	46
	Poverty:	46
	Vulnerability:	46
	RQ 3 (b) Effects of empowerment and participation of the people in the PADEP:	47
	RQ 4: How Sustainable is the project to the people?	48
	Magozi Village:	49
	Mangalali Village:	50
Chapter 5 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations:		52
5.1	Introduction:	52
5.2	Summary of major findings:	52
5.3	Recommendations	53
	References	54
	List of Appendices:	58
	Appendix I: Focus group and In Depth Interviewees	58
	Appendix II: Questions for focus group for participating women in the FAGIS:	59
	Appendix III: Questions for Focus group for non participants in the FAGIS:	59
	Appendix IV: Questions for Local Leaders, CIS and FAGIS Committee	60
	Appendix V: Questions for DALDO, PDO and Some few DFT:	60

List of Tables

Table 1	Definitions of power and Empowerment	22
Table 2	examples of CIS implemented in case studies villages	33

List of Figures

Figure 1	An Institutional and Management Structure of PADEP	30
Figure 2	Vicious circle of disadvantages	47

List of Acronyms

AWID	Association for Women Rights in Development
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CIS	Community Investment Subproject
DALDO	District Agricultural and Livestock Development Officer
DED	District Executive Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
DFT	District Facilitation Team
DMT	District Management Team
FAGIS	Farmer Investment Subprojects
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NTCS	National Technical Steering Committee
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PADEP	Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project
PDO	PADEP District Officer
PHDR	Poverty and Human Development Report
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategies Programs
RQ	Research Question
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TSHS	Tanzania Shilling
TPHDR	Tanzania Poverty and Humana Development Report
UN	United Nations
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
US\$	United States Dollar
WB	The World Bank

Abstract

Participatory Agricultural and Empowerment Project (PADEP) is a project introduced by government of Tanzania to improve small holders' agricultural production. The project aimed to empower smallholder's agricultural sector in order to reduce poverty, increase food production and income. This research analyses the processes of empowerment and participation of the vulnerable and the specific groups of poor women in Iringa District.

The research discusses the cost sharing criteria of the project as exclusionary in which the vulnerable groups and the specific groups of poor women were excluded from participating in the project due to their vulnerability and poverty. Also, the Intersectionality of class, gender, age, and poverty are discussed in relation to the exclusion of these groups of people.

Keywords

Empowerment, Participation, power, women, gender, poverty, vulnerability, cost sharing, development.

Dedication:

This research is dedicated to the following:

For my beautiful children Gordon, and the twins Mark-Ernest and Juliana who endured my absence while you were tiny babies.

For my husband Ernest Lugalla who encouraged me in making a very difficult decision of leaving my children to pursue MA studies in the Netherlands. I love you,

To my father Josephat Mkini and my mother Juliana Mkini for their slogan since I was a little girl:

***“Hold on to instruction, do not let it go,
guard it well, for it is your life.” Proverb 4:13***

Acknowledgment

I thank God almighty for HIS love, guidance, protection and blessings.

I acknowledge the financial and morally support of the Evangelisher Entwicklungsdienst e.v (EED) Church development services of Bonn Germany, for granting me scholarship to study in the Netherlands. Thank you for making my studies and stay in the Netherlands and Europe possible. You were not only my sponsors but also a guardian. Your moral support is fully acknowledged. I am blessed and honoured for being part of EED family. Thank you very much.

This research paper would never have been accomplished without the supervision, advices and scholarly guidance and encouragement of Dr Sylvia Bergh and Dr Thanh-Dam Truong of the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Thank you very much.

I acknowledge the love, prayers and encouragement of my parents for their support and for caring for my children while I was pursuing studies in the Netherlands. Thank you for being the parents to my children, especially the twins whom I left when they were just two months old. Thank you very much without your help I would never have come this far in my studies. May God bless you abundantly.

Furthermore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my employer Tumaini University, Iringa University College for making it possible for me to get scholarship and according me study leave.

To the WGD staff and class of 2007/2008, Cisca, Joy Misa, the ILIAD and also the ISS community. I appreciate your help in one way or another for making my stay and studies successful.

Lastly, I thank my friends Nebil, Trudy, Endang, Ly and Funmi for being there for me no matter what. Thanks guys for being you, we made it after all.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction:

This research is concerned with the mechanism of inclusion/exclusion of the poor groups, specifically women, the vulnerable and the marginalized groups of people in Iringa District by the Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP).

The Tanzania government has been working with International development agencies such as the World Bank, DFID, and other donor countries to reduce and combat poverty in the country.

In April 2003, the World Bank provided a loan to the government of United Republic of Tanzania amounting to US\$ 56.58 Million to improve smallholder's agricultural production since the smallholder agriculture sector represents a large share of overall economy and the poor performance constrains aggregate growth and impedes reduction of poverty (the World Bank Project Appraisal Document 2003). The loan was used by the government to create PADEP. Iringa district contributed Tshs 10, 970, 000 which is equivalent to 9,973 US\$ for the implementing of the project in the district (DED Iringa 2008)

PADEP was a five year project which commenced in August 2003 to 2008. The project was designed to provide improved opportunities to small holders in agricultural sector to make better use of existing technologies.

This research will argue that the poor and the vulnerable groups of men and women, who are also smallholders, could not participate or involved in the project.

The research perceives the tendency of the project of imposing contributions or payments in order to be involved or participate in the project as exclusionary. Exclusion from participating in the PADEP project of the vulnerable groups, the poor women affects directly their social well being as well as impedes the reduction of poverty.

This research is an explorative research which was guided by in-depth interviews, focus group and observation as the methods of data collection for this study in the Iringa district in Tanzania.

The research is also concerned with different concepts which were also analyzed. Concepts like empowerment, participation, power, Intersectionality were used in order to analyze the way these concepts were used by the project and perceived by the project beneficiaries.

The research is focused on the vulnerable groups of people such as women, people with physical disabilities, the blind, the elderly and orphans who, in one way or another, could not afford the mandatory payment in order to participate in the project. The study argues that the Intersectionality of class,

education, gender, ethnicity, able bodied and employment were the driving force in determining the extent of people's participation in the project.

It is also argued that the project played a role in direct and indirect exclusion of these people to participate in the project. Consequently, it gives a glimpse of poverty in Tanzania especially in rural areas. The study links poverty with other problems such as HIV and malaria as the driving force perpetuating the elderly to care for the young ones, the orphans and female headed households.

The research calls on rethinking of policies and projects which will cater for the vulnerable groups and the poor women in rural areas. The outcome of this research will be useful to policy planners, researchers, and will also be useful as a study material for rural development and empowerment of the poor and the needy people with vulnerabilities.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem:

Since the adoption of the Beijing Platform of Action, many governments and international development agencies have embraced women's empowerment and participation in development programs and projects as one of the key goals in development intervention. The 2005 Human Development Report specifically recognized the injustices of gender inequality (UNDP cited from Agarwal, Humphries and Robeyns, 2004).

In relation to prioritizing gender as a crosscutting issue in all sectors, the Tanzania government recently prioritized four main areas of focus; these are:

1. Enhancement of women's legal capacity,
2. Women access to education, training and employment,
3. Enhancement of economic empowerment of women and poverty eradication;
4. Women's political empowerment and decision making (URT Country Report on Implementation of BPA, 2005).

In addition, the Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper (PRSP, 2005) has identified gender as a crosscutting issue in all sectors. Despite these formal commitments, the steps taken towards women's empowerment remains ambiguous, especially concerning rural women.

Craig and Mayo (1995:2) argued that:

The World Bank and other International agencies see community participation as a means for ensuring that Third World development projects reach the poorest in the most efficient and cost effective way, sharing costs as well as benefits through the promotion of self help.

This approach of community participation and empowerment is sometimes ambiguous or unclear. Edward and Fowler (2002:27) argued that in it is often unclear exactly who is to be empowered-the individual, the 'community' or the categories of people such as 'women', the 'poor' or the 'socially excluded'?

When development interventions like the PADEP project insists about participation and empowerment: one asks who participates. Who are to be empowered?

Berner and Philips (2005) argued that

when NGO talk of how a community decided on a development strategy who are they talking about? Do they mean everyone in the community, or just the majority, or the older ones, just the rich ones, just the men? Is the will of the community the same as the will of the community leadership?

Despite the formal recognition of empowerment and participation as means to achieve gender equality goals, the meanings of participation and empowerment are not shared by project beneficiaries and the project designers, and often transformed when put into operation.

Depending essentially on agriculture as the backbone of the majority of people who live in the rural areas, Tanzania government has been working to put in place implementable agricultural strategies aiming at increasing production and productivity and reducing poverty. PADEP as explained above was created to address agricultural productivity and also to reduce poverty in the rural communities. The project was implemented by 840 villages in about 28 districts (Project Operational Manual 2003).

Among other things, the PADEP project manual argued that gender balance, equity and awareness will be emphasized through all stages of implementing the project (ibid).

However, the project perceived women's empowerment and participation as a group rights approach while women as a group are not homogenous. Women as a group consist layers of complexities, in which there are women who are marginalized, there are class, age, education and forms of inequalities among women as a group.

Also, the research will argue that the failure of the project to see the intersectional identities of gender, class, age, poverty, physically able and vulnerability limited the chances of participation of the specific groups of disadvantaged, vulnerable, disadvantages poor women in the PADEP project in the Iringa District Tanzania.

This paper analyses the meanings of 'participation' and 'empowerment' with a focus on the cost sharing principle applied in the Farmer Groups Investment Subproject (FAGIS) in the PADEP.

The PADEP project was a project which shared the costs of implementation with the villages and members of FAGIS that implemented the project. For a person to join FAGIS, one was required to pay membership fee, and 50 percent of the total costs of farm inputs required for implementation of their chosen subproject, in turn PADEP pay the remaining 50 percent of the costs of farm inputs. In the light of that, the research looks at exclusion of the poor and vulnerable groups of people who could not afford membership fee and other costs in order to participate in the project.

The research will also discuss the concepts of participation and empowerment as concepts used by development interventions, how these terms were conceptualized will be critically discussed. Furthermore, the project's idea of women empowerment is not like 'one size fits all'. In this case,

Intersectionality will also be discussed to understand how different sets of identities impact on access to rights and opportunities.

1.3 Background information about Iringa District:

Iringa District is in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. It is among the Districts in Tanzania which has been experiencing famine and poverty for a long period of time. In 2000 to 2003 prior to implementation of PADEP, Iringa district suffered from hunger and famine which was caused by drought and thus crop failure (DED Iringa, 2008).

The Tanzania PRSP progress report recognizes that poverty in Tanzania is largely rural and the poor earn their livelihood through agriculture (PRSP 2005). The majority 95 percent of the population in the Iringa District base their livelihood on agriculture¹

Most of the women in Iringa District engage in agricultural activities in order to earn a living and sustain their daily lives. Although women mainly work in farms to produce food and other necessities, many of these women are not empowered enough as far as agriculture is concerned. This is because there is lack of attention to women in agriculture development in Iringa district.

However, women are regarded as housewives and providing food to their families is taken for granted as their responsibility.

Accordingly, women empowerment in agricultural sector is important since women are the main food producers in the Iringa District. Therefore, empowering women will lead to the reduction of famine, hunger as well as poverty especially in rural areas.

Thus the United Republic of Tanzania designed PADEP to improve smallholders to use agricultural inputs in order to improve productivity in the rural communities. Iringa district is among the 84 district which implemented PADEP.

Consequently, remoteness of the Iringa District council from the villages implementing the project impedes the implementing process. Administratively it implicated the process of PRA facilitation by the District Facilitation Team who lives in Iringa town while the project is implemented in the villages. To reach some of the villages from the district headquarters requires six to seven hours drive. Remoteness of the villages impedes day to day implementation of the project.

The HIV AIDS and malaria are accounted as a set back for agricultural development in Iringa district.

The PADEP project Operational Manual (2003), argued that “the project will also complement the government’s efforts towards sensitization of communities in addressing issues on HIV/AIDS”. Also, the government of

¹ REPOA Report on Local Government Report, 2005

the United Republic of Tanzania has prioritised HIV/AIDS as crosscutting issues meaning that in all sectors and development programs HIV/AIDS issues will be sensitized in order to bring awareness and mitigation.

