

CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY - BASED
EDUCATION TO POVERTY ALLEVIATION
AND IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY
OF LIFE.

THE CASE OF MADALA VILLAGE

A Draft Report Prepared for UNESCO Dar es Salaam

by

A. N. Kweka

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the study was to investigate how community-based education can be used for poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life in a rural community in Dar es Salaam. Community-based education refers to participatory programmes of education worked out with the people in the community to solve their various socio-economic problems. In this study the entry point is poverty and the quality of life.

Chapter One of this report looks at the theoretical framework of poverty as opposed to development. Poverty is shown as the inability or lack of capacity to produce wealth, weak organizational structure to defend interests of the community and lack of control of the resources at their disposal. The example of Tanzania in fighting against poverty since independence is given but the situation worsened after 1983. Human Development Index for Tanzania shows clearly that poverty alleviation is not taking place.

Chapter Two looks at how adult education can be used for poverty alleviation. Adult education is seen as learning about anything that enables the learner to improve his/her conditions of life. Community-based education is a bottom-up approach where the local people try to understand their community and what factors contribute to poverty and poor living conditions. The community socio-economic situation is followed with further analysis by different social groups which eventually come to identify activities they will undertake to alleviate poverty.

Chapter Three assesses and analyzes the socio-economic conditions of the community and point out some of the weaknesses of the community structure which contributed to poverty and poor quality of life. Madala Village consisted of subsistence farmers/peasants who had settled in the village and absentee

landlords who had large farms but did not manage them well. The subsistence farmers were hired by the absentee landlords but they never came together to discuss the future of Madala Village.

Chapter Four looks at the views of the village leaders, women and youth on their plans for poverty alleviation and improving the living conditions. These different groups realized the need for improved social services/amenities such as water, good roads and a dispensary. Some women came out with new projects but others were looking for loans or selling land to start business outside the village. Rural urban migration was common and was due to lack of social services which would improve the living conditions of the people.

Chapter Five concludes by showing the importance of providing social services to make people settle in the village and establish viable economic projects. Due to this the study recommends continuation of community-based adult education in Madala Village. This time more villagers should be involved and support should be sought from the district and ward government officials. The ward adult education coordinator should participate actively and coordinate the activities of other government extension staff.

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CHAPTER ONE :

POVERTY IN TANZANIA

This study will try to demonstrate how community based education can contribute to poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life of people living in rural villages around the City of Dar es salaam. In this chapter focus will be on the problem of poverty and quality of life in Tanzania. It will be shown that poverty and the fight against poverty are not new. Then we shall look at the problems of measuring poverty and who the poor are, in both rural and urban areas. It is argued that poverty must not be isolated from its socio-economic context within the national economy as well as the international economy ^{and} or the process of globalisation. The steps taken to alleviate poverty must consider these relations or else mere increase of productivity may lead to an increase in the process of impoverishment.

Poverty is the antithesis of development. It is the lack of capacity to produce and control wealth or inability to fight against natural and social constraints to better living standards. There are different ways of looking at this phenomenon. At one level one sees lack of science and technology in production such as use of poor agricultural implements, poor agricultural techniques, poor communication and transport. One also sees weaknesses in fighting against natural hazards such as floods, epidemics, drought, vermin and insects which need to be contained if production is to be carried out efficiently. Poor health affects production and one's income a great deal.

At another level one sees social organisation and control as factors which can explain poverty in many developing countries. Some people can practise modern methods of agriculture and yet remain poor because they lack social organizations to enable them to understand the dynamics of the market and

hence how to protect their interests against the adverse effects of the market. With good social organizations people can minimize cases of thefts, wars, exploitation and unequal exchange. At this level one could look at public policies on the economy, the character of the state, implementation of human rights, the laws on property, access to the means of production, security and insurance, social and cultural factors in production and consumption, gender issues, local / domestic economic organizations, marketing and markets, and foreign economic organizations. The central issues here is to what extent can the producers make use of these factors to their advantage in alleviating poverty.

Furthermore, poverty in developing countries must be seen as part of the world economy where there are countries with developed market economies, countries in transition to developed market economies, and the developing countries tied to the developed markets of other countries. These economies are so integrated that it does not make sense to talk of poverty in individual countries without linking it with economies of the most advanced countries. The 1994 report of the Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis at the U.N was so clear on this.

Despite the great diversity of conditions, the growth of the world economy as well as improvements in critical economic and social areas in many parts of the world, still largely depends on sustained growth in the developed market economies (UN , 1994 : 2).

If there is no sustained growth or stability in the developed market economies, then improvements in critical economic and social areas (including poverty) will be more difficult. Our history is full of examples of economic crises in the developed economies sending out waves to many parts of the developing world. Today people are looking at neo-liberalism with its

emphasis on globalization and deregulation or removing state regulation of the economy and depending entirely on market forces. As a result the economies of South East Asia have plunged into a serious economic crisis which will in many ways affect the growth of the economies of developing countries and hence the welfare of their people.

With this perspective poverty alleviation should not be limited to increased production of goods and services. Although production is an essential element in poverty alleviation it can only be guaranteed if there is a viable social organisation which will ensure continued production and defend the interests of the producers. Finally poverty cannot be eliminated if there is no control of markets and the resources which people have. An effective strategy for poverty alleviation will therefore require people to increase production, organise themselves in making use of existing markets and taking control of the natural and social resources of the country in question. This cannot be achieved overnight, it will involve various activities some of which will take many years to achieve.

In an attempt to alleviate poverty one is required to take note of the international situation as one analyses the local socio-economic conditions. The greatest weakness in the theories on development and poverty alleviation has been to stick to one condition and ignore the others. The interests of the developed market economies have, for example, not always been overtly discussed, and those of the local communities have in most cases been ignored. Sometimes the poor people have been presented as people without their own desires, aspirations, motivations and goals. In this way the poor people's ability to define and take care of their own lives was eroded.

Sometimes programmes of development and poverty alleviation have led to further impoverishment of the poor.

Poverty in Tanzania

War against poverty in Tanzania is not a new thing. The struggle for political independence in the late 1950s was seen as a strategy for poverty alleviation and improving the living conditions of the people. In 1959 Julius Nyerere remarked :

Our most critical years are going to be the first years of Independence. It is during those first years that our need for assistance will be at its most urgent if our economic activity is to start off with a momentum great enough to ensure success in overcoming poverty, disease, and ignorance which is our legacy (Nyerere, 1965 : 73).

But in this same article he saw the dangers of economic conditionalities which would deny us the freedom we had been fighting for. Two years later he was urging Tanzanians to fight against poverty themselves rather than waiting for assistance from outside. He rightly emphasized increased production for every Tanzanian :

If you have cotton unpicked on your shamba, if you have cultivated half an acre less than you could cultivate, if you are letting the soil run needlessly off your land, or if your shamba is full of weeds, if you deliberately ignore the advice given to you by the agricultural experts, then you are a traitor in the battle. You are failing us Tanganyikans, because you are not fighting to the limit against the common enemy of poverty (Nyerere, 1965 : 115).

Increased agricultural production is a necessary step for poverty alleviation but not a sufficient one. Other measures must be taken to ensure that the benefits of increased production accrue to the producer or else it will be difficult to motivate people to increase production.

Tanzania's development policy after political independence in 1961 was guided by the IMF/ World Bank strategy of maximizing growth through agriculture and livestock development. Its main objectives were :

- (i) To increase agricultural production by achieving village and district targets.
- (ii) To encourage people to perform communal work (self-help schemes) in the construction of roads, dams, better houses, wells, schools and dispensaries.

The government established regional, district and village development committees to promote self-help schemes in their own areas. The committees made decisions on what was to be done but the people were not allowed to question decisions made by the government or the development committees. In fact some people who opposed these decisions were detained. In this way the problems of the people in implementing those schemes were not considered and their interests and desires were not articulated in the projects.

In the late 1960s the struggle for poverty alleviation took a new turn with proclamation of the policy of socialism and self-reliance (Nyerere, 1968 : 231-250). The assumption here was that poverty alleviation would be affected through absence of exploitation and communal ownership of the major means of production. The state emphasized egalitarian distribution of resources and particularly the provision of free social services to all people. Between 1967 and 1981, the government was more concerned with establishing a national policy on productivity, incomes and prices (see Mtatifikolo, 1994 : 94 - 106). The objectives of the policy were :

- (a) to reduce income differentials among groups, region and between rural and urban areas ; (b) to promote socialist production and distribution ; (c) to raise efficiency in resource allocation and utilization ; and (d) to speed up national economic growth. The greatest achievements of this approach was on the provision of basic needs and reducing the ratio between minimum wage and top salary. For example in 1968 the ratio between minimum wage and top

salary was 1 : 28.8 while in 1988 it was 1 : 5.2. The incomes policy and the provision of free social services (education, medicine and water) enabled the low income groups in the population to enjoy improved conditions of life which would not have been achieved through non-equity policies.

Unfortunately the social services could not be sustained since the economy was adversely affected by the problems of the international economic system, such as the unfavourable terms of trade, collapse of East Africa Community, war with Idd Amin, oil price rise and floods and drought in different parts of the country. At the same time the donor community made a " general shift in development thinking a way from heavy reliance on the state and manufacturing industry, and in favour of market forces and agricultural exports " (Svendsen, 1995 : 116). The IMF asked Tanzania to remove price controls, subsidies, government budget deficits, and a controlled foreign exchange rate. In other words, the government was required to liberalize its economy and allow market forces to take command in a globalized economy.

This change has had far reaching consequences on the economy. The per capita GNP declined from USD 330 in 1983 to USD 100 in 1994 (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 TANZANIA'S GNP PER CAPITA 1970 - 1994 (in USD) .

Year	Income	Year	Income	Year	Income
1970	100	1978	230	1986	210
1971	100	1979	260	1987	170
1972	110	1980	290	1988	140
1973	130	1981	310	1989	130
1974	140	1982	330	1990	110
1975	170	1983	330	1991	100
1976	180	1984	320	1992	110
1977	200	1985	280	1993	100
				1994	100

Source : World Development Report (Various issues) ,

The decline of the per capita GNP coincides with the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) interventions in 1984 which was the year of trade liberalization. The business community has had a free hand in the economy and this has affected adversely the incomes of the peasants and workers. There are reports from different parts of the country that the private companies buying crops from the peasants have clandestinely formed cartels for controlling prices of coffee, cotton and tobacco. In some places the peasants have refused to sell their crops but cannot refuse for a long time before they give in. Increased production of some of these crops will not lead to alleviation of poverty. For a long time the problem of marketing of agricultural commodities from peasants has been seen as a stumbling block for rural development.

Studies carried out in Tanzania show that poverty was a rural phenomenon (WB 1993 : 32). It was revealed that 59% of people living in rural areas were poor while 44% were very poor. About 39% of those living in urban areas (other than Dar-es-salaam) were poor and 18% were very poor. But for those living in Dar es salaam only 9.3% were poor and 4.4% were very poor. If we focus on the poor, 85% of the poor live in rural areas, 13% live in urban areas (excluding Dar es salaam) and 2% of poor Tanzanians live in Dar es salaam.

The poverty lines are based on income but adjusted for purchasing power parity. Poverty lines based on consumption gave more reliable measure of welfare where an equivalent of \$1 per day per person was taken as the absolute poverty line while incomes of \$ 0.75 per day per person was the hard core poverty line. Out of the total Tanzanian population 51% were below the absolute poverty line and 42% were below the hard core poverty line. The poorest regions were Lindi, Ruvuma, Kigoma, Shinyanga and Rukwa. But one needs to be careful with data on poverty as conditions within the regions

are not homogeneous and do not remain the same for too long. The weather plays a crucial role in determining the harvest. With good rains in one year the living conditions of the people are greatly improved while the opposite would be the case the following year if the weather changed. On the whole the poor regions are characterised by low rainfall, poor soils, distance from markets and poor infrastructure. It should be borne in mind that it is also under such conditions that the peasants are less organised to benefit from the market. Individuals doing business in such regions take advantage of this factor to lower prices below the cost of production. Farmers' cooperatives could reduce the weaknesses of the market in a laissez-faire system and enable small farmers produce profitably to raise their living conditions.

However poverty cannot be defined by looking at per capita income alone. Poverty as an aspect of human development is human-centred and is about the capacity or lack of capacity to maintain certain levels of material and social well-being. The UNDP has developed this concept of human development since 1990 and now there are annual development reports for various countries. Human development is measured by Human Development Index (HDI) while poverty is measured by Human Poverty Index (HPI). According to the UNDP, " HDI is a measure of the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions: longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living . A composite index, HDI thus contains three variables: life expectancy, educational attainment (adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment) and real GDP per capita " (UNDP,1998 : 6).

This is an important element in looking at development since incomes alone (GDP) will not reveal the quality of life of the people or the abilities of the people, in terms of knowledge and skills, to improve their living conditions. However we need to be careful with the way we relate these variables to

development since in some places levels of education, for example, do not correspond with levels of development in other sectors of society. The most crucial thing in development is the people's capacity to raise their incomes and improve their living conditions through the provision of good health services and education. This involves how they utilize modern techniques in production; how they organize themselves to ensure equity in the provision of goods and services; and finally how they can control their social and natural resources for their benefit. In this way HDI does not tell us all about development but it shows a few crucial elements in human development.

In a similar way UNDP looks at poverty as a deprivation in human development in the same dimensions of life expectancy, education and GDP per capita. The measure used is Human Poverty Index (HPI) focusing on the percentage of people expected to die before age 40, the percentage of adults who are illiterate, and the overall economic provisioning in terms of the percentage of peoples without access to health services and safe water and the percent of underweight children under five (UNDP, 1998 : 6 - 7). It should be noted that this index does not put emphasis on a level of income but on the quality of life. This is more reasonable since income itself does not tell us the manner of distribution of social services in the country and how this distribution affects the quality of life of the people. In other words UNDP looks at how wealth is used to improve the quality of life and its sustainability in any one country.

To get a good picture of HDI in Tanzania there is need to show figures for the related variables and their calculated indices (Table 2).

Table 2 : Tanzania's HDI for 1996 and related values.

Life expectancy at birth 1996 (years)	50
Adult literacy rate 1994 (percent)	66.8
Gross enrolment ratio for all levels, age 6 - 23	34
Real GDP per capita (PPP \$)	656
Life expectancy index 1996	0.452
Educational attainment index 1996	0.377
Adjusted real GDP per capita index 1996	0.356
Calculated Human Development Index (HDI) 1996	0.395

Source : UNDP : Tanzania Human Development Report 1998.

It is important to mention that these figures in 1996 were on the decline particularly in adult literacy and life expectancy. Tanzania is among the 44 countries with low human development index in the world. It is slightly

Table 3 : Comparative Average HDI Values

Tanzania	0.395
East Africa Community (EAC)	0.385
Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)	0.500
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	0.438
Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)	0.380
Developing Countries	0.576
Industrial Countries	0.911
World	0.764

Source : UNDP, HDR, 1998 : 18

above the average in East Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa but below average for the Eastern and Southern African Countries. Tanzania's HDI is about 50% of the world average.

There are differences of HDI within Tanzania according to regions (Table 4). Dar es salaam, Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions had their HDI

Table 4 : HDI in Tanzania by Region in 1996

Region	Income Index	Education Index	Life Expectancy Index	Estimates HDI 1996
Dar es salaam	0.732	0.782	0.460	0.658
Kilimanjaro	0.503	0.549	0.544	0.536
Arusha	0.497	0.369	0.534	0.533
Tanga	0.424	0.420	0.444	0.429
Iringa	0.360	0.484	0.432	0.425
Mwanza	0.380	0.436	0.444	0.420
Morogoro	0.368	0.423	0.443	0.411
Mbeya	0.358	0.423	0.443	0.405
Dodoma	0.343	0.412	0.442	0.399
Mara	0.332	0.394	0.438	0.388
Shinyanga	0.310	0.375	0.441	0.375
Ruvuma	0.256	0.374	0.445	0.358
Coast	0.241	0.360	0.442	0.348
Singida	0.210	0.317	0.514	0.347
Tabora	0.200	0.321	0.511	0.344
Mtwara	0.203	0.322	0.434	0.319
Kagera	0.303	0.412	0.395	0.370
Rukwa	0.184	0.296	0.385	0.288
Kigoma	0.142	0.244	0.405	0.265
Lindi	0.124	0.234	0.434	0.236
Tanzania	0.324	0.407	0.452	0.395

Source : UNDP (1997) : Tanzania Human Development Report, p . 15

above the average for SADC Countries and each more than twice that of Rukwa, Kigoma and Lindi Regions. There is a corresponding relationship between income and education while life expectancy does not fall in this correspondence. Life expectancy indices for Tabora and Singida are above all other regions except for Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions.

However one needs to be cautious about income figures when looking at poverty. The most important factor is how society itself is organized to reduce human deprivation through the provision of social services and establishment

of a taxation system which protects the poor. The existence of subsidized education and health services in a village can ameliorate the living conditions of the people even with very small incomes. This explains why human deprivation in some areas in Tanzania is not as acute as its income suggests (see Table 5). Tanzania's income is very low but it once managed to provide

Table 5 : Comparative Human Poverty Profile for Tanzania

	Tanzania	LDCs	DCs	World Average
Human Poverty Index (1995)	39.8			
People to die before age 40 (1995)	31	29	14	13
Adult illiteracy	32.2	50.8	29.6	22
Pop. without access to safe water	62	43	29	-
Pop. without access to health services	58	51	20	-
Pop. without access to sanitation	14	64	58	-
Underweight children under age 5	27	39	30	30
Infant mortality rate (/ 1000)	93	109	65	60
Under-five mortality rate (/ 1000)	144	171	95	88
Education (primary) G.E.R.	67	70	101	101
Real GDP per capita (1995) \$	636	1,008	3,068	5,990

Source : UNDP : Human Development Report 1998

more education and better health services to its population than did other equally poor countries.

Again one needs to be cautious when looking at figures on poverty as they are based on averages. Some of these averages are based on scanty and inaccurate data. In such cases the averages do not tell us what is common. When one is working with individuals one needs to get away from these national / regional averages and look at existing conditions in a village or household. This will show the kind of problems individuals will be required to fight against. In some communities it will be a problem of increasing agricultural production while in others it will be one of establishing better

social services (education, health and water). Yet in other communities it will be a problem of starting off-farm activities or establishing marketing organizations and improved physical infrastructure. In some communities poverty alleviation will involve some measures in protecting the environment and controlling their resources. There are various factors which influence rural incomes such as taxation, corrupt bureaucracy, dependence and extended familihood, drug addiction, inefficient government machinery, and violence. Poverty alleviation is a multi-dimensional process which requires people who have the capacity to deal with the various problems as they arise from time to time.

CHAPTER TWO : ADULT EDUCATION AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

2.1 Introduction :

In this chapter there will be an effort to link adult education and poverty alleviation. The claims often made in the economic and social aims of adult education have been difficult to realize and therefore efforts have been directed at transformative education, that is, the type of education that can make people change their conditions of life. In this study Community Based Adult Education is postulated as a programme for community people or social groups which assess and analyse community problems and come out with social actions for solving the problems.

In other words Community Based Adult Education means learning about anything that enables the learner to improve his or her quality of life. The range of knowledge, skills and values for transforming or improving living conditions is wide but based on existing material conditions as well as people's capacities to deal with those conditions. In some cases this education will deal with literacy skills to enable the learner to communicate through the written word more effectively while in others it would only be on some information on the market and the way it operates. Education for poverty alleviation and improving quality of life could also deal with modern techniques of production, provision of social services, demand for human rights, democracy, sanitation, environmental conservation, peace and even recreational activities.

2.2 The link between adult education and poverty alleviation

From the colonial times the objectives of education in Africa emphasized the growth of rural communities practising agriculture for food production and export crop production (see Kweka, 1987 : 40 - 43). It was argued that production of export crops would enable them to import commodities for adequate nutrition and an improved standard of living. The colonial government emphasized the promotion of education, agriculture and health. Mass education was meant to stimulate increased agricultural production. The Department of Agriculture in conjunction with native authorities and religious organizations taught modern agricultural techniques to peasants. Agricultural inspectors were appointed to ensure that peasants followed the prescribed agricultural methods particularly in the areas where peasants were producing for export. The role of agricultural inspectors was later on supported by agricultural extension service and other forms of adult education. In the 1950s the colonial government established the Community Development Division with the aim of teaching people to improve their way of life. The main components of community development work were literacy, women's education and community self-help projects.

At independence adult education was related to national development and in 1964 UNESCO emphasized the part that adult education could play in the economic and social development in developing countries. It was in support of these ideas that former President Nyerere spoke of the urgent need of educating adults for economic development (Nyerere, 1964 : xi - xii). The government with the support of the World Bank tried to rationalize the activities of the two major adult education institutions, that is, agricultural extension work and community development work. The most important message in all adult education activities was to urge adults to work more

diligently and increase production in agriculture. This thinking eventually culminated in the “ work-oriented literacy programme ” or “ functional literacy ” which linked literacy acquisition with development of better agricultural production techniques. Functional literacy put emphasis on cash crop farming. Ten functional primers were prepared and each one dealt with one crop such as : cotton, maize, rice, banana, coconut, cashewnut, tea, tobacco, cattle and fishing. In one region or district, one primer would be used and all the adult learners including those in urban areas would learn about that single crop. They forgot that peasant life was more than one crop production. The peasant was interested in integrated development which focused on the peasants’ survival and raised standard of living. The peasants did not make a choice on what to learn. The adult educators imposed the programme on the people. The adult learners lost interest in the programmes as soon as they realized that the stated objectives of the programme would not be realized. As a result the rate of drop-outs was very high and many classes were abandoned.

2.3 Community - Based Education

Critics of the above programme on adult education and development or poverty alleviation have touched on various issues such as poor management, lack of trained adult educators, attitudes of peasants, lack of resources, wrong perspectives and poor strategies. Outstanding contributions about this were made by Paulo Freire and later on by Robert Chambers. In a nutshell, both were putting emphasis on transforming our own perspectives on people and their development. The previous perspectives were top-down, imposed on the people and based on “ the expert vis-a-vis the learner ”. In education, the educator was the principal actor directing the learning process or telling the

learners what they needed to know. The assumptions of the “ expert ” were not to be questioned.

The other perspective by Paulo Freire and others was that people could only develop through their own effort and no one could bring about development to the people on their behalf. The approach for development should be “bottom up ”, starting with the people and building on their capacity to bring about change. Concepts like **dialogue**, **empowerment**, **self-reliance** and **people centredness** are emphasized to underscore the transformative nature of the new approach. The new approach has also gone by different names such as Freirean, people-centred, popular, community-based, triple “ A ”, PRA and REFLECT. They do not all mean the same except that they are people-centred and participatory. In other words we have a situation where scholars from different backgrounds looking at people-centred educational programmes. Some elements of their past experiences are reflected in this new approach. They all want to overcome the weaknesses of the top-down approach such as : lack of understanding of adult learners, irrelevant adult education programmes and inappropriate methods, ownership of the programmes, and inappropriate evaluation (see Kweka, 1995 : 95 - 97). This enables them to come out with more relevant and effective programmes for solving the problems of the adult learners.

Adult educators have taken this bottom-up approach as an educational process for both the learners and the researchers. There are two main areas to be learned, namely : (i) the community socio-economic situation and (ii)individual / group learning needs and development projects. There are various ways of studying the socio-economic conditions of a community but the best one is that which enables the learners to see the inner driving force of the economic and to social activities of the community in order to come out

with new projects which are related to other community activities and the available natural and human resources. As for individual / group learning needs and new projects there must be careful consideration and interpretation of the learners' views about their problems and solutions to problems in order to avoid imposing projects on the people. One should also be able to realize existing social conflicts in a community and how this should be handled. For example, on poverty alleviation there could be some social groups opposed to it such as when the rich find in it sources of cheap labour or a market for otherwise unwanted goods.

In this study on " Community-based education for poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life " the following were the guidelines for field work :

A . COMMUNITY SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

1. History of community (from community leaders, NGO's including religious organization and elders)

- Settlements, boundaries, political and economic history to the present (from leaders)
- Note development of various social groups and their struggle for resources (from leaders)

2. The economic system

- Description of production system: land, tools of production, skills and values.
- Land and property ownership/relations.
- Economic infrastructure.
- Production, exchange, distribution and consumption

3. **Social services and Institutions in the Community**

- Education
- Health
- Water
- Political Institutions
- Religion and religious institution
- Social interaction eg. Culture, Communication system, News media, Gender issues, Marriages, Recreational activities.

4. **People's perceptions on Development**

- Problems
- Aspirations
- Attitudes
- Practices

B. **FOCUS GROUPS ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND IMPROVING QUALITY OF LIFE**

- Youth
- Women
- Unemployed
- Poor

Discussions with these groups will center on poverty alleviation and improving quality of life.

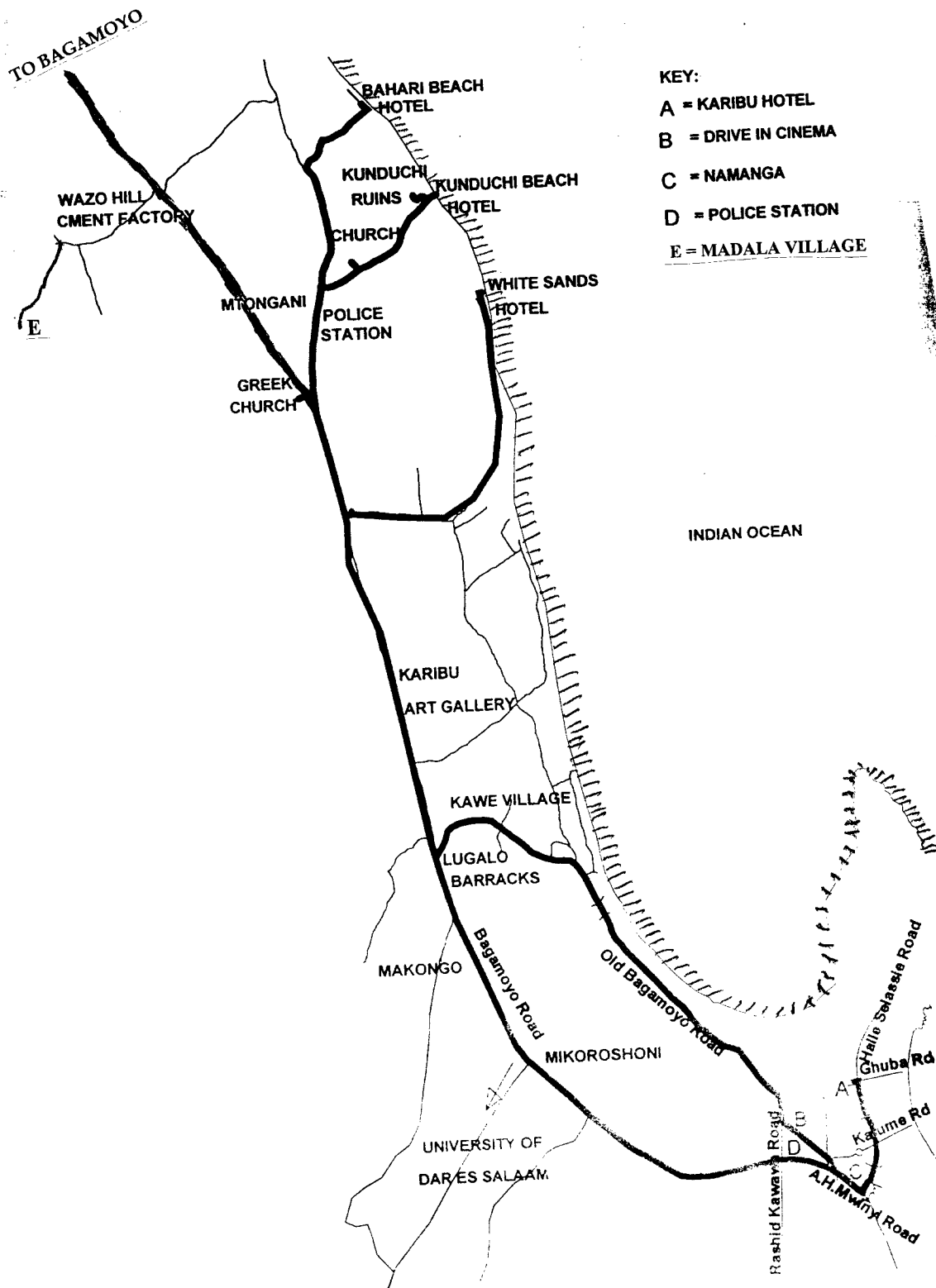
1. With each group discuss the community socio-economic situation as for (1-4) above.
2. Groups and individuals discuss causes and incidence of poverty in the community.
3. Groups and individuals discuss how poverty has affected them.

4. Solutions as perceived by groups and individuals.
5. New projects or activities for the different groups.
6. Planning of activities by the groups or individuals

C. METHODS

1. Documentary Analysis
2. Discussions on History and Community social-economic system
3. Participant Observation
4. Researcher's Diary
5. Interviews
6. Working with groups

MAP 1 : LOCATION OF MADALA VILLAGE IN KINONDONI DISTRICT.



CHAPTER THREE :

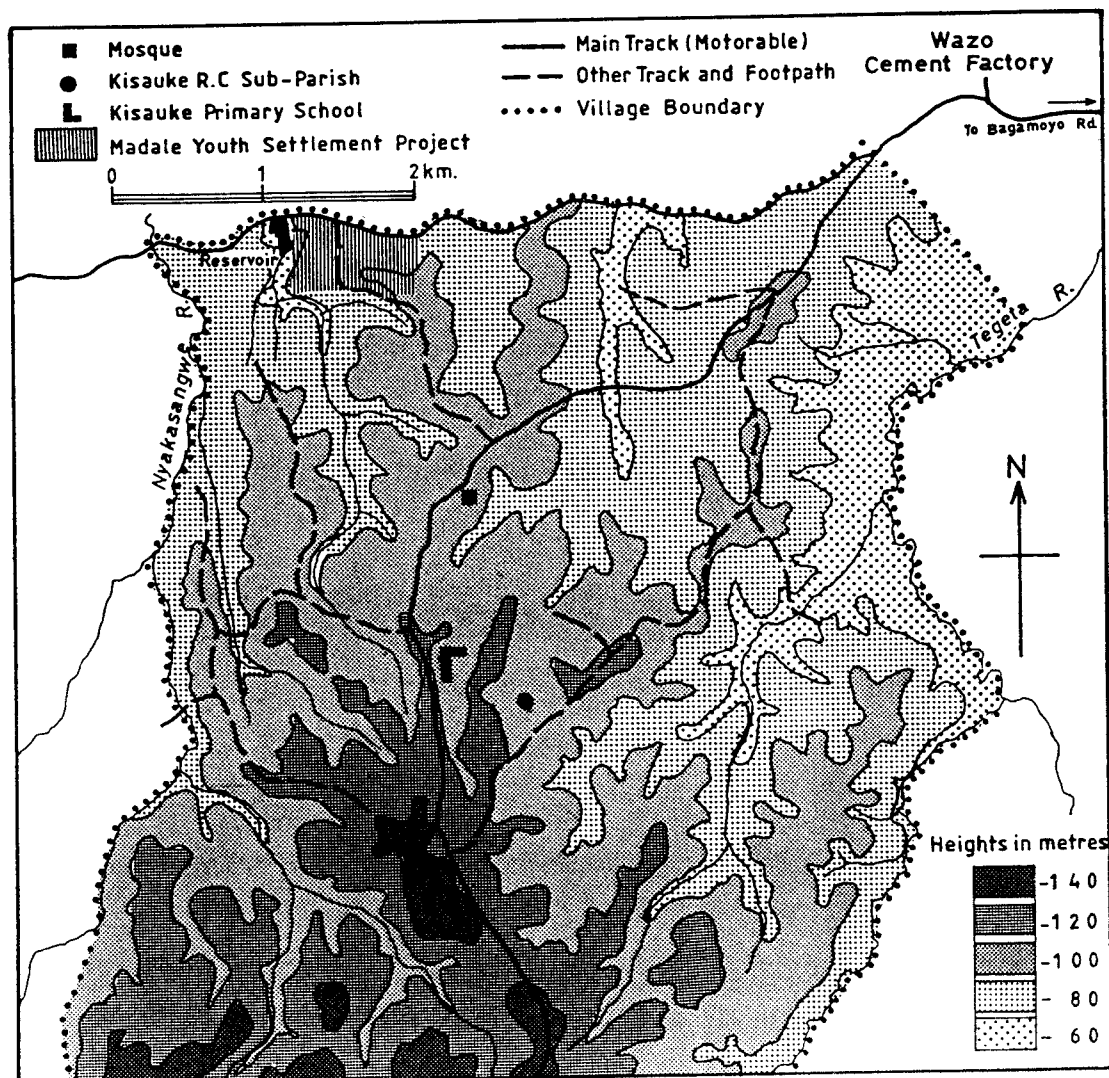
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF MADALA RURAL COMMUNITY IN DAR ES SALAAM.

1. Location and History :

Madala is a rural village in Kunduchi Ward in Kinondoni District. Kunduchi is well known to the outside world because of its tourist beach hotels such as Kunduchi Beach Hotel, Bahari Beach Hotel and Silver Sands Hotel. The Ward Executive Secretary's Office is within a walking distance from these hotels but Madala Village is about 12 kilometres from the ward office through Bagamoyo Road and the famous Wazo Hill Cement Factory, (see Map 1). Madala Village is altogether 35 kilometres from the city centre. While at the cement factory (Wazo Hill) one can see clearly the entire village stretching below and south-west between Tegeta River and Nyakasangwe River. The distance from Kunduchi Ward Office could have been reduced to only five kilometres by constructing a straight road between the two points had it not been for the Tegeta River with its tributaries or gorges and the clay-bound sands. There were a few foot-paths between Madala and the other parts of Kunduchi Ward but the local people said these were not quite safe from wild animals and thugs.

From Wazo Hill which is about 120 metres above sea level the road to Madala descends suddenly and gradually to 80 metres and 60 metres above sea level where it crosses Kalekwa tributary and then begins to rise gently to 140 metres above sea level (see Map 2.).

MAP 2: MADALA VILLAGE - PHYSICAL FEATURES AND COMMUNICATION



It is this descent and ascent from the Wazo Hill which gives Madala Village a unique and beautiful scenery of a rural area around Dar es salaam. Much of it is above 100 metres above sea level and is part of the raised-reef limestones of the Wazo- Kunduchi plateau which is the highest raised reef limestone of the East African coast (Temple, 1970:47). The surface deposits consists of red soils, clay-bound sands, sandstone and alluvial deposits.

All the rivulets from Madala run northwards and drain into Nyakasangwe, Kalekwa and Tegeta rivers. The village has some wide valleys intercepted by a few high ridges in the north and undulating mountain ranges in the south.

Madala village was bordered by Goba Village in the south and Wazo Hill in the north. In the east it was separated from Tegeta and Salasala Villages by Tegeta River while in the west it was separated from Mpobo Village by Nyakasangwe River and its tributaries. It was confirmed by ward authorities that Madala Village had not been surveyed and some villagers added that the City Commission was about to survey it and allocate plots to people from the city centre. They gave examples of plot allocation in Tegeta and Wazo Hill which had taken place just a few years back. It was estimated that the area of Madala Village was around 30 square kilometres (km^2). It was relatively larger than most villages in Tanzania and it was divided into three geographical areas, namely : Nyakasangwe, Kisaule and Mivumoni. Each of these areas could in future develop into independent villages with separate political leadership or into a large township if Dar es salaam City does not want to have a green belt under its jurisdiction.

The population of Madala according to official records was 1835 in 1997. The density of population was around 60 people per km^2 . This was a relatively low population density when one considered the large number of

unemployed landless people in Dar es salaam and also the fertility of the soil in Madale. This relative low population density can be understood when one looks at the history of Madala.

There is little known about Madala before 1975 when " operation villages " were initiated in Dar es salaam as well as in many other parts of the country. Administratively Madala was under Kunduchi and there were very few people who settled permanently in the area. The early settlers, according to village traditions, were Mzee Mkota and Boi Ngende. These were former workers in the various sisal plantations in Kunduchi area and had decided to move out into Madala after retirement. One elderly villager who moved to Madala in 1948 as a young man narrated how sparsely populated the village was. He knew Mzee Mkota and Boi Ngende with their several dependants. Their main occupation was cultivation of paddy, maize and vegetables. A few more people moved there in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of them came from the city centre. One village leader tried to relate urban slum clearance with increase of population in Madala. Sometimes these people were bought off by rich men and women in urban centres. This idea of the poor being pushed out by the rich was also emphasized by the ward adult education coordinator who gave examples of the rich people in Kunduchi beach area pushing the poor people out. Some of these had migrated to Madala. He pointed out that a similar thing was happening in Madala as rich people bought land from the poor.

However more settlements took place in 1975/76 during the increased agricultural/ production operation popularly known as " Kilimo cha kufa na kupona " (agriculture as a matter of life and death). Many people looking for land to cultivate moved in from Tegeta, Kunduchi and the city centre. There was an order from the ruling party that any piece of land found uncultivated

should be given to whoever wanted to cultivate it without charge or compensation. Some of those who had left their land idle for a long time went back to cultivate it with fear that it would be taken by the new settlers. Even though there were some constraints to increased mass settlement in the area particularly due to lack of good roads, public transport, tap-water and dispensary.

In 1984 there were three settlement zones around Nyakasangwe, Kisauke and Mivumoni. In the same year a new group of migrants came in. These were youth who had been to the National Service Camp at Kunduchi and came in to settle in a youth camp at Nyakasangwe as boy scouts and girls guides. It was known as Madala Youth Settlement Scheme. In 1984 there were 14 men and in 1987 ten women joined them. This group was well organized and wanted to demonstrate how youths could establish settlements and projects. It was led by one Captain Kavalambi, an army officer and one time Commissioner of Scouts in Dar es salaam. The aim was to acquire 800 acres of land but managed to get 100 acres in 1984. However this settlement scheme was not part of Madala Village although they shared a border.

The development of Madala Youth Settlement Scheme did much to publicize Madala Village but created a conflict with the latter. In the first place these were trained settlers - with military training as well as scouts training. They were also instructed on gardening and management of youth settlement schemes. During this period national institutions were called upon to provide material support and advisory services to such settlement schemes, the Tanzania Postal and Telecommunication Corporation was requested to provide support particularly in advertising the activities of scheme and urging other youths to join.

Recruits were observed for six months on their character and ability to contribute to the development of the scheme. At the beginning there were quite trying moments due to shortage of water, lack of transport, lack of enough food and living on cassava alone. There were requests for water from Wazo Cement Factory and food from the Catholic Relief Food Services. Their demand for more land and their consumption of water from the village well triggered off serious conflicts with the villagers in 1987. Fighting erupted and one villager was killed. Although the government intervened and managed to bring peace, relations between the village and the youth scheme were severed with the youth scheme wanting to alienate more land from the village and the villagers envying the material support given to the youth scheme. In 1995 the villagers were compensated for their land and this improved slightly the relationships between them.

While the youth scheme had a very strong organisation and disciplined youth, the village community lacked strong leadership and grew out of individual efforts of the new settlers. The new settlers after 1976 came as individuals and were socially differentiated. We have mentioned above the poor peasants who were pushed out from the urban areas. These were mainly practising subsistence agriculture. On the other hand there were some rich farmers cultivating between five and ten acres of land with diversified farm activities such as growing cassava, coconut and vegetables. A few of them kept cattle and goats. Then there were some absentee landlords who had large tracts of land, some as much as 50 acres. Many of these were civil servants and government leaders. The small peasants looked at this social group as people who had done much in contributing to the development of the community. They were able to talk to other government officials, normally their juniors, to construct the main road in the village and provided transport to villagers while on their visits.

Development of Madala Village owes much to the RC Church at Tegeta which had constructed a sub-parish at Kisauke and gave all the materials for the construction of the village primary school at Kisauke since 1991. They had also provided help by way of advising villagers where they could get more help, such as desks for their school. Villagers believe that the RC Church can continue to contribute more to the school if they maintain good relations with the church. The villagers did not remember when they contributed materials for building the school except for their own labour. There were other churches beginning their activities in the area particularly the Assemblies of God and the Lutherans. The villagers welcomed these developments in anticipation of support for social services.

Political organizations started late in Madala Village. During the one-party political system, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) operated from Tegeta since there were not enough members to start a CCM branch at Madala. It was only after the introduction of multi-party system when CCM started a branch at Madala in 1993. Other political parties with activities in Madala were CHADEMA and NCCR.

2. The Economic System :

The economy of Madala Village is different from many other rural villages in Tanzania. Its vicinity to the city of Dar es salaam would suggest a more dynamic commercialized agricultural community but it is mainly based on subsistence agriculture. Also a look at the social structure of the villagers (the owners of land) would point to a more developed rural community but large tracts of land have remained idle for a long time. Madala is a transient community with people coming in and moving out. The coconut trees and cashew-nut trees are good markers of permanence of settlement along the

coast but here in Madala coconut trees are young and found in large farms only. There are a few cashew-nut trees which are also young in some farms.

As mentioned earlier, Madala has a fertile land suitable for agriculture. The main agricultural activities include growing of cassava, beans, sweet potatoes, pineapples, water-melons, cucumbers, coconuts, cashew-nuts, maize and paddy.

Cattle-keeping was being introduced in the village by some farmers. Milk production per cow was not high, some farm workers spoke of six litres per day as compared to ten litres in town. However villagers said that this was more profitable than any other undertaking in the village. The only problem was how one could get the initial capital.

Agricultural production was done through the hand-hoe but there were different methods of cultivation in individual farms. For small peasants the hoe did not go deep enough, there was no use of manure, poor spacing, lack of timely and proper weeding and non-application of insecticides. On the other side there were some farmers who were trying to apply modern agricultural techniques and their farms looked very promising. The various production techniques were determined by the social structure of the community and the amount of land owned.

Land was acquired by inheritance, being the first settler or buying from other villagers. Buying and selling of land was a common practice in the community and the village government charged 10% levy for any piece of land sold. This was the main source of funding for the village government. Some people bought land and developed it before selling it to new comers at a much higher price. Some buy land for their own development in future or

simply on speculation. This explained why some farms were not cultivated for years. Some of the owners of large farms were not even known by villagers. The sizes of their farms varied between five acres and ten, but there were a few known cases of people with around 50 acres of land each. Those with large farms included former government ministers, senior army officers, senior civil servants, university professors and businessmen staying in town. However these people were not united as a social group and most of them did not attend meetings in the village.

After some observations in the village it was realized that the big land owners (absentee landlords) had their own farm labourers stationed in the village while others recruited labourers in the village when the need arose. The sight of a vehicle is a most welcome event. The workers would be paid for their labour in the farms or labourers would be recruited. At the same time the vehicle could be carrying a person wanting to buy land. On various occasions this researcher was stopped and asked if he was looking for land or labourers. Some small peasants went to the extent of saying, "We cannot live here without these big landowners".

At one time the villagers were required to raise Tsh. 3,000,000/= for road construction. A committee was appointed to look at how different groups of people would contribute (see Table 3.1). It was pointed out that there were 45 absentee landlords with their own transport while there were other 30 without their own transport. The second category of farmers came to the village with company/ government transport. These needed the road most and they could afford to pay as much as Tsh 10,000/=. The big land owners did not stay in the village but only the ordinary peasants did that. Their visits to the village/ farms were not also regular and farm workers were kept

Table 3.1 : Financial Contributions to be Made by Villagers :

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Ordinary peasants	500	500/=	2,500,000/=
2. Shop-keepers	10	1,000/=	10,000/=
3. Owners of local brew shops	15	1,500/=	22,500/=
4. Petty traders	20	600/=	12,000/=
5. Sellers of second-hand clothes	5	500/=	2,500/=
6. Absentee landlords with transport	45	10,000/=	450,000/=
7. Absentee landlords without transport	30	3,000/=	90,000/=
8. Others entering village with transport	15	500/=	7,500/=
9. Others entering village with motorcycles	5	200/=	1,000/=
10. Others entering village with bicycles	100	100/=	10,000/=
Total			3,105,000/=

waiting indefinitely. Sometimes the farm workers were forced to sell farm products to meet the cost of their subsistence. The failure of the absentee farmers to visit regularly and provide managerial duties led to poor agricultural performance of some of the big farms.

The economic infrastructure is only slightly developed. There is only one upgraded earth road with murram (red earth containing limestone) at strategic points. It bisects the village from the point the village borders the Wazo Cement Factory to the border with Goba Village. This road is normally repaired by the Dar es salaam City Commission but at times it gets rundown so much that motor-cars cannot pass. That was the situation in early 1998 when the villagers looked for contributions to maintain the road. There are other minor roads in the village which are only passable with Four-Wheel Drives. There are no markets or big shops in the village. Many people go to Wazo Hill and Tegeta for their shopping particularly after the inception of "daladala" bus services from Madala to Tegeta in 1998. There was one shop with goods worth about Tsh 120,000/= but all other shops had goods worth between Tsh 30,000/= and Tsh 50,000/=. Petty traders were operating with

very small capital and could be seen with goods worth about Tsh 3,000/=. Sale of local beer (Komoni and Kangara) and illicit drink called “ gongo ” were becoming popular. Beer was sold clandestinely in one place. There were reports that some youths were taking drugs like bhang, cocaine and heroin.

3. Social Services and Cultural Development in the Community.

(a) Education :

Social development is also about how society bring up its children and youth. The school system is supposed to impart knowledge, skills and values which will enable the pupils improve the living conditions in the community. A society which was not investing in the education of their children was actually stopping the process of development in their society.

Madala Village started a primary school at Kisauke in 1992. The school was built with generous material support from RC Church in Tegeta. The Church had acquired land nearby and they had established a small place of worship (sub-parish) and for children's Bible study lessons. They provided cement, timber and corrugated iron sheets for the whole school building while the parents contributed labour. The Church also organized volunteer groups and donor support for the school. For example in 1994, ten youths from Italy came to do construction work at the school for a month. In the following year one church leader came to the school to see the blackboards and what repairs were needed. After three months the blackboards were repaired.

The school building looks quite imposing and has adequate space, good furniture and a clean environment. But for many years and according to reports by school inspectors the school progress was poor. There was a

conflict between the church leader, the main sponsor, and the headteacher over the use of donor money. There was another conflict between the village chairman and the headteacher that the latter was a drunkard and careless in the administration of the school. It was further rumoured that the headteacher swindled school money. The headteacher was transferred on 28/04/97. Another headteacher came but was also transferred after a few months. A new headteacher came in February 1998 and a new school committee was elected by the parents. There were reports that the school was then beginning to make progress. Teachers had begun to show seriousness in teaching and following the school time-table.

Table 3.1 : School Enrolment and Attendance, 18/08/98

ENROLMENT				ATTENDANCE			
Std		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total %
I	A	13	18	31	10	15	25 80.6
	B	11	18	29	11	14	25 86.2
II	A	23	28	51	14	20	34 66.6
	B	22	28	50	21	22	43 86.0
III	A	21	20	41	10	15	25 60.9
	B	18	23	41	6	15	21 51.2
IV	A	24	24	48	7	14	21 43.8
	B	19	31	50	10	13	23 46.0
V	A	24	20	44	17	13	30 68.2
	B	17	21	38	7	12	19 50.0
VI	A	22	13	35	13	9	22 62.9
	B	25	16	41	11	11	22 53.7
VII	A	16	12	28	13	8	21 75.0
	B	14	9	23	11	9	20 87.0
Total		269	281	550	161	190	351 63.8

Source : School attendance registers.

When asked, villagers and school teachers maintained that all school age children in the village were enrolled at the school. Efforts to get children who were not enrolled did not bear fruit. It was noted that the enrolments were declining. For about five years the enrolments were around 80 but in 1998 it was only 60. The villagers agreed that the number of children in the village was also declining. This was confirmed by information in the village register where the number of those under 15 years of age was about 25% of the village population. There could be some problems with counting but it was obvious the number of children was declining. It was difficult to believe that this was a response to family planning methods which most women who were interviewed refused to be following.

School attendance was a problem particularly in Std. III - VI (Table 3.1). It was very serious in Std. IV where less than half of those registered attended school. The chairperson of the school committee attributed this poor attendance to circumcision rites and some children going to live with relatives in some other parts of the city for some period. It was also pointed out, by the school teachers, that many parents did not cooperate with school teachers in ensuring attendance and maintaining school discipline.

Besides cleanliness, the school did not seem to be contributing to the development of the village. The school farm was poorly managed. The basic principles of proper tilling of the soil, selection of seeds, spacing, weeding and use of manure were not used. There was no difference between the school farm and the poor peasants farms. School teachers did not see this as their main responsibility. The headteacher requested the agricultural extension worker at the ward to come to the school to open up a demonstration farm. The extension worker came to the school thrice and started a small farm but

failed to come back. This failure was attributed to lack of incentives to the agricultural extension worker.

The headteacher complained that many teachers did not want to work at the school due to lack of teachers' houses, long distance from town, lack of health services, water and teachers' lack of motivation. There were only 5 teachers at the school instead of 12 teachers. With the exception of the headteacher, the other four teachers were living in the village and had acquired farms which they were seriously developing. One member of the school committee remarked, " They are here to farm, not to teach". The teachers know that it is difficult to move them since many teachers do not want to go there. It was therefore difficult to recruit hardworking teachers for the school.

The school had no pupils selected for secondary education in 1996 and 1997, and parents were disenchanted with the performance of the school. However in 1998, two pupils were selected for secondary education. This was a big achievement to the new headteacher and the chairperson of the school committee. But for a school to have an impact on the development of the village there should be greater integration of the school and the community which was not detected in the area.

(b) Health services and water :

For a long time in the village people obtained health services from the public owned Wazo Hill Cement Factory. This was the practice in many public corporations to provide health services to all people living in the area free of charge. Residents of Madala walked between two and nine kilometres to the Wazo Hill Dispensary. But with the privatization of public corporations and cost-sharing in health services it was not quite easy for someone from Madala

to get treatment at the Wazo Hill Dispensary. The alternative was to go to Kunduchi and Tegeta dispensaries where they would pay subsidized costs of treatment. It was not possible to get accurate data on the health situation in the village.

Cost-sharing and distance to the dispensaries have forced more and more people to resort to the traditional medicine-men for the treatment of various diseases. This went side by side with witch-craft which was reportedly common among some social groups.

The question of health education and family planning were non-existent in the community. There were no centres where health workers could operate from and the distance from the town discouraged those who wanted to provide this service.

Water was another serious problem in the village. People depended on shallow wells for their drinking water which was neither clean nor safe. Villagers complained of the water being salty and sometimes tasty. This water needed to be boiled and filtered but the local people did not do that. This would require some training and persuasion. During the rainy season there was plenty of running water but this required treatment before use as well. People who have been pushed from the urban areas find it very difficult to live in the village due to this water problem. No wonder they decide to go back.

(c) Political and religious institutions :

(i) Politics :

For a long time political activities in Madala were handled in Kunduchi and Tegeta TANU/ CCM branches. It was as late as 1993 when Madala got its first CCM branch. It should be noted that this was after the introduction of the multi-party system in 1992. The Madale CCM branch is a weak branch, did not enjoy the privileges of one-party system of mobilizing resources for building a strong party. As a result there was no party office building as in other villages. The party leaders operated from their houses and at meeting places. This was also the case with other political parties in the village, that is NCCR and CHADEMA.

There was however one serious problem between the party and the local government administration. The CCM leadership had taken over the local government leadership and mixed up the functions of the party with those of the government. The CCM party ten-cell units, for example, were functioning as local government institutions in matters of administration such as when one was selling property (land) or mobilizing villagers for development projects. The CCM structure was also used when villagers were applying for loans or business licences. The entire village population of about 1850 people was distributed to 29 ten-cell leaders (wajumbe) who controlled all those under their jurisdiction. This makes the idea of multi-party system in a village situation a rather dubious one as politics and administration are mixed up.

The CCM branch chairman was also the chairman of the local government. Many people in the village could not differentiate the two roles. He would call a meeting of ten-cell leaders and discuss government loans to villagers

and collection of fees from the sale of land by individuals. Many people blamed him for the way loans were handled and collection of fees from land sales. He was sometimes accused of favouritism and embezzlement of village funds. It had become difficult for him to call meetings and villagers were saying it was time for new leadership within the party. The other political parties had a long way to go since they had very few members.

(ii) Religion :

It has been mentioned above that the RC Church had been working in the area for a long time. They had already established a sub-parish with over 100 active adult members. They were raising funds for construction of a bigger church.

The RC Church had contributed much in the construction of the primary school at Kisauke and it was seen as the main supporter for development work in the area. One of their teachers was a contestant for the local government chairmanship in 1994 but was defeated by the incumbent chairman. There were rumours that the next chairman for CCM as well as for the local government might come from among the church members. They thought they had people who knew the problems of the village better than the rest of the community.

The RC Church did not have concrete plans for the village but it emphasized increased agricultural production for food and cash crops. The women group in the church had a one acre demonstration farm where they had planted cassava and cow peas. These women were also learning needlework and

other handicrafts. However they did not have much to show since they had only started.

Other religious groups had little to show besides worship. The Moslems had a mosque in the village with about 100 active members who normally attended Friday prayers. The Lutheran Church was starting a small congregation and were holding Sunday service in the premises of one of its members. The Tanzania Assemblies of God were also starting their congregation and were holding meetings at the primary school. All these religious organizations could cautiously be used to mobilize people for community development work but none should be given a leading role.

(d) Culture and Communication System :

The main purpose of this section is to look at the culture of the community with its communication system in order to assess its social interaction and development of the community. This will, in other words, tell us the sources of knowledge and information and what people in the community have learned and how they organize themselves to solve socio-economic problems. Some societies are not quite united and much depends on individual effort while others have developed clearly known social system covering various aspects of social development and poverty alleviation. Communication of information or knowledge from one individual to the other or one generation to the other is essential in an analysis of social development.

Communication in Madala was conducted in Swahili. The villagers came from different ethnic groups and most of them had stayed in other parts of

Dar es salaam for some time before moving to Madala. People in the community were ignorant of the various ethnic groups found in Madala. For example all those whose origin was Mtwara or Lindi were referred to as Makonde instead of their actual ethnicity such as Makua, Ngindo, Yao, Mwera or Makonde. Sometimes even the Ngoni were referred to as Makonde. However the actual Makonde lived in the village and concentrated in the south-east corner of the village which is nicknamed "Makondeko". Another small ethnic group in the area was the Zaramo sometimes identified with a small social club called "Tia Robo". The term Zaramo was also used with reference to all ethnic groups from the Coast Region such as Zaramo, Ndengereko, Kwere and Doe. In this case Zaramo or Makonde did not actually refer to ethnicity but to a social cultural cluster or even a social class. Both Zaramo and Makonde referred to the subsistence farmers or less entreprising individuals who sold their labour power to the more entreprising large scale farmers. This redefinition of ethnic groups shows people's awareness of the existence of social differentiation in the area. This redefinition did not however go to the more entreprising social groups or individuals who were properly referred to according to their ethnic groups.

The Zaramo-Makonde cluster was described by the more entreprising groups as "people who do not want to develop" or "people who are only good at talking about problems but do nothing to solve them". They were known for their after harvest drum-beating celebrations (ngoma), playing the game of "bao", circumcision rites and marriage celebrations. But even these cultural practices were undergoing drastic changes as a result of social interaction among the many ethnic groups and the persistence of poverty among these social groups.

This also means that it was not possible to form strong cultural groupings in the village. At the same time one should not lose sight of their impact or influence when they are brought together in a political movement or a religious organisation where the poor have found a solace and sometimes nursing the seeds of political or religious fundamentalism. One result of religious or political fundamentalism is over-dependency on supernatural forces or political institutions and ignoring the responsibility of individuals in bringing about change. The element of dependency in Madala was very common among the subsistence farmers. They expected the party and government to “help” with the distribution of resources for development or social services. Outsiders coming into the village should also help. The researcher was expected to help in setting up projects or to give money to interviewees. This attitude was reinforced by the national and regional party and government leadership when visiting villagers. For example in the previous year the Vice President visited the village and was told about the problems of the community including lack of a dispensary and pipe water. The villagers said they wanted to construct a dispensary immediately and the Vice President and his entourage donated on the spot as follows:

1. Vice President	Tsh. 300,000/=
2. Minister of Environment	Tsh. 80,000/=
3. Regional Chairman, CCM	Tsh. 50,000/=
4. Regional Commissioner	Tsh. <u>50,000/=</u>
Total	Tsh. <u>480,000/=</u>

Some of this money was in the form of pledges and the village leadership was supposed to follow up. From which government vote did this money come from, and why was it given in this manner?

Similarly with loans for poverty alleviation. The government had been talking a lot about giving loans to economic groups for establishing new projects. Women groups and youth groups, according to the government policy were supposed to be given priority but when this was put to a group of women, they complained that the criterion for granting loans was not clear and it was not made public. Those who received the loans were not known by the general public. One group had filled loans application forms one year back but did not hear a word from the ward officials. There were rumours that other women in the village had received a loan because they were known by some officials. Official information was not made public. People therefore depended on the will of the leaders, there was nothing they could do to show that they deserved to get a loan. It was also revealed that political leaders in the district gave loans to individuals so that they could establish projects for poverty alleviation. Some youth saw this as a form of corruption where "loans" were given to people who would defend the interests of the politicians and who would not be required to repay the loans. In this way the villagers would continue to depend on the political leaders.

There was no place known as the office of the village local government. Both the chairman and the secretary operated from their homes. But the chairman had three homes for his three wives and it became very difficult to locate him. The secretary had two wives, one in the village and another in town. Sometimes both, the chairman and secretary, would be away for a whole week without any information on their whereabouts. In one case the Member of Parliament came to the village but these leaders were not around. Information on village meetings and on important village issues was not available or not well kept in the village. Even the list of village members was not in the village but in the ward office. A scrutiny of the list revealed that some people known personally to the researcher were not included. In one

village meeting the chairman was asked to give a report on how much money had been collected as levy on sale of land. This information was supposed to be in his report but was not. The chairman said he had the information in his files at home and that he could bring it if members insisted. The meeting insisted that this information be brought to the meeting. The meeting went into recess to enable the chairman bring this information to the meeting. After half an hour he came back without the figure or the file. He apologized that the file had been misplaced and that he would bring it in another meeting. The meeting appointed a committee to look into the collection of levy on sale of land since what had just happened raised doubt on the security of their money.

Many villagers complained about lack of openness in local government activities particularly on handling loans and village funds. There were also complaints on lack of seriousness in implementing village projects and calling meetings timely. There were some good ideas from the people on what could be done to improve the living conditions in the village but the leadership failed to make use of them. The big landowners and absentee landlords did not attend village meetings except when there was a need for fund raising in such projects as road construction, dispensary and piped water. But even then no real discussion on these projects and village development took place. Their participation had been reduced to fund-raising alone. In a discussion with some of the village big land owners in town it was pointed out that village issues should be left to those who lived in the village themselves and the absentee landlords should only provide material assistance.

It was however observed by some villagers that when the absentee landlords attended meetings a lot of good ideas were brought up but there was no one to follow them up. There was really a gap between the absentee landlords and

the peasants. In most cases the latter augmented their income by selling their labour power to the absentee landlords. There were areas of common interest or conflict between the two social groups but at their level of development it was prudent to deal with their common interests.

There were some other factors which could affect the unity of the community. While the subsistence farmers were seen dancing local "ngoma" the big landlords were in town. There were also cultural differences among the subsistence farmers. The Makonde and the Zaramo could not match in many areas. At the same time Christianity and Islam was a dominant factor in social interaction in the community. There were already efforts to discuss development issues in religious groups and this could possibly lead to social differentiation on the basis of religion. Even the local "ngoma" or "mdundiko" was anathema to both the Christians and Moslems. However these cultural differences could work in the interest of the whole community depending on the way they were handled to avoid capitalizing on those small differences.

It was noted that women did not occupy positions of leadership in the village government or in the political parties. The only exception was the chairperson of the school committee who happened to be a retired education officer. The few women in any of the village committees were only coopted by the village chairman. There was no women organization in the village but there were a few women economic groups at their initial stages. Unfortunately these groups were organised on religious lines and this weakened their role in improving gender relations in the community.

The youth were an ignored social group in the community. It was reported that many youths had left the community in search of jobs in town and those

in the villages were busy looking for wage employment from the landlords. They had not been able to form an organization of their own. There were efforts to establish a football club and this could perhaps be a cradle of some youth organization in the community. There were also possibilities of youth organizations emerging from the political parties or religious institutions.

On the whole Madala village looked quite young organizationally. The different social groups were in no way in conflict and some of their differences were not even noticed by many of the villagers. But much remains to be done by the village government, the political parties and the religious organizations to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life in Madala. In the next chapter we shall look at the possible strategies for poverty alleviation in the community.

CHAPTER FOUR : STRATEGIES FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN MADALA VILLAGE.

1. Introduction :

“Poverty will always be with us due to our poor agricultural techniques and selling of our labour power to the rich peasants”

A village elder.

This village elder seemed to be craving for a revolution which he could not himself fight for. He had been allowed to attend a discussion meeting with the village leaders out of respect of his age and previous contributions in meetings. This discussion with village leaders on poverty alleviation in the village had generated quite a number of ideas on what could be done to improve agricultural production and the quality of life in the community. There were debates on several issues particularly on the agricultural extension service, but when the village elder spoke, he won the support of the audience. But this was a suggestion that had far reaching consequences on the social structure and land ownership in the community. If one was to stop the selling of labour power to the rich peasants then this would call for land reforms and establishment of a new social order in the area with the support of a wider social movement.

In this chapter there will be recommendations on community-based education for poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life after a careful study of the socio-economic conditions of the village and intensive focal group discussions with village leaders, women groups and some village youth groups. It was not possible to hold discussions with the absentee landlords as a group but only as individuals on specific issues of development.

Some of the strategies for poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life were tested in the field with various levels of success. The discussions with village leaders and participation in village meetings revealed the magnitude of the problem and how specially prepared programmes of education could solve the problem to a great extent. In education one was working with small groups but one should not at the same time lose sight of the whole community. For example individuals can embark on small economic projects which can improve their incomes, they can learn health education and sanitation, family planning and development, democracy and human rights as well as literacy, but the greatest impact by these activities will come about when the community supports them by constructing good roads, schools, dispensaries and village water projects. A greater impact will also be realized if the village government supports democracy and the institution of human rights with clear regulations on behaviour in the community. In the case of Madala, village leaders were taken as a crucial target population since there were a number of things which the village leadership could do to improve living conditions in the community as a whole.

2. Community-Based Education for Village Leaders

This group consisted of 14 village government leaders and some ten-cell leaders. Some of these were also leaders of the ruling political party, CCM. Most of them had been in leadership since 1993 and were subsistence farmers. Some of them were looking for ways of moving up the socio-economic ladder through dubious means. Misappropriating village funds and corruption were common in the village. All of them had achieved different levels of primary education and various experiences in social and political institutions in or outside the village. After some field work research in the village it was realized that they were not very popular and their ability to mobilize people

for community work left much to be desired. But since their position is crucial in improving the living conditions of the people any way, it was targeted for community-based education for poverty alleviation.

Their education programme was organized in eight sessions -- two afternoon sessions every week for four weeks. In the planning stage we agreed to deal with the following topics:

- (a) Poverty in the village
- (b) Village plans to alleviate poverty
- (c) Problems and prospects
- (d) Good village leadership.

Some of these topics had been discussed with some individual leaders but here it was rightly assumed that in a class there would be an attempt to arrive at a common understanding of the problems. It turned out that these classes were very enlightening to the participants as shown in the following sections.

(a) Poverty in the village :

The discussion began by asking a questions like: Whom would you regard as poor in the village? Tell us something about his/ her food, housing, clothing and health.

The leaders, just like the other subsistence farmers, attributed the shortage of food to the El Nino rains. Their staple food was cassava and the poor did not have enough cassava for food. Some peasants had resorted to a single meal per day. Some leaders denied that it was not a question of bad weather conditions but people growing too little where they could have grown more. They gave examples of people with good harvests and selling cassava in

town. Poor methods of cultivation were also cited as cause of poor food harvests.

Poor housing was also mentioned as an indicator of poverty. Swahili huts built of wood and earth with roofs of coconut fronds or dry tall grass are common. The size of the hut is small with less than three bedrooms. Sometimes these huts are very temporary and cannot withstand heavy rains or strong winds. Some huts looked very old and the walls had holes everywhere but the poor were not even afraid of reptiles! Most living houses in the village were unsafe. A few modern houses built of concrete blocks and roofed with corrugated iron sheets had been built by retired government officers and more were under construction. The leaders thought that the subsistence farmers would not be able to build better houses. We then looked at incomes from agriculture. One bag of cassava was selling at Tsh 5,000/=, ex-farm price. A farmer with two acres of land could get 100 bags of cassava and that was Tsh 500,000/=. This was enough to buy 2,000 concrete blocks for constructing a three bedroom house. They began to see that people could build houses over a number of years.

It was also pointed out that the wood and earth wall houses could be improved with addition of stones or gravels and cement. Use of corrugated iron sheets would make the house stronger and safer. There were also possibilities of using burnt bricks and tiles manufactured by the Youth Settlement Scheme nearby. It was realized that there had not been a campaign on better housing construction.

The leaders class realized that clothing was not a major problem in the village since second-hand clothes were easily available. They pointed out that failure to buy clothes was not a sign of poverty but shabbiness.

On the question of health and poverty it was pointed out that the poor were more vulnerable to diseases than the rich. But more important was the fact that the poor could not afford the costs for treatment and therefore resorted to traditional medicine and herbs. Due to this, they mentioned, the poor had a more painful ill-health and a shorter life-span. The sick could not produce enough and there was a link between disease and poverty. It was possible to urge the healthy people to produce more but not the sick. The leaders saw health as a basic need. Unfortunately we did not discuss preventive medicine and health education in the village due to time constraints.

The leaders concluded that poverty could be seen in the types of food consumed (mainly cassava alone), poor housing and poor health. They did not touch on incomes of the people as calculation of incomes per person from various sources required more time. But it was observed in the village that incomes of below USD 1.00 (Tsh. 680/=) per person per day or USD 30.00 (Tsh. 20,400/=) per person per month were quite common among the villagers. A farm labourer was paid Tsh. 15,000/= per month and any one getting Tsh. 20,000/= counted himself/ herself lucky. All these incomes were below the international absolute poverty line of USD 1.00 per person per day. If one looked at other factors such as lack of health services, piped water security, adult education, good housing, sanitation and motorable roads/ tracts then Madala will have a higher HPI than the national average of 39.8% (UNDP,1998 : 26).

(b) Plans to alleviate poverty in the village :

Discussions in class were centred on plans in the community as well as plans at the household level. At the community level the leaders mentioned the following:

1. Repair of main village road
2. Construction of a dispensary
3. Supply of piped water.

It was obvious that implementation of these projects would raise the quality of life a great deal in the village. The village road would make it possible for small buses to operate throughout the year. Agricultural produce could easily be ferried to the markets in town, the villagers could easily get their merchandise in the community and the sick would easily be taken to hospitals outside the village. With a dispensary in the village it would be possible to focus more attention on the health needs of the people in the community and promote access to better and reliable health services for the people and this would definitely make more people settle in the village.

Other plans for poverty alleviation included projects at the household level. Increased agricultural production would reduce poverty and provide wage employment to the poor. However many leaders did not emphasize this but instead thought that loans for off-farm activities would reduce poverty faster. Yet others thought the government should come out with plans for the poor but they were not quite clear on what the government should do. Two leaders out of the 14 thought that the government should provide food aid to the poor. In this case the village government would inform the government the situation in the village and how much supply was needed from the government.

(c) Problems and prospects :

The village leadership had been able to mobilize resources for the repair of the village road. They had collected money from individuals in the village for

fuel but the City Commission did the repair without charging the village government. However no report had been issued on the road repair. At the beginning of the project leaders were saying the repair of the village road would include an alternative road through Mivumoni area but four months after the repair of the village road nothing had been done for this alternative road. There was also a need to think of constructing feeder roads for the entire village as this would promote agricultural production particularly by the big landowners.

Plans were also underway to construct a dispensary in the village. A building site had been identified and a committee had been nominated to recommend way of raising more funds and mobilizing labour for construction. Contributions had been made by government leaders who visited the village as mentioned above. There were also materials for roofing to be supplied by the government. The most important thing for the leadership was to make the government fulfil its pledges and mobilize labour for construction. However the committee was taking too long to submit their reports before any concrete action was taken.

Supply of clean and safe water was on the agenda for a long time. Another committee to raise funds had been elected and this included some big landowners. Some money had already been collected but was not enough to buy materials and pay for the labour. It was one year earlier when the National Urban Water Authority was demanding Tsh. 1.3 million. But there were unofficial reports that the cost had gone up and that the National Urban Water Authority was adopting a new policy where the user would be required to pay the whole cost for such water supply. The chairman of the water committee was not based in the village and had not informed the village leadership on the latest developments.

Other plans for increasing agricultural production needed more planning with agricultural extension workers, political leaders and the villagers. The greatest problem was how to motivate or pay people while doing community work. The agricultural extension workers were paid by individuals when they rendered service in their farms. The village leaders were not paid or given any allowance by the government but would like to be paid for their time spent discussing village problems. This can explain the existence of corruption in local government institutions and many clandestine operations in the village. Loans for poverty alleviation was one such area where there was just too much secrecy in the interests of the leaders.

But more serious with plans for poverty alleviation was that more and more people were made to think that without aid or loans one could not improve his/ her conditions of life. Methods of self-reliance on poverty alleviation were not encouraged and this would lead to more dependence and poverty.

(d) Good village leadership :

After discussing the various problems in the village it was also realized that there was a problem within the leadership. Some leaders did not attend meetings but only appeared when there was some important party or government leader from the district and above. There were also conflicts within the leadership. One group was considered progressive and the other conservative. The progressive camp did not attend meetings because they thought the conservative camp could not come out with progressive ideas for the village. After discussing these problems the leaders were asked to mention some good leadership qualities which were needed in the village in order to improve the living conditions of the people. It was fascinating to see how much they know about leadership by mentioning the following :

1. Have good knowledge of your people.
2. Know what their problems are.
3. Make sure what you say is understood by all people.
4. Understand your responsibilities and functions.
5. Be willing to help others and listen to the people.
6. Seek support from your seniors when you have problems.
7. Avoid gossiping groups (vikundi vya majungu).
8. You should not be corrupt.
9. Think of a goal you want to achieve (weka malengo).
10. Be able to assess your progress.

The researcher asked if they had undergone any training on leadership but they said they had not. One young leader in his thirties stood up and said people know what type of leader they want and the popular leaders. When asked if they had such leaders in the village they answered in the negative. However they agreed to have seen or heard of such good leaders in other places.

It became clear that knowing the characteristics of good leadership was necessary but not enough by itself. There was need for establishing conditions for good leadership and sometimes including a code of behaviour. It was noted that there were no regulations or even punishment for those who did not attend meetings. When the village chairman was told about this he said he would try to draw up some regulations for meetings and agricultural production. But later on one of his critics said he would not try to do this as this would bring his critics in meetings and make him unpopular.

In these discussions with the village leaders it became clear that people knew a lot about their village but setting the machinery for change required new inputs which would change the balance of forces in the community.

Women Groups :

The researcher/ facilitator was able to hold in-depth studies on poverty in the village with two groups of women, one from Kisauke and the other from Mivumoni. These groups were different in various aspects of conceptualization of problems in the village and solutions to those problems.

Kisauke Women Group :

This was a group of ten women which had been established six months earlier. All their members had primary education but they were ready to accept members with lower levels of education. Their main objective was to bring about women development in the village and to fight against poverty. We met six times in five weeks. During the discussions the following were mentioned as factors or constraints to development in the village :

1. Lack of education in home economics, agriculture and literacy.
2. Poor weather conditions.
3. Oppression of women in Swahili culture and religious institutions
4. Women's failure to organize themselves.
5. Fear of witchcraft.
6. Drinking of beer and local brews.
7. Poor village leadership.

When asked what they had been doing in their group they mentioned that they had done needlework and mat-making at the RC sub-parish. More

experienced members of the group taught skills they were good at to the rest of the group. They sold their products in Tegeta but they did not get much money. They were therefore looking for other projects which could earn them more money. They thought of looking for a loan so that they could establish a tea-room near the primary school. We discussed the feasibility of the project by looking at how much capital they needed, what they would produce per day and the size of the market, sales and profits. They were required to visit existing tea-rooms in the village and study the way they were organising them, sales and profits, and some of their problems. It was discovered that the market for the tea-room was small and the profit margin was very small. Those who were operating tea-rooms in the village took some food items from their own farms and did not always consider their labour. It was also discovered that the group did not have a competent tea-room operator. There was also a problem of securing a loan since the whole system of giving loans to women and youth by the government was operating secretly. People registered their groups for loans with the government leaders but the criterion for getting a loan was not known.

After some serious discussions on this project it was decided to shelve it and look for another project which would not depend too much on a loan and a small market. But it was not possible for this group to think of a project which would not require an application for a loan. The other project was keeping dairy cattle. They pointed out the advantage they had in having plenty of good grass for dairy cattle. They mentioned the problem they had as there were no veterinarians in the village but they argued that this was only a temporary problem since with an increase of cattle-keepers veterinarians would be attracted into the village. But before that time they would make arrangements just like those few cattle-keepers in the village did by calling in veterinarians from town. They also discussed the market and realized that

there could not be a loss since any milk left unsold would be used as food for the family.

The only serious problem they had with this project was how to raise the initial capital of around Tsh. 300,000/= for buying a cow or heifer. As they were discussing this they came to know of a lending programme where one is given a heifer and keeps it until it gets a calf which he/ she keeps until it becomes a fully grown heifer. He/ she pays back the heifer and remains with the cow as his/ her personal property. They were very much attracted by this plan and began to enquire more about it from a church organization. They were told to prepare themselves by building a small barn for two cows as they were waiting for their turn to be given a heifer each. But it normally takes some time before one gets a heifer as there were many applicants. The waiting is also a problem and one can change one's mind for another project.

There were great opportunities for this group starting cattle-keeping and this would have a great impact on their living conditions. This would also attract neighbours into the new occupation as many people learn from what they see their neighbours doing.

Mivumoni Women Group :

This was a newly formed group of women in Mivumoni area. There were 20 members already. Some of them were illiterate and others had achieved different levels of primary education. They did not have a meeting place and so we agreed to meet at the primary school. We held three meetings within two weeks and discussed poverty alleviation in the village. They mentioned the three main problems in the area, namely : poor road, lack of clean and safe water, and lack of dispensary. Poverty was attributed to difficult economic

condition (hali ngumu ya uchumi) and this was a coded answer for all problems in the village. We tried to discuss poverty alleviation in terms of production, organization and control. They began to see that some people had land but did not produce enough. There was no organization, including the village leadership, encouraging and advising the villagers on better farming methods as well as marketing of their produce. They mentioned problems of control of resources in the family where men denied women the resources for development. They began to see the centrality of production in poverty alleviation.

They saw that they could fight poverty by starting business in urban areas. They did not see a possibility of alleviating poverty in the village where there was no water, roads and health services. They wanted loans to start a timber sales project, grocery store, a tea-room and selling of second-hand clothes. They thought that the research had some funds for giving them loans. When they realized that he had not, they were highly discouraged. One of them wanted the researcher to buy her piece of land so that she could get Tsh. 400,000/= to start her timber business. Unfortunately the offer was not taken.

The Mivumoni Women Group was not thinking of remaining in the village but getting some money to migrate to urban areas. What was irking them most was lack of water and social services. This was a pointer to the national problem of rural-urban migration which could only be reversed by improving the conditions of life in the villages.

Youth Group :

It was not possible to get an organized youth group in the village. Besides the Madala Youth Settlement Scheme, which was outside Madala village,

development programmes for youth were quite uncommon. Even the political parties in the village did not have youth organizations. In a discussion with five youth employed by the big landowners it was revealed that many youth saw that development would only come about by working out of and away from the village. The youth in the village were highly mobile. Many of them were looking for better places to go and the urban centres like Tegeta and Kawe were the destinations. The establishment of a bus service between Madala and Tegeta was a most welcome idea to the youth who would only come to the village to sleep.

Some of the youth found in the village were those either employed by the big landowners or working in the farm with their parents. Those employed in the farms got good money since they were not supervised and could be employed by two or three such employers without the knowledge of the latter.

The major goal for the youth was to get into business. Land to them could not solve their problems. There were cases of youth who were selling land given to them by their parents. After this they migrated to urban centres to do business or seek wage employment.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Rural communities, particularly those close to urban centres, were undergoing drastic socio-economic changes. The poor were selling land to the rich after which they migrated to urban centres or remained in the community as hired peasants/ workers. The rich who bought land in the communities came from urban areas but did not settle in the villages until they had accumulated enough wealth to enable them lead a fairly independent life in the villages.
2. The social structure of Madala Village was fluid and fragile as a result of the mobility of the population in the village. This was aggravated by the fact that the new-comers did not come to settle in the village and were not also good managers of agricultural enterprises. For some it was sheer speculation of land and nothing like development.
3. Strategies for poverty alleviation should be focused on increased production, socio-economic organization, and control of resources. But in those communities with strong pushers for migration, as was the case in Madala, emphasis should be on providing social services or amenities such as water, good roads, and dispensaries. Provision of social services and amenities would reduce poverty to a certain extent and improve the quality of life in the village. Cost-sharing in the provision of social services can be a big burden among the poor. A new system of indirect taxation based on production in the villages or a system of health insurance for rural communities would ensure a reliable provision of social services.

4. The provision of social services in Madala required a strong and effective village government which would be able to mobilize resources in the village and those in government hands.
5. Community Based Education for poverty alleviation and improving the quality of life in Madala Village should deal with modern agricultural methods (agricultural education), marketing of agricultural commodities (protecting interests of the poor in the market) and control of the natural resources, environmental conservation in the community for future generations. Besides this, there should be programmes for Health Education (preventive health care) and Home Economics to as many people as possible in the community.
6. The Community Based Education programme should be integrated with the provision of social services/ amenities. Almost all adults and youth who participated in this study mentioned lack of water, good roads, and dispensary as constraints to their development. Adult learners should be urged to participate in all village programmes for the provision of social services.
7. Community Based Education should be promoted by the Ward Adult Education Coordinator with assistants from the village. The Ward Adult Education Coordinator should work very closely with the Government Ward Executive Officer and the village government to ensure support from all government officials in the ward and village.
8. Such an important programme needs to be supported by the District Commissioner and the City Commissioner as well. Their presence during

the initial period when Community Based Education begins with village leaders will encourage most of the participants.

9. The village leaders need special training before Community Based Education is started. They need to know their community very well on issues of poverty and living conditions and what needs to be done to redress the situation. The role of the village leadership in poverty alleviation should be shown clearly and each leader should be prepared for the tasks he/ she is to perform in the programme.

10. The village leaders programme should deal with the following for three days :
 - (i) History of the village
 - (ii) Poverty in the village
 - (iii) Plans for poverty alleviation
 - Community action
 - Individual action
 - (iv) Problems and prospects
 - (v) Problems of village leadership
 - (vi) Leadership for poverty alleviation.

11. The Community Based Education programme for various groups should include the following for 5 days.
 - (i) History of the village
 - (ii) Poverty in the village
 - (iii) Plans for poverty alleviation
 - Community action plan (social services).
 - Individual action plan.

(iv) Special programmes for different groups

- Women

- Youth

- Elders etc.

(Special programmes may involve the teaching of various skills after the 5 days).

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7.	Laiser R. Mwangoka	49.	Gerald Mahika
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18.	Salehe Kassimu	60.	Mazuzi Dotto
19.	Hassani Saidi	61.	Omari Mshamu Mbange
20.	Ally Saidi Debe	62.	Hussein Amran
21.	Saidi Hausi Kamenya	63.	Hussein Hamis
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31.	Peter Mahunda	73.	Habiba Mpacha
32.	Ali Makuka	74.	Asia Mohammed
33.	Saidi Ally Mnundu	75.	Zainabu Selemani
34.	Samwel Mabula	76.	Mariam Kiembe
35.	Singu Mathias	77.	Mwazani Kia
36.	Charles Dismas	78.	Zainabu Mohammed
37.	Lucas Dotto	79.	Asha Ally Makumba
38.	Amos James	80.	Agata Galusi
39.	Rashid Matola	81.	Salima Rashidi Kipeneke
40.	Subira Nassoro	82.	Habiba Abdallah
41.	Zaina Mponda	83.	Ashura Rashidi Kambwili
42.	Tatu Ally Kipalamoto	84.	Tano Salum Makonyolelo