

JICA / UNDP Joint Evaluation
o n
Poverty in Tanzania

September 2003

Planning and Evaluation Department
Japan International Cooperation Agency

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J R
03 - 52



Village women discussing the result of 10 stones exercise.



Focus Group Discussion



10 stones exercise. Stones are covered by papers so that other people's voting pattern would not affect one's judgment.



Result of 10 stones exercise.

List of Abbreviations

- C/P : Counterpart personnel
- FCD : Focused group discussion
- JOCV : Japan overseas cooperation volunteer
- KVFP : Kilimanjaro village forestry project
- PLA : Participatory learning action
- RRA : Rapid rural appraisal

JICA/UNDP JOINT EVALUATION ON POVERTY IN TANZANIA

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1. Executive Summary

1. Executive Summary

1-1 Background and objectives of evaluation

JICA and the UNDP have been collaborating in a variety of ways since 1988. In the annual meeting between JICA and the UNDP in November 1998, a joint evaluation was proposed with a hope to further strengthen cooperation between the two organizations. At the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II) in October 1998, poverty reduction was declared to be of the highest priority of development in Africa; thus JICA needed to further strengthen effective poverty reduction policies. This was why “Poverty in Africa” was chosen as the evaluation theme. For this joint exercise, members of the UNDP staff participated in the JICA evaluation team for the field survey on a JICA project in Tanzania.

The project chosen was the second phase and the follow-up cooperation of the Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP), which was implemented from 1993 to 2000, and was a project-type technical cooperation.

The overall objective of the evaluation study was to draw on lessons learned in order to promote poverty reduction through future JICA cooperation activities. In more concrete terms, the study aimed to understand the local people’s views on poverty and their recognition of the outcomes of KVFP. It was also the Scope and Methods of the Evaluation.

(1) Application of participatory methodology

This study marked the first time that JICA used participatory methods for the whole process of evaluation. It is difficult to obtain subjective information such as people’s views on poverty and their recognition of the project impact from objective indicators such as the number of seedlings distributed, survival rates of planted trees and their growth. Such information can only be attained through an evaluation based directly on people’s voices. Therefore, the study tried several participatory data-collection methods.

Another factor that made KVFP appropriate for participatory research methodology was the familiarity that the project’s staff had with participatory evaluation techniques; the team leader had already initiated participatory methods which had been transferred to their counterparts and the community.

Table 1-1 Evaluation questions and data-collection methods

Stages of the study	Evaluation questions	Data-collection methods
<p>First stage: Identification of views on poverty</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of people/ family/ village is poor? - What is more important among the above-mentioned “poverty factors”? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus group discussion: held meetings of selected villagers (focus groups) to discuss specific topics. - Ten seeds/ten stones exercise: villagers voted on several choices using seeds or stones as votes. - Group Wrap-up: held village meetings to discuss the results of the ten seeds/ten stones exercise. - Participant observation: researchers stayed overnight in the study area to observe the actual situation of the area.
<p>Second stage: Project impact assessment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What outside interventions took place in this village within the last ten years? - Who benefited from each intervention (project) and who did not? - Why didn’t particular people benefit from such outside interventions? - Did anyone suffer detriment from any of the projects? - How did/didn’t KVFP activities affect the community? - Why didn’t you benefit from KVFP? - Why did you suffer detriment from KVFP? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free listing of major events and outside interventions (by focus group discussions): held meetings of selected villagers to brainstorm the important events and outside assistance that took place in the village in the past ten years. - Impact assessment of outside interventions (by focus group discussions): held meetings of selected villagers to discuss the benefits and drawbacks of the outside assistance projects. - Key informant interviews: conducted one-on-one interviews with individual villagers (key informants) selected among the focus groups to get additional information about project impact.
<p>Third stage: Crosscheck of the Study Results</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the answers to the above questions in other villages with different natural conditions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus group discussions

(2) Evaluation design

The evaluation was designed with a thorough discussion between the evaluation team and the project team. The design was further modified with a reflection of the results of the preliminary study the team conducted in the study area (Table 2).

Prior to the field study, the study team and the JICA experts who were dispatched to KVFP held frequent discussions regarding the selection of the study area and respondents/informants. Finally, two sub-villages-Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani-were selected. Kirinjiko Chini sub-village is occupied by Pare people who are farmers, and Meserani sub-village is dominated by Masai people who are pastoralists.

The participants of the research activities in sub-villages included two Japanese experts, Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, five KVFP counterparts, sub-village leaders and ordinary villagers.

1-2 Results of evaluation

(1) Donors' and people's perspectives on poverty

The first point revealed from this study was that there was a gap between donors' and people's perspectives on poverty. This gap could be confirmed only by means of participatory evaluation.

The gap was seen, for example, in a finding that an "increase in income" or "improvement in economic situation," which donors have always put at the center of their programs for "poverty reduction," did not necessarily conform with the people's views on poverty. In this regard, it was interesting that the villagers seldom mentioned poverty factors related to money. (In fact, asking questions in the third person instead of asking, "Are you poor?" in order to draw general views might have lessened the appearance of money-related factors.)

Secondly, people seldom mentioned "empowerment," which has recently been emphasized by bilateral donor agencies in western countries and international organizations, and other factors related to social justice (including some concepts of democracy summarized as "good governance"). This could also be considered as a gap between donors' and people's views on poverty. For the villagers, at least in their subjective views, the logic connecting "empowerment"

and “elimination of poverty” did not exist. On the contrary, it was material needs such as “water,” “schools” and “health facilities” that were mentioned first.

Although social justice might be an important factor for getting out of poverty in the long-term, donors should not neglect the fact that people would have little interest in social justice such as democratization unless material needs are met first.

In this regard, a woman said during the female focus group discussion in Kirinjiko Chini that a characteristic of “poor villages” was the existence of men who would not listen to women, but this opinion was not supported as a candidate “poverty factor” for the voting in the ten stones exercise.

(2) Gender and regional perspectives on poverty

The focus group discussions and ten stones voting revealed differences between men and women in their recognition of poverty.

It was beyond question that people were mainly interested in “water,” “hospitals/clinics” and “schools/education” regardless of sex and geographical area. However, while men in Kirinjiko Chini showed relatively high interest in “agriculture (production aspect)” women in the same sub-village were more interested in “milling machines (processing of produced grain)” and “market (selling of products)” (Table 3).

Also, there was a difference between men and women in their perception of “major events” in the village. For men in Kirinjiko Chini, “grassland fires” were important while women were more interested in the “prevalence of cattle diseases.”

With regard to the gap among regions regarding views on poverty, the team also confirmed by the crosschecking study in the Kimunyu sub-village that recognition of poverty also varied depending on people’s living conditions. The Kimunyu sub-village has better natural conditions than the target villages with good infrastructure provided by the government. Under these circumstances, the “poverty keywords” mentioned in this village, such as “water” and “school,” literally looked similar to those mentioned in the two target villages, but what were meant by those words were different. For example, “water” meant water for household use in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani, while it meant water for irrigation in Kimunyu. Likewise, as for the word

“school,” there were high demands for primary schools in the two target villages, while in the Kimunyu sub-village, where there were already primary schools, a lack of kindergartens was mentioned as a “poverty keyword.”

Also, in the Kimunyu sub-village the participants mentioned many agriculture-related “poverty keywords” such as “agricultural input,” “farmland” and “irrigation water,” which suggested that agriculture was widely practiced there compared with the target villages. Even among the target villages, differences were seen in the degree of infrastructure development and access to towns: both women and men gave high priority to the word “road” in the Meserani sub-village but no one regarded it as a problem in the Kirinjiko Chini sub-village. Furthermore, the word “clothing” that Kirinjiko Chini men mentioned might have been related to the frequency of their visit to the town.

From these findings, it could be said that even in the same geographical area, factors of poverty recognized by the people might differ from community to community and by gender. Therefore, poverty reduction activities must be carefully examined based on a solid understanding of these differences.

(3) Impact of the project

In listing major outside interventions in the villages, the participants first mentioned “school construction” or “well digging,” not the KVFP activities such as “distribution of seedlings” and “establishment of Village Environmental Conservation Committees (VECCs).” Villagers hardly recalled the KVFP activities until they were reminded by the study team. This fact itself was evidence of the low recognition by the people regarding the impact of KVFP. If the focus group discussions had been confined to the KVFP-related events, the project activities might have been mentioned more readily.

On the other hand, the team found that the KVFP activities such as the support for school construction and water supply, which were additional to the original plan, had largely contributed to the “poverty” issues of the villagers. Among thirteen “poverty keywords” (factors of poverty) six in Kirinjiko Chini and three in Meserani had some relation to KVFP activities either directly or indirectly. Also, in both villages KVFP carried out some activities for the poverty factors that received the largest number of votes in the ten stones exercises.

1-3 Lessons learned

(1) Lessons learned

1) Consideration of the multidimensionality of poverty

The evaluation study confirmed that there were many aspects of peoples' perspectives on poverty, which also varied by sex and region. When planning a project for poverty reduction, one should keep such differences in mind and formulate an appropriate plan for the project site. The example of the success of VECC in one sub-village and its non-functioning in Meserani sub-village shows that a uniform activity might not always address poverty factors at all project sites.

2) Addressing social aspects of interventions

Originally, KVFP was a purely technical project in the forestry sector, not a poverty reduction project. The project thus was not clearly intended to directly address poverty issues. However, experts came to recognize that people would not plant trees until their minimum needs were met, and started efforts for the improvement of the target groups' living conditions as a prerequisite for tree-planting activities.

The evaluation study confirmed that the additional activities that KVFP carried out to promote tree-planting activities, as well as other miscellaneous support such as giving rides to villagers, had a positive impact on poverty reduction. However, as those activities and impact depended largely on the interests and capability of an individual expert, they would not be accumulated in JICA as an institutional memory.

The first lesson learned from this case is that JICA experts must give more attention and sensitivity to the living conditions and needs of the people living in the project sites.

Secondly, when a social problem is found, it should not be addressed from the individual judgment of an expert or different interpretation of budget items; JICA should arrange to incorporate measures to address social issues in project activities under certain conditions, and should prepare a mechanism for such arrangements.