In the light of the above explanations, this research linked the HIV/AIDS with the project in order to find out how HIV/AIDS affects people in the rural areas.

The Tanzania Human Development Report (2005) clarified that low productivity in agriculture and high disease burden are credited to persistent poverty and vulnerable to most people in Iringa District.

Agriculture depends much on using fertilizers and other farm inputs. For most farmers they can not afford because of expensiveness (Doss cited in Kuiper and Barker 2006) argued that one of the problems facing agricultural productivity of farmers in East Africa is soil fertility. She argued that

the proportional of farmers using either organic or chemical fertilizer is relatively small. Although the extension services promote the use of chemical fertilizers, farmers complain that it is too expensive and often unavailable at the right time or in the right formulation.

For the case of Iringa district it is worse because agents, service providers and shops which sell farm inputs are based in urban centres. Given the transport costs and farm inputs cost many farmers find it difficult and expensive to travel to urban centres to buy fertilizers and other farm inputs.

HIV/AIDS and Malaria are responsible for many deaths in Iringa District. The Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS) recently reported that roughly 1,070,000 people between 15-59 years are currently HIV positive among them 610, 000 women and 460,000 men (TACADIS 2005).

HIV/AIDS is considered to be one of the most impoverishing forces facing Tanzanians (TPHDR 2005). Also, HIV/ AIDS lead in causing deaths of children under five years and pregnant women.

According to TPHDR (2005), “women in particular younger women are biologically and socially more vulnerable to HIV Infection. Although the risk of being HIV positive is twice as high for residents of urban areas than for rural residents, many women in rural areas are in high risk of being infected with HIV”.

Consequently, the elderly and older children play an increasing role in caring for people living with HIV and orphaned children (ibid).

1.4 Research Objectives:

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To analyze the underlying assumptions about women empowerment and participation in the reduction of rural poverty.
2. To explore the processes of women empowerment and participation in the PADEP project.
3. To identify major mechanism of inclusion and exclusion and their consequence to poverty alleviation goals

4. To explore how the Intersectionality of gender, vulnerability, age, and poverty has been conceptualised by the project.
5. To offer alternative perspectives and recommendations for rethinking policies on empowering women and the vulnerable groups and to provide policy makers with information.

1.5 Research questions:

This research was be guided by the following questions:

1. (a) What are the direct and indirect mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in the PADEP project?
(b) What are the implications of cost sharing insisted by the project for the poor and vulnerable households?
2. What are the main gender norms for participation and are they reflected in the male-female representation at the project level?
3. (a) How has Intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, age, income, and disability has been conceptualised in the project implementation?
(b) How have power, empowerment and decision making has been conceptualised by the project implementers?
(c) What are the effects of empowerment and participation of the people in the PADEP?
4. How sustainable is the project to the people?

1.6 Methodology:

The research relied solely on qualitative methods for data collection such as focus group with villagers who participated and those who did not participate in the project. In depth interviews with women groups, FAGIS and CIS Committee, as well as with the village government, PADEP District Officer, District Facilitation Team (DFT), and District Agricultural and Livestock Officer (DALDO).

The selection of participants for focus group discussion and interviews was made on the basis of women who participated in the projects this means that women who were members of FAGIS and non members (a group consisted women who could not afford to participate but wished they could). Therefore two groups of focus groups were carried out in each village which consisted about 10-15 participants from each village. Focus groups in each village were done only once, particularly it lasted within three hours.

Project staff such as PDO, DFT, and DALDO were selected because they were involved with PADEP directly since it was introduced in Iringa. Also, they were responsible for approving subprojects which were implemented.

1.6.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in Iringa District Tanzania. Three villages were chosen for focus group interviews: These villages were: Mangalali, Malinzanga and Magozi. The reason behind the selection of these villages as the study area was that: the area in which these villages are located has high incidence of poverty and hunger. Despite the government and non governmental organisation's efforts to reduce poverty in the past, poverty and hunger still prevail.

1.6.2 Research techniques and Sources of Data:

Primary data was collected from focus group, in-depth interviews, and observation. Focus group was done with participants and non participants of FAGIS which consisted about 10-15 participants from each village. In-depth interviews were carried out to two FAGIS committee, PDO, DALDO, and two DFT members.

Being a participant observer, the researcher was involved with the project in its early stages in which she was the project facilitator. The researcher participated in early stages of the project whereby she was involved on capacity building to village leaders and ward officers, introducing the Project in the villages and in the PRA process and observed the implementation of some few subprojects.

Secondary data was collected from various documents such as Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives, PADEP Operational manual, websites, The World Bank Documents about PADEP, reports from The Tanzania Government, Ministry of Agriculture, and The World Bank Information Centre in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Given the fact that this study relied heavily on use the focus group for data collection with villagers, the information below explains more about the importance of using focus group.

Morgan (1996:30), defined focus group as

“a research technique that collects data through group interaction”.

According to Bryman (2004:347), a focus group method for data collection is:

is a form of group interview in which there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic. It contains elements of two methods: the group interview, in which several people discuss a number of topics or topic; and what has been called a focused interview, in which interviewees are selected because they are known to have been involved in a particular situation

This research used both the group interviews and the focused interviews. The focus group was the main method used to collect data with villagers due to the following reasons: first, according to Morgan (1996:348),

through focus groups the research can generate more information from the group because participants both query each other and explain themselves to

each other. Such interaction offers valuable data on the extent of consensus and diversity among participants.

This ability to observe the extent and nature of interviewee's agreement and disagreement is a unique strength of focus groups (Morgan 1996). Second, since the researcher was interviewing many people it was necessary to use focus group rather than in depth interviews or questionnaires because these two methods consume time and as stated in the limitation of the study, people interviewed are villagers they had no much time to spend on interviews or filling in questionnaires because they had other activities to attend to. Third, Morgan (1996) argued that

focus groups are most useful when they produce new results that would not be possible with the other methods of data collection.

1.7 Relevance and Justification

Tanzania government has been emphasizing development interventions which address women's empowerment. Also, the government through PRSP stressed gender as a cross cutting issues in all sectors (PRSP 2005). Yet, the absence of clear policy to address women's empowerment remains a big problem. Also, there is a gap on research on Intersectionality specifically concerning women in rural areas (Malaki 2007).

The PADEP is a development intervention which did not only address women's empowerment but also addressed poverty reduction in rural communities.

The findings of this study will contribute knowledge to the development practitioners.

Therefore, the study will add knowledge as well as act as a catalyst to create awareness and dialogue to bring about positive change.

Furthermore, the findings of this study are important to the policy makers in order to redevelop policies which will be used to empower and include women and the vulnerable groups into the development process.

Moreover, it is hoped that the findings will provide useful insights to Local Government Authorities and the central government for designing effective policies that will enhance women's empowerment and the special groups of people with vulnerabilities.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The survey of this study was done from mid July up to August which is the busiest month of the year to the farmers while it was a convenient time for the researcher. It is a time when all activities which were not done during rainy season could be done. Repairing and maintenances of farm tools, houses, marriages ceremonies, initiation ceremonies and sacrifices are activities carried out during dry season. Therefore, it was not the best time for data collection.

Consequently, organizing and conducting focus group interviews was a big challenge as it was postponed three times since farmers were engaged with harvesting, social activities and other activities.

Transportation to the villages was a problem because roads are not good and also due to the prices of gas going up all the time, some service providers could not afford to provide transport services even if hired. I managed to pay highest prices to hire a truck from the nearby town.

Consequently the death of the former PADEP District officer (PDO) was a big challenge to this study. The former PDO was responsible with day to day activities of PADEP in the district. He was responsible with all stages of PADEP from its creation to implementation as well as selection of villages to implement the project. His death was a big setback and a challenge to this research since important information could have been obtained via in-depth interviews which are not recorded anywhere. However, the new PDO was of great help to this study, he was collaborative even though he was very busy.

1.9 Reflexivity of the researcher:

Being involved with the project in its early stages, as the facilitator and later on in its cessation stages as the researcher have influenced in one way or another objectivity of the findings of this study.

I was involved with the project as a member of District Facilitation Team (DFT) which was established by the District Executive Director (DED). The project put emphasis on working with the private sector such as civil society organizations and Non governmental organizations because the private sector works with rural communities in providing social services such as health services, agricultural inputs and other services. Thus, the project immediate objectives among others was to enhance private sector participation in input and output markets and in the provision of services to rural communities (PADEP operational Manual 2003).

Importantly, my involvement in the project as a woman was highly valued than being a representative from the private sector because the project insisted on gender balance at all levels of project implementation.

I was expected to enable local women participation in the project especially during the project's early stages. I had two roles: As a district facilitator and as a woman who could mobilize interest and include local women to participate in the project.

The local women had their own perceptions towards me being in a company of men and living in the same house with men when we went to

introduce the project and conduct PRA in Magozi village². I was the only woman among the District Facilitation Team (DFT) in Magozi. My chastity was questioned because of that.

During the data collection of this study in July 2008, I was perceived differently by local women because I went with my husband and my son. Comparing this visit with the visit of 2003/2004, I was received differently this time with respect and some with high hopes. Some women, who remembered me, saw me as a woman they wanted as their role model. For example, one woman when I was getting ready for focus group discussion remarked:

“You are really a woman now, we are happy to see you once gain, we would love if you can be our adviser in our group”

This implies that I was a respectable woman and they respected me because I went with my husband and a son. To the local women, I represented a woman, who is also a mother and care giver to family. They accepted me their community.

Significantly, my day to day involvement with the project helped me to see the reality of poverty in rural areas. As a facilitator, I was worried if the project could achieve its objectives because I was sceptical if the poor could manage to join the project.

The field research was like an eye opener to me as a researcher. The respondents taught me other meanings of participation and empowerment from their own perceptions.

During the focus group I found that women had also expectations from me as a researcher and also as a person who was involved with the project. Some asked if my study will bring another project to them. I was honest with them; I told them I can not promise anything. I explained to them that this study if possible will be a turning point for the government and other development stakeholders to rethink on development strategies which will cater for the vulnerable and poor groups of people in the rural areas.

I came to understand that empowerment and participation was perceived differently by respondents. To them as discussed in chapter two, empowerment meant providing money, support or giving a hand.

All in all, the field research is the most important activity to researcher. Not only is the activity of data collection but also a learning experience and process.

² In October 2003 DFT went to Magozi village to introduce the project and conduct PRA with villages. The DFT stayed in the village for seven days in a house provided by the village government.

Chapter 2 : Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks:

2.1 Introduction:

In this chapter, different concepts and theoretical perspectives relevant for the analysis of the findings will be discussed. The conceptual framework of this study was based mainly on the exploration of the PADEP.

Empowerment and participation are terms which are mainly used by development planners. The PADEP project used these terms but the meanings of these terms are perceived differently by the beneficiaries. This chapter will give an analysis of the way beneficiaries of the project and PADEP project perceived these terms.

Poverty, gender and vulnerability are concepts which are also discussed in this chapter. They were selected because the analysis is on the project; therefore gender as an analytical category is explored together with poverty and vulnerability.

2.2 Empowerment:

Since the PADEP project is an empowerment project, aimed at empowering women and rural communities in reducing poverty, empowerment is the main concept of this study.

The UN summit on Social Development in 1995 called for all member governments to embrace the notion that 'empowering' people were a fundamental step in any development process. The summit called on all governments to:

Recognise that empowering people, particularly women, to strengthen their own capacities is a main objective of development and its principle resource. Empowerment requires the full participation of people in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of decision determining the functioning and well being of our societies (citing UN 1995: 10-20 from Oackle 2005).

Also, the summit stressed:

Establish structures, policies, objectives and measurable goals to ensure gender balance and equity in decision-making processes at all levels, broaden women's political, economic, social and cultural opportunities and independence, and support the empowerment of women (UN 1995:10-20).

Looking at the UN summit call to governments on empowerment, the URT designed PADEP project which will not only empower rural communities but also women as members of these communities.

Empowerment tends to mean different things to different players mainstream development agencies. For example, the World Bank generally look to empowerment to improve efficiency and good governance, while non

governmental organisations (NGO) frequently see (at least claim) it as a metaphor for fundamental social transformation (Saunders:2003).

