

Social Development, Culture, and Participation:

Toward theorizing endogenous
development in Tanzania

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Summary

This thesis aims at theorizing endogenous development through re-conceptualizing the role of culture and recognizing the importance of diverse agencies participating in the development context. Tanzania aimed at harmonization between “development” and “culture” through the *Ujamaa* concept, but there were conflicts between development and culture in its top-down policies. Furthermore, present development perspectives perceived “culture” as a tool for development - either as an obstacle or a facilitator. The alternative perspective proposed in this thesis is to recognize culture as the basis for development: Conflict between development and culture hints resistances of the people toward the development processes; and harmonization between development and culture prevails endogenous development (Chapter 1).

A case study of Tanzania illustrated that culture was created based on ecological systems, structured based on the historical social processes, and selected based on endogenous agencies (Chapter 2). Within the different natural environments, societies mingled, interacted, and selected - creating layers of basis for their cultural identities. The layers created were the “Swahili culture” originating from the interactions between Africans and Arabs on the coast that spread along the caravan route, “tribal culture” frozen during the colonial rule, and “national culture” based on *Ujamaa*. Lindi Region is one of the coastal areas with the strong “Swahili” influence, but analysis showed that identities were diverse and consisting of multiple layers.

The evaluations of social development in Tanzania at the macro level in more recent policies indicated that endogenous perspectives should be considered as a condition for social development (Chapter 3). Firstly, time series analysis indicated that both state-led (*Ujamaa*) and market-led (structural adjustment) policies were predominantly exogenous for the people, and social development have not been sustained. Furthermore, the period lacking relative social development corresponded to the period lacking endogenous nature. Secondly, analysis of geographical disparities indicated that the regions with strong Swahili influences were lagging in terms of social development and that it was a result of marginalization forced by exogenous factors. Therefore, the thesis proposes people’s endogenous perspectives as an essential condition for social development.

Through the case study of Lindi Region, diverse agencies realizing endogenous development at the micro level were assessed (Chapter 4). Perspectives of development and culture were analyzed differentiating between women and men, young and old, based on the understanding that women and youth were excluded from participating in formal institutions of governance. According to the analysis, women utilized “development” against “culture” that violated their welfare, and they also used “cultural” networks as space for participating in social processes. On the other hand, youth denied traditional “culture” and found space outside existing village networks. This analysis indicated the importance of diverse agencies and their mutual dialogue for endogenous development.

Summarizing the discussions, the following conditions were proposed for endogenous social development: (i) Recognizing culture as the basis of development; (ii) Recognizing ecology, structure, and agencies as creator of culture; (iii) People’s endogenous participation including self-reliance in development processes; (iv) Dialogue between diverse agencies; and (v) Structural change and empowerment of agencies.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADB	African Development Bank	NCCR-Mageusi	National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageusi (A political party),
BHN	Basic human needs	NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (The Revolutionary Part - ruling party)	NER	Net enrolment rate
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (A political party)	NESP	The National Economic Survival Programme
CUF	Civic United Front (A political party)	NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
DANIDA	Danish Development Assistance	NPV	Net present value
DED/O	District Executive Director/Officer	ODA	Overseas Development Agency (U.K., renamed DFID)
DFID	Department for International Development (U.K.)	PAR	Participatory action research
DPT	Diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus	PFP	Policy Framework Paper
EC	European Commission	PPA	Participatory poverty assessment
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme	PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility	RPF	Rolling Planning and Forward Budgeting
ESRF	Economic and Social Research Foundation	SWAp	Sector side approach
EU	European Union	TAS	Tanzania Assistance Strategy
FGM	Female genital mutilation	TFC	Tanzania Fertilizer Company
FINNIDA	Finish International Development Agency	TSh	Tanzanian Shilling
GAPEX	General Agricultural Product Export Corporation	U.K.	United Kingdom
GDI	Genderrelated development index	U.S.	United States
GDP	Gross domestic product	U5MR	Under 5 mortality rate
GER	Gross enrolment rate	UCLAS	University College of Land and Architecture Studies
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
HBS	Household budget survey	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization
HDI	Human development index	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
IDA	International Development Association (the World Bank)	UNU	United Nations University
ILO	International Labour Organization	UPE	Universal primary education
IMF	International Monetary Fund	v.a.	Valid answer
IMR	Infant mortality rate	VED/O	Village Executive Director/Officer
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency	WDC	Ward Development Committee
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme	WED/O	Ward Executive Director/Officer
MLYD	Ministry of Labour and Youth Development	WFP	World Food Programme
MMR	Maternal mortality rate		
MOE	Ministry of Education and Culture		

Frequently used Swahili Words

<i>Adabu</i>	Good manners		harvest), originally in groups
<i>Chumba</i>	Room. Used in specific context as marriage.		of ten (<i>kumi</i>) within the community
<i>Fundi</i>	A person skilled in any art, crafts, or profession	<i>Mila na desturi</i>	Customs and practices
<i>Fundisha</i>	Teach	<i>Mtoto</i>	Child (plural <i>watoto</i>)
<i>Heshima, heshimu</i>	Respect (noun, verb)	<i>Mzee</i>	The elderly, with respect (plural <i>wazee</i>), cf. <i>ukubwa</i>
<i>Jamii</i>	Community	<i>Mzimu</i>	Medicine man (spirit shrine keeper)
<i>Jando</i>	Adult initiation rites for boys, although the villagers frequently use it interchangeably with <i>unyago</i> . The ritual itself is done separately by sex every year around August in southeast Tanzania when the parents decide to send them, frequently around children around 10 years of age. The boys have a longer ritual staying in the "bush" for circumcisions.	<i>Ndoa</i>	Marriage
		<i>Ndonya</i>	Wood ornaments worn by women on the face between the nose and the mouth
		<i>Ngoma</i>	Festivals in general, normally with drums and dance. (The original meaning of <i>ngoma</i> is drums)
		<i>Pima</i>	Measure, test
		<i>Tabia</i>	Behaviors, habits
		<i>Tambiko</i>	Making offerings to the spirits of the dead (e.g. oxen, goats, fowls, beer, clothes etc.)
<i>Kabila</i>	Ethnic group	<i>Tunza</i>	Bring up, care
<i>Kazi</i>	Work	<i>Ujamaa</i>	Extended familyhood
<i>Kinu</i>	Wooden mortar, hollowed out in the center, used for pounding and cleaning grain, and crushing and mixing vegetable foods.	<i>Ukoo</i>	Clan
		<i>Unyago</i>	Adult initiation rites for girls although the villagers frequently use it interchangeably with <i>jando</i> . In southeast Tanzania, girls have a shorter period of <i>unyago</i> staying within the village.
<i>Kitongoji</i>	Hamlet (plural <i>vitongoji</i>)	<i>Utamaduni</i>	Culture
<i>Ishi</i>	Live	<i>Zaa</i>	Bear children
<i>Kujitegemea</i>	Self-reliance		
<i>Maendeleo</i>	Development		
<i>Maisha</i>	Everyday life		
<i>Matanga</i>	Formal mourning lasting from three to ten days, where friends sleep in the mourner's house.		
<i>Mchinga</i>	Street vendors (plural <i>machinga</i>)		
<i>Mganga</i>	Medicine man (Witchcraft eradicator) (plural <i>waganga</i>)		
<i>Mikumi</i>	Villagers participating and helping each other to do agriculture (e.g.: cultivation,		

Introduction: Social development, culture, and participation

1. Background
2. Definitions of Key Terminologies
3. The Setting of the Subject
4. The Field of the Research
5. Sources and Methodologies

1. Background

1.2 Background of the Research

In search of better understanding and improved well-being for people, there have been various theories in social science over many years. As one of these attempts, the importance of social development has been emphasized especially since the 1990s, learning from the past development experiences. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) promoted the concept of human development from the 1990s by redefining development as centering on people rather than simple material growth and as a process of enlarging people's choices (UNDP 1990), enriching the concept of social development (Nishikawa 1997). In 1995, the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) put the agendas related to social development such as education, health, employment, and involvement of civil societies as global priorities (UN 1995). However, conceptualizations of human development have not been enough to grasp the messages from the reality level based on people's culture (Kawada 1997).

On the other hand, the influences and importance of "culture" have been recognized at least for a decade. During the colonial time, "culture" was recognized both as an obstacle and as a facilitator for development. Recognition of "culture" as a tool for "development" has continued in the recent discussion of social capital.

Other schools of thought have interpreted the same phenomena differently. Conflicts between "culture" and "development" are recognized as "resistances" (Scott 1985; 1998) or struggles of people toward external and upper power by school of thought with influence of the dependency theory. On the other hand, "development" internally blooming from the people's own culture is theorized as endogenous development, as an alternative way of development (Tsurumi 1996). These two schools of thoughts can be described as different paths or situations depending on the extent people are able to participate in the processes of development.