(2) Possible poverty reduction approach for JICA

All technical cooperation projects implemented by JICA so far could fall under the category of sector approach, and KVFP is no exception. As stated above, the impact of technical cooperation to a specific sector on multi-faceted poverty issues is limited. That is why other donors implement poverty reduction projects dealing with several sectors under the name of “integrated approach” or “multi-sector approach.” However, it is impossible in reality for one project to include all sectors related to poverty factors. In Tanzania, where poverty reduction has consistently been a priority since independence, the government and donors have tried a variety of poverty reduction approaches. However, none of them can be said to take a full-fledged ‘integrated approach’.

Also, ideas of an “integrated approach” are different between the headquarters of donor agencies and at the grass-roots level. At the grassroots level, an “integrated approach” would not integrate several sectors but rather takes a strategy of carrying out activities that are closely related to people’s lives (e.g., small-scale credit, primary health care, well digging, etc.) as an “entry point” of poverty reduction and then gradually expands the scope of activities to other sectors. Such a strategy can be said to be a practical “integrated approach” for poverty reduction.

On the other hand, the sector approach of JICA has the advantage of drawing on vast experience in sector-specific technical cooperation. It would be useful for JICA to support poverty reduction by making use of such strength and applying the practical integrated approach as mentioned above, namely starting with technology transfer in one sector as an “entry point” and gradually expanding the scope of activities to other sectors.

Within the current vertical organizational structures of JICA and implementing agencies of partner countries, it is generally difficult for a forestry project, for example, to provide a budget for assistance in drinking water supply. The case of KVFP suggested that project activities that are additional in terms of their original objectives (afforestation in this case) such as school construction and support for cattle raising are sometimes effective for poverty reduction. However, such additional activities and their impact were the result of the exceptionally flexible response of the field and the concerned department of the JICA Headquarters. The KVFP case is regarded as an exception and the possibility of replication is low under the present system of JICA. In order to implement effective poverty alleviation projects, therefore, JICA could look towards having flexibility to extend assistance in one sector to others without losing its strength of sector-specific technology transfer. In other words, it might be too ambitious and hardly realistic to

include all sectors in a single “poverty alleviation project” even in a geographically limited project site. Rather, an approach of “gradual cross-sector” deserves consideration. This approach intends: 1) to carry out activities primarily aiming at establishing firm and sustainable technologies, institutions or structures in a specific sector that are needed by the local population (it does not necessarily have to be the highest needs), 2) to identify various social and poverty issues that might be found through the implementation of such activities, and 3) to address these issues by starting the next stage of activities in another sector (while continuing the first stage activities).

From the KVFP experience, the team learned that what is needed is not the traditional understanding that “good results as a forestry project will eventually contribute to poverty reduction.” In any sector, a project such as that of JICA, which deploys a considerable amount of input, will always have diverse effects on other related sectors. In this respect, JICA should be able to afford activities both in the original (forestry in KVFP’s case) sector and at the same time in other sectors that have some connection to the original and are related to “the people’s views on poverty.” This “affordability” does not only mean the allocation of funds but also an insight to manage projects across the boundaries of departments (i.e., health, agriculture, fisheries, mining and industry) and utilize human resources for such cross-sectoral activities (i.e., social considerations, social analysis, poverty, etc.) at least by the dispatch of short-term experts.

Although the “multi-sector” or “integrated” approach is ideal in the sense that it is difficult to tackle poverty by only applying the technologies of one sector, it may not be realistic to take such an approach at once. It may be possible for JICA to take the “sector-specific plus social consideration” approach for the time being.

This approach could use sector-specific activities as a core and expand the scope of addressing social dimensions (social considerations) gradually. Through this process, the possibility of coordination with activities in other sectors or geographic areas could be sought. Here, “social consideration” is considered to play the role of a bridge joining several sectors.

JICA’s approach has been criticized as being “too technology-oriented”. Although it is true that JICA’s technology transfer has little consideration on social dimensions, this does not mean that the technology-oriented approach is ineffective. If JICA adds social considerations for poverty reduction to its technology-oriented approach and has the flexibility to go beyond the boundary of sectors in technical cooperation projects, the “technology-oriented poverty reduction approach” will be as effective as sector-integrated poverty reduction approaches.

2. Design and Scope of the Study

2. Design and Scope of the Study

2-1 Introduction

Recently, increasing focus on poverty reduction has been first in the rationale of development cooperation. The International Development Strategy (IDS) of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) sets the development goal to halve the number of the population living under absolute poverty by the year 2015. All donors, including multilateral donors, commit themselves to this target.

Endorsing the IDS, it is a matter of course that parties concerned in development cooperation demand to see if, and how, their development assistance has contributed to alleviating the poverty of partner countries. In addition, there are strong aspirations in the donor community to learn lessons from the past experiences in order to improve future cooperation to reach the ambitious goal of the IDS. Consequently, donors are now keen on conducting evaluations with poverty as their central theme, that is, to observe the impact of their interventions on the poor. In addition, there is an active discussion among donors that assessments of their assistance to alleviate poverty should be a prevailing viewpoint as a cross-cutting issue in all kinds of evaluation. They have found, nevertheless, the difficulty of defining poverty and understanding its complexity, resulting in not being able to sufficiently assess the outcomes of interventions.

The “JICA/UNDP joint evaluation on poverty in Africa” (hereafter referred to as the Evaluation Study) is JICA’s first attempt to focus on poverty while paying special attention to beneficiaries’ perspectives on the matter and to the impact of JICA’s cooperation. Useful lessons are expected to be drawn from the Evaluation Study and fed back to the future planning and implementation of projects to eradicate poverty.

2-2 Objective of the study

The Evaluation Study is designed to:

- (1) grasp diverse aspects of poverty which people living in the project sites face and see in the local context,
- (2) assess if a JICA project could give any impact (positive or negative) to mitigate people’s hardships, using indicators which people themselves consider appropriate to evaluate

- the change they have gone through during implementation of the project,
- (3) draw lessons to promote understanding and mainstream the concern over poverty in JICA's future cooperation, and
 - (4) enable JICA and the UNDP to share experiences in this field and contribute to their future collaboration in project implementation and evaluation.

2-3 JICA-UNDP collaboration

JICA and the UNDP have had an accumulating history of collaboration in a variety of ways since 1988. To mention a few examples, JICA has seconded a number of its staff to the UNDP, conducted joint seminars and cooperated in different ways in individual projects with the UNDP. Since 1995, annual meetings between the two organizations have been regularly held in order to exchange ideas and information at the headquarter level in addition to collaboration in the field. More intensive and close cooperation has been especially pursued in Africa after the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II) was held in October 1998.

In this line, a joint evaluation, which is considered to be a good opportunity for mutual learning, was proposed at the annual meeting in November 1998. Welcoming the proposal, the Office of Evaluation and Post Project Monitoring of JICA and the Evaluation Office of the UNDP discussed possible themes and a scope for such activity, and agreed on conducting a joint evaluation on the theme of poverty in Africa. This was suitable for both organizations as 1) JICA and the UNDP have selected a few countries in Africa where a more strategic collaboration of both organizations will be developed, 2) poverty is discussed as the possible field to strengthen both organizations' collaborative efforts, and 3) the UNDP places poverty as its overriding goal and JICA also needs to build up its capacity in poverty evaluation.

The initial intention was that JICA and the UNDP would form a joint evaluation team to evaluate a few projects by both organizations. However, UNDP Tanzania was going to be engaged in an UN-wide evaluation exercise which made it difficult to take up another evaluation activity in its country. Instead of delaying the whole process of the joint effort, JICA and the UNDP agreed that a UNDP staff member would participate as an observer in the JICA evaluation team for the field survey on a JICA project in Tanzania as the first trial of such collaboration, and that they would continue to seek opportunities to materialize more joint work in the future.

2-4 Scope and evaluation methodology

There were several concerns in determining a project for this Study due to the following reasons. First, it was rather recent that JICA initiated direct poverty alleviation projects. The first such attempt was initiated in 1991 and was soon followed by other trials. Most of them are still on-going attempts, and none have tried in Africa yet. Therefore, it was not feasible to choose one of those poverty alleviation projects as it is too early to assess any impact of those projects.

Secondly, to evaluate the impact of outside interventions on poverty issues, it is definitely important to understand what poverty is in the local context and culture. In the relatively short time allowed for an evaluation, this would not be possible without an accumulation of understanding, knowledge, and partnership with the local community of the project itself which was to be evaluated.

After all these considerations, the chosen project was the “Kirimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP)” in Tanzania. KVFP is a social forestry project, and its main purpose is to contribute to the development of village forestry in the Kirimanjaro region by improving reforestation and nursery technologies, establishing demonstration forests, and developing and improving extension methods. As such, it does not cope directly with poverty issues in the project sites nor addresses people’s needs in life improvement.

However, the project adopted a participatory approach in the course of project implementation to reply more adequately to the tree-related needs of the community. A number of social and gender analyses were conducted so that the extension strategy could be modified to allow a wider reach and acceptance among the local people. In this regard, the project has a good basis of understanding and experience in working directly with communities. Although the follow-up stage of the project was going to be over only in January 2000, which did not make the Evaluation Study an ex post facto project evaluation in an exact sense, the Evaluation Study on KVFP seemed to serve as a good case study.

There is a wide spread recognition in the international community that poverty is more than economic hardship with complex social dimensions, represented by the concept of the UNDP’s “human poverty”. This acknowledgment requires a reconsideration of conventional methods of evaluating the impacts of an intervention by measurement with quantitative economic standards. More concretely, if poverty is strongly linked with the social situation surrounding the people,

poverty may consist of different factors depending on local conditions, values and culture.

In this case, it is necessary to learn the subjective perspectives of people on poverty, which one cannot capture by so-called objective indicators such as the number of trees distributed and the survival rate of trees. To this end, the only way to approach it is to make it easy for people to voice their perceptions and opinions and to listen to them. In order to put this principle into practice, a set of participatory research techniques were adopted in this Evaluation Study, and the counter parts of KVFP facilitated the field survey in cooperation with the evaluation team. It is expected that such a trial will give fresh insight and serve as a learning process for JICA. The study methodology will be further elaborated on in Chapter 6.