Batliwala (1994) defined empowerment as:

“the process by which the powerless gain greater control over circumstances of their lives. It includes both control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial) and over ideology (beliefs, values, and attitudes)”

“It means not only greater extrinsic control, but also a growing intrinsic capability- greater self confidence, and an inner transformation of one’s consciousness that enables one to overcome external barriers to accessing resources or changing traditional ideology” (Sen & Batliwala: 2005).

In this sense, empowerment for rural women both includes women to have self confidence for themselves and also for the society to provide a space for these women to have self confidence.

PADEP did not define empowerment per se in its operational manual, when PADEP talk about empowerment it refers to the following actions: giving a hand, provide financial grant/funding, support farmers in their endeavours in providing agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, seeds, capacity building, skills needed, and removal obstacle to agricultural development.

Absence of power and finances tends to be understood as the lack of means to overcome obstacles to agricultural development. For example, where a bridge is needed to link villages and help transport crops to the market, the construction of a bridge to link villages with other villages is regarded as an empowering factor.

Farmers are seen as being ‘empowered’ by the ability to move and transport their crops from fields to the market.

The District Agricultural and Livestock Officer (DALDO), when asked what PADEP meant when it preaches about empowerment he said in Swahili

“*kuwajengea uwezo wakulima ili waweze kuzalisha mazao mengi na kuyauza ili wapate kipato.* Literary meaning: “to provide conducive environment for farmers such that they can produce more crops and to help them sell it in order to accumulate income and do away with poverty”.

Farmers in Iringa district were asked what they understand by empowerment. Some replied that it meant helping, support, provide financial support to the poor. It should be noted that farmers don’t have one common understanding of empowerment.

However, some other farmers explained that empowerment means to know the ‘rules of the game’; although this statement is explained more in chapter four, it can be briefly explained as rice farmers in Magozi village were empowered by the project to use their agency to sell rice at good price, and awareness they got from PADEP of terms and references of trade, they were able to transport rice to urban centres. PADEP made it possible for them to know ‘the rules of the game’

2.3 Empowerment and power:

In view of the fact that empowerment definition has not been able to meet consensus from its stakeholders, Oxaal and Baden (1997) argued that: the idea of power is at the root of the term empowerment. They maintained that power can be understood as operating in a number of different ways as follows:

- **Power Over:** this power involves an either/or relationship of domination/subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation; it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and invites active and passive resistance;
- **Power to:** this power relates to having decision making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
- **Power with:** This power involves people organised with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
- **Power within:** This power refers to self confidence, self awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how can individuals recognize through analysing their experience, how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this (Williams et al 1994 quoted from Oxaal and Baden).

However, feminist’s movement has been emphasizing power with and has been influential in developing idea about power within (Oxaal and Baden 1997).

Table 1
Definitions of power and Empowerment

Understandings of power	Implication in practice
Power over	Conflict and direct confrontation between powerful and powerless interest groups
Power to	Capacity building, supporting individual decision-making, leadership, etc.
Power with	Social mobilisation, building alliances and coalitions
Power within	Increasing self esteem, awareness or consciousness raising, confidence building

Source: adopted from Oxaal and Baden (1997)

Taking the definition of power from table 1 above, PADEP was initially designed to empower rural communities in capacity building, strengthen local communities in using available technologies to improve agriculture production. Also, the research in chapter four shows how self-esteem, awareness and confidence building was developed to farmers by the project.

2.4 Participation and Empowerment:

There is a link between participation and empowerment. Taking the case of PADEP for example, the project perceives that in order to be ‘empowered’ one needs to participate first. Thus, Oakley (2001) argued that:

“the World Bank sees ‘empowerment’ as the ultimate stage of a process of local people’s participation in a development project”.

The project focused view of participation as empowerment was not suitable to some participants. The project’s regulation of participation was based on the fact that each household one person can participate in the FAGIS. Unfortunately some households could not afford the costs. For instance, there was a case of three women in Malinzanga village from different households who could not afford the costs to join the FAGIS. They divided the cost among themselves and each one contributed until they got the 27,000 Tsh equivalents to 27 US\$ required by the project, they chose one among them to formally join the project so that all three of them could benefit from the project. They shared the farm inputs obtained from PADEP even though the inputs were not enough. This form of participation shows how artificial boundaries between individuals, households and communities are being broken down by participants.

The FAO Informal Working Group (IWG) definition of participation will be used in this study which stated that:

Participation is a process of equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation of development policies and strategies and in the analysis, planning and implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development activities. To allow for a more equitable development process, disadvantaged stakeholders need to be empowered to increase their level of knowledge, influence and control over their own livelihoods, including development initiatives affecting them³

The World Bank suggests that:

Projects tend to be more sustainable and yield higher returns when they involve those they are intended to help. Community participation may, thus increase the access of disadvantaged communities to project benefits, enhance motivation of communities, increase ownership of projects, encourage self-reliance by transfer of skills, build local institutional capacities, and ensure that greater proportions of project benefits flow directly to targeted deserving beneficiaries” (Bhatnagar and Williams: 1992).

In the light of the suggestion above from the World Bank, in practice it is difficult to practise. The case of PADEP as it is explained more in chapter four the project could not really reach the vulnerable groups of people.

³ www.fao.org/participation/english_web_new/content.htm accessed 14 June 2008

The PADEP projects envisaged that community participation will be possible since it is the communities which need development in the first place. Also, through PRA methods villagers could come up with sub projects to be implemented. One can not forget that communities can not be viewed as unified organic whole (Agrawal and Gibson 1999:633). Within communities there are intersectional complexes of power relations, differences and inequalities. There are groups of influential people, weak, marginalised as well as prominent figures. In this case, within community social stratification exists.

Berner and Philipps (2005:8) argued that:

the community participation paradigm needs to be refined by recognition that the poor cannot be self-sufficient in escaping poverty, that communities are systems of conflict as well as cooperation, and that the social, political and economic macro-structure cannot be side stepped

Berner and Philips critically questioned the community participation.

According to them, they argue that:

Little attention is paid to the requirements and costs of organising community participation, who, if not representative associations, can speak legitimately on behalf of the community? Only practitioners can appreciate the time required to reach a consensus on vital issues; and time is the most scarce and precious asset for poor people, and women in particular (2005:8).

2.5 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA):

PRA emerged in the late 1980s and is still evolving, shifted the focus from gathering indigenous people's knowledge to encouraging and utilizing their analytical skills. (Parpart 2003:167)

Robert Chambers (1997) for example, developed a PRA people first approach to development. This set of methodological tools is both easily understood and user friendly in poor grass roots (Parpart 2000).

PRA methods for rural development have been introduced in Tanzania since the late 1990s. The central aim was to facilitate participation of communities in their own development programs. According to Chambers (1997:106),

PRA seeks to empower lowers-women, minorities, the poor, the weak and the vulnerable-and to make power reversals real.

In Iringa District during PADEP project implementation some of the PRA methods which were used were: transect walk, seasonal calendar, seasonal diagramming, semi structures interviews, resource mapping, and preference ranking.

Mukherjee (2004) explained transect walk as:

a systematically walking with informants through an area, observing, asking, listening, discussion, identifying different zones, local technologies, introduced technologies, seeking problems, solutions and opportunities, and mapping and diagramming resources and findings.

Time lines are chronologies of events; listing major remembered events in a village with approximate dates. Seasonal diagramming- by major season or by month to show days and distribution of rain, amount of rain or soil moisture, crops, agricultural labour, non agricultural labour, diet, food consumption, types of sickness, prices, animal fodder, fuel, migration, income expenditure, debt etc. wellbeing or wealth ranking identifies clusters of households according to wellbeing or wealth, including those considered poorest or worst off (Chambers 1991, Murkherejee 2004).

Before CIS and FAGIS were implemented, each village had to undergo Participatory Rural Appraisal and other participatory methods in order to carry out situation analysis and problem identification.

According to the project manual (2003), the objective was to enable the community to visualize and generate information that will make them better understand their environment, potentials, obstacles and problems including environmental concerns.

PRA and other participatory methods and tools are mainly used in poor communities to generate information that will make them better understand their environments, obstacles, and potentials. However, if PRA and other PRA methods are not used properly, voices of the powerless, poor, vulnerable will not be heard. As it is explained more in chapter four, PRA has its implication especially in the selection of CIS in Mangalali village.

2.6 Intersectionality:

Darling defines Intersectionality as

an integrated approach that identifies and analyzes multiple forms of discrimination. Intersectionality refers to the interaction of two or more forms of discrimination, that compound to form multiple discrimination that manifest as inequalities among women. Intersectionality identifies marginalized women as experiencing multiple forms of visible, and not so visible, interacting discriminations (Darling: 2002).

AWID (2004:1) asserted that

Intersectionality is an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege.

Intersectionality has become the primary analytical tool that feminists and anti-racist scholars deploy for theorizing about identity and oppression (Nash, 2008:1).

The term Intersectionality was coined by Kimberle' Crenshaw, to explain the 'multidimensionality' of marginalized subjects' lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1989: 139)

One can asks why Intersectionality? Why PADEP should have considered Intersectionality? This is because communities and groups of

women are not homogeneous. AWID (2004:2) answered this question of why Intersectionality by explaining that:

“Applying Intersectionality by planners is useful when setting priorities for projects, allocate resources to those who are most marginalised, vulnerable, and the poorest. Empowering those who have the least access to rights, opportunities and resources and focusing on processes that lead to poverty and exclusion”.

Development planners and development intervention can use Intersectionality to reach the most disadvantages groups. For example, PADEP could have used Intersectionality in its design, it would have explored which groups of widows, disabled, and poor women and how to include them in the project (see chapter four for more information).

Being a development intervention, PADEP planners should have reconsidered that in every society there are intersectional layers of inequality along the lines of ethnicity, age, class and gender which , if ignored might generate some risks which will impede the projects or planning to achieve its objectives.

Taking the case of PADEP the research will argue later, this project aimed at reducing poverty to the poor, and the vulnerable groups but these groups of people were left out. The project had no strategies of how these groups could be empowered. Therefore, rethinking on strategies to reach out for the vulnerable groups is important; it will help to reduce poverty and avoid exclusion.

2.7 Poverty, Gender, and vulnerability:

Although there is no clear consensus on how poverty should be defined and measured, in general terms approaches to poverty have become more holistic over the past years. This has encompassed a shift, at least in theory, from a narrow focus on incomes and consumption to recognition of poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon (Chant, 2006:86).

PADEP Operational Manual (2003) did not define poverty. It only refers to poverty line to explain how the project will help to reduce rural poverty below the poverty line from 57 percent to 29 percent by year 2010.

Poverty line has been defined as a 1dollar a day; also, poverty is explained as income and non income poverty (NSGR 2005). According to the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) country report (2005), the poverty status in Tanzania comprises both income and non income poverty. Non income poverty has four main categories: human capabilities, survival, nutrition and extreme vulnerability. It is estimated that 18.7 percent of Tanzania live below the poverty line and 35.7 percent⁴ below the basic needs poverty line. Among the total poor population, the urban poor constitute about 13 percent

⁴ URT Country Report, 2005

compared to 87 percent in rural areas (URT Country Report, 2005). Therefore poverty is more prevalent in rural areas.

The (TPHDR) (2005) observed that acceleration in national poverty reduction could more quickly be achieved through a decline in rural poverty.

The same report argued that Tanzanian agriculture is driven mainly by smallholder producers. The PADEP acknowledges the role of women in agricultural production that is why it the project put more emphasis on women empowerment (ibid).

Again, in 2005 the NSGRP (2005) cited in PRSP (2005) indicated that certain groups of people are more vulnerable to poverty than others. According to this report, the vulnerable groups mentioned are children, elderly people, people living with HIV/AIDS and their families, people living with long illness, people with disabilities, women who are widows or who cannot support themselves for other reasons, youth (unemployed, with unreliable incomes, females)

Thus, while PRSP (2005) have recognized the problems of groups of people whose particularly vulnerable and who therefore need special attention, PADEP still did not consider this group of people to benefit from the project in order to reduce poverty and sustain their well being. Although the PADEP document (2003) stressed that the project will put more emphasis on gender issues and will empower the vulnerable groups but the process of empowering these groups of people was not mentioned or indicated.

As it has been explained in chapter one and chapter four, the main economic activity of the poor and vulnerable women is agriculture, which needs fertilizers and other farm inputs, which are expensive for the poor women and vulnerable groups. Through PADEP, the poor and the vulnerable groups of women could be empowered to get farm inputs. For the poor and vulnerable groups of women PADEP was their hope of improving their well being from worse to better.

The project document argued that gender awareness and balance will be improved in the implementation of the project. In linking poverty and vulnerability, Chambers et al (1989) argued that:

Poverty and vulnerability are two aspects of deprivation. However the difference between them is brought out if we consider their opposites. The opposite of poverty is wealth, while the opposite of vulnerability is security. While poverty can be reduced by borrowing and investing, this does not reduce vulnerability. Indeed, borrowing increases vulnerability (quoting Beck; Chambers; Swift; all 1989 in Overseas Development Administration, 1995:35).

White (2005:881) argued that “the very poorest of the poor are destitute”. She went as far as explaining that “being destitute is more comprehensive deprivation than extreme income or consumption context”, (ibid).

The World Bank (1990) defined poverty as

“the inability to attain a minimal standard of living measured in terms of basic consumption needs or income required for satisfying them” (quoted from Mukye 2004).

This definition of poverty by the World Bank a point of discussion because some important aspects were left out such as access, power, and also gender. Women in Iringa district are poor in terms of lack of economic empowerment and decision making.

Similarly, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP 2005) defined poverty line as living on a one dollar a day and that as it is mentioned earlier that many people in Tanzania live below the poverty line. The definition of poverty on income basis does not reflect other aspects such as meeting proper diets and basic needs.

Blackden and Manoukian in their work on Gender and Poverty Reduction, explained that:(2001:1)

Poverty is experienced differently by men and women. A full understanding of the gender dimensions of poverty can significantly change the definition of priority and program intervention by the PRS. Evidence is growing that gender sensitive development strategies contribute to economic growth as well as to equity objectives by ensuring that all groups of the poor share in programs benefits. Yet differences between men's and women's needs are often not fully recognized in poverty analysis and participatory and planning and are not frequently taken into consideration in the selection and design of poverty reduction strategies. It is essential, then, to integrate gender analysis into poverty diagnosis and to ensure that participatory consultation and planning processes are specifically designed to give voice to all sectors of society –women and men as well as different age, ethnic and cultural group

While poverty has been defined by Rensburg (2006) as a

“denial of human rights and human dignity. It also means not having a voice to influence decision-making, living at the margin of society and being stigmatized”.

Momsen (2004) defined gender as

“The socially constructed notions of masculinity and femininity by which women and men are identified” .

Scott (1999:31) argued that, in its simplest recent usage ‘gender’ is a synonymous for ‘women’. This usage substituted gender for women.

The PADEP did not define gender but it's usage of the term gender synonymise ‘women’. For example the project operational manual (2003) explained that gender balance will be sensitized by giving priority to women to participate in the project and also for women to be represented in the leadership of the project.

According to Scott (1999:32)

Gender is used to designate social relations between the sexes. Scott argued that gender has become a way of denoting culturally construction-the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and for men...

As it is discussed in detail in chapter four, the project emphasis on gender balance was directed toward women where the project described that women will be involved at all levels of the project implementation. As Scott explained, gender has been used to mean women.

Gender is a socially constructed relation between sexes where by power relations exists between men and women. The project targeted gender balance by involving women but the power relations of the society in which men and women lives was not targeted. It will be explained later that the social relation between men and women in Iringa district was conceptualised differently by individuals.

In conclusion, this chapter discussed concepts such as participation, empowerment, Intersectionality, poverty and gender and how these concepts are linked and perceived by the PADEP project in poverty alleviation and empowerment of the rural communities.

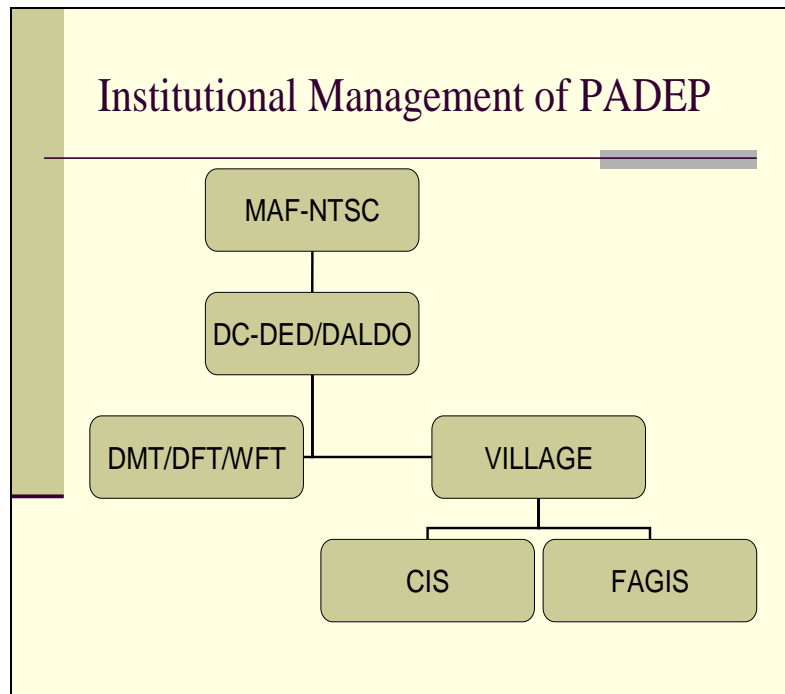
Chapter 3 Institutional set up of PADEP:

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, PADEP is discussed in detail. The institutional set up of PADEP is discussed followed by discussion of the villages which were the case study of this study.

3.2 Institutional Management of PADEP:

Figure 1
An Institutional and Management Structure of PADEP



Source: Own elaboration

KEY:

- MAF Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security
- NTSC National Technical Steering Committee
- DC District Council
- DED District Executive Director
- DALDO District Agricultural and Livestock Officer
- DMT District Management Team
- DFT District Facilitation Team
- WFT Ward Facilitation Team
- CIS Community investment subprojects
- FAGIS Farmer groups investment subprojects

The figure 1 above shows the Institutional and management structure of the project. The project operated at three levels, these include the community (FAGIS and CIS), district level and national level.

At the community level, the FAGIS and CIS subproject committee were the implementing agencies.

The district council (DC) was the overall implementing agency at the district level. The District Executive Director (DED) and the District Agricultural and Livestock Officer (DALDO) were responsible for project implementation at the district level. The District Management Team (DMT), assisted by District and Ward facilitation Teams (DFT/WFT), under the District Executive Director (DED) were responsible for directly supporting implementation of project activities. Their responsibilities included: (i) review and approve the district and village agricultural development plans and budgets, (ii) verify eligibility of project beneficiaries, cost-sharing arrangements, and other project requirements; (iii) approve the district capacity building program and subprojects proposals and (iv) monitor and supervise the implementation of subprojects (PADEP Operational Manual, 2004).

At the national level, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security (MAF) established a National Technical Steering Committee (NTSC) to oversee project implementation and serve as a conduit for channelling specialized technical support. (PADEP Operational Manual 2003).

3.3 Significance of PADEP in Agricultural Development:

According to the World Bank report (2003), Agricultural sector contributes about 50 percent of Tanzania's GDP, 75 percent of export earnings, and employs approximately 80 percent of the country's labour force.

Iringa region is among the big four producers of food and cash crops in Tanzania and contributes to national GDP (PHDR 2005).

According to the Agriculture Sample Census (2002/2003) Small holders depend almost entirely on agricultural sector for their survival.

However, the small holder agriculture sector uses few agricultural inputs to increase production. According to the PHDR 2005, the modern inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds are scarcely used and also most smallholders households cultivate by using hand hoes. Low uses of agriculture inputs is a set back to agricultural development

The URT designed PADEP to improve smallholders to use agricultural inputs in order to improve crop and livestock production for rural communities. The Ministry of Agriculture Food and Cooperatives (2003) explained that:

“the project covers a cross section of activities towards improving the lives of the rural people. The activities includes: construction and/ or maintenance of irrigation systems, feeder roads, crop marketing centres and storage facilities”.

Recognising that women played a big role in agricultural production, PADEP integrated gender as a crosscutting issue in all its implementation stages. Thus, in its operational manual, PADEP sensitized gender balance in FAGIS as a means to include and empower women. As I will argue in chapter four, women are not a homogenous group though, this was not taken into account by the project.

3.4 Community Investment Subprojects (CIS)

The Community Investment subproject is a project which is meant to benefit the whole community in a village. PADEP Project manual (2003) defined a community as

“a single village, or a significant portion thereof with a common investment interest. Thus a community subproject is any investment that draws public interest (meaning that the project will affect in way or another whole community) and brings common interest.” CIS are an investment that has public wide benefits to targeted beneficiaries (ibid).

According to PADEP (2003) the common interest of the community is the consensus of the community reached in deciding on a subproject to be implemented.

Berner and Philips (2005: 9) argued that
in communities only outsiders would see homogeneity and harmony where there is complex and conflict.

Taking Berner and Philips argument, PADEP as a development intervention did not take into consideration that complexities, stratification as well as conflicts exists in the communities. Taking the example of selection of the CIS to be implemented in Malinzanga village as it is discussed later, the field research found out that the voices of the prominent figures; influential people in the communities were heard while the voices of the poor and the vulnerable could not be heard.

The community investment subproject in a village has been granted 80% of the total cost by PADEP and 20% are contributed by the community in forms of labour, material or in cash. PADEP has granted a total of Tshs 35 million which is equivalent to 32,000 US\$ to each village which implemented CIS (PADEP Operational Manual 2003).

Iringa district has implemented about 30 community subprojects in 20 villages. The project has financed construction and maintenance of rural roads and bridges in order to improve haulage of agricultural inputs and transportation of crops to district markets. The project financed the construction of irrigation channel, construction of fishing pond, and market for selling farm harvests.

Table 2
examples of CIS implemented in case studies villages

S/no	Village	Type of CIS Implemented	Number of Households benefited
1	Magozi, Ilo Mpya, and Mkombilenga	Construction of irrigation channel	1,172
2	Mangalali	Construction of fishing pond	563
3	Malinzanga	Construction of irrigation channel	364

Source: Adopted from (DED Iringa District Implementation Report (2008))

3.4.1 *Construction of fishing Pond in Mangalali Village:*

PADEP in Mangalali village constructed a fishing pond in which about 600 households were to benefit from the pond. However, the study found that the construction of a fishing pond in Mangalali village was not successful because of the pond is full of sand which is not conducive for the survival of fish. Therefore, CIS in Mangalali village failed and PADEP grant of Tshs 35 million equivalent to 32,000 US\$ (PADEP Operational Manual 2003) was also wasted. The focus group discussion revealed that the community' time, effort, and resources which were contributed in construction of the fishing pond were wasted.

The PDO revealed in the in-depth interview that Mangalali village fishing pond is not working due to the lack of enough water in the dam. He explained “this situation is caused by the type of soil in the area and tree types surrounding the dam which have characteristic of consuming more water”⁵.

With the above reasons yet PADEP went ahead and constructed the dam. Why? As the researcher I kept on asking this question while in the field research but it was not easy to get answers.

Field interviews revealed that the problems regarding the fishing pond indicates that the situation analysis, feasibility study and village consensus on which community project to implement was not done properly. The project manual (2003) argued that situational analysis was a stage where community with DFT carry out situation analysis and problem identification using participatory methods and tools.

According to the PADEP District Officer (PDO), PRA methods and techniques were carried out before the implementation of the project. Why then did they construct the fishing pond? Many unanswered questions keep

⁵ In depth Interview in August 2008 in Iringa District Office

nagging the researcher: why construct a pond in an area where water as the PDO said was not available? Also tree around the area consume much water why that particular area? Why the fishing pond? These questions are important when you link them with community participation and decision making in the whole process of formulating CIS.

3.5 Farmer Group Investment Subprojects (FAGIS)

The main focus of this study was on the FGIS because; individually farmers benefited directly from the project in the sense that the funding/grants they received was used on the participants' farms.

For the case of FAGIS, each participating village was required to have four FAGIS, the project contributed 50% of the costs of consumable agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and agrochemicals). The beneficiaries of FAGIS contribute in cash 50% of the costs of agricultural inputs and in kind or cash on at least 20% of other costs including technical assistance and training. The total grant per village for FAGIS was up to Tanzania shillings (Tshs) 11 million equivalent to 100,000 US\$ (PADEP Operational manual 2003).

For instance, farmers who were able to meet the PADEP requirements received funding from the project in which they were given 50% of the total costs of farm inputs.

The project manual defined a farmer group as a small group of (between 10 and 40 households) belonging to the same village that voluntarily agree, with endorsement of the respective village government. The project operational manual (2003) set the FAGIS criteria as: member households are residents of the same village, have a written group constitution, are recognized by village authorities, members agree collectively to open a saving account and deposit 50 percent of the costs of any consumable inputs required for implementation of their chosen FAGIS; and after sale of the harvest, re deposit the same amount to their saving account for use in the following planting season, agree to share knowledge and training with other village farmers who want to adopt the technological innovations and are prepared to comply with other requirements made, through a specific subproject financing agreement, in relation to the use of assets and agricultural inputs supported by the project (ibid).

Also, the project manual indicated that groups from the disadvantages section of the community such as women and youths will be actively involved (Project operational Manual, 2003:13). In relation to the above requirements as it has been argued, it was difficult for the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups to meet those criteria mentioned above. Evidently, the project manual did not explain the procedures of involving in the project of these groups of people.

The Iringa District PADEP report (2008) explained that the Iringa district has implemented about 145 FAGIS in which about a total of 4792 households benefited from FAGIS. The project has improved the lives of participating

farmers⁶ while the focus group discussion revealed that those who could not afford their lives were not improved.

To conclude, smallholder agricultural sector depend on agriculture for their survivor. Development intervention such as PADEP should rethink on the processes of community participation. As far as the community consensus is concerned in formulating a subproject to benefit the community, voices of the vulnerable groups of the poor, disabled and disadvantaged should also be taken into account.

⁶ In depth Interview with the DALDO, Iringa August 2008

Chapter 4 Findings and Analysis:

4.1 Introduction:

In this chapter the main findings of this study will be discussed. Analysis will be based on the research questions and the conceptual framework. Finally the conclusion will follow.

4.2 Research Questions

(RQ) 1 (a): What are the direct and indirect mechanism of inclusion and exclusion in the PADEP?

Looking at the PADEP project operational manual on the implementation process one can ask a question how the groups of the marginalized, poor women and men, the vulnerable groups were involved and benefited from this project? Fieldwork research found out that the project was designed to benefit people with income. This is the direct exclusion in such a way that people with no source of income were automatically excluded to be involved in the project. Thus White (2005:888) argued that

aid and development agencies do not see destitution as a development problem they can address.

The DALDO when asked how the vulnerable groups and the poor groups of women could participate in the project, he replied that these people could benefit from the CIS since the whole villages or part of it could benefit but for the FAGIS it was not possible because the project was designed that for any one to participate in the FAGIS it was mandatory to pay.

The community subproject (CIS) according to (PADEP operational manual 2003) in a village is expected to be beneficial to the entire community or a large section of the community. The focus group discussion revealed that the disabled, the elderly persons and the disadvantaged groups of specific poor women such as widows could not participate in the community projects because of their vulnerability. An example was cited from Magozi village where the community project was construction of an irrigation channel Being poor, disabled, widowed and marginalized impede the allocation of water to their farms. In order for their farm to receive water they have also to pay for user fee for the maintenance. For the poor women and the elderly persons it was not easy for them

On the other hand, for a person to become a member in a FAGIS he or she was required to pay 2000 Tshs as a deposit fee which was used to open bank account for the group. It was also necessary for a farmer group to have a bank account because of two reasons: first for the group to be approved by PADEP officials; secondly the PADEP project needed the farmer group bank account in order to channel the grant into it.

Once implementation of the project took off, each member of FAGIS was required to contribute 25,000 Tshs equivalent to 25 United States dollars, for three consecutive years each while PADEP contribution was 25,000 which makes the total of Tshs 50,000 equivalent to 50 US\$ Tshs for each member. This amount of money was used in return by the group to buy farm inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary drugs and services.

Furthermore, this criteria of cost sharing is an exclusionary in which those who cannot contribute cannot participate. Participation based on the principles of cost sharing is exclusionary to the vulnerable. The PADEP project did not consider the vulnerable groups of women, the elderly, and disabled, despite its explicit goals of gender balance, equality and social inclusion of the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

For rural poor women and other disadvantaged groups to get 25,000 Tshs was not easy because to them is a lot of money for unemployed people who depend entirely on selling farm produce in order to get income. Also, apart from contributing to the PADEP still these people needed to buy other basic needs for their daily uses.

The focus group discussion revealed that some poor widowed women had to cook and sell local brew in order to get such an amount of money in order to participate in FAGIS since being a member in a FAGIS had other advantages such as access to agricultural subsidies. One widowed old woman who struggled to join the FAGIS revealed that:

I had to cook and sell local brew but the money I got was not enough, then I had to sell my bicycle that I valued so much, but I had to sell it. Since I wanted to join FAGIS, I had no option but to sell my bicycle” (Interview with a widowed poor woman in Iringa, August 2008).

Consequently, the focus group discussion revealed that the vulnerable groups of women and the groups of poor women wanted to join but they could not afford thus they were directly excluded from participating in the project. One old woman said:

“I heard about PADEP from my grandson who helped me to till the land, I had nothing to pay let alone sell, it was not possible for me to afford that kind of money” (Interview in Mangalali village, Iringa August 2008).

A group of women who participated in the focus group discussion revealed that:

we had opportunity because development came to our village, it knocked on our doors, our hands were tied up, we could not open the door to welcome this visitor development into our houses, it left us like the way it found us”.

This explains that as members in that village they had an opportunity to have a development project in their village unfortunately they were too poor to join the project.

RQ 1 (b) Impacts of Cost Sharing Requirement by PADEP to the Poor and Vulnerable households:

The mandatory cost sharing set by the project had different impacts to the vulnerable groups of the poor, elderly, disabled, women and men in Iringa district. This section discusses the impacts of cost sharing to the people.

Cost sharing has been an approach used by public sector especially in health services in developing countries to recover some of the costs of service (Paito et al, 2004).

Adams and Harnet (1996:7) argued that

“Based on the WB operational manual, operational policies and Bank procedures, the WB sets cost sharing ceiling for all its borrowers, including countries eligible for foreign exchange financing only. A country sharing limit is a function of its ability to mobilize domestic and foreign financial resources and thus is based on its per capita income”.

Moreover,

“in the 80s the WB reports stated the potential role of cost sharing in the social sectors. Cost sharing was seen as improving social equity, protecting the poor’s access to services, and increasing ownership, accountability and economic efficiency” (ibid).

The project enforces cost sharing in order to ensure sustainability of FAGIS and also to ensure the ownership and participation of people in their own development (PADEP operational Manual 2003). The researcher’s argument on sustainability is discussed in RQ 4 but in this section the focus will be the implications of cost sharing to the vulnerable groups of poor and disadvantages women and men.

Gender is an important issue when implementing a project which insists on empowering women and the poor and at the same time enforces cost sharing. Many women and the groups of vulnerable women do not have access to household income and control over it.

For example, in Mangalali village, the study found out that, women who were able to join FAGIS and after being ‘empowered’ by PADEP in terms of fertilizers, pesticides, trainings and veterinary drugs, performed much better in terms of harvest than their counterparts who could not afford the costs of joining FAGIS. One widow in a focus group said:

“Since I joined a women group, and after meeting all the requirements of PADEP, I was able to buy fertilizers and other farm inputs. My life has been changed because before I used to harvest about five to six bags of maize per acre but now I can harvest about twelve bags per acre. I have enough food for my family, and I can pay some of the school fees for my son”:

An example of looking at women, men, the disabled, the elderly and the orphans who are poor, who can not provide enough to feed their families how possible could they get 50percent to deposit in order to participate and be

empowered by the project? This criterion of cost sharing according to Sen (1997) is a capability failure because all these group of people will not be able to do what the project wants them to do.

However, women who were not able to afford the costs of cost sharing in order to join PADEP felt let down by the government. Some of these women are old and they care for the orphans whose parents died because of HIV/pandemic. The findings found out that majority of the poor and vulnerable women could not afford to meet this cost sharing requirements of PADEP.

Some of the poor women who participated in the focus group interview revealed they really wanted to participated/ join the PADEP in order to be empowered but they could not afford the costs.

“I cannot even afford user fees in the hospitals or let alone pay for treatment, how is it possible I can afford to join PADEP and meet other cost?⁷

The study also found out that many households in Malinzanga, Mangalali and Magozi are headed by women and some of these are vulnerable. The Household Budget Survey (2000/2001) cited from (TPHDR 2005) findings confirm that 22 percent of rural households as female headed.

Some of the women are widowed because their husband died of HIV/AIDS and this also makes them vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

Vulnerability, powerless and poverty is the major set back for women empowerment. The vulnerable groups of women cannot even afford their meal. The blind, disabled, the elderly and orphans fall in this category of vulnerable. Some do own a piece of land but can not cultivate because they are too old. Some youth who are orphans are powerless to claims their land from relatives who took it after their parents died. In turn they migrate to town to work as domestic workers and some end up being prostitutes.

RQ 2: What are gender norms for participation and how are they reflected in the male-female representation in the project and in the community level?

The PADEP project document argued that gender awareness and balance will be improved in the implementation of the project through establishment of women's only farmers groups and mandatory inclusion of women in the leadership of committee of subprojects either as chairperson or secretary. Also it was compulsory for women to be treasures in FAGIS and CIS (2003: 31).

Gender as explained by Scott (1999) explained that gender is a social relations between men and women. This social relations of men and women

⁷ Quoted from the focus group interview with and old widowed blind woman in Magozi village in August 2008.

also consists power relations. The project emphasized gender balance on levels of its implementation but on the other hand it did not explain how power relations in the communities will be addressed in order to balance gender in the project.

Importantly the project synonymised gender with women while as Scott explained above gender is about social relations between men and women not just women alone.

Preferential treatment for women to achieve a higher level of representation in the project is an affirmative action but it is not by itself the end product of affirmative action on gender balance and awareness.

Cleaver (1998:354) argued that

“Projects that emphasize women’s participation through involvement on committees and in the decision making process do not necessarily benefit those women most in need, nor do they always reflect the priorities of such women”.

The project’s affirmative action of forcing women to be treasurers or leaders in subproject committee is what Nussbaum calls universal norms in connection with women equality-argument from culture. According to Nussbaum (1997b),

“Traditional cultures contain their own norms of what women’s lives should be: frequently norms of female modesty, deference, obedience, and self-sacrifice...”

Linking Nussbaum argument with PADEP’s criteria of empowering women as treasures or leader of subproject committee I will argue is not actually empowering them but legitimizing the norms of women subordination by existing gender roles and norms.

The field study revealed that women are perceived with honesty when it comes to the issues of theft. It is believed that chances for a married woman to steal large sum of money and run away are very low or zero. An example was cited from the focus group that a married woman will not risk her children or her husband to run away or steal project’s money that is why it was made compulsory for women to be treasures rather than men. Also another reason was the experiences from other projects where men were treasures experiences showed results were not good because some men stole he money and disappeared.

The in-depths interviews with the women who were leaders in CIS and FAGIS revealed that although they enjoyed being leaders but their burden of work doubled. Being a leader consumed much of their time as they had to attend meetings, travel to the district council office to process the payments of approved subprojects and to deal with banking procedures such as filling in forms, signing and to deal with long queues in the bank.

For women treasures from the rural area it was not easy and it was a big challenge for them. Familiarity with the banking procedures for someone who have never been to a bank takes some time.

Kabeer in her work 'Empowerment from Below' (2001:238), depicts how poor women faced obstacles when dealing with banking services: she illustrates how education, class and gender are associated with obstacles to poor women when dealing with banking services, as cited from Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) publication describing the experiences faced by the poor women:

"Being all women, accompanied by children, filthy in appearance, unaccustomed to manners and business talks, they were annoying to and not much welcome by the bank staff at their premises. Being illiterate they would go to the wrong bank, go at the wrong hours, could not fill in the clips... (cited in Kabeer who cited from Everett and Savara, 1991:238).

The in depth interviews with one of the treasures of FAGIS revealed that being a treasure in the project made it possible for her to experience banking procedures and regulations since she has never set foot in the bank before. She said:

"I have never been to the bank before because I had nothing to do with the bank also going to the bank from our village costs a lot, and transportation is a problems therefore going to the bank for me is like a two to three days trip...".

Women's reproductive roles in addition to other community roles such as being a FAGIS or CIS treasurer or a chairperson doubled women's burden of work. Therefore being FAGIS/CIS leaders, it is an affirmative action but it should be looked at on how to help reduce burden of work.

On the other hand, even if women being involved in top leadership in the project made them to be respected, but still gender relations and perception towards women in rural areas has not been changed. For example, these women might have power over the community but they are powerless on other aspects such as at their households they continued to be under subordination and domination of their husband and or patriarchal kinship.

Importantly, the criteria of making women as leaders or treasures in the project did not change the power and gender relations at the households or place of work or community at large.

When asked if being leaders in the project committee has helped to reduce women subordination, some women leaders replied that nothing has changed, what they experienced before they become leaders is still practiced by members of the community.

Sometimes I wanted to resign as a leader because it was too much for me, I had to attend meetings and seminars in Iringa town and at the same time my family needed me but I had to go on because If I would have resigned I would have felt like letting down those who selected me...

Taking other examples from focus group discussion women themselves revealed that although the project sensitised gender balance and equality by including women at all level of the project implementation, some women who participated did not enjoy the benefits of being in the project. One young woman said her husband made it possible for her to participate in the FAGIS

as he paid all the costs for her, but when she got fertilizers and other farm inputs the husband took them away and used it in his own plot. She said she participated in the project to benefit her husband. She said:

“I was a FAGIS member what I benefited from the group was only training and group tour to Arusha as one way of learning but other benefits were taken by my husband” the young women revealed in the interview.

The explanation above depicts that power relations between husband and wife, men and women exists.

For Participation and empowerment to be successful, equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders especially the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups is important.

RQ 3 (a): How has the Intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, age, income and disability been conceptualised in the project implementation?

This section critically reflects on gender, Intersectionality and the PRA techniques and processes how they were perceived by the project and implementers of the project during the implementation of the PADEP.

The PADEP project operational manual (2003) indicated that PRA techniques and process will be used to strengthens the community in needs assessment and identification.

However, PRA activities do not always fit women’s schedules or agendas (Parpat 2003:173). Mosse (1994) discovered that many projects assume women would be available at central locations (away from fields and home) for lengthy periods of time, these requirements conflict with women’s work structures and limit women’s participation in project activities.

Cornwall (2003:1325) and other critics argued that women, are the most likely to lose out, finding themselves and their interest marginalised or overlooked in apparently participatory processes (Guijt & Kaul Shal, 1998; Mayoux 1995; Mosse, 1995) because of gender biasness.

There is an intrinsic gender bias in some PRA methods (transect walk and village meetings) that take several hours to complete and interfere with women’s normal routine (cooking, collecting fuel, child care),as women tend to have less free time than men. The participation of women in the PRA was not organized to fit women’s roles in the community in the sense that the organizers and facilitators did not consider women’s roles as mothers, domestic worker, care giver and also community members⁸. Also, in some cases women are less accustomed than men to expressing themselves in public and may be reluctant to be involved in meeting of larger groups.

⁸ Interview with the chairperson of the women group in Mangalali village, August 2008

Accordingly, Chambers (1992:56) argued that

the challenge PRA has is to introduce and use PRA so that the weaker are identified and empowered and equity is served

In its manual (2003), PADEP stressed the urgency of empowering women especially rural women. The project stressed empowering women as a group. One thing which is important for development planners to understand is that in every community, women as a group are not a homogenous group. Women as a group comprise intersectional layers of inequality along the lines of ethnicity, age, class, gender and education. As argued in chapter two women as a group consists of cross-sections of the social stratification.

In the case of Iringa district there are educated employed women who work as primary school teachers, secondary school teachers, nurses, midwives, community development officers and extension officers. This group of educated employed women may suffer gender subordination from their employers or households but at least they have income through which majority of this women were able to join farmer groups.

There is also a group of women although they are not educated or employed like their counterparts, this group of women comprises of women who have opportunities such as being married to local leaders, influential persons in the villages such as businessmen, shopkeepers, pastors, imam, doctors, politicians and other influential people in the village.

In this group also, comprise women who are local leaders. This group of women not only had opportunities to join FAGIS because they could afford it but also their social position was an added advantage because they were required by the district council and the project to mobilise local communities to participate and attend meeting during the early stages of implementation of the project.. As, Darling (2002), claimed that

“members of the socially dominant groups: males, educated women, employed women, wives of local leaders and physically more able people their access to opportunities has been made easier by a legacy of discrimination that has blocked or eclipsed access, opportunities and rights for marginalized others”

In the lower level we find the group of women comprising women such as un-educated, who works as farmers, casual labourers, some are married, majority are single parents, they are poor, vulnerable, disadvantages and marginalized. The majority of women in this category have no opportunities compared to their counterparts mentioned above. They could not afford to join the farmer groups. The focus group revealed that daughters of the women in this group do not have opportunity to go to school and many of them ended up working as maids in Iringa town and big cities like Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Morogoro.

Targeting empowerment to women as a group was misguided because as stated above women as a group are not homogeneous. The project ended up empowering the groups of women whose status and social well being was higher compared to the lower class of women whose social well being was very low. Therefore the poor women, the marginalised women are the women on

the lower class and status who were socially excluded by the project. Thus Commins (2004) argued that

“Socially excluded people become trapped in a cycle of related problems such as unemployment, poor skills, poverty, low income, poor housing, family breakdown, disabled, elderly etc. It is often connected to a person’s social class, educational status and living standards and how these might affect their access to various opportunities”.

The Intersectionality of class, gender, education, and physically able impede the participation of the vulnerable groups and disadvantages groups of poor women.

The poor, disabled, and the marginalized were entirely left out, excluded from the project. Thus it was revealed in the focus group discussion during the field work research that people with physical disabilities and the blind are being kept /hidden in their houses. Majority of these people are beggars and are being taken care by fellow family members.

Given the explanations above, the powerless, the vulnerable and the poor did not manage to participate and be empowered by the project. These groups of people are weak as far as participating in decision-making which affects them. They don’t have the voice to be heard or participate.

White (2005: 882) argued that

“destitute people have practically no voice, and importantly, they are also actively deprived of voice”.

The few, the powerful, men and other influential people in the community their voices will be heard and what they decide is what will be implemented. Attention should be given to women and the vulnerable groups in a society in order to sensitize active participation. Also, attention to location and timing of meetings are important to ensure women’s participation (Oxaal &Baden 1997)

For participation to provide empowerment it needs to be more than a process of consultation over decisions already made. Strategies to support women’s empowerment should be encouraging women’s participation at all stages of projects, including evaluation ((Oxaal and Baden 1997).

Bringing the marginalized and the poor into discussions, encouraging and facilitating local knowledge and analytical skills is crucial to development both as an economic activity and as a personal and societal goal (Parpart 2007:17).

RQ 3 (b): How have power, empowerment and decision making has been conceptualised by the project implementers?

The case of power as elaborated in the conceptual framework, power in its multiple guises which includes power over, power to, power with and power from within. The fieldwork research however noted how power was conceptualized by people who implemented the project. For example, the study noted out that some aspects of power in which some women groups exercised. In this case we have the example of women who were able to confront their leadership when conflicts or misunderstanding occurred. An

example can be cited that women in one FAGIS were able to confront their leaders when PADEP delayed to deposit their grant in their bank account.

Women who participated in FAGIS had opportunities to attend workshops and seminars as well as study tours. During the focus group discussion it was revealed that these women's self esteem and confidence were improved. Some went as far as claiming that the seminars and workshops changed them. This implies that women excised *power within*. It was revealed that through PADEP women groups self-esteem was increased as well as awareness was raised. They were able to learn the 'rules of the game' how to use their agency to negotiate price, how to transport their crops to the market and getting to know banking procedures in order to access loan and other banking services.

Also, the study noted another kind of power among the women in the FAGIS and this is *power with*-they were able to build social mobilisation and alliances. For example, women FAGIS in Mangalali village joined hands together to help one another specifically the example of three women who joined hands and chose one to join FAGIS (see section 2.4 in page 22)

However, power has also been conceptualized differently by male participants in the FAGIS as it is argued that some men used their wives as a bait in order to benefit from the PADEP.

About who makes decision regarding incomes and resources, the following section discusses briefly.

While, in the PADEP , women are the mainly producers of food crops as well as cash crops, men own the land, the harvests and other resources.

Traditional gender roles and relations are predominant in the Iringa district. Women do not have power to make decision about the harvest from the farm since they do not own land. Kabeer (2003:123) argued that:

“While women may have access to land, they do not usually have title to it, resulting in insecurity of tenure. This leaves widows, divorced and deserted women in difficult position”.

Another example was given earlier when a woman explained that her husband took the advantage of gender balance in the project whereby instead of him joining the project he paid for his wife to join the project but controlled all the benefits his wife received from the project.

The focus group discussion revealed that some women participate with their husbands to make decision while other women revealed that their husbands make all the decision regarding how to use the income, selling crops or buying other stuffs.

Men make decisions regarding the harvest from the farms. As a consequence women continue to suffer and are the most poor in Iringa rural.

Fig 2 on page 47 shows three levels of disadvantages which the vulnerable groups and the specific groups of women face.

Powerlessness

The vulnerable groups and the specific groups of women are powerless when it comes to voice their problems and decision making concerning project's needs identification, income, and harvest from the farms. Also, these groups of people are powerless in the sense that even if they wanted to participate in the project they couldn't afford since they didn't have afford. An example was cited from the focus group that some disadvantaged women did not even know that PADEP was in their village. These groups of people are powerless to use irrigation channel to irrigate their farms. Also another example explained that some women who joined the project were powerless to make decision about the farm inputs they received from the project.

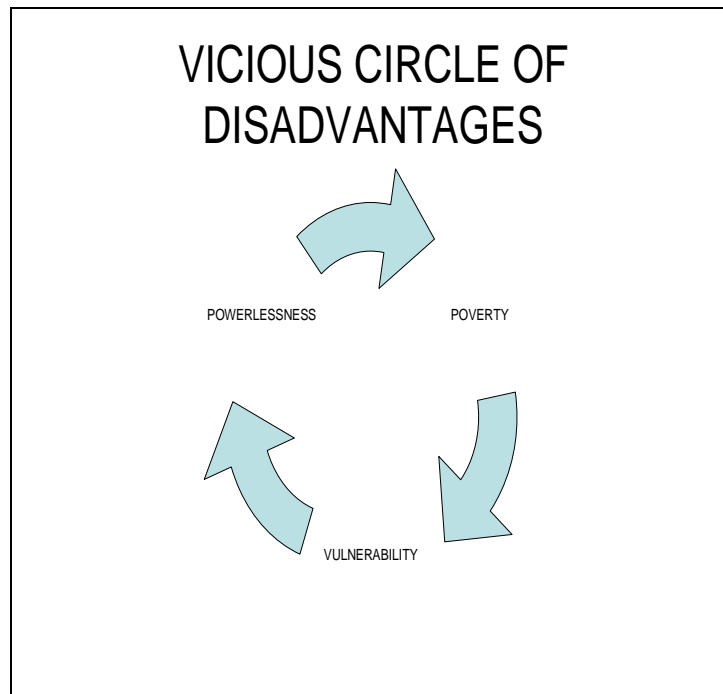
Poverty:

Poverty is the main problem facing the vulnerable groups and the poor women. The blind, the elderly, the orphans groups of women face poverty problem. PADEP main objective was to reduce poverty however the project was not able to reduce the poverty of these groups of people. The mandatory criteria of cost sharing impede these groups of people to join the FAGIS, access water in the irrigation channel.

Vulnerability:

The vulnerable groups and poor women are weak, voiceless and because of their vulnerable situation they are poor and powerless to join the project even if they want to. Vulnerability according to NSGRP is caused by being orphan at an early age, old people who care for HIV victims and orphans, people living with HIV/AIDS with their families, people living with long illness, people with disabilities and women who are widows or who cannot support themselves for other reasons. In this case, an example can be cited where people living with HIV/AIDS apart from being sick they also suffer from stigmatisation from relatives and communities. It is hard for people living with HIV/AIDS to reveal their HIV status because of stigma. People with physical disability are vulnerable because as it is mentioned earlier, they are 'hidden' by their relatives in the houses because of their disability. Therefore, they are vulnerable because of their dependence on their relatives for everything as far as their daily survival is concerned (TPHDR 2005).

Figure 2
Vicious circle of disadvantages



Source: Own elaboration

RQ 3 (b) Effects of empowerment and participation of the people in the PADEP:

Wennink, Nederlof and Heemskerk (2007) explained the benefits of farmer groups to the farmers. They argued that

“effective farmer organisations present important opportunities such as providing research and extension services to farmers and organizing the purchase of inputs and sale of products on a more cost effective basis, mobilising resources for local development; and representing the interests and collective voice of farmers in development fora”

Taking examples from PADEP, the study found out that farmers who joined FAGIS enjoyed the benefits like those mentioned above.

A women FAGIS in Malinzanga village revealed that not only were they able to harvest more bags of maize than before they joined PADEP but also they were able to participate in trainings and workshops in order to adopt to improved agricultural technologies, better uses of the land, and improved ways of livestock rearing.

Moreover, study trips were organized to visit other FAGIS in other parts of the country to learn by doing and observing, sharing experiences with other FAGIS members. In addition, a visit to the agricultural research institutes

helped this group of women to acquire and widen their knowledge on many issues regarding agricultural and livestock keeping. Some women in this FAGIS remarked that for a normal rural woman travelling to other parts of the country is unusual because transport costs a lot and family affairs limits them to travel. Since PADEP paid all the costs for study trips it was a valuable opportunity to travel and get 'fresh air' from reproductive roles and other activities.

Increase in income and agricultural productivity of participating households could be credited to PADEP. The fieldwork of this study found out that in Magozi village, participated household in the PADEP has experienced increase in income after harvesting more bags of rice compared to other years before they joined PADEP. Farmers revealed that adapting to improved agricultural technologies increased the chances of harvesting more bags of rice and hence increased income and thus their well being is improved.

participated farmer boasted that was able to build an iron roofed house because of increment of income after selling rice.

A FAGIS committee in Magozi village remarked that:

“Rice traders come with their trucks to buy rice in our village! before PADEP we used to transport our few bags of rice to town it was expensive, and on top of that rice traders bought our rice in a very cheap price, but now things have changed, they come here to buy rice at our village because we are now empowered we know the 'rules of the game', we produce more and this created competition with other villages which produce rice”.

However the coming of traders in the villages to buy crops such as rice and maize brought with them problems. It was revealed that the coming and goings of traders in the villages also stimulate the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Other famers were able to pay school fees for their children. However, some women complained that although PADEP has improved their lives but women are not benefiting as compared to men because 'the more the income the more wives men marry'. It was revealed that some men went as far as increasing the number of wives. The reason behind men having more wives is culturally which indicate power and status a person has in a community.

RQ 4: How Sustainable is the project to the people?

This section will discuss the CIS and FAGIS sustainability in the case study villages of Magozi and Mangalali.

The project operational manual argued that criteria for approval of subprojects included gender balance, sustainability and empowerment of rural communities. This implies that for a subproject to be approved for grant from PADEP it has to meet the afore mentioned criteria. In the light of that argument, this section discusses the sustainability of the project.

In the context of development cooperation, sustainability has been defined differently by different development cooperation agencies. For example, the OECD defined sustainability as the continuation of benefits from

development intervention after major development assistance has been completed (cited in Bergh, 2006).

Looking from the PADEP perspective, sustainability meant the continuation of using bank accounts by farmers groups, and by the villages. In this case PADEP planned that after the cessation of the project, its mechanism of empowerment in farmer groups where group members paid an amount of money in order to buy farm inputs will be continuing. Also, the project planned that the increment in income will be saved by farmers and be used after the cessation of the project. During the project design, it was designed that after the cessation of the project some of the key aspects of the project will be continued by farmers. The URT (2003:32) stressed that:

Financial sustainability will derive from the stream of earnings generated by the subprojects, either in cash or in kind. The project design has built in incentives for savings by farmers' group. This mandatory savings in a group's bank account of a certain portion of the revenue generated, to finance purchased inputs for the next farming season, will enable households to sustain adopted new technologies beyond the project life. Some of the sub projects, such as the dip facilities may charge user fees and deposit these in the operational and maintenance account. For smaller irrigation subprojects, the standard procedure is for each participating household to contribute, on annual basis a certain agreed amount of cash to cover the operational and maintenance costs.

However, the fieldwork research of this study noted that some FAGIS bank accounts were closed because the group members were not active in terms of continuation of collecting contributions. Moreover, the study found that the increments in income of the participating members was not saved as it was predicted by the project but it was used for other consumptions such as paying school fees, building iron roofed houses, and even as a dowry for other wives.

The following section compares and distinguishes two villages: Mangalali and Magozi . Then I will give an illustration of sustainability of the project in terms of CIS and FAGIS.

Magozi Village:

Among the villages which implemented CIS Magozi is the most successful. The CIS in this village was the construction of an irrigation channel. About 1000 households benefited from this irrigation channel. Before the construction of the irrigation channel, poverty was in its peak. People were suffering from famine and hunger; they lived in houses without iron roof, in poor condition.

After the construction of irrigation channel, for farmers who were able to participate in the project their lives has been improved. Some have managed

to build houses with iron roofs, others managed to send their children to school. Female headed households also saw some changes in terms of income and food security⁹.

The DALDO stressed that farmers are now getting about 16-20 bags of rice per acre compared to 6-10 bags per acre before the irrigation channel was constructed. Farmers especially women were empowered because they have income¹⁰.

The phasing out of PADEP in Magozi village in June 2008 has brought about two implications. The first is the sustainability of the irrigation channel and secondly the strengthening of FAGIS. Unlike other villages where farmer groups have collapsed, in Magozi the farmer groups are more strengthened this could be credited to the success they have in terms of productivity and farmers are more satisfied with their success. The Magozi village has established an irrigation committee in which participating household contribute some amount of user fees on annual basis where a certain agreed amount of money is contributed to cover the operational and maintenance costs. Though PADEP has ceased out but the sustainability of the project is valid and strengthened.

However, for non participating households, their lives are still the same even though some households where the vulnerable groups of women such as the blind and the disabled or the elderly are being helped by close relatives in terms of food or some incomes.

The focus group revealed that the vulnerable groups are not benefiting from the irrigation channel. Many of them can not afford the user fee and maintenance of the irrigation channel and also they are powerless to voice out the allocation of water to their farms.

Also, the study found out that are Some of the poor women sell their labour in rice fields in order to get income to meet their needs. Women's work burden has doubled, that means they work at home, cultivate their own farms, work as labourers in other people's rice fields and engage in domestic trade.

Mangalali Village:

For the case of Mangalali village, the issue of sustainability is not ensured valid due to the following reasons provided during a focus group interview. There were four FAGIS in Mangalali village after the project phased out in January 2008; none of the four groups is operating anymore. Some group members claimed that the group collapsed because the group morale backfired because they lacked motivation from the project. PADEP was the reason behind for the groups to be formed and also for the collapse of it. It was revealed that since there will be no more grant from PADEP so group members started to drop out one after another until the group was no more.

⁹ Focus group interview in Magozi village, August 2008.

¹⁰ Interview with DALDO-Iringa August 12, 2008 in Iringa Tanzania.

Also, some group members did not paid their contributions and those who paid where being forced to do so by their leaders this led for some members to drop out from the group. The FAGIS leadership comprised chairperson, secretary, and treasurers. All member of one FAGIS select their own leadership.

However, PADEP was able to provide farmers with fertilizer subsidies which helped farmer groups. With the phasing out of the project, farmers find it very difficulty to get agricultural input subsidies. Some of the reasons are: long processes, bureaucracy whereby as mentioned earlier, the district council offices are in urban area sometimes it takes long for farmers to get information regarding fertilizers subsidies and sometimes they get information while the deadline to get agricultural inputs with subsidies has expired. Therefore, due to these problems and PADEP phasing out farmer groups found no point to continue being in a group.

Taking the case of CIS in Mangalali village, sustainability is not ensured due the fact that the construction of the fishing pond was a total failure. The comparison of these two villages provides a clear picture where PADEP succeeded; you may find that sustainability is emphasized while in some villages where PADEP failed there is no sustainability even though project planners planned that the project will be sustainable.

Consequently, the project also planned on the sustainability of provision of services by district councils and private sectors on providing extension services, distribution of agricultural inputs, design of irrigation systems and agro-mechanization onto farmers and herders. As a result, these services are provided in areas where there is high productivity of agriculture such as Magozi village but Mangalali village was neglected since the demand and affordability of agricultural inputs is not as high as before PADEP phased out.

Chapter 5 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations:

5.1 Introduction:

This chapter summarises major findings of this study and thereafter concludes and gives recommendations.

5.2 Summary of major findings:

From the findings of RQ 1, the study indicated that PADEP project was designed to empower the poor and to ensure social and gender inclusion unfortunately the project created more exclusion and inequality in the communities that implemented the project. Furthermore, cost sharing was a stumbling block because the vulnerable and the disadvantaged could not afford.

The findings of RQ 2 discussed the mechanism of inclusion as far as participation is concerned we saw how participation was conceptualised. Other men used their wives to participate in the project for their own benefits; they used the opportunity of 'women empowerment' to empower themselves. Women empowerment is not something which should be handed over only to women. This is a process which involves sincerity, earnestness and capacity and capability on the part of both men and women (Goel 2004).

Moreover, the findings from RQ 3 revealed that society and women groups comprise complexities, conflicts and inequalities. The intersectional analysis of class, gender, education, and employment played a role for women to participate in the project. The research confirmed that the educated, the employed, influential and prominent figures within women as a group were able to participate and benefit from the project. Also, the conceptualisation of power and empowerment was discussed. The findings revealed that self esteem, awareness was raised among the women who participated in the project. Furthermore, the vicious cycle of poverty, vulnerability and powerlessness was discussed. Essentially, it was also revealed that those who were able to participate in the FAGIS their lives were changed. Examples from women as head of their families shows how they were able to harvest more bags of crops compared before they joined the project. Some women were empowered in the sense that their self esteem was improved and some through trainings and study tours, they were able to get new insights about improving agricultural and livestock production.

However, findings from RQ 4 discussed the sustainability of the project after its cessation. It was argued that while PADEP planned that after its cessation the FAGIS will continue, the study found out that in some villages FAGIS has already collapsed.

5.3 Recommendations

From the summary above, the following recommendations are being proposed for policy makers, donors, government, and other development agencies as well as Non governmental organizations and civil society's organizations.

The need to rethink in including the vulnerable groups, the specific groups of poor women to participate in development projects is important. To involve the poor, marginalised, vulnerable and voiceless into development processes require an approach that can give the vulnerable groups more opportunities to develop themselves (Bierkat 2005). Therefore, poverty reduction intervention on rural poverty should target also the vulnerable group and the poor. It has to be empowering, making the vulnerable less vulnerable and preventing them from being further marginalised.

The governments should rethink on establishing clear policy guidelines towards the vulnerable and the disadvantaged groups in the society. For example, the Ministry of Health introduced exemptions and waivers to specific vulnerable groups particularly the elderly despite ineffective because of absence of clear policy (TPHDR 2005). There must be established clear policy which will state clearly who is eligible to be exempted either from cost sharing or other costs which could not be met by the vulnerable groups.

Importantly the government has already recognised gender as a cross cutting issue in all its sectors. It important for the government and all sectors to recognize that, accepting gender as a cross cutting issue does not mean you targets gender issues in practice. Therefore, clear policies and guidelines should be put in place and specifically address how women empowerment should be addressed.

Governments in the global South and the global North as well as cooperation development agencies on the global North should understand that women as a group are not homogenous group and so is the community. Power relations, marginalisation and inequalities take place inside the communities and between women as a group. Rethinking Intersectionality is highly recommended in order to reach out to the disadvantages groups within the society.

Governments should actively reach out for the vulnerable and the poor rather than listening only to a few powerful, community leaders and prominent figures.

References

- Adams, A.V. and T. Harnett (1996) 'Cost Sharing in the Social Sectors of Sub Saharan Africa: Impact on the Poor', *World Bank Discussion Paper no 338: Africa Technical Department Series*.
- Agarwal, B., I. Robyns and J. Humphries (eds) (2006) *Capabilities, Freedom and Equality* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Agrawal, A. and C. Gibson (1999) 'Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation', *World Development* 27(4): 629-649.
- AWID (2004) 'Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice', *Women's Rights and Economic Change* (9).
- Bamberger, M. (ed.) (2001) *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Source Book*. Washington: World Bank.
- Barker, D. and E. Kuiper (eds) (2006) *Feminist Economics and the World Bank: History, Theory and Policy*. London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group.
- Batliwala, S. (1994) 'The Meaning of Women Empowerment: New Concepts from Action', in G. Sen et al. (eds), *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health Empowerment and Rights* (pp. 127-138). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Beer, F.D. and H. Swanepoel (2000), *Introduction to Development Studies*. Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.
- Bergh, S. (2006) *Theory-Based Evaluation of Institutional Sustainability in Participatory Development Projects- A case Study from Morocco*. Paper presented at the conference 'EASY-ECO (Evaluation of Sustainability, European Conferences and Training Courses) Conference on 'Improving the Quality of Sustainable Development Projects'.
- Berner, E. and B. Philips (2005) 'Participation: Opportunity, Burden or Ritual', *Development Issues* 7(2).
- Bertus Wennink, S. Nederlof and W. Heemskerk (eds) (2007) *Access of the Poor to Agricultural Services*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.
- Bhatnagar, B. and A. Williams (1992) 'Participation Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change ', in G. Gopel (ed.), *World Bank Financed Projects with Community Participation: Procurement and Disbursement Issues*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Biekart, K. (2005) 'Participation in Development Studies: Towards Mainstreaming', *Development Issues* 7(2).
- Braig, M. and S. Wolte (eds) (2002) *Common Ground or Mutual Exclusion?: Women's Movement & International Relations* London: Zed Books.
- Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Science Methods* (Second ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chambers, R. (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. London: Longman.
- Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose Reality Counts: Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Chambers, R. (2005) *Ideas for Development* (1 ed.). London: Earthscan.
- Cleaver, F. (1998) 'Incentives and Informal Institution: Gender and the Management

- of Water ', *Agriculture and Human Values* 15: 360-374.
- Commins, P. (2004) 'Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas; Characteristics, Process and Research Issues', *Sociologia Ruralis* 44(1): 60-75.
- Cooke, B. and U. Kothari (eds) (2001) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London: Zed Books.
- Cornwall, A. (2003) 'Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development', *World Development* 31(8): 1325-1342.
- Cornwall, A. and K. Brock (2005) 'What do Buzzwords do for Development Policy? A Critical look at 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'poverty reduction'', *Third World Quarterly* 26(7): 1044-1060.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991) 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review* (Special Issue: Women of Color at the Centre).
- Crenshaw, K. (1993) 'De-marginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex', in K.D. Weisberg (ed.), *Feminist Legal Theory* (Vol. 1).
- Darling, M. (2002) *Intersectionality: Understanding and Applying Intersectionality to Confront Globalization* Paper presented at the conference 'AWID: 9th International Forum'.
- DFID (1997) 'White Paper on International Development'. London: DFID.
- District Executive Director (DED) (2008) 'Taarifa ya Utekelezaji Mradi wa PADEP robo tatu ya mwaka 2008 Wilaya ya Iringa'. Iringa: Iringa District Council.
- Doss, C. (2006) 'Engendering Agricultural Technology for Africa's Farmers: Promises and Pitfalls', in E. Kuiper et al. (eds), *Feminist Economics and the World Bank: History, Theory and Policy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Eade, D. (ed.) (2003) *Development Methods and Approaches: Critical Reflections*. Oxford: Oxfam GB.
- FAO Informal Working Group, (no date) Informal Working Group On Participatory Approaches and Methods, Course of Participatory Project Formulation.
- Goel, A. (2004) *Violence and Protective Measures for Women Development and Empowerment*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.
- Guijt, I. and K. Shah (eds) (1998) *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Ibrahim, S. and S. Alkire (2007) 'Agency and Empowerment: A Proposal for Internationally Comparable Indicators', *Oxford Development Studies* 35(4).
- Jha, N. (2004) 'Gender and Decision Making in Balinese Agriculture ', *American Ethnologist* 31(4): 552-572.
- Kabeer, N. (ed.) (2001) *Empowerment from Below: Learning from the Grassroots*. London: Verso.
- Malaki, B.S. (2007) 'Gendered Perspectives on Teenage Pregnant School Girls: An Intersectional Analysis of Tanzania Education and Training Policy 1995'. MA thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.
- Manoukian, E., M. Bamberger and F. M (eds) (2001) *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers Source Book*. Washington: World Bank.
- Mayo, M. and G. Craig (eds) (1995) *Community Empowerment: A Reader in Participation and Development*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Medel-Anonuevo, C. (2002) 'Reclaiming the Empowerment Discourse: A challenge to Feminists', in B. Marianne et al. (eds), *Common Ground or Mutual Exclusion? Women's Movements & International Relations*. New York: Zed Books.

- Mhina, E.H. (2007) *Financing For Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women: Experiences from Tanzania*. Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP).
- Ministry of Food and Agriculture (2008) 'Participatory Agricultural Empowerment and Development Project: Project Manual'. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania: Ministry of Food and Agriculture.
- Momsen, J.H. (2004) *Gender and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Morgan, D.L. (1996) 'Focus Groups', *Annual Review of Sociology* 22: 129-152.
- Mukherjee, A. (2004) *Participatory Rural Appraisal: Methods and Application in Rural Planning* (Second Revised Edition ed.). India: Concept Publishing Company.
- Mukuye, R. (2004) 'Micro Credit as a tool for Women's Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation in Uganda: The case of Uganda Women's Finance Trust Limited (UWFTL) and Micro Enterprise Development Network (MED-Net), Kampala, Uganda'. MA thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.
- Narayan, D. (ed.) (2005) *Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Nash, J. (2008) 'Re-thinking Intersectionality', *Feminist Review* (89): 1-15.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000) 'Women Capabilities and Social Justice', *Journal of Human Development* 1(2): 219-247.
- Oakley, P. (ed.) (2001) *Evaluating Empowerment: Reviewing the Concept and Practice* (Vol. 13). Oxford: INTRACT.
- Overseas Development Administration (ODA) (1995) *A Guide to Social Analysis for Projects in Developing Countries*. London: HMSO.
- Oxaal, Z. and S. Baden (1997) 'Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, Approaches and Implications for Policy' (No. 40): Institute of Development Studies (IDS).
- Oxfam (1995) *The Oxfam Handbook of Relief and Development*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- PACT Tanzania (2006) 'Gender Mentoring: A Guide for Strengthening Equality in Communities'. Dar Es Salaam.
- Parpart, J.L. (2000) *The Participatory Empowerment Approach to Gender and Development in Africa: Panacea or Illusion*. Paper presented at the conference 'Centre of African Studies'.
- Parpart, J.L., S.S.M. Rai and K. Staudt (eds) (2002) *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development In a global/ Local World*. London and New York: Routledge.
- REPOA (2005) 'Report on Local Government'. Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Saunders, K. (ed.) (2004) *Feminist Post-Development Thought: Rethinking Modernity, Post Colonialism and Representation*. London: Zed Books.
- Scott, J.W. (1999) 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', in *Gender and the Politics of History* (pp. 28-52). New York: Columbia.
- Siim, J.A.a.B. (ed.) (2004) *The Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment: Gender, Class and Citizenship*. Palgrave: Macmillan.
- TACAIDS (2005) 'The 2003-2004 Tanzania HIV Indicator Survey'. Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania: National Bureau of Statistics.
- Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) (2004) 'Research Report on Civil Society Participation in the Implementation Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA)'. Dar es Salaam.
- Towo, E. (2004) 'The Gender Dimension of Rural Producer Organisation in Tanzania'. Norwegian Institute For Urban and Regional Research.

- United Nations (UN) (1995) 'Human Development Report'. New York.
- United Nations (UN) (1995) *World Summit for Social Development: Copenhagen: Declaration and Programme of Action*. New York: UN.
- United Nations (UN) (2001) 'Human Development Report'. New York.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2005) 'Human Development Report: International Cooperation at Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World'. New York: United Nations.
- United Republic of Tanzania (2005) 'Tanzania Poverty and Human Development Report (IPHDR)'. Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- United Republic of Tanzania (2005) 'Country Report on Implementation Of The Beijing Platform For Action and The Outcome Document Of The 23rd Special Session Of The General Assembly- Beijing+10'. Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children- Tanzania.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2003) 'Agricultural Sample Census'. Dar Es Salaam: National Bureau of Statistics.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2003) *Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project: Project Operational Manual*. Unpublished manuscript, Dar Es Salaam.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2005) 'National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)'. Dar es Salaam: Vice President's Office.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2003) 'Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP) '. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Food and Agriculture.
- Unterhalter, E. and M. Walker (eds) (2007) *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weldon, S.L. (2005) *Rethinking Intersectionality: Some Conceptual Problems and Solutions for Comparative Study of Welfare State*. Paper presented at the conference 'Annual Meeting for Political science Association'.
- White, B.H. (2005) 'Destitution and Poverty of its politics-With Special Reference to South Asia', *World Development* 33(6): 881-891.
- World Bank (2003) 'Document of the World Bank: Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Credit to the United Republic of Tanzania for a Participatory Agriculture Development and Empowerment Project': The World Bank.

List of Appendices:

Appendix I: Focus group and In Depth Interviewees

s/no	Name	Title of the person	Date of interview	Place of Interview
1	Mr. Mphwehwe	DALDO	11 th August 2008	Iringa district
2		PDO	11 th August 2008	Iringa District Council
3	Women's group	Members and non members of FAGIS	July - August 2008	Malinzanga
4	Women	Members and non FAGIS members	August 2008	Magozi
5	FAGIS CIS committee	Committee leaders	August 2008	Magozi and Malinzanga

Appendix II: Questions for focus group for participating women in the FAGIS:

1. What is PADEP? Who brought PADEP to your village?
2. What do you understand by empowerment
3. What does participation mean?
4. Has PADEP improved your life?
5. In order to become a member in a FAGIS what are the requirements?
6. Being a woman how did you manage to participate in the project and also manage your domestic chores and social chores?
7. How did you manage to pay for membership fee and contributions needed by PADEP?
8. As a group member did you managed to achieve the project objectives?
9. Are you still a member in your group?
10. Is your group still working?

Appendix III: Questions for Focus group for non participants in the FAGIS:

1. When you heard about empowerment what did you understand?
2. Did you participate in the project? Especially in the FAGIS?
3. Why didn't you participate in the project?
4. Would you have liked to participate?
5. How and when did you come to know about PADEP?
6. Are you married?

Appendix IV: Questions for Local Leaders, CIS and FAGIS Committee

1. What CIS did you implement in your village?
2. what were the problems you faced as leaders in the CIS or FAGIS
3. As women can you explain how did you manage being a treasurer, domestic chores and your job?
4. Has PADEP brought changes to your village?
5. Being a woman leader has it changed anything? Like respected by the community or males? Other women?

Appendix V: Questions for DALDO, PDO and Some few DFT:

1. What is PADEP?
2. When PADEP talk about 'empowerment', 'participation' what does it mean?
3. Has PADEP changed the lives of rural people?
4. to what extend has PADEP achieved its objectives
5. Why did PADEP insist on cost sharing?
6. Since PADEP was a project addressing poverty to poor people, how the vulnerable groups of poor and disabled people were included in the project?
7. In Malinzanga village the CIS constructed a fishing dam; I was told by villager that the dam has not worked since it was constructed can you tell us why?