This thesis will analyze the development processes of a country, which had development policy objectives close to “social development” and “endogenous development.” The interpretation of “development” in Tanzania since independence in 1961 at the conceptual level has been very close to what we now call “social development.” Julius Nyerere, the first president, emphasized that it was not “things” but “people” who had to be developed based on their own self-reliance especially in agriculture (Nyerere 1973). He also emphasized the importance of basic health and education services (with Swahili as the national language). With self-reliance for agriculture and provision of basic health and education services as supporting elements, villagization was pursued with the *Ujamaa* (extended familyhood) concept representing African socialism (Nyerere 1966, pp. 162-171). The *Ujamaa* concept was based on Nyerere’s stance that “culture was the essence and spirit of any nation” and on his enthusiasm “to seek out the best of the traditions and customs of all our tribes and make them a part of our national culture” (Nyerere 1966, pp. 186-187), which can be related to “endogenous development.” This path that Tanzania indicated attracted some development specialists’ attention as a model case for endogenous social development, such as being quoted in the Dag Hammarskjöld Report (1975) as a unique case globally.¹

In spite of the noble objectives, the *Ujamaa* policy on the ground has been repeatedly criticized as a failure not only economically but also socially and culturally. The *Ujamaa* villagization process became far from the original concept of self-reliance with consideration to people’s culture: The Government implemented villagization in a top-down fashion in order to effectively move people into villages. Scott (1998) argued that forcing people to live in villages disrupted the accumulated knowledge of the people and created them into mere laborers.

1.3 Background of the Author

While working for development agencies in Tanzania, the author encountered many occasions that “culture” has been recognized as obstacle to “development.” This is the starting point of the problem that will be dealt with in this thesis.

The author worked for UNICEF (the United Nations Children’s Fund) Tanzania, as a community based assistant programme officer in the area of strengthening community based monitoring system during 1994-1996, and as a consultant to strengthen district level monitoring through district profiles during 1996-1997. The location of the duty was residing in Dar es Salaam, but the duty required field trips to various districts supported by UNICEF. Within the framework of the organization that had an overall objective of improving the welfare of girls and women, the author observed that different actors mentioned various cultural practices and beliefs as impediments for development. For example, districts mentioned such perspectives within the district statistical profiles (UNICEF 1997) that the author was responsible for.² Similar perspectives were indicated in other qualitative researches of girls and women that colleagues were involved in (UNICEF 1996). Within the conceptual framework of UNICEF, culture was considered as an influencing element, but the author did not have an opportunity to be deeply involved in the nature of this influencing element to the extent this thesis aims at.

After the assignment with UNICEF, the author worked for the poverty eradication programme funded by UNDP and implemented by the Vice President’s Office (VPO) within

¹ In the report, the term “another development” is used, recognized as within the same category as endogenous social development.

² See Chapter 1 for details.

the Government of Tanzania, as a monitoring systems consultant in 1997, and as a monitoring systems expert during 1997-1999. In these assignments, the author participated in the poverty monitoring task force, which was the spearhead to select relevant poverty monitoring indicators within the context of Tanzania and designed the institutional framework for poverty monitoring. In the process of selecting poverty indicators, the task force organized zonal workshops involving district and regional experts and stakeholders, covering the whole nation. One of the proposals from the districts and regions that caught my attention, which was beyond the standard indicators that experts from the central and sectoral level proposed, was indicators related to traditions and norms. In these zonal workshops, 9 regions (Arusha, Coast, Dodoma, Iringa, Lindi, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, and Tanga) out of 20 regions considered people's traditions and norms as one of the reasons for their poverty. The results of the zonal workshop were consolidated to propose national poverty indicators and to mention the regionally selected poverty indicators including the indicators related to traditions and norms (Tanzania 1999). However, in spite of the recognition of the strong influence of people's culture on poverty, the nature of the influence was considered as too complex and sensitive to be monitored through standard indicators or administrative monitoring systems.

This is how the author nurtured one's interest in the topic within the "development" context. However, based on the decision that such subject needs to be re-examined independently outside the "development" context, the author chose to investigate it as a research topic of this thesis. The author recognizes her own background in international agencies in Tanzania both as a comparative advantage and a bias, which will be elaborated in the section on the limitations of the thesis.

2. Definitions of Key Terminologies

The key terminologies defined here are "development", "endogenous development", "social development", "culture", and "participation."

2.1 Development

"Development" has gone through various evolvments through the history. Although the notion of "development" has existed for centuries, the global domination started to be critical in the 1940s after the World War II. A frequently cited benchmark is President Truman's inaugural address to "develop" the South. During this period, "development" was mainly defined as economic development, eventually becoming a key word for the newly independent countries. The word increased its dimensions of definitions in the 1970s with the notions of basic human needs (BHN) Approach, the New International Economic Order, and alternative development(s). In the 1980s, sustainable development became one of the key points to redefine "development" with the recognition of the environmental degradations. In the 1990s, UNDP proposed "human development" conceptually supported by Sen's capability approach. Corresponding to these evolvment the "development" definitions, the concept of social development became refined, and its importance was confirmed globally in the Social Summit of 1995.

These histories of "development" diversified the word's definitions based on the various interests and perspectives. To understand the perspectives of people and villagers in Tanzania, the definition of "development" is crosschecked with people of Lindi Region in this thesis. The Swahili word used in this thesis for development is "*maendeleo*", coming from the

verb “*kwenda*” (or “*enda*”) meaning “to go” (or “go”). This verb is categorized as a word from Bantu, which is of African origin.

The first President Nyerere frequently used the word “*maendeleo*” since independence, as the direction and slogan for the new nation. In a paper published by Nyerere on 16 October 1968 entitled “Freedom and Development”, accepted as a party policy paper, he defined *maendeleo* (development) as increasing people’s freedom (Nyerere 19997, p. 60). He specified this freedom as (a) national freedom, (b) freedom from hunger, disease, and poverty, and (c) personal freedom for individuals (such as to live in dignity and equality, freedom of speech, and freedom to participate) (Nyerere 1997, p. 58).

Within the diverse concepts of “development” born from the history of “development” including that of Nyerere, this thesis will focus on “endogenous development” and “social development” as key concepts. The definitions of these terminologies are as following.

2.1.1 Endogenous development

The concept of endogenous development is a world vision and an academic methodology in social science, defined by locally defined values, resources, and initiatives. The concept has emerged as the third world gained voice against globalization of external driven development based on the modernization theory, which was a crisis for regional uniqueness (Nishikawa 2001b, p. 42).³

Endogenous development enrooting from diverse cultures has been proposed by Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and Tsurumi respectively. The three main pillars of endogenous development or “another development” proposed by Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Report, which was prepared for the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1975, were

- (i) Geared to the satisfaction of needs, beginning with the eradication of poverty;
 - (ii) Endogenous and self-reliant, that is, relying on the strength of the societies which undertake it; and
 - (iii) In harmony with the environment.
- (Hammarskjöld 1975, p. 28)

Based on the discussion around the above three pillars illustrating that endogenous development is diverse processes incorporating cultural inheritance, satisfying BHN, and considering ecological limits, it showed that

³ The endogenous development theory should be differentiated with the endogenous growth theory (or the new growth theory). The endogenous growth theory is a modification of the traditional neoclassical growth theory that credit economic growth to an exogenous technological process. The endogenous growth theory provides a theoretical framework to explain why long-run equilibrium growth can be positive and divergent among countries and why capital tends to flow from poor to rich countries despite the formers low capital-labor ratios (e.g. why free-market reforms imposed on highly indebted countries did not prompt higher investment, rising productivity, and improved standard of living). It analyzes endogenous growth as persistent GNP growth that is determined by the system governing the production process rather than by forces outside that system. Although recognizing the cause of development as embedded within is common between endogenous growth theory and endogenous development, endogenous growth theory remains strongly rooted in the neoclassical economics in many ways (Todaro 2000, pp 99-104), whereas the endogenous development theory is not confined to the objective of economic growth or the discipline of economics.

- (iv) Another development requires structural transformation; and
 - (v) Immediate action is necessary and possible.
- (Hammar skjöld 1975, p. 28)

It recognized that "development" should not be simply an economic process but a complex whole that has to arise endogenously from deep down inside each society. Inspired by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the UNU (United Nations University) and the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization) further develop the concept through research projects in the 1970s and the 1980s.

Also in the 1970s, Tsurumi defined endogenous development as following:

Endogenous development has a common objective for all human being to create enabling pre-conditions of all people and groups to satisfy basic needs and to realize the possibilities as humans. This also includes the transformation of the structure that widens the domestic and international gaps. The significance of endogenous development is that the route to the objective and the model of society to be created is based on diverse processes of social change. ... The path to realize the objectives should take into consideration their natural environment and cultural inheritance. (Tsurumi 1996, p. 9, translated by the author)

Endogenous development considers diverse development patterns and pluralistic values as a premise, and it aims not only at simple production of things but development of humans and societies. It theorizes a development pattern that recognizes the importance of satisfying BHN of every individual through valuing people's free choice. Thus, endogenous development is measured not simply by economic growth, but with satisfaction of BHN and space for people's participation diversified by local conditions (Nishikawa 2001, p. 43).

Nishikawa (2000, p.17) further analyzed the following four characteristics with reference to the three main pillars of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Report and the researches of UNESCO and UNU:

- (1) Endogenous development necessitates a paradigm shift in economics and sets the development of holistic humans as the overriding objective instead of "*homo economics*."
- (2) Endogenous development denies external and dominated development and aims at creating symbiotic societies with characteristics of sharing and human liberation.
- (3) The organizational structure of endogenous development is related to participation, co-operation, and self-management.
- (4) Endogenous development is based on regional decentralization and ecological systems, and characterized by self-reliance and sustainability.

.Nishikawa 2000, p. 17, translated by the author.

In reference to the previous researches, this thesis will propose the following points as conditions for endogenous development. Firstly, culture should be considered as the basis for endogenous development. Secondly, ecology and history should be considered as creator of culture. Thirdly, these endogenous participations (including self-reliance) should be incorporated in development processes. Fourthly, diverse agencies should be considered the engine for endogenous development. These endogenous perspectives will be analyzed in

relation to the satisfaction of BHN (especially in Chapter 3). Through the analysis of these conditions, endogenous development in Tanzania will be theorized.

2.1.2 Social development

The original definition of "social development" during the 1960s and 1970s was mainly the social infrastructure to support economic development. This corresponds with the mainstream "development" during this period focusing on economic development. From the end 1970s to the 1980s, social development starts to include satisfaction of BHN using new development strategies with people's participation. The conceptualization of human development in the 1990s, to broaden the choices of people, is also closely related to the foundation of the social development concept (Nishikawa 1997; Sakamoto 1997).

The 1995 Copenhagen Social Summit emphasized "social development" as a global imperative. In the Report of the World Summit for Social Development, definition of "social development" can be read from the following passage:

We gather here to commit ourselves, our Governments and our nations to enhancing social development through the world so that all men and women, especially those living in poverty, may exercise the rights, utilize the resources and share the responsibilities that enable them to lead satisfying lives and to contribute to the well-being of their families, their communities and human kind. To support and promote these efforts must be the overriding goals of the international community, especially with respect to people suffering from poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. (United Nations 1995, p. 3)

The objectives of social development can be summarized as ensuring poverty eradication, full employment, and social integration. With these three main pillars, social development evolves to include the following 10 commitments of the Social Summit:

1. Creating an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment to enable social development
2. Eradicating poverty in the world
3. Promoting full employment
4. Promoting social integration ... based on protection of human rights, non-discrimination, ... and participation of all people
5. Equity between women and men
6. Universal education, ... health; respecting and promoting our common and particular cultures; preserving the essential bases of people-centered sustainable development; and contributing to the full development of human resources to social development. The purpose of these activities is to eradicate poverty, promote full and productive employment and foster social integration
7. Accelerating the economic, social and human resource development of Africa and the least developed countries
8. Ensure ... structural adjustment programme ... to include social development goals, in particular eradicating poverty, promoting full employment, and enhancing social integration
9. Increase ... resources allocated to social development
10. Improved framework for international, regional and sub-regional cooperation for social development

(United Nations 1995, pp. 8-21)

In reference to the above, social development can be defined as satisfaction of BHN through and for participation. The objectives to reduce poverty, unemployment, and social exclusion are emphasized with the recognition that special attention is needed in these areas to satisfy BHN and to ensure people's participation. These issues will be discussed mainly in Chapter 3.

In the social development concept, the importance of culture is mentioned as the sixth commitment, as "respecting and promoting our common and particular cultures." Furthermore, this is implicitly underlined by the emphasis of participation of civil society. However, the role of culture can be more explicit and incorporated within the social development concept. This thesis will propose considering development enrooting from people's endogenous culture as an essential condition for social development especially in Chapters 1 and 3.

2.2 Culture

The word culture is originally from the Latin word *cultura*, which means "cultivation." In the middle ages, scholars cultivated one's heart and used the word culture as "development of the heart." This concept developed into "psychological culture" in the 17th century. The meaning turns into "sophisticated mode of life" in the 18th and 19th century. In the 20th century, the dominant definition of culture becomes "mode of life in the respective social groups" (Tanase 1959, pp. 18-19).

Up to the present, numerous academics from various aspects have defined culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn reviewed the history of the word culture and categorized the various definitions of culture. The categorizations are as following:

- A: DESCRIPTION: Broad definitions with emphasis on enumeration of content
- B: HISTORICAL: Emphasis on social heritage or tradition
- C: NORMATIVE:
 - C-I: Emphasis on rule or way
 - C-II: Emphasis on ideals or values plus behavior
- D: PSYCHOLOGICAL
 - D-I: Emphasis on adjustment, on culture as a problem-solving device
 - D-II: Emphasis on learning
 - D-III: Emphasis on habit
 - D-IV: Purely psychological definitions
- E: STRUCTURAL: Emphasis on patterning or organization of culture
- F: GENERIC:
 - F-I: Emphasis on culture as a product or artifact
 - F-II: Emphasis on ideas
 - F-III: Emphasis on symbols
 - F-IV: Residual category definitions
- G: INCOMPLETE DEFINITIONS
(Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952)

With the recognition of the diverse definitions of "culture", the thesis will consider the definition "the way of life followed by a community or society, based on a common value system" under the "NORMATIVE" category as an entry point (with some reference to

“DESCRIPTION” and “GENERIC” categories). However, it will focus on culture as manifestation (which relates to “PSYCHOLOGICAL” category) in Chapter 1, and it will focus on the “HISTORICAL” and “STRUCTURAL” categories in Chapter 2.

Having said that, we will crosscheck the definitions of “culture” based on how the people of Tanzania define “culture” in Chapter 4. The Swahili word for culture “*Utamaduni*” used in this research originates from an Arabic word *tamaddun* (تَمَدُّن) “civilization” or “refinement of social culture” (Bosha 1993, p.242), with its original verb form *maddana* (مَدَّنَ) “to found cities, civilize, urbanize” and other commonly used forms *madina* (مَدِينَة) “town” and *madani* (مَدَنِي) “urban, civilized” (Cowan 1976, pp. 888-889). The word *utamaduni* has been used in this thesis due to the reason that it is most commonly used in the present Swahili context in Tanzania for “culture”, described in Swahili by the people as “*mila na desturi* (customs and practices).” The author interprets this transition of the meaning from the original Arabic *tamaddun* to the Swahili *utamaduni* that “customs and practices” were the major manifestation of civilization in the Tanzanian Swahili context.

2.3 Participation

Recognition of the importance of participation

Participation started to be discussed since the 1960s or before, but it generally referred to people’s involvement only in small scale such as in particular projects. The importance of participation in holistic development processes has been promoted by school of thought initially arguing that “culture” should be analyzed *for* people. This idea later transformed to the idea that “culture” should be analyzed *by* the people for their own development processes.

The initially proposed method in the 1970s to the 1980s was Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), which outsiders analyzed people’s culture mostly for specific projects. In the 1980s and the 1990s, this idea was replaced by Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) with the argument that people or the poor should be the main analyzers of their own situation and that outsiders should have a role only as facilitators or animators. Later on, Participatory Action Research (PAR) has been sought especially in Latin America to actively involve people in generating knowledge about their own conditions and how it can be improved; it aimed at stimulating social and economic changes based on the awakening of common people and empowering the oppressed. (Chamber 1997, pp. 107-115)

These transitions of ideas had time lags to be accepted in the global arena and on the ground. However, “participation” gradually becomes recognized as one of the keys for success in most international development organization including the World Bank (1996). In Africa, theater becomes one of the methods for the people to express their situations (Dale 1999); theater was also utilized by development organizations such as UNICEF. UNDP (1993) also took up “participation” as the annual theme in *Human Development Report 1993* and defined participation as people “closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives” (p. 21). This will be the main definition of “participation” in the discussions of Part 2.

The importance of participation has also been recognized in research methods. The term “participatory research” was first used by Marja-Liisa Swantz in the early 1970s to draw on the knowledge and expertise of communities when creating locally controlled projects in Tanzania; later the term “PAR” was used by Fals-Borda to describe similar efforts with attention to social change in Latin America (Brydon Miller 2001, p 77). Survey and structural qualitative researches, which experts undergo with objectives to efficiently extract objective facts, have

been criticized as top-down and inflexible to empower the poor. Even within participatory methods of research with more flexibility, "extractive PRA" tends to have a top-down decision making structures in comparison to "empowering PRA" and participatory action research, which are initiated by the poor with goals of social change (Mbilinyi and Rajani 2001).

Participation in what and by whom? The issue of agencies

As "participation" gained acceptance by various actors, differentiation of top-down participation and bottom-up participation started to be emphasized. According to Mallya (1998), participation can be *top-down* in "traditional participation" or "consultative participation" with agenda set by outsiders, *mutual* in "partnership participation" with agenda set jointly, or *bottom-up* in "partnership participation" with agenda set by challengers. Kikula (1999) categorized seven typology of participation: manipulative participation, passive participation, participation by consultation, participation for material incentive, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilization. The question of "participation in what?" is paused, especially focusing on how the agenda is set. Conceptually, this difference has been defined between PRA and PAR especially in Latin America. However, in the global development context, this difference has not been digested and need to be reemphasized.

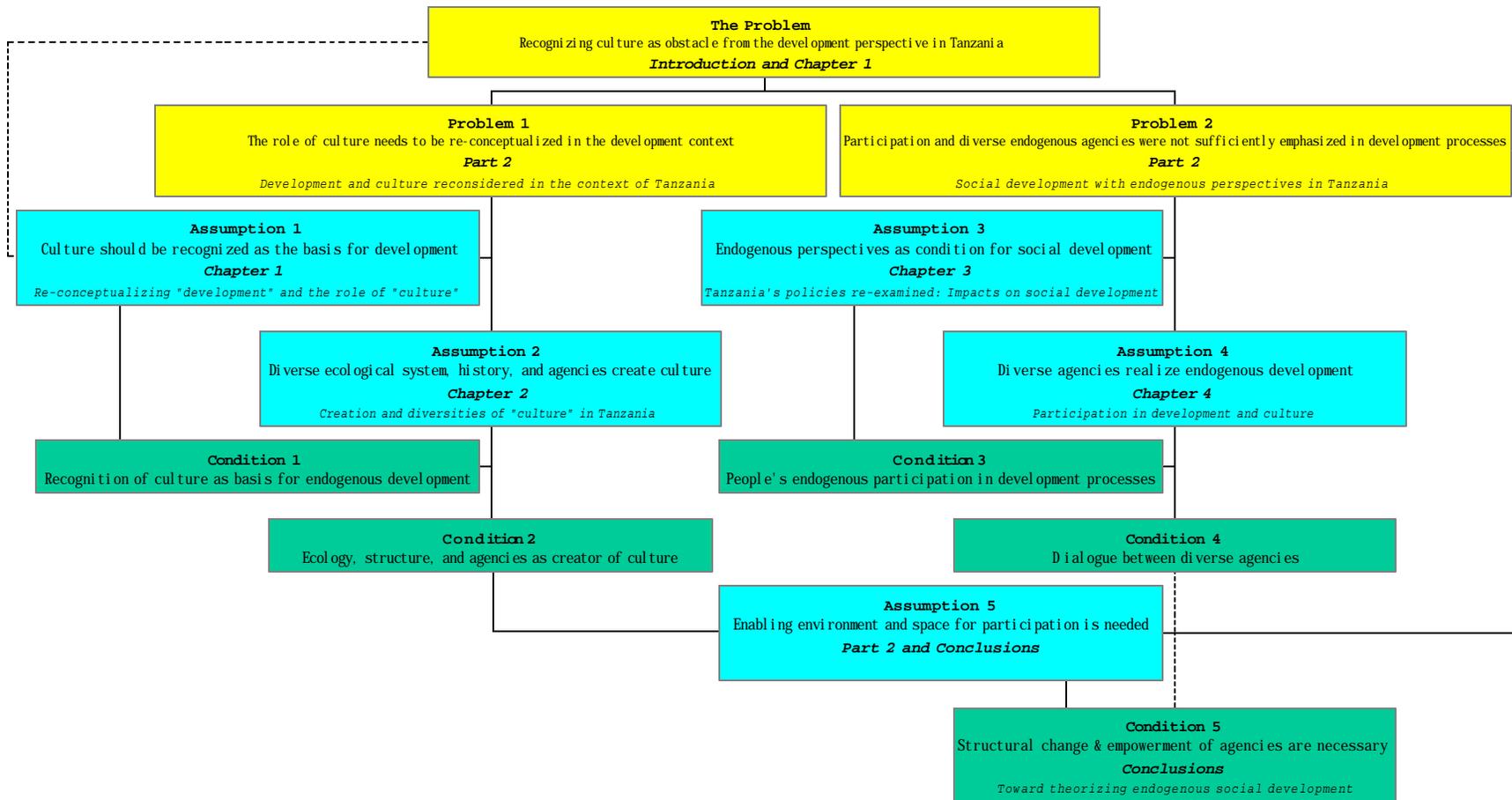
Furthermore, people started to be recognized as active agents with subjectivity rather than passive recipient of welfare. Although there are overlaps between the agency approach and the welfare approach, the shift, which is seen especially in the women's movement, recognizes the dynamic promoter of social transformation that can alter their lives (Sen 2001, pp. 189-192). The concept of agency regards people as responsible human agents who can take action based on their free will, differentiating from simple behavior (Taylor 1985, pp. 15-16; Bshop 1989, pp. 10-14).⁴ In consideration to the agency approach, the diversities between agencies also become prevalent and lead to the question of "who participates?" In this thesis, the agencies will be especially focused in Part 2 (introduction) and Conclusions at the mezzo level, and in Chapter 4 at the micro level. On the other hand, Chapter 3 will include perspectives of the welfare approach at the macro level.

There are also related arguments on the relationships between structure and agency: Marxist (Callinicos 1987, pp. 9-12) and dependency theory over-emphasized the structure within the making of history and did not recognize the power of agencies. Also in the context of Tanzania, Green (2000) questioned the belief that change of methods (with participation) will bring about social change based on people's own knowledge, and she argued that institutional structural change for participation is necessary for agency to be effected. This thesis will take the stance that both structure and agency matters: The model introduced in Chapter 2 will illustrate how the two are inter-related. The structural elements will be further elaborated in Chapter 3 within the context of Tanzania in general at the macro level. The perspectives and strategies of the diverse agencies will be demonstrated at the micro level in Chapter 4. The present institutional set up, which enable or disable these agencies within the structure, will be introduced in Part 2, and recommendations will be made for an enabling environment in the conclusions.

⁴ In this thesis, the word "agency/agencies" will be used to express the *action* based on their free will. The word "agent(s)" will refer to the *person(s)* who act based on their free will. The word "actor(s)" may be used to refer to a person(s) in a neutral sense, regardless of their actions based on free will.

Diagram 0-1: Problems, Assumptions, and Structure of the Thesis

Objective: Toward theorizing social development with endogenous perspectives



Source: Created by the author

3. The Setting of the Subject

As mentioned through the background of the author, the starting point of the problem of the thesis is that "culture" expressed by traditions, norms, customs, and beliefs of people are recognized as obstacles to "development" ("The Problem" in Diagram 0-1). The Problem has been demarcated in to two folds: Problem 1 is that the role of culture needs to be re-conceptualized in the development concepts; Problem 2 is that participation and diverse endogenous agencies were not sufficiently emphasized in the development processes. Problem 1 is discussed in Part 1, and Problem 2 is discussed in Part 2.

In order to tackle these problems and with reference to the previous researches on endogenous development, five assumptions have been made. Assumption 1 conceptualizes culture as "manifestation" instead of "tool" that culture should be recognized as the basis of development. This assumption will be dealt in Chapter 1 by conceptual reviews of literatures. Firstly, the author categorizes and conceptualizes schools of thought discussing the role of "culture" through the literature review of "development" and the role of "culture." Based on the analysis, the author proposes an alternative way of perceiving "culture" within the development perspective that relationships between "culture" and "development" are manifestations of development processes: (a) A top-down process will create resistances and conflicts between development and culture; and (b) a participatory process will lead to endogenous development. The issue of diverse agencies and their participation will also be paused as a key for social change. This analysis points at a broader framework of the problem: the insufficient recognition of participation and diverse endogenous agencies in the development processes (Problem 2 in Diagram 0-1); and the assumption that top-down processes would most likely to have discrepancies (Assumption 3).

Looking into the ecological and historical influences on culture, Assumption 2 relates to the creation of the dynamics and diversities of culture and agency. With the case of Tanzania, Chapter 2 will illustrate the dynamics and diversities of culture with the assumption that "culture" is created based on respective ecological systems, structured through exogenous historical encounters, and selected based on agencies. Although a national identity as "Tanzanians" generally exists, the diversities of the "cultures" and identities between geographical locations, sex, and age are also prevalent. Furthermore, the plural identities even within one individual are also observed. Based on these analysis, recognizing the ecological systems, exogenous structure, and endogenous agencies as creator of culture will be provided as one of the conditions for endogenous development. These illustrations (and the case study of Chapter 4) will provide examples of the diverse agencies. Chapters 1 and 2 constitute Part 1 with the objective to reconsider development and culture in the context of Tanzania

Assumptions 3 and 4 are related to considering participation and recognition of diverse endogenous agencies as conditions for social development (Problem 2). As introduction to Problem 2, space for agents' participation in social development in Tanzania will be introduced. At the macro level, the thesis argues that top-down or exogenous processes cannot sustain social development and that endogenous perspective should be considered as an essential condition for social development (Assumption 3). As discussion of Assumption 3, Chapter 3 will evaluate the endogenous nature of policies after independence and its influences on social development. The analysis will be done both for time series trend (analyzing state-led and market-led policies) and geographical disparities. As conclusion, top-down state-led processes nor exogenous market-led processes did not bring sustainable social development but marginalized of specific regions. The failure of social development

was especially prevalent during the period endogenous nature was relatively lacking. Therefore, people's endogenous participation in the development process should be considered as an essential condition for social development.

Based on the assumption that diverse agencies realize development (Assumption 4), Chapter 4 analyzes how people evaluate "development" policies, through their conceptualization of the relationships between "development" and "culture." The case is from Lindi Region where it is typically believed that their "culture" is an obstacle to "development." The alternative perspective proposed through Assumption 1 and Chapter 1 was used to understand the relationships between "development" and "culture": (a) Where there is conflict between development and culture, there are resistances of the people toward the development processes; and (b) where there is harmonization between development and culture, there are roots for endogenous development. This analysis will be combined with differentiating agencies within the society between women and men, young and old, based on the understanding that there are disparities in social exclusion and inclusion. By applying these perspectives, this thesis will lead to conclusions on how development processes succeeded in incorporating people's culture into the development processes and on how it failed to do so creating a gap between policy and the people. Based on the analysis of diverse agencies, the chapter concludes that endogenous initiative and dialogue between agencies should be considered a condition for social development with endogenous perspectives.

Summarizing the discussions in Parts 1 and 2, the thesis will conclude on conditions for social development with endogenous perspectives. Firstly, discussions on Assumption 1 in Chapter 1 provide a condition that culture should be recognized as a basis for endogenous development. Secondly, the illustrations in Chapter 2 on Assumption 2 provide a case for recognizing diverse ecologies, histories, and agencies as creator of culture. Thirdly, analysis in Chapter 3 in relation to Assumption 3 concludes that people's endogenous participation in the development processes should be recognized as an essential condition. Fourthly, a case study in Chapter 4 in relation to Assumption 4 indicates that recognition of diverse endogenous agencies and dialogue between diverse agencies should be considered a condition. Lastly, from the discussions and analysis of space for participation in Parts 1 and 2, structural change and empowerment of agencies will be argued as necessary for endogenous development.

4. The Field of the Research

The field of the research is Tanzania and Lindi Region (in southeastern Tanzania), accompanied by general theory. The main reason for selecting Tanzania as a case study is due to the reason that Tanzania has been putting emphasis on development and culture. National policy of Tanzania since independence emphasized that development should be based on people and their culture with emphasis on the social sector, which is closely related to the concept of social development with endogenous perspectives.

The thesis will take up Lindi Region as a case study, which is one of the 20 regions in the southeast, north of Mtwara Region (Map 1). Lindi Region has the following characteristics. Firstly, it is considered as one of the poorest region in the present "development" context.⁵

⁵ Lindi region is considered as one of the "poorest" among the 20 regions of Tanzania (Tanzania 1999). However, the definitions of poverty are diverse and relative; therefore, there are eternal debates if Lindi should be considered as one of the poorest or not. More on these poverty indicators in Chapter 3.

Secondly, in the 1970s, the southeastern regions including Lindi Region were regions that “Ujamaa” villagization was experimented at the early stages in large scale.⁶ Thirdly, since the year 1000, Kilwa, which is located within Lindi Region, was the important center of Swahili Culture.⁷ These characteristics are interoperated differently depending on the perspective. Development perspectives tend to blame the “Swahili” culture in Lindi for resisting development and creating poverty.⁸ On the other hand, previous researches on the southeast argue that continuous top-down policies created poverty upon people and the regions. These conflicting views of the relationships between development and culture are the main reason for selecting Lindi Region for the case of this thesis.

Due to the diversities within Tanzania, this case is not representative of the county. However, its characteristics are relevant to assess how “Swahili” culture and *Ujamaa* policy played roles (or did not play roles) in endogenous social development.

Lindi District existed since the German and British Colonial Rule (Mascarenhas 1971; Thomas 1971), but it became part of Mtwara Region after independence. Lindi became a region in 1971 when Mtwara Region was divided into two regions: Mtwara and Lindi. Presently, Lindi Region consists of six districts: Kilwa, Lindi Rural, Lindi Urban, Liwale, Nachingwea, and Ruangwa, covering 67,000 km². The 1988 national census indicated that Lindi Region had a population of about 646,000 (Tanzania 1997).

Within Lindi Region, five sites in three districts were selected for the field research, representing various characteristics indicated in Table 0-1 (locations in Map 1). In order to complement the rural field research, additional interviews were done in another rural district (Kilwa District), capital town of Lindi Region (Lindi Urban), and the largest city in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam) to enable comparison with urban perspectives.

Table 0-1: Research Villages and their Major Characteristics

Region	Lindi						
District	Ruangwa		Nachingwea	Lindi (Rural)			
Ward	Mbekenyera		Naipanga	Rutamba		Sudi	Mchinga
Villages	Mbekenyera	Naunambe	Naipanga	Rutamba ya Zamani	Rutamba ya Sasa	Sudi	Mchinga II
Established	1974		1968	1974		1972	1977
Previously:	Relatively new village*		Individuals living apart	Have been an old village as Rutamba Village*		Have been a village since 'long time ago'	
Population (1988)	2132	2039	5066	2424	3666	2209	2254
Ethnic group(s)**	Mwera		Makonde, Mwera, Makua (& Yao)	Mwera	Mwera (Makonde & Yao)	Makonde (Nyasa & Yao)	Mwera + Makonde =Machinga
Religion**	Muslim (& Christian)		Muslim & Christian	Mustim	Muslim (& Christian)	Muslim (& Christian)	Muslim
Location	Inland		Inland	Inland		Coast	Coast
Livelihood	Farming		Farming	Farming		Fishing	Fishing
Food crops:	Millet, Maize, Cassava, Pigeon pea, Kunde***		Maize, Cassava, Millet	Rice, Maize, Cassava		Millet, Cassava, Maize, Fish	Millet, Cassava, Maize Fish
Cash crops:	Cashew, Sesame		Cashew, Sesame, Groundnuts, (Cassava)	Cashew, Sesame		Fish, Cashew, Pigeon pea, Sesame, groundnuts, beans	Fish, Cashew, Sesame, Coconuts

Note: *Due to the common history, the 2 villages are dealt as one village for sampling in this research ;

** () In brackets indicate minority ethnic groups and religion in the village. *** Kunde is a kind of beans.

Source: Created by the author based on information from Village Governments and fieldresearch during July-August 2001; URT 1988.

⁶ The *Ujamaa* villagization was carried out as one of the earliest experiments in the southeast, as an emergency measure for the Mozambican war situation (Voipio 1998, pp. 82-84; Swantz 1998, p.173).

⁷ The “Swahili” culture flourished along the coast and spread along the caravan route (Map 2; Chapter 2).

⁸ For example, in the process of selecting poverty indicators in consultation with district and regional officials and experts, all coastal regions (Tanga, Coast, Lindi, and Mtwara), which have strong Swahili influence, proposed indicators related to traditions and customs as one of the poverty indicators for the respective regions (Tanzania 1999). More on this in Chapters 1 and 3.

The scopes of the chapters are as follows. Chapter 1 is a review of theoretical concepts, therefore, is not limited to Tanzania. Chapter 2 discusses about Tanzania in general, complimented with first hand information from Lindi Region. Chapter 3 discusses about Tanzania in general with aggregated data, supplemented by disaggregated data by region and district where available. Chapter 4 is based on a case study of Lindi Region. Conclusion summarizes the discussions from all scopes: Lindi Region, Tanzania, and in general.

5. Sources and Methodologies

Sources

The research is multi-methodological, and both qualitative and quantitative approaches through desk and field researches are taken. Desk research includes literature review and data analysis using existing sources and primary sources. Field research includes village field research in Lindi Region and interviews in Tanzania (Lindi Region and Dar es Salaam). The village field research consists of group discussions, individual interviews, information collection, and observations in villages of Lindi Region. Although not directly related to the research, the author's working experience in Tanzania has been beneficial in understanding the development context of Tanzania.⁹

Field researches

As preliminary preparation of the research, over 33 people were consulted and interviewed (flexible) in Tanzania during February to March 2001.¹⁰ After further preparation including desk research, over 89 people were consulted and interviewed (flexible) during July to August 2001, mostly in Lindi Region.

The village field research took the style of Participatory Rural Assessments (PRA), emphasizing people's participation and ownership in the process of information collection, underlining the importance of the people's knowledge and mutual learning. In consultation with key actors within the region, the author planned the contents of the field research and identified PRA trained Tanzanian facilitators based in Lindi Region for the overall facilitation and parts of the interview.¹¹ The author was present throughout the exercise, facilitated group discussions, and interviewed individuals.¹²

For the village field research, about 40 villagers with consideration to their sex and age were selected per site through the ward/village government. The village sample aimed at ten

⁹ The author worked in Tanzania with UNICEF during 1994-1997 and with UNDP and Vice President's Office (VPO) during 1997-1999, residing in Dar es Salaam. Short term consultancy was also done for JICA in August 2000. The field research has been possible based on good working relationships established, especially with Lindi Region and RIPS during the work with UNDP and VPO.

¹⁰ The author applied for a research permit from COSTECH during this trip.

¹¹ The facilitators were mostly affiliated to the region or the district Government. In Ruangwa and Nachingwea Regions, a senior facilitator (a retired regional agricultural officer, trained as a PRA facilitator, retired and living in the area) had a network of "trained" facilitators in each district. In Lindi Region, the Regional Government recommended "trained" facilitators who lived in, and knew the villages. The "training" of the facilitators differed according to the individual, and some were more conscience about the value and ownership of the people's knowledge than others. The selection of the facilitators was dependent on the availability in each area, and their sex could not be fully considered as a condition. Even in consideration to the fact that villagers may consider facilitators as part of the Government, it was useful to work with the facilitators due to their knowledge of the area and their "training of PRA", compared to an outsider (author) going alone un-introduced, or going with an untrained government officer.

¹² Except during parts of the interviews in Sudi and Mchinga II Villages.

each for the four focus groups: older (above 50 years of age) women, older men, younger (from 15 to 40s) women, and younger men. Total of 190 villagers participated and 187 were interviewed in the five sites (Table 0-2). Both qualitative and quantitative information were obtained through groups and individuals, but qualitative methods through groups were emphasized to understand the context and dynamics. Due to this emphasis on the qualitative aspects, sex and age differences were carefully considered, but the quantity of the sample to enable statistical significance had secondary importance.

The actual field research in one site took about two days in average in August 2001 during the dry season. After introduction of the research topic, about half a day was spent as focus groups discussing daily time use of each sex/age group in dry and rainy seasons. Proceeding presentations and discussions in a combined forum, seasonal calendar of crops, and cultural festivals were drawn. The rest of the day and in most cases the morning of the next day were spent on individual interviews. The individual interviews were (semi-) structured based on the questionnaire including comprehensive questions to individuals about: the interviewee; her/his family; everyday life; and perceptions on *utamaduni* (culture), *maendeleo* (development) and participation.¹³

Table 0-2: Number of Women and Men Participated/Interviewed in the Research, by age

		Participated in group discussions				Interviewed (including participated)							
	Sex	Female		Male		Total	Female			Male			Total
District	Village / Age	15-40s	50-	15-40s	50-		15-29	30-49	50-	15-29	30-49	50-	
Ruangwa	Mbekenjera & Naunambe	9	7	12	11	39	1	9	6	1	10	11	38
Nachingwe	Naipanga	10	9	11	10	40	4	7	8	2	9	10	40
Lindi (R)	Rutamba (ya Zamani & Sasa)	10	8	10	10	38		9	6	1	8	9	33
	Sudi	7	7	10	11	35	4	4	6	2	7	15	38
	Mchinga II	10	9	10	9	38	6	4	8		9	11	38
Sub-total of 5 villages		46	40	53	51	190	15	33	34	6	43	56	187
Kilwa							3	1		2	3	1	10
Lindi (Urban)							14	1			5	8	28
Dar es Salaam							5	6	2	3	4	3	23
Sub-total (by sex and age)		46	40	53	51	190	37	41	36	11	55	68	248
Total (by sex)		86		104			114			134			

Note: There is a lack of representation of older women, especially in the coast (Kilwa, Lindi Urban, Sudi, and Mchinga II), which can be criticized as a bias of the sample. It also indicates the atmosphere that disable older women to speak in public.

Source: Created by the author from the field research and interviews during July-August 2001

¹³ The questionnaire was reviewed and revised based on various comments. The first working draft of the questionnaire was drafted in English by the author and translated into Swahili by Mwalimu Esta. The Swahili version of the questionnaire was broadly shared, reviewed by experts in Tanzania (especially Lindi Region) and revised accordingly. The interview was basically structured, but semi-structured interviews were also done when the author was the interviewer.

The main exercise of the second day was focus group discussions per four sex and age groups on "*maendeleo* (development) and *utamaduni* (culture)." Fourteen out of twenty group discussions were facilitators of the same sex as the focus groups. Each focus group presented their discussions in a joint forum.¹⁴

For additional individual interviews to 61 people in Kilwa District, Lindi Urban, and Dar es Salaam, the author explained the intentions and the questions to identified interviewers and delegated the work. The sample was selected in consideration to their sex and age (15-29, 30-49, and above 50 years). Total of 248 people were interviewed (including interviews from the five sites) as indicated in Table 0-2. Seventy-two percent of the interviews were done by the interviewers of the same sex as the interviewee. The field research and the interviews were crosschecked by second hand observations obtained through informal interviews, literatures, and the author's observations and working/residing experiences (1994-1999; Aug. 2000).

Limitations

There are a few limitations to the field research in relation to the sample, the limited time, and relationship between the research team and the villages. The population that participated in the group discussions are 190 women and men in 5 villages of 3 rural districts (out of 4 rural districts) in Lindi Region, and the population that were interviewed are 248 women and men in 5 rural villages and 3 urban centers in Lindi Region. The field research is not meant to generalize for Tanzania, Lindi Region, districts, or villages but to provide one of many perspectives in Lindi Region.

The limited time in each village (2 days per village during the dry season) is also a limitation of the field research. The author evaluates some of the findings on qualitative and seasonality influenced aspects in the questionnaire, especially income, as unreliable and have not used it in the analysis of the thesis. On the other hand, the field research was relevant to capture qualitative perspectives of the villagers, which was the main purpose.

Perhaps the largest limitation of the field research was the fact that findings relied on the subjective arguments expressed by the villagers, which is likely to have been influenced by the relationship between the research team and the researched. Firstly, as mentioned previously, the author worked in UN agencies supporting the Government during 1994-1999, and in spite of the knowledge and networks it enabled, it created a by-product to be considered as a "development agent." Additionally, the author went through legitimate processes of obtaining research permit from COSTECH, resident permit from immigration to allow research in the villages, letter of recommendation from the Regional Government to the District Government, and introduction from the District Governments to the Village Governments. Furthermore, the author is inevitably considered to be "foreign." Therefore, it is natural that the villagers perceive the author as a "foreign (ex-)development agent with close relation to the Government", reserving their radical criticisms about "development" and the Government, or exaggerating their problems based on their interests.

Secondly, most of the PRA facilitators and many of the interviewers were affiliated to the Government, most of them highly educated. The involvement of the Village Government in the selection of participants would have probably limited radical criticisms toward the Government in spite of the considerations made to avoid bias on particular social groups. As

¹⁴ The indicated order and timing of the exercise is a model plan and was flexibly organized to match the village conveniences. Accessibility was drawn according to the availability of time.

discussed in Chapter 4, some agitations of discussions by the facilitators were also observed.¹⁵ Although it is possible to argue the benefits of the link to the Government administrative system that it enables feedback of the research at various administrative levels as a diverse form of bottom up process, it is also considered as a critical limitation to capture the endogenous voices of the people. This relationship between the research team and the researched is a possible limitation of the PRA methodology itself. This may have been accelerated by the fact that the question or agenda was already set (although flexible) and that it was not participatory action-oriented research. The author attempted to overcome this deficit by including the analysis of the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Methodologies per chapter

Each of the chapter has different emphasis of the methodology according to the focus. Table 0-3 summarizes the structure of the thesis along with the methodology.

Following this introduction, Part 1 (consisting of Chapters 1 and 2) will rethink about “development” and the role of “culture.” Chapter 1 will re-conceptualize the topic within the general and theoretical scope through literature review. Chapter 2 will review the creation and diversities of “culture” in Tanzania through literature review supplemented by the field research from Lindi Region.

Part 2 (consisting of Chapters 3 and 4) will assess the extent of endogenous social development in Tanzania. Chapter 3 will evaluate the social development of Tanzania, focusing on the impact of national policies since independence on social development. The analysis will be mainly for Tanzania in general, supplemented with regional analysis through data analysis and literature review.

Chapter 4 will analyze participation in development and culture from the people’s perspective of Lindi Region. This chapter is based on primary information collected through village field research (especially group discussions, complimented by flexible and semi-structural individual interviews) and observations (primary and secondary) in Tanzania. As conclusion of the thesis, the discussions will be summarized in order to theorize the concept of social development with endogenous perspective.

Table 0-3: Structure of the Thesis

Part	Chapter	Title	Scope/focus	Method/source
Introduction		Social development, culture, and participation	1. General 2. Tanzania	
I	Development and culture in the context of Tanzania			
	1	Re-conceptualizing “development” and the role of “culture”	General (theoretical)	Literature review
	2	Creation and diversities of “culture” in Tanzania	1. Tanzania 2. Lindi Region	1. Literature review 2. Field research (Interviews; observations)
II	Social development with endogenous perspective in Tanzania			
	3	Tanzania’s policies re-examined: Impacts on social development	1. Tanzania 2. Lindi Region (Coastal regions)	- Data analysis - Literature review
	4	Participation in development and culture: From the people’s diverse agencies in Lindi Region	1. Lindi Region 2. Tanzania	Village field research: - Groups discussions - Interviews - Observations
Conclusion		Toward theorizing social development with endogenous perspective	1. Lindi Region 2. Tanzania 3. General	

Source: Formulated by the author.

¹⁵ For example, there were a few incidents where facilitator(s) attempted to convince villagers that excessive consumption in festivals or polygamy were negative for development.

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Summary and Conclusions: Toward theorizing endogenous development

1. Summary
2. Role of Agents: Formation of development strategies with endogenous perspectives
3. Conclusions: Conditions for endogenous social development

1. Summary

Ujamaa was conceptually considered as harmonization between “development” and “culture.” However, closer scrutiny disclosed conflicts between “development” and “culture” in this policy through its top-down approach (The problem). Furthermore, present development perspectives perceived “culture” a tool for “development”, either as an obstacle or as a facilitator. In order to re-conceptualize the role of culture in the development context (Problem 1), an alternative perspective was proposed through Chapter 1. The perspective was based on the assumption that culture should be recognized as the basis for development (Assumption 1), understanding the relationships between “development” and “culture” as manifestations: Where there are conflicts between development and culture, there are resistances of the people toward the development processes; where there are harmonization between development and culture, there are roots for endogenous social development. The analysis theoretically indicated that culture should be recognized as the basis for endogenous social development (Condition 1).

Chapter 2 analyzed how “culture” of Tanzania was created from the diverse ecological systems, endogenous and exogenous social processes, and diverse agencies (Assumption 2). Within the different natural environments, societies mingled, interacted (or did not interact) with the Arabs, became colonized, and then gained independence, creating layers of their identities. The layer created from the interactions between Africans and Arabs on the coast was the “Swahili” culture, which spread with the Islam religion along the caravan route and trading towns, and then spread with the Swahili language nation-wide coating other cultures. During colonial rule, Swahili language spread, but sensitive relationships with the Islam population with strong “Swahili” influence existed. During the British colonial rule, “tribal” culture was revived, but in an inflexible manner that had discrepancies with the fluid reality. After independence, “national culture” was created. Lindi Region is one of the coastal areas with the strong “Swahili” influence, but analysis showed that identities were diverse and consisting of multiple layers such as “Swahili”, Muslim, and national identities. Through this illustration of cultural creation in Tanzania, recognizing ecology, social structure, and diverse agencies as creator of culture have been identified as condition for endogenous social development (Condition 2).

In relation to “The problem”, Part 2 analyzed the problem that participation and diverse endogenous agencies were not sufficiently emphasized in the development processes (Problem 2). As introduction, the social exclusion and inclusion of agents in formal institutions and other spaces at the mezzo level are introduced.

Chapter 3 analyzed the extent social development with endogenous perspective was realized in Tanzania at the macro level, with the assumption that endogenous perspective should be considered as an essential condition for social development (Assumption 3).¹ Firstly, time series analysis indicated that both state-led (*Ujamaa*) and market-led (structural adjustment) policies were predominantly exogenous for the people, and social development focusing on the BHN have not been sustained. However, relatively better performance in social development was seen during the period when endogenous nature was relatively prevalent. Furthermore, there are some expectations for the present pro-poor reforms for future endogenous social development with interactive dialogue between domestic and external agents, decreased dependency, poverty focus, and people-centered governance. Secondly, analysis of geographical disparities indicated that the regions with strong Swahili influences were lagging in terms of social development and that it was a result of the ecological systems and exogenous marginalization. The analysis indicated that endogenous perspectives should be considered as a condition for social development, proposing people’s endogenous participation in development processes as an essential condition for endogenous social development (Condition 3).

Based on the assumption that diverse agencies realize endogenous development (Assumption 4), endogenous perspectives of “development” at the micro level in Lindi Region were assessed in Chapter 4. Perspectives of “development” and “culture” were analyzed differentiating between women and men, young and old, from the understanding that women and youth were excluded from participating in formal institutions of governance. According to the analysis, women utilized “development” against “culture” violating their welfare, and they also used “cultural” networks at the mezzo level as space for participating in social processes. On the other hand, many young men denied “culture” and found space outside existing village networks. Relatively speaking, rural women and older people found continuity between the ecological system and historical knowledge in comparison to younger men or urban people. Based on Assumption 4 and this analysis, dialogue between diverse agencies are proposed as Condition 4.

2. Role of Agents: Formation of development strategies with endogenous perspectives

Through the analysis of the thesis, the possibilities of multi-lineal development based on diverse cultures and agencies have been illustrated as alternatives to simplified lineal top-down development model. Within this perspective, the participation of diverse women and men, young and old, at the grassroots level in social development is essential in incorporating endogenous perspectives. Furthermore, structure and institutional set up to enable their participation become important. From this perspective, the roles of agents play a crucial part in social transformation for social development with endogenous perspectives.

¹ The endogenous nature was analyzed based on (i) culture considered as basis for development (Condition 1), (ii) ecology and history recognized as creator of culture (Condition 2), and (iii) people’s endogenous participation in development processes (Condition 3) including self-reliance (e.g. from food sufficiency, market dependency, and economic dependency).

Women and men, young and old

The main actors of social development are women and men, young and old, within households and extended families (clans). In Chapter 4, differentiated positions and roles between gender and generation became prevalent in their daily life and conceptualization of “development” and “culture.” For example, older men detested to foreign culture and fashion that invaded their endogenous traditional culture. Work was shared differently between men and women: Men did relatively more agricultural work, and women did both agricultural work and household work ending up with more working hours. Furthermore, older people, both men and women, did more agricultural and household work. Women did not have equal rights for education, marriage, and inheritance, and they had to follow food taboos during pregnancy.

However, not all women sat quietly as victims. They point at younger men that they are not doing their duties. They complain about their rights being violated. And they sneer at the food taboo that did not allow pregnant women to eat eggs, as if it is something of the past. They maneuvered strategies within their situations for improved status and involvement in social processes. Many of the gender relations change at the household level through the agencies initiated by women and men. Other gender relations necessitate broader structural change, which will be discussed later.

The relationships between the youth and the old, especially within men, were almost alarming. Older men were attached to their traditional power as *mzee*, and young men criticized the traditional “culture” as backward and evaded to virtual urban life represented by video and disco, or by actually moving out of the village. The conflict between the old and the young will result not only in losing productive power within the village but also disrupting continuity in the accumulated knowledge within their culture. As older men of Naipanga suggested, improved communication between the old and the young, such as of grandfather and grandchild within the family, may be one solution. However, the communication should not only be one way for the grandfather to be talking and preaching to their grandchildren. *Mzee* should also be ready to listen to their juniors to understand their situation to find how their accumulated knowledge would contribute to the changing situations in their common livelihoods. Endogenous development that women and men, young and old, can share will be realized only with these dialogues.

The concentration of power by older men should not be considered inherent in people’s “culture.” As discussed in Chapter 2, creation of culture is an ongoing process. The concentration of power resulted as a consequence of social processes where older men made allies with external powers such as religious organizations and colonial rulers, and expanded their powers in the name of “culture” – “culture” defined on their conveniences. Unless definitions of “culture” can be redefined based on a common ground between women and men, young and old, cultural and development processes will fade out.

Formal institutions: Local and Central Government

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) has been underway since the late 1990s. The main objectives to decentralize power from the Central (Central and Regional) Government to the Local (District and Village) Government and to improve the basic health services are extremely important. Therefore, the joint effort of the Government and the donors indicate a meaningful path. However, caution is needed to not only to decentralize responsibilities but also to decentralize power.

A more substantive concern lies in the area of giving the power back to the women and men. The Village Democracy Initiative within the context of the LGRP reported important

findings that women and youth were under-represented in formal government institutions. Findings of the author from the field research also underlined this perspective. The most common formal institution that marginalizes women and the youth is the Village Government.

In order to include women in the formal village decision making, Shivji and Peter recommended that a quorum for women in the village council should continue and that quorum of women also for the Village Assembly should be set. This should be part of the LGRP so that more women are formally given a voice. It was also recommend that a committee of the Village Council should be established to cater for special interests of the village youth. However, there was no support for stipulating special representation for the youth.²

The relationships between the people, the Village Government, the District Government, the Regional Government, and the Central Government were problematic in many cases that messages and orders went through in top-down directions - from the Central Government to the Region, from the Region to the District, from the District to the Village, and from the Village Government to the people. However, voices were rarely heard in bottom-up directions - from the people to the Village Government, from the Village to the District, from the District to the Region, and from the Region to the Central Government. These decentralized democracy are the expectations that the LGRP entails.

It has been reported in the PRSP progress report that an "encouraging move has been made in the development of participatory planning framework at the local level".³ However, it was observed in this field research that even by using "PRA" techniques, uppers remained "development agents" to bring development, and villagers remained "development beneficiaries", having "culture" as their resort and conceptual weapon against external development agents if need be. The LGRP should fully consider how uppers are recognized and attempt to reverse the top-down governance structure toward a bottom-up system – the bottleneck lying in the attitude and behavior of the uppers.

Civil society: Village based networks, local NGOs, religious organizations, and research organizations

Civil society organizations at the mezzo level play important roles in providing opportunities to participate in social processes, especially at the present stage when the formal structure of governance is exclusive in reality. Village based networks such as burial societies, *ngoma unyago*, and *jando* were opportunities for villagers, especially women, to participate in social processes. The importance of these village-based networks should be recognized so that they can continue to function as an arena for women and men to take part in various social processes.

Dependency of local NGOs on donors and the government was a concern (e.g. asserted by Chachage), and the representations of actual civil societies are ideal. However, it was also recognized that they have opportunities to play roles in bridging the gap of the formal structure. Local NGOs should take into consideration the different aspirations of diverse people including women and men, young and old, in order to support and empower the marginalized strata within the village. For example, advocating the powerful within the village may be an effective entry point. However, consciousness about power structure within the village, and interaction with relatively deprived social groups will enable possibilities to promote the social inclusion within the village.

² See Shivji, Issa G. and Chris Maina Peter (2000) *The Village Democracy Initiative*, Dar es Salaam.

³ See Tanzania, United Republic of (2001) *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper: Progress report 2000/01*, Dar es Salaam

Because religion plays an essential role in people's identity, religious organizations are influential reaching areas that formal institutions or other civil societies are not able to touch upon. Christian organizations tended to have common grounds and action related to social development and governance, coming from the same Western background. On the other hand, Muslim organizations tended to be merged into traditional ways of living. These religious organization are not only the basis for people's belief, but also space for them to interact and communicate. By broadening the space within religious organizations, it may create an environment for endogenous aspirations for social development to bloom.

The relationships between research organizations and the people depend on the method researches were done. Quantitative researches such as surveys often obtained data suitable for analysis but left no space for dialogue, and they were often top-down in the method and bottom-up only for the information that the researcher had interests in. Extractive qualitative researches and extractive participatory researches had some space for dialogue, but the topics of discussions are given in most cases. The bottom-up direction of information can either be extractive or empowering depending on the space women and men have to maneuver. Furthermore, the ethics of researchers to recognize the ownership of knowledge by the villagers and to at least provide feedback when necessary are tested.

Participatory action research, which women and men have the initiative in setting the agenda, is ideal. One of the value systems that limit the capability of research organizations and researchers are its funding sources and the academic demand. Researchers as well as funding sources should shift their value system toward local values, where the overriding objective of social research should be. Although research organizations are only one of many actors in social development, its leverage within policy can positively be utilized for the improved being of women and men, including establishment of systems where voices of women and men, young and old, can be heard.

Donors, international organizations and international NGOs

Donors and international organizations have been looking toward the Central Government, and their dialogue with local partners have been limited. Firstly, donors, international organizations, and international NGOs need to recognize the deficits of formal institutions that it excludes women and youth from the decision-making processes. In the long term, support for improving the formal government structure to enable voices of women and men, young and old, are heard is essential and valid. In this aspect, the present process of support toward improved governance (e.g. through the LGRP) is on the right track as discussed in Chapter 3.

However, in consideration to the fact that structural governance reforms require a long period of time, diversification and decentralization of partners is necessary to ensure that support to empower the deprived is realized. While maintaining support and dialogue toward legitimate formal government, support toward civil organizations at the mezzo level that represent or create space for the marginalized and deprived population (such as women and youth among many others social groups) is also important. From this perspective, the improved coordination of donor support toward the government, which is normally rated as a positive trend, has the danger of blocking diverse channels of support to reach the deprived.⁴ On the other hand, the recent changes in the ways of support in southeast Tanzania to diversify partners can be evaluated as relevant.

⁴ See Havnevik, Kjell J. (1993) *Tanzania*, Uppsala, pp. 22-24 on discussions on how "aid coordination" was first promoted in the 1980s as a unified front facing recipient countries.

3. Conclusions: Conditions for endogenous social development

This thesis started with the perspective that recognizing culture as an obstacle in Tanzania was a problem (The problem) and identified that this recognition was widespread throughout history and places. Based on the recognition that the role of culture needs to be re-conceptualized in the development context (Problem 1 discussed in Part 1) and by conceptualizing “culture” as manifestation of “development” processes, two conditions for endogenous social development were drawn out. Firstly, culture should be recognized as the basis for endogenous social development. Secondly, ecological system, historical social structure, and endogenous agencies should be recognized as creator of culture. It has been observed that historical continuity between ecological systems, social structure, and diverse agencies play a complex and essential factor in formation of culture and social development with endogenous perspectives.

As another related problem, it was observed that participation and diverse endogenous agencies were not sufficiently emphasized in the development processes (Problem 2 discussed in Part 2). From analysis at the macro level and micro level, additional two conditions for endogenous social development were drawn out. Thirdly, people’s endogenous participation in the development processes should be considered as a condition for social development. Social development simply cannot be realized or sustained through top-down processes. Fourthly, dialogues between different agents in society, such as between women and men, and between the young and the old, along with dialogues between domestic and external agents (e.g. government and donors through formal institutions and civil societies), are necessary for mutual understanding and action, thus for social development with endogenous perspectives.

Lastly, summarizing the whole discussion, there is a necessity to recognize both the structures and agencies. Chapter 2 discussed from a historical perspective that natural environment, past social processes (histories), and diverse agencies of individuals and social groups played crucial roles in creating culture. Therefore, future social processes (“development”) and agencies of women and men are also factors that affect the future “culture.” Analysis of the endogenous social development (Chapter 3) did indicate the “deprived” region, sex (women), and age (youth); it also prevailed limited space in the structural/formal institutions that disabled their participation to enhance their endogenous social development. These structures need to be reformed in the direction to expand their space. However, it was also observed that many of those that were labeled as “deprived” from the macro perspective (e.g. women and youth) effected their agencies and found space at the mezzo level. As the fifth condition for endogenous social development, structural change at the macro level *and* empowerment of agencies to enhance people’s endogenous aspirations and strategies at the mezzo levels - as mutually influencing dimensions - are proposed. With the understanding of these five conditions, transformation from simplified lineal top-down development to multi-lineal endogenous social development can be possible.