2-5 Evaluation schedule and the team

The Evaluation Study started in September 1999, with the discussion on the TOR for the study among the Office of Evaluation and Post Project Monitoring of JICA, Evaluation Office of UNDP and the evaluation team. A number of meetings, including written exchanges by e-mail, were held and a close consultation and coordination with the experts working in KVFP were maintained. The field survey was conducted from 17 October to 11 November 1999.

The evaluation team was composed of the following members:

Hiroshi Sato:	Team leader (Senior researcher, Institute of Developing Economies)
Kazuhito Suga:	Poverty analysis (Program officer, Japan International Volunteer Center)
Hideyo Nishikata:	Impact Analysis (Researcher, Global Link Management)
Khadijah Fancy:	UNDP Observer (Evaluation Office, UNDP)
Aiichiro Yamamoto:	Evaluation coordination (Special Advisor to the Managing Director, Office of Evaluation and Post Project Monitoring, JICA)

3. The Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP)

3. The Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP)

3-1 Project outline and update

(1) Background

The depletion of forest resources in Tanzania has been aggravated in the recent years due to the cultivation of forest areas as well as the increased demand for firewood and pastures, all of which have been enhanced by the country's population growth. The Government of Tanzania (GOT) promotes village forestry as part of its natural resource management strategy, aiming to restore and improve the productivity of forest lands. According to the Tanzania Forestry Action Plan, the GOT encourages local communities to participate in reforestation activities to meet their firewood needs as well as to engage in agroforestry activities to prevent further soil degradation.

Within this context, the GOT requested Japanese assistance in the area of village forestry. Responding to the request, the Japanese Government conducted a development study between 1986-88 and prepared a master plan for forestry development. Based on the master plan, the GOT requested assistance in implementing the Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP) with the Forestry and Beekeeping Department of the Ministry of Land, Natural Resources and Tourism (MLNRT) as the Executing Agency.

1) KVFP Phase I (January 15th, 1991-January 14th, 93)

Phase I of the KVFP was initiated on the 15th of January, 1991 as a two-year preparatory stage for the full-scale phase (Phase II) of the project. During this period, technical assistance was extended for the development and improvement of seedling production technologies and the capacity-building of counterpart (C/P) staff. The specific activities conducted were: 1) the development of nursery technology appropriate for village forestry; 2) the development of a village forestry plan; 3) the collection of relevant data for the implementation of the plan; and 4) the establishment of nurseries.

2) KVFP Phase II (January 15th, 1993-January 14th, 1998)

Phase II of the KVFP was carried out for 5 years between January 15th, 1993-January 14th, 1998.

Aiming to develop and improve reforestation technologies and extension methodologies, the project conducted the following activities: 1) the development and improvement of silviculture and nursery technologies; 2) the establishment of demonstration forests; and 3) the development and improvement of extension methods.

During Phase II, a new dimension was introduced to the extension methodology which led to a shift of direction from the “program” approach to the “participatory” approach. This was an attempt to increase the effectiveness of the project activities and to address the deficiencies of the original approach. The background and the process which led to the change of course are elaborated in section 5-2.

(2) Follow-up Phase (January 15th, 1998-January 14th, 2000)

The two-year follow-up phase of the KVFP was initiated on January 15th, 1998 aiming to develop and improve extension methodologies that are grounded on people’s participation, to further strengthen the capacity of the C/P and Same District staff, and to continue sustaining the demonstration forests. The two main points differing from Phase II are: 1) more emphasis on the participatory approach and 2) change in the project target area from “the United Republic of Tanzania” to “Same District.” The second change was a result of the new decentralization policy of the GOT that, among others, devolved responsibilities for forest extension activities to the district level¹.

The following table outlines the different phases of the KVFP and corresponding objectives or activities:

¹ p.5. Forestry Extension Plan in the Follow-up Phase. Project Working Paper No. 23

Table 3-1 KVFP Outline

Period	Stages	Objectives/Activities
1985	Gov't of Tanzania requests for Japanese assistance	preparation of a development study
1986-1988	development study	preparation of a master plan for forestry development
1.15 1991- 1.14 1993	KVFP Phase I	development of nursery technology appropriate for village forestry development of village forestry plan collection of relevant data for the implementation of the plan establishment of nurseries
1.15 1993- 1.14 1998	KVFP Phase II	development and improvement of silviculture and nursery technologies establishment of demonstration forests development and improvement of extension methods
1.15 1998- 1.14 2000	KVFP Follow-up Phase	development and improvement of silviculture and nursery technologies establishment of demonstration forests development and improvement of extension methods

3-2 Program approach and participatory approach

There was a shift in the approach of the extension methodology from the program to the participatory approach during the second phase of the KVFP. The terms “program approach” and “participatory approach” were adopted by the project to describe two contrasting types of extension methodologies. The former involves free distribution of a standard extension package that includes seedlings, technical information, nursery equipment, and awareness-raising materials. The latter approach emphasizes the importance of grounding project activities on the identified needs of communities as well as of the need to take geographical, climatic and socioeconomic realities into consideration.

The constraints and limitations of the program approach were officially recognized for the first time during the Mid-term Evaluation conducted in 1995. While advising the project team to ensure that all activities adequately reflect the socioeconomic conditions of the project area, the evaluation team emphasized the need to recognize regional diversity as well as people’s needs when selecting types or quantities of tree species for dissemination². As recommended by the evaluation team, the Socioeconomic Baseline Survey was conducted between April and June 1996 in 5 (sub-) villages. This report further emphasized the need to adopt different types of

² p.11 Report on the Mid-term Evaluation of KVFP Phase II. JICA. 1995

extension methods to respond to the conditions of each community through joint efforts by the staff of the Silviculture, Extension and Nursery sections of the KVFP.

The participatory approach was officially endorsed on June 17th, 1996 at the Fifth Joint Committee³ Meeting⁴ where members acknowledged the shortcomings associated with earlier project activities. This led to a formation of the Implementation Committee composed of KVFP technical staff, the District Forest Officer (DFO), District Planning Officer (DPO), and the Community Development Officer (CDO). The Committee was tasked to plan and implement project activities following the participatory approach⁵.

Five (sub-) villages, in which socioeconomic baseline data were available, were selected as model villages to pilot the participatory approach. These were the villages of Bendera, Njoro, and the sub-villages of Masandare, Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini⁶.

The following table highlights some of the main differences between the two approaches as described in various documents. The column for the participatory approach explains what it aims to achieve because the final evaluation of the Follow-up Phase has not yet taken place.

³ The Joint Committee, headed by the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment, is composed of representatives from the central government, Same District office, JICA, and the KVFP team.

⁴ p.4. Report on the Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project. Project Working Paper No. 22

⁵ p.6. Ibid.

⁶ Mwembe was added as a model village at the beginning of the Follow-up Phase.

Table 3-2 Comparison of the program and participatory approaches

Program Approach	Participatory Approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • activity-oriented; standard activities are planned and replicated in different communities based on the assumption that they share common problems and needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social unit-oriented; aiming to plan and implement activities in partnership with various social units through addressing different needs and bringing in no predetermined agenda for action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • top-down approach; emphasis on transfer of technology where technologies are developed without adequately considering regional diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRA approach; project staff and District Officers facilitate problem analysis and decision-making by community members;
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extension activities carried out primarily by project staff, leaving them little time for follow-up activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • aiming to collaborate with the extensionists of the District Office to institutionalize changes brought by the project
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • free distribution of seedlings to small-scale nurseries which has been deemed ineffective and not sustainable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sale of seedlings at appropriate prices; promotion of homestead nursery production by individuals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sporadic establishment of nurseries at schools without integrating them into the school curriculum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • aiming to incorporate nursery activities as part of environmental education by linking them up with the school curriculum; aiming to collaborate with District Education Officers

(1) Review of the two approaches

During the Evaluation of Phase II conducted between August and September 1997, the progress of the activities carried out under the two approaches has been reviewed. The evaluation team concluded that the project activities planned under the participatory approach were grounded on people's needs and the benefits were equitably distributed. On the other hand, they pointed out that coordination with and capacity-building of the District Extension Officers required further strengthening. Acknowledging that working with people in a participatory manner requires a considerable amount of time, the evaluation team was not able to fully assess the impact brought by the new approach and thus, indicated the need for further monitoring and evaluation.

3-3 Social and gender surveys, their results and reflections on the project

(1) Socioeconomic Baseline Survey

The Socioeconomic Baseline Survey conducted in 1996 was instrumental in steering the project in a new direction. Through this study, socioeconomic baseline data was collected in five (sub-)

villages in Same District (Njoro, Bendera, Bombo, Papa, Meserani), clearly demonstrating regional diversities particularly in relation to forestry issues. The findings and recommendations of the report gave the project sufficient evidence to justify the shift towards a new direction, such as: 1) the need to consider climatic, geographical, and socioeconomic differences when making extension plans; 2) to address not only technical but socioeconomic constraints to tree planting, such as reducing women's labor; and 3) to build the capacity of District Foresters in the area of village forestry.

Aside from the study's significance in guiding the project towards a more progressive approach to extension, it also served as an opportunity to build the capacity of the KVFP team. The study, managed by a short-term expert, was conducted with active participation by the C/P staff starting from the design to data analysis stages. This aspect of the study was highly appreciated by the KVFP team leader as it resulted in the transfer of research know-how as well as enhancing the ownership of the results obtained.

(2) Supplementary survey at Kirinjiko Chini Sub-village

When the above 5 (sub-)villages were identified as the sites for the socioeconomic survey, the intention was to cover different natural and socioeconomic conditions found in Same District. Upon completion of the study, an unintentional omission of a Pare pastoral village was identified. Thus, to supplement the earlier study, an additional socioeconomic baseline survey was conducted by the KVFP team in Kirinjiko Chini Sub-village. A Supplementary Data Book was finalized in September 1996.

(3) Gender analysis at Kirinjiko Chini Sub-village

The Analysis of Selected Gender Aspects for Kirinjiko Chini Villagers was conducted in March 1997. This study was managed by an independent consultant with KVFP C/P staff providing assistance as facilitators. The study was conducted as a means of preparation towards the formulation of the gender strategy of the model villages. It provided KVFP with information on gender-specific resource use and control, division of labor, traditional natural resource management schemes, etc.

(4) Review of extension activities

The Review of Extension Activities in a Gender Viewpoint was conducted in 1998 by a Gender Advisor sent from JICA/HQ. The objective of the study was to review KVFP's extension activities and to assess to what degree they were addressing the needs and issues of men and women. The findings from this study were utilized for the Gender-sensitive Extension Handbook that was later prepared in both English and Swahili.

The observations made in this report were in general accordance with those of the reviews conducted previously. In other words, free seedling distribution and small-scale nursery activities carried out under the program approach were considered ineffective due to lack of considerations for gender dimensions, whereas extension activities based on the participatory approach were commended for their gender-sensitivity.

As with the case of the socioeconomic baseline survey, this gender analysis study served as a training ground for the C/P staff, particularly for the Gender Advisor. The short-term expert worked closely with the Gender Advisor in the form of On-the-Job-Training. This enhanced the capacity of the staff as well as augmented her motivation level. However, an observation by a KVFP expert revealed that more could have been achieved if the duration of the short-term expert's assignment was longer. Even though the extension material prepared was appreciated, there was not enough time to develop a strategy for its utilization nor training provided on how to use it.

(5) Participatory evaluation training

A short-term expert was dispatched between July 29th-August 26th, 1999 to provide training on Participatory Evaluation for the C/P staff. Specifically, the staff was trained on facilitation skills and the application of WANTS⁷ analysis. The report is currently being prepared. According to a preliminary observation made by a KVFP expert, the training has already shown some positive influence on the way activities are carried out. The adoption of a non-lecture style facilitation during the Environment Workshop conducted in September, 1999 was considered a manifestation of what has been gained from the training.

⁷ A type of research method used under the Participatory Learning Action (PLA) approach. The method was devised by the short-term expert and experimented with in Tanzania for the first time.

4. Capturing Poverty in Villages in the Kilimanjaro (KVFP) Region

4. Capturing Poverty in Villages in the Kilimanjaro (KVFP) Region

4-1 Survey perspective and approach

Poverty, the focus of this whole evaluation, has been discussed by all donors in recent years. Donors have been trying to develop the concept of poverty and give it various definitions of their own. Amongst others, the UNDP and JICA have been working very hard on this issue as described in Chapter 3.

Today the donor community does not see poverty as economic hardship or lack of basic human needs alone. Rather, it describes poverty from various aspects: powerlessness, lack of access to resources, little participation in decision-making, insecurity, vulnerability, etc. Poverty is now understood to be more than economic needs with complex social dimensions. OAs Amartya K. Sen puts it, it is defined as a lack of capabilities.

But after all what is poverty for people at the grassroots level? To put it differently, is it the same as the definition in the donor community or is it totally different? What kind of person/family/village is regarded as poor in their local context? And how do people in a project area evaluate the project in relation to their poverty? Does it accurately address their poverty to alleviate it? Does it have a positive or negative impact on people's lives? These are the concerns in this particular survey.

The objective of this survey is to learn and understand local people's ideas on poverty in their context and to draw out their definitions. In order to do so, first of all the evaluation team has to quickly put aside all of the sophisticated definitions of poverty. Then the team has to carefully listen to how people describe poverty in their local context and accept the words used to express it as they are. Their definitions, expressions or indicators of poverty may not be the same as those in the international arena. And it may even differ by sex or the setting of each village. But the most important thing here is to assume it to be in the local context and not to apply the conventional definition of poverty.

By doing so, a broad spectrum of ideas on poverty that people express will give the team valuable insight into the particular characteristics of the area. And if the team wants to evaluate the impact of a project, it has to start with those characteristics, as people's valuation of a project would be based on how much it has contributed to alleviating poverty according to their own

perception, not poverty as defined by donors. It may be possible to conduct an evaluation with some universal measures of poverty, but it is apparently not on the right track in the context of people-centered development.

In this survey, the evaluation team selected an approach with the additional intent of giving certain benefits to the participants of the survey; namely the C/P of the KVFP and the villagers. The team thought that this type of evaluation should not be the so-called objective evaluation that often becomes donor-driven. Rather, it intends to conduct the survey along with the C/P and share the results with all of the participants so that it will give them new findings to focus on and take into consideration in the upcoming activities after the termination of the KVFP. Therefore, the learning process approach is to be the principle throughout this survey, and the details of the survey method will be explained in the next section.

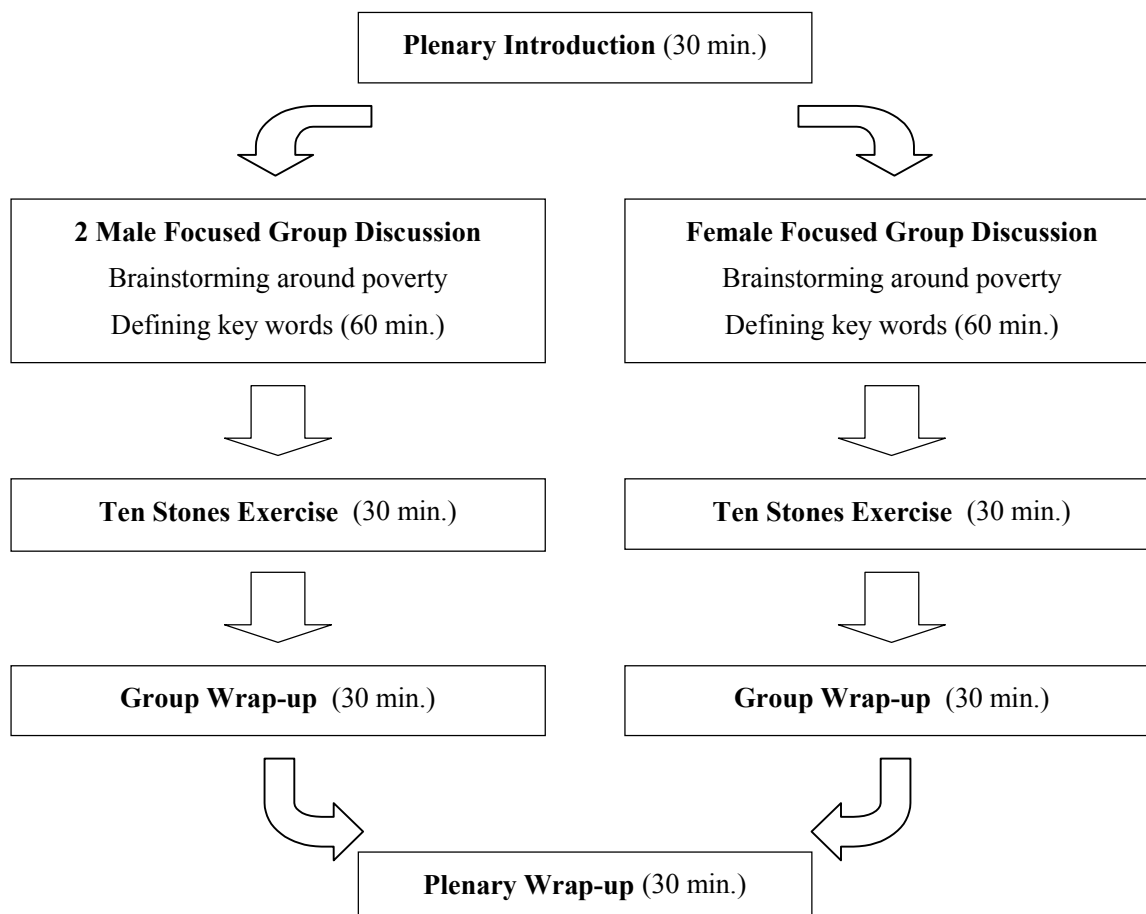
4-2 Survey method

In order to attain the above objective, the evaluation team carefully designed the framework of the study. Amongst others, it paid particularly close attention to adopting survey methods which are:

- concise and familiar to C/P and villagers:
In order to conduct an effective survey within a limited time, it is better to adopt simple methods that are already known to the participants. It often consumes a lot of time and confuses participants to adopt new methods. In addition, such concise methods can be used by the participants themselves in future activities.
- participatory and likely to enable visualization of outcomes:
Accepting the learning process approach as the key principle, the survey should be open to all participants and carried out in a participatory manner. At the same time, the results of the survey should be visible during the course so that participants can share the findings and make them their own. For these purposes, methods of the Participatory Learning Action (PLA) and Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) are quite effective.
- likely to be completed within a short time frame:
Evaluation should be done efficiently without spending a lot of time. The evaluation team always has time constraints, as did this team. Due to its tight schedule, just one day per village was given for understanding poverty. Furthermore, it was expected that villagers could spare only 3 to 4 hours for the survey, because they were busy with

household tasks such as fetching water. Therefore, the methods to be chosen should make it possible to complete the survey within a short time frame.

With all of the above considerations, the survey was designed as follows.



As is explained below, the KVFP staff members and a local consultant moderated all of the discussions and exercises. They worked in pairs for each group, one leading the process and the other taking notes. The evaluation team took the role of managing the whole process with the help of two Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteer (JOCV) members as interpreters.

(1) Plenary Introduction (30 min.)

The KVFP staff informed sub-village chairpersons about the survey in advance and requested that 10 women and 10 men be gathered for the Focused Group Discussion (FGD). When participants gathered, the sub-village chairperson opened a plenary introduction session. The KVFP staff introduced the evaluation team to the participants and explained the objectives of the survey. The villagers also introduced themselves to the team. Then they were divided into

male and female groups for the FGD.

(2) Focused Group Discussion (60 min.)

This session had two stages. The first provided the participants with an opportunity to brainstorm about poverty, eliciting their perceptions on the subject. The session started with the question, “What kind of village is poor?” The participants were invited to express their ideas about poor villages and a discussion followed. After brainstorming around the question, the second question was raised: “What kind of family is poor?” Then in the same manner, the participants were later asked the third question: “What kind of person is poor?” These questions and their order were carefully designed by the evaluation team in order to keep the discussion as objective as possible. The evaluation team had worried that the participants might only discuss their personal needs and wants even though the team had clearly explained the objectives of the survey. Therefore, as a maximum effort to avoid that, the team decided to ask about the poverty of a village first rather than the poverty of an individual. For the same reason, the moderators were asked to lead the participants to recall an actual poor village, family or person and then describe it.





The second stage was to select key words for poverty from various ideas they expressed in the first half of the session. After a thorough discussion about poor villages, families and individuals, the moderators requested that the participants list key words for poverty according to their own understanding. The number of key words was expected to be less than ten so that the participants would not get confused in the following Ten Stones Exercise.

(3) Ten Stones Exercise (30 min.)

This is a type of research method in PLA and RRA which is used to rank issues in order of quantity, value, etc. It is a very good participatory tool with full visualization. Furthermore, it is fun and exciting and creates a pleasant atmosphere among the participants that encourages further participation. The evaluation team slightly modified the method for the purpose of this particular survey.

At first, the moderators drew squares on the ground and put the selected key words on poverty into the cells. Some illustrations were drawn along with the key words so that illiterate participants could easily understand. Each participant was given ten stones or the likes as his/her votes. Then, in order of contribution to their perception of poverty, the participants ranked the key

words, which were indicated by the number of stones they placed in the cells. An example is shown below.

<p>Education</p> 	<p>Health</p> 	<p>Road</p> 	<p>Food</p> 

The participants carried out this exercise one by one so that the judgment of one would not influence the others. For the same reason, the stones placed by the preceding exercise were covered with paper or cloth so that the next person could not see the results before they finished their part. After all of the participants finished the exercise, the results were uncovered and shared among them.

(4) Group Wrap-up (30 min.)

The participants exchanged their opinions on the results of the Ten Stones Exercise in sex-divided groups. Some expressed their new findings, while others challenged the results and made arguments. After reaching a consensus, the group session was wrapped up.

(5) Plenary Wrap-up (30 min.)

Both male and female participants joined again in a plenary session and shared the results of each group. They exchanged their opinions on one another’s results and wrapped up the whole survey.

4-3 Selected sample villages

The survey was conducted in two sub-villages in Same District, namely Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini, Kilimanjaro Region, where the KVFP was operating. Amongst KVFP operational areas, they are located in the low land which meant that they are adversely hit by drought, and their culture and natural environment are different from those in the KVFP demonstration site in Mkonga. Meserani sub-village is dominated by Maasai people who are pastoralists. On the other hand, Kirinjiko Chini sub-village is occupied by wapare people who are farmers with

pastoral activities.

Both sub-villages have been the targeted models of the KVFP participatory approach since 1996. Therefore, they had much more opportunities than other neighboring villages to participate in KVFP activities and thus they were anticipated to be well aware of the KVFP. They were also familiar with survey methods to a certain extent because several socioeconomic surveys were conducted in these sub-villages by the KVFP.

The previous studies revealed that they were in a comparatively poor situation due to a lack of basic human needs and a severe natural environment. They were particularly vulnerable to natural calamity such as drought, although they had their own strategies to cope with it. In addition, gender analysis found several issues to be tackled in terms of gender equality. Therefore, the objectives of this survey lay in capturing villagers' comprehension of poverty, compared to the phenomenon observed by JICA's preceding studies.

Apart from the above target villages for the survey, Kombo village was chosen as a site to pretest the survey methods. It is located close to Meserani sub-village and also dominated by Maasai people. It was not only a pretest of the survey methods but also a pretest of FGD with Maasai people. Since some Maasai people, particularly women, did not understand Swahili, difficulty was anticipated in leading a discussion with them and the team hoped to get useful lessons from a pretest in a Maasai village in preparation.

In order to find out the differences from the perceptions of poverty within KVFP operational areas, Kimunyu sub-village in the highland area was also visited.

A selection of sample villages requires careful consideration for the following reasons. First, one has to understand the cultural setting and social and natural environment of people to conduct a participatory survey effectively and to compare the results, avoiding biases to a maximum extent. Second, people in the project area are often tired of being studied and another study may have a negative impact on them. Therefore, the evaluation team had several consultations with a Japanese expert working in the KVFP prior to the selection and made a decision based on the expert's advice and recommendation.

4-4 Villager's perspectives on poverty

The survey methods were first tested in Kombo village. The evaluation team went through the whole process of the survey and checked its practicability. Despite a number of mistakes and unexpected events in the process, the survey went fairly well and the team gained confidence in its design. The following were some lessons from the pretest.

Firstly, it disturbed the survey a lot that villagers gathered very late for the appointment and joined one after another in the middle of the FGD. Although the team figured that 10 people for each FGD would be appropriate, it would have been very rude and difficult in such a village to exclude latecomers from the FGD who wanted to participate. So the team made sure once again that villagers to be visited were well informed of the appointment time and the number of people to be assembled.

Secondly, the team found that village leaders such as the chairperson, teachers and party secretaries were so influential that they gave a lot of bias to the FGD and Ten Stones Exercise. Therefore, the team decided that the team leader would interview the village chairperson in order to keep him away from the FGD and thus he would join only in the Ten Stones Exercise.

Thirdly, it was difficult for villagers to take objective views in the FGD. Since they tended to talk about themselves and raise their problems as examples of poverty, the moderators exerted a lot of effort to keep the FGD on the right track. In order to avoid such confusion, the team found that it was better to facilitate the FGD with questions at the village level first, and then follow with the family and personal levels. The team also found that it would be helpful to let participants think about real villages, families and individuals in poverty and then let them describe those.

After some other modifications of the design such as substitution of the word "kitongoji" (sub-village) for "kijiji" (village), the main survey was carried out in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages and it was generally successful. As for crosschecking, the team visited Kimunyu sub-village and conducted the FGD on the findings in other villages.

The following results of the survey show villagers' perspectives on poverty.

Table 4-1 Results of the FGD on poverty at Kombo (pretest)

(male: 16 participants)

poor village	poor family	poor person	#	key word	vote
no school	cannot send children to school		2	education	66
no water supply/rain			1	water supply	50
no dispensary/clinic	poor health	poor health/no magical fee	3	health	26
no road/communication	no bicycle/no money for transport	no means of transport	3	road/access	7
	hit by famine		1	food supply	5
	poor house		1	housing	4

poor cattle rearing	no animals		2	cattle	
poor farming	no farmland		2	farmland	
	poor clothing	poor clothing	2	clothes	
people don't participate in dev	poor interaction with others		2	little coop. in dev	
		depend on others/beggar	1	depend on others/beggar	
	nothing to sell to cope with needs		1	nothing to sell	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person.

(female: 17 participants-4 Pare, 13 Maasai, female interpreter)

poor village	poor family & person	#	key word	vote
no water	water for tree/farming	2	water	51
poor health	hospital	2	hospital	46
	(cattle for milk/income, control of cattle)	*	livestock medicine	16
		0	school	16
	market	1	market	14
	women's freedom	1	women's freedom	12
(poor health)	(hospital)	**	child health service	7
no road to school/hospital	transportation	2	road/transport	4
	(women's freedom)	*	family planning	4
	field	1	field	0

drought, women left w/o money/milk		1	drought	
	cattle for milk/income, control of cattle	1	cattle	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person. * means a related issue was raised.

Table 4-2 Results of the male FGD on poverty at Kirinjiko Chini

poor village	poor family	poor person	#	key word	vote
no water for domestic use		no safe water	2	clean water	54
no school	no education	no access to education	3	education	38
no dispensary		no medical care/poor health	2	dispensary	28
no fertile land	no fertile land	no fertile land	3	farming	27
no food reserve	no food reserve	no food	3	food supply	16
no clothes	no clothes	no clothes	3	clothes	8
no cattle	no cattle	no cattle for grazing	3	livestock	6
		no good shelter	1	good shelter	3
			0	advice	0
		not cooperative	1	not cooperative	
	lazy/careless family head		1	lazy/careless	
lack of manpower for dev.			1	lack of manpower	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person.

Table 4-3 Results of the female FGD on poverty at Kirinjiko Chini

poor village	poor people	#	key word	vote
lack of/far from water to improve house		1	water	47
no school		1	school	42
no dispensary		1	hospital	41
far from milling machine		1	milling machine	21
(no man interested in dev./listen to women)	no consistent effort for development	*1	poor cooperation	11
		0	livestock disease	6
far from stores/market		1	market	5
	drought	1	drought	4
		0	house	2
no employment		1	no employment	
no man interested in dev./listen to women	chattels belonging to men only	2	gender issue	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person. * means a related issue was raised.

Table 4-4 Results of the male FGD on poverty at Meserani

poor village	poor family	poor person	#	key word	vote
no dispensary/clinic	can't send children to hospital		2	hospital	67
no water			1	water supply	52
no road			1	road	35
no school	can't send children to school		1	school	33
no farmland	no farmland		2	farming	7
	no cattle	no animals	2	animal/cattle	5
			0	family harmony	3
no market			1	market	3
no business/nothing to sell	nothing to sell		2	business	3
			0	belief in good	2
	no medicine for cattle		1	medicine for cattle	
	can't buy clothes for children	no clothes	2	clothes	
	no food	no food	2	food	
	(can't afford school/hospital/clothes)	no ability to live normal life/care for children	*1	no ability to live normal life	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person. * means a related issue was raised.

Table 4-5 Results of the female FGD on poverty at Meserani (1 Pare, 20 Maasai, male interpreter)

poor village	poor family & person	#	key word	vote
no water		1	water	65
no hospital/clinic		1	hospital	60
no road		1	road	37
no livestock medicine		1	livestock medicine	16
no education opportunity	no education (children)	2	school	11
no tool/machine for work, no tractor		1	tools	9
	lack of advice for running a store, etc.	1	advice	5
	(lack of advice for running a store, etc.)	*	market	4
		0	milling machine	3
	no decision-making power for women	1	women's freedom	2
no farmland	no agriculture	2	farmland/agriculture	
lack of capacity	lack of cattle	2	lack of capacity/cattle	
	many sons (assets to be divided)	1	many sons	
no cattle dip		1	cattle dip	

shows the number of times a key word was raised in the FGD on a poor village/family/person. * means a related issue was raised.

Table 4-6 Results of a crosschecking at Kimunyu

(male)

poverty	key word	rank
lack of sufficient water supply for domestic use	water for irrigation/water reservoir	1
lack of fertile land	land shortage	2
lack of employment	small-scale industry for employment (carpentry, welding, brick making)	3
lack of technical advice	technical advice on industry, agriculture, business, conservation, livestock	4
	proper food storage	5
	agri-inputs and pedicure for cattle	6

(female)

difference with sample villages	poverty	key word	rank
It has primary/secondary school	They want a nursery school.	nursery school	1
	drought	drought	2
It has water for household use	They want a water reservoir.	water	3
It has water for household use	They want stet water for irrigation.	irrigation water	4
Some don't "msaragambo", public contribution	cooperation	cooperation	5
	little contact with District Livestock Officer.	cattle disease	6
	They want tractors and ploughs.	agricultural tools for work	7
	women's involvement in decision-making to sell agri-products.	women's group	8
		technical advice	9
They discuss family planning issues.	women's involvement in decision-making.	women's involvement in decision-making	10

It has a market	They want more market days.	They want more market days.
It has a hospital		
It has a milling machine		
No problem for businesses		
No problem for housing		
No problem for roads		

Table 4-7 Ranking with percentage of obtained votes

(+: issues raised in the FGD but dropped from the key words.)

Kirinjiko (m)	Kirinjiko (f)	Meserani (m)	Meserani (f)	Kombo (m)	Kombo (f)	Kimunyu (m)	Kimunyu (f)
1 (30.0%)	1 (26.3%)	2 (24.8%)	1 (30.7%)	2 (31.6%)	2 (30.0%)	1 : irrigation	3, 4 : irrigation
3 (15.6%)	3 (22.9%)	1 (31.9%)	2 (28.3%)	3 (16.5%)	1 (31.1%)		
2 (21.1%)	2 (23.5%)	4 (15.7%)	5 (5.2%)	1 (41.8%)	3 (9.4%)	+	1 : nursery
		3 (16.7%)	3 (17.5%)	4 (4.4%)	7 (2.4%)		
7 (3.3%)		6 (2.4%)	+	+	+		
	6 (3.4%)	+	4 (7.5%)		3 (9.4%)	6	6
			+				
4 (15.0%)		5 (3.3%)	+	+	9 (0.0%)	2	
5 (8.9%)		+		5 (3.2%)		5	
		7(1.4%)		+			
	8 (2.2%)				+	+	2
						6	
	7 (2.8%)	7 (1.4%)	8 (1.9%)		5 (8.2%)		+: market days
	4 (11.7%)		9 (1.4%)				
			6 (4.2%)				7
9 (0.0%)			7 (2.4%)			4	9
	+					3	
	+		10 (0.9%)		6 (7.1%)		8, 10
+	5 (6.1%)			+			5
					7 (2.4%)		
			+				
6 (4.4%)		+		+			
8 (1.7%)	9 (1.1%)			6 (2.5%)			
+							
+							
				+			
		+					
						+	
						+	
		7 (1.4%)					
		10 (1.0%)					

4-5 From survey results

An advance hypothesis for this “survey on the perception of poverty” was that people’s perceptions of poverty are not always consistent with those of outsiders and donors and thus the KVFP’s activities, which people perceive as having contributed to “poverty alleviation,” may be different from what we think were contributive. Actually, the following can be pointed out from the results of Focus Group Discussion among males and females respectively at both Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages.

Firstly, all four groups are highly interested in “water (sanitary water)” (first among Kirinjiko Chini men and women, second among Meserani men, and first among Meserani women), “schools/education” (second, second, fourth and fifth in the same order) and “hospitals/clinics” (third, third, first and second in the same order). The lack of these three factors is considered essential for their perception of “poverty.” These are, for example, consistent with areas, “health/sanitation and education,” which JICA first assumes in relation to “social development.” Therefore, it can be said that the recognition of the donor (JICA) is consistent with the perception of poverty among people in this region to some degree.

Secondly, it can be said that very few people listed factors directly related to “income” or “money.” This may be a result of some effect of the way that the questions were asked, which aims to have people consider poverty apart from their actual conditions by asking, “What kind of village is poor?” However, no group pointed out that a “village with low income” or a “village without money” is “a poor village.” Therefore, this result is considered to confirm that donors’ approaches in which an “income increase” and “financial aid” are likely to be assumed as a “poverty measure” are not always appropriate. It is also appropriate to note that unexpectedly few factors that are directly related to “food, clothing and shelter” were mentioned. Kirinjiko Chini men brought up “poor clothes,” Kirinjiko Chini women “house” and Meserani men “no food” and “can’t buy clothes for children” respectively at the time of discussion, but any of these factors have not become a candidate poverty factor for the voting in ten seeds/ten stones exercise or have got few votes even if they have become a candidate. That is to say, villagers in this region do not think of “poverty” as directly connecting with “food, clothing and shelter” or “income” (incidentally, “food reserve” ranked fifth among Kirinjiko Chini men, but this answer should be considered not from the standpoint of a daily shortage of food but from the standpoint of a “security of food supplies.”)

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the villagers are not interested in income. They named sources of income such as “farmland” (ranked fourth among Kirinjiko Chini men, fifth among Meserani men, and was not eligible for voting among Meserani women), “tool/machine for work, tractor” (ranked sixth among Meserani women), “animal/cattle” (ranked seventh among Kirinjiko Chini men, sixth among Meserani men and was not eligible for voting among Meserani women), “business” (ranked ninth among Meserani men) and “employment” (not eligible for voting among Kirinjiko Chini women). At the pretest in Kombo village, “farm tool, tractor, etc.” (ranked sixth among men) was also mentioned. These three villages are located at dry flatland at the foot of Kilimanjaro, and are probably in a relatively harsh natural environment in the Kilimanjaro region. Due to this, the villagers seem to have more interest in improving living conditions before “income.” It is expected that even in the same region, factors related to income would be brought up more if living conditions became a little better. For example, Kimunu sub-village where crosschecking was conducted is located in the mountains and is relatively suitable for agriculture, so many factors related to agricultural production and income improvement were brought up (However, it needs to be noted that because of time constraints, the way of asking questions in this village was different from that in villages where the main survey was conducted.). Specifically, the lack of “farmland,” “technical advise,” “small-scale industry,” “agri-inputs,” “drugs for cattle” and “water for irrigation” were all named. This result also corresponds to the results of “VOICES OF THE POOR,” a survey by the World Bank in Kilimanjaro Province. In that survey, many agriculture-related factors were named as “characteristics of a poor person (person in the second rank from the bottom in five ranks),” such as “having only one acre or less farmland,” “cultivate by manpower,” “doing paid work in advance,” “cannot afford input materials” and “small harvest.” The results probably indicate “Voices” in a region that is relatively suitable for agriculture.

Thirdly, it can be said that there are many ways of perceiving “spiritual factors.” The awareness of self-responsibility, which is shown in the opinion of Kirinjiko Chini men that a “lazy/careless family head” is a cause of poverty, may be relatively common among the elite in urban areas. Meserani men also mentioned that a person who has “no ability to live a normal life/care for children” is a “poor person.” In Kombo, a person who “depends on others” is cited as a poor person.

At the same time, as for more spiritual factors, Meserani men revealed the perception that “no family harmony” (seventh) or “no belief in God” (tenth) is a “poor condition.” This result indicates the existence of different scales from material abundance. It is noteworthy that Kirinjiko Chini

women ranked “poor cooperation” fifth. The same was also pointed out among Kirinjiko Chini men, though it was not eligible for a vote. Therefore, the result may imply a problem peculiar to this sub-village.

It is also interesting that in terms of the decision-making power of women, Kirinjiko Chini women stated that a village where “no men listen to women” is a “poor village” and that a family where “cattle belong to men only” is a “poor family.” Moreover, Meserani and Kombo women said that “no women’s freedom” and “no decision-making power of women” indicate “poverty.” In Kombo, this opinion was brought up in relation to family planning.

Fourthly, there is an opinion pointing out the importance of “advice” and “support from others.” This opinion is probably strongly related to interest in “income.” “Advice” became a candidate poverty factor for the voting among Kirinjiko Chini men, but no one voted for it in fact. Meserani women also requested “advice for running a store.” A key to understand points that require administrative services and donor’s intervention may be hidden in these factors.

Before the survey, the team expected that “people’s perceptions of poverty” would be influenced by “regional differences” and “sexual differences.” What of this point?

First of all, it was found that regional differences would have considerable influence. While “(no) road” was listed as a factor constituting poverty among both men and women in Kombo (pretest) and Meserani (real test), neither men nor women in Kirinjiko Chini mentioned “road.” This result is considered to be based on geographical condition since the Kirinjiko Chini sub-village is relatively close to a highway. Despite the fact that the question was not “In what point is this village poor?” but “What kind of village is poor?” which brings neighboring villages into view, “road” was not mentioned. This fact is considered to indicate that people cannot imagine what they are not experiencing in their own daily life.

In addition, almost no education-related factor was mentioned at the Kimunyu sub-village where crosschecking was conducted, since there is a school in the sub-village. Factors related to hospitals/clinics were not named either. This result reflects that this sub-village is in a relatively blessed environment.

Then what about sexual differences? Despite living in the same social environment in one village, men and women had somewhat different perceptions of “lacking things.” However, “water,” “hospitals/clinics” and “schools/education” got much attention regardless of village and gender,

and there were no big differences by gender. However, differences can be found such as that Kirinjiko Chini men have a relatively high interest in “agriculture (production aspect),” while women there are interested in “milling machines (processing of produced grain)” and “market (selling of products).” In particular, “milling machines” were not brought up by any men at all, but Kirinjiko Chini women ranked it fourth and Meserani women ninth. This result indicates that the preparation of food is the women’s burden.

Like this, it was clarified that the factors of poverty that people perceive are different according to the community and gender even within the same region. Therefore, it is necessary to carefully consider activities for poverty reduction with a sufficient understanding of such differences.

5. KVFP and Impact Assessment

5. KVFP and Impact Assessment

5-1 Approach of impact assessment

The underlying principle of the study was to solicit subjective perspectives of people and to understand their assessment of the impact of the KVFP on their lives. This is in contrast with conventional impact assessments conducted from the perspective of outsiders, where questions are asked about project-specific activities, which often ends up confining discussions within the boundary of what the evaluators are seeking. Therefore, the primary role of the evaluators in this study was to make it easier for the people to bring up issues that they consider to have affected their lives, either positively or negatively. Details of the adopted methodology in this study are presented in Appendix IV for easy reference.

5-2 Method of impact assessment and indicators

In order to put the above principle into practice, the study was designed in accordance with the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) approach. The specific information sources and activities employed during the impact assessment include the following:

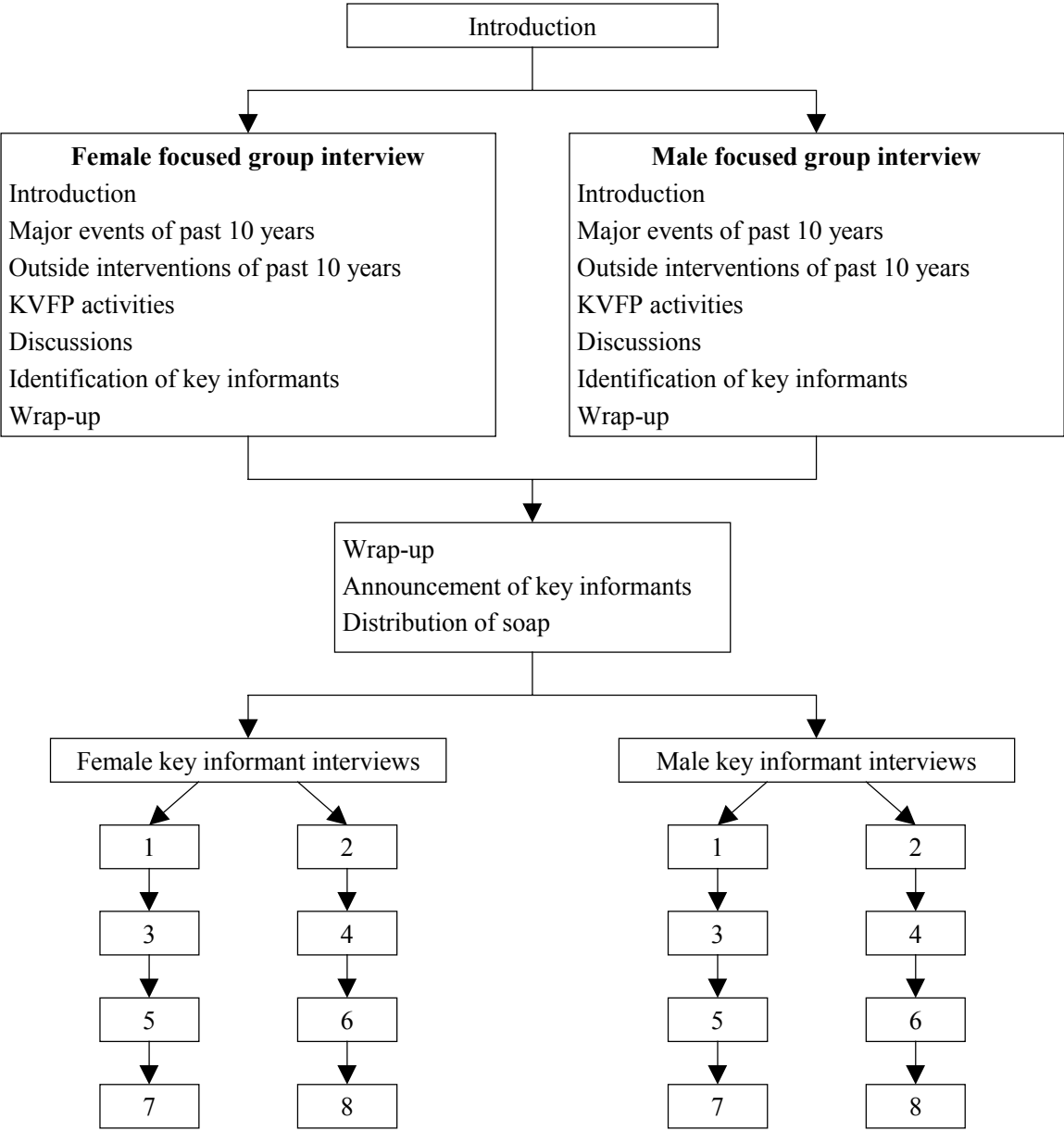
Information sources and activities	Description
secondary data, maps, and reports for background information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> review of project documents, working papers, study reports
incident histories from KVFP staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> interviews and formal/informal discussions with KVFP staff
focus group interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> focus groups were recruited to conduct free listing exercises and to discuss the impacts of the events that occurred in the village within the last 10 years
free listing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> subjects were asked to list all of the major events as well as outside interventions that occurred within the last 10 years
semi-structured key informant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> key informants in this study were selected during the focus group interviews and were interviewed with interview guides that list topics and issues to be covered
direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evaluation team members recorded information about people's lives through observation and conversations during field visits, including overnight stays in two villages

The impact assessment was conducted in the sub-villages of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini. 10 women and 10 men were selected as informants in each sub-village. All discussions and interviews were moderated or conducted by KVFP C/P staff and the local consultant, while two Japan

Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) participated as interpreters and the evaluation team members managed the process.

The flow-chart 5.1 shows the framework of the impact assessment process.

Chart 5-1 Framework of the impact assesment



(1) Plenary introduction

The objective of the study was explained to all informants and they were divided into men and women’s focus groups.

(2) Focus group discussion (FCD)

Prior to starting the sessions, moderators reviewed the poverty keywords and kept them in mind during the interviews in order to assess to what degree the people’s lives were affected by the activities of the KVFP. The two focus group interviews of men and women were conducted simultaneously and lasted approximately two hours.

(3) Free listing of major events

Following the interview guide (appendix IV), moderators requested that the informants list three major events, such as natural disasters or disease outbreaks, that took place within the last ten years. The study team selected the specific time frame of ten years because the KVFP had started in 1991. The objective of listing the major events was to identify key years that would assist in jogging the informants’ memories so that they could come up with outside interventions during the next step. With some assistance by the moderators, several events were raised and recorded on a large piece of paper put up on the wall as in the diagram 7.1 below.

Diagram 5-1

1996/1996	drought
1998	bush fires burned houses
1998	El Nino (heavy) rains

Through this process, timelines were constructed to assist the informants in the next step. At the same time, it demonstrated valuable information about what people perceive to be major events in each village and the differences in perceptions between men and women. The results and analysis are elaborated under 5-3 and 5-4, respectively.

(4) Free listing of outside interventions

The moderators requested that the informants list all outside interventions that took place within the last ten years. The intention behind this question was to understand what assistance has been provided to the villages and what aspects of people’s perceived poverty were addressed by such interventions. No specific reference was made to the KVFP, because the study team wished to observe how the people perceived KVFP activities. The assumption was that any KVFP activity

with either negative or positive impact on the lives of people would be brought up without the team’s probing. By the same token, KVFP activities without much significance to the people’s lives were not expected to be listed.

Occasionally referring to the timelines, the informants listed the activities initiated by outsiders within the last ten years. An example of a completed timeline is shown below as diagram 5-2. The results and analysis are provided under 5-3 and 5-4, respectively.

Diagram 5-2

1990	food assistance by KKKT (NGO)
1992-97	seedlings provided by JICA
1994	cattle trough and water point provided by JICA
1996/96	drought
1997	food assistance by GOT
????	permission to build school granted by GOT(*)
????	permission to collect funds for water granted by GOT(*)
????	livestock medicine provided by GOT(*)
1998	bush fires burned houses
1998	El-nino (heavy) rains

(*) The informants could not recall the years in which these interventions took place.

(5) Discussions on KVFP activities

Reviewing the timelines, the moderators selected the interventions by the KVFP and initiated discussions on them. According to the interview guide, the following questions were asked on each of the issues.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 1 | who used or benefited from it? |
| 1-1 | why? |
| 1-2 | what was the outcome? |
| 2 | who did not use or did not benefit from it? |
| 2-1 | why? |
| 2-2 | what was the outcome? |

The objective of asking the above questions was to understand whether or not the KVFP activities impacted the entire population of the sub-village or affected certain segments of the society and the reasons why some people were excluded or were not interested in benefiting. Furthermore, the informants' perceptions of their personal experiences as well as ideas for improving the situations were extracted out of the discussions. The results and analysis are elaborated under 5-3 and 5-4, respectively.

(6) Screening of remaining keywords

The moderators reviewed the information gathered while referring back to the poverty assessment keywords and identified issues that were not addressed. For example, the women in Meserani brought up "market" as a poverty keyword, explaining that both the lack of access to market as well as opportunities for establishing petty businesses are contributing factors for poverty. However, outside interventions addressing neither of these issues were raised during the early part of the impact assessment study. Therefore, the moderators brought this issue up with the informants and asked them if any progress had been made with regard to the market. In this particular example, the informants explained that although no outside intervention has been provided to address the problem, a women's "Shop Group" was established in the sub-village⁸. They also stated that a number of women have been engaging in petty business activities out of their own initiative. In this manner, the moderators went over all remaining key words to ensure that all relevant interventions were covered. The results and analysis are provided under 5-3 and 5-4, respectively.

(7) Identification of key informants

The lists of key informants were prepared by the moderators during the FGD based on the information given by the informants. The key informants were selected based on their affiliation with events related to poverty keywords. Efforts were made to include individuals who benefited and did not benefit from specific activities.

(8) Key informant interviews

12 and 16 key informants were selected from Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini, respectively, with

⁸ It was later revealed during a key informant interview with the male Church leader that the Lutheran Church provided the women's Shop Group with material to construct the shop.

half of them constituting women. The majority of individuals were participants of the FGDs of either the impact or poverty assessment studies, whereas several have been identified among the rest of the sub-villagers who have not participated in either. Each interview lasted approximately 1 hour.

(9) Crosscheck of the study results

The crosscheck of the study results was conducted at the end of the field study. The intention was to find out whether the study findings would be accepted as the general conditions of poverty in the semi-arid areas of Same District. The study team shared the poverty keywords elicited from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages with another Kimonyu village in Same district. Kimonyu village, located south of the KVFP project office, had a mainly Muslim population. The living conditions were relatively better than in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The village had some basic social services such as primary and secondary schools, a clinic, and a market place.

Two focus group interviews were conducted at Kimonyu, one for men and another for women. The moderators presented a combined table of poverty keywords collected from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The keywords were ranked in order of importance accorded by the people of the two villages, identified with the combined number of stones cast on each keyword. The informants were asked to comment on the selection and ranking of the keywords. They discussed whether they agreed or disagreed with each of the keywords and the ranking and the reasons for that. They were then asked to come up with their own list of poverty keywords and rank them according to their perceptions. This provided the team with information to assess the similarity and differences in the people’s perceptions of poverty within the semi-arid area of Same District.

5-3 Results of impact assessment

(1) Free listing of major events

The results of the free listing of major events are as follows:

Meserani women	Meserani men	Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
82 earthquake	drought	96-97 famine	96-97 drought
90 malaria	earthquake	97 heavy rain	98 bush fires
	cattle disease	99 cattle disease	98 heavy rain

(2) Free listing of outside interventions

The results of the free listing of outside interventions within the last ten years are as follows:

Meserani women	Meserani men
95 KVFP provided seedlings	90 KKKT, the Lutheran Church provided a water pump
95 KKKT, the Lutheran Church started church construction	91 District Council provided mobile clinic service
97 school construction started	98 JICA provided 100 iron sheets for school roof
98 school construction completed	Ministry of Education (MoE) provided cement for school construction
99 children started to attend school	MOE provided 23 kg. of nails for school construction
99 the church provided a water pump	25 desks provided, but cannot remember from whom
99 Laramataki, a local NGO provided school desks	JICA provided tree seedlings
99 KVFP provided school roof	KKKT advised building a church
	women were advised to form Shop Group, but could not remember by whom, received training on how to make low-priced bricks, but could not remember from whom

Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
82 World Vision dug a well an individual brought a church roof	90 KKKT provided water well
9? KVFP provided a cattle trough	GOT granted permission to build school
9? KVFP started distributing seedlings	92-99 seedlings provided by JICA
97 KVFP provided water to make bricks for school construction	94 JICA provided cattle trough and water point for domestic use
99 GOT distributed maize	GOT provided livestock medicine
	GOT granted permission to collect funds to dig a water well
	97 GOT provided food assistance

(3) Discussions on KVFP activities

Out of the issues raised during the free listing exercise, the moderators identified the following KVFP activities for further discussions.

Meserani women	Meserani men
95 KVFP provided seedlings	98 JICA provided 100 iron sheets for school roof
99 KVFP provided school roof	JICA provided tree seedlings

Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
97 KVFP provided a cattle trough	92-99 seedlings provided by JICA
97 KVFP started distributing seedlings	94 JICA provided cattle trough and water point for domestic use
97 KVFP provided water to make bricks for school construction	

(4) Key informant interviews

During the focus group interviews, the following key informants were selected.

Meserani women: key informants	Meserani men: key informants
Shop Group member	Sub-village Chairperson
Milling Group member	did not receive seedlings
trader	Lutheran Church leader
trader	Water Committee member
	does not send children to school
	Kindergarten Committee leader/Ten-cell leader
	School Committee leader
	Secretary of Grazing Association

Kirinjiko Chini women: key informants	Kirinjiko Chini men: key informants
VECC member	did not receive seedlings
VECC member	did not receive seedlings
VECC member	VECC Chairperson
trader	unable to send children to school
trader	School Committee member
trader	beekeeper
Women's Group Chairperson	uses the cattle trough provided by the KVFP
School Committee member	finned for encroaching in the Mkonga Reserve

In Meserani sub-village, only four female key informants were interviewed as a result of a sudden change in the team’s schedule. The team spent one day at the sub-village instead of two as initially planned. This was because upon completion of the poverty assessment study, the team decided to allocate one day for a meeting with the KVFP staff to prepare for the impact assessment phase and to postpone all field visits by one day. This resulted in a situation where only the male interviewees were able to conduct fieldwork in Meserani for two days.

(5) Cross-check at Kimonyu village

The results of the cross check at Kimonyu village are presented in the table below.

Aspects of poverty ranked in the order of importance	
Women	Men
nursery school	irrigation water
drought	farming land
water	small-scale industries
irrigation water	technical advice
cooperation among villagers	food storage
cattle disease	shops selling farm input and livestock medicine
farming tool	
women’s group	
technical advice	
women’s involvement in decision-making	

5-4 Analysis of impact assessment

Based on the results of the free listing activities, the following two tables were prepared to demonstrate to what extent the aspects of people’s perceived poverty were addressed by outside interventions, inclusive of KVFP activities, within the last ten years. The poverty keywords on the left column are listed according to the combined 10 stones ranking by both men and women. The activities of the KVFP are shown in bold type for easy reference. Likewise, the aspects of poverty covered by KVFP activities are shaded. The table was constructed on the basis of information collected during all stages of the field research, namely the focus group and key informant interviews, direct observations, free listing, and the 10 stones exercise.

Poverty keywords	Outside interventions raised	
	Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
water (101)	World Vision dug a well (1982) KVFP provided cattle trough KVFP provided water for school construction	KKKT dug a well (1990) GOT permitted collecting funds to dig a well KVFP provided cattle trough KVFP provided domestic water
education/school (80)	KVFP provided water for school construction	GOT granted permission to construct
dispensary/hospital (69)		
farming (27)		
milling machine (21)		
food supply (16)	GOT distributed maize (1999)	GOT distributed food (1997)
keeping livestock/ livestock disease (11)	KVFP provided cattle trough	GOT distributed medicine KVFP provided cattle trough
poor cooperation (11)	KVFP started VECC	
clothing (8)		
market/petty business (6)	KVFP provided water for school construction	
good housing (5)		
drought (4)		
seeking advice (0)	Church advised forming shop group	KVFP advised on tree planting through VECC
transportation (0)		

Poverty keywords	Outside interventions raised	
	Meserani women	Meserani men
hospital (127)		District Council provided mobile clinic KVFP provided school roof
water supply (117)	Church provided water pump	KKKT provided water pump
road (72)		
school (44)	Laramataki provided school desks KVFP provided school roof	JICA provided school roof MoE provided cement MoE provided nails received desks
keeping livestock/ livestock medicine (21)		
tools (9)		
farming (7)		
market/petty business (7)		
advice (5)		KKKT advised building a church received advice for Shop Group KVFP provided school roof drug stores advise on livestock medicine

Poverty keywords	Outside interventions raised	
	Meserani women	Meserani men
milling machine (3)		
family harmony (3)		presence of the church
belief in god (2)	KKKT started church construction	KKKT advised building church
women's freedom (2)		

A review of the above tables indicate that in Kirinjiko Chini sub-village, 6 out of 14 aspects of poverty have been covered by KVFP activities, either directly or indirectly. KVFP has been successful there in addressing the people's two top priority needs, namely "water" and "education." It also addressed other important aspects such as "keeping livestock/livestock disease," "poor cooperation," "market/petty business" and "advice," three of which had also been raised as poverty keywords in Meserani. In Meserani, 3 out of 13 aspects have been covered by KVFP interventions either directly or indirectly.

The analysis of the KVFP's impact on poverty was done by reviewing the interventions of the KVFP and how they have addressed the aspects of poverty perceived by the people. The specific activities to be reviewed are: seedling distribution, establishment of the VECC, siting of the project site, provision of cattle trough, provision of water point for domestic use, and assistance in school construction.

(1) Seedling distribution in Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages

Many informants appreciated seedling distribution by the KVFP. However, during the free listing of outside interventions, this activity was raised only after more significant interventions were raised such as those addressing people's needs for water and education. This is understandable considering the fact that these sub-villages are located in the harsher areas of Same where people do not have access to basic services.

However, the findings also showed that the people were generally enthusiastic about tree planting. The biggest accomplishment of the KVFP with regard to seedling distribution in these sub-villages was that the people have come to know that trees not only grow naturally, but can be planted by themselves. In that sense, the KVFP was instrumental in creating a turning point in the way people perceive reforestation activities.

People were well aware of the benefits of having trees, such as for shade, timber, fruit, windbreak,

firewood, malaria and measles medicine, prevention of soil erosion, improving soil fertility, and inducing rain. However, discussions with them revealed that the survival rates of trees were low due to the lack of water, damage caused by insects and livestock, and drought. This explains why seedling distribution by the KVFP has not addressed the poverty keywords in either sub-village. However, if the environment were conducive for tree growth, there would be potential for covering some of the keywords such as “food supply,” “market,” “keeping livestock/livestock disease,” “drought,” and “farming” in either the short-term or long-term future.

One male informant in Kirinjiko Chini and one woman in Meserani pointed out the need for training and advice on tree planting. At least five individuals said that either insects or livestock had damaged their trees. Such comments suggest that the survival rate of trees may increase by providing training to the recipients of seedlings. However, other comments imply that the KVFP was able to address the people’s need for training. One informant said that he watered trees at the wrong time which he corrected after receiving advice from a KVFP C/P. At least two women in Kirinjiko Chini were protecting their trees from livestock by using thorny branches.

The situation surrounding the availability of water for trees seemed more serious. In Meserani, three men mentioned that the lack of access to a donkey or bicycle prevented them from watering trees⁹. Two women said that they were too old to fetch water¹⁰. Three informants were waiting for the rain to come before they would request or purchase seedlings. In Kirinjiko Chini, a male informant said that the water source was far and that domestic water gets priority over trees.

The review of people’s comments indicated that there may be a correlation between the availability of water and the degree of attention that the people pay to trees. As water has been raised as the critical determinant for the survival of trees, those with poor access may be less inclined to care for the trees. Following that logic, addressing people’s needs for water is necessary in order for the KVFP to promote reforestation in the two sub-villages.

(2) VECC

The Village Environmental Conservation Committee (VECC) is a committee set up in the model villages with support from the KVFP. Although the specific activities carried out by different

⁹ It is mostly men who ride bicycles to fetch water.

¹⁰ Fetching water is considered a woman’s job. When the family owns a bicycle, men tend to take over the task.

VECCs may vary, the overall objective is to promote reforestation activities within the community.

The positive impact of the VECC on the aspects of people's poverty was limited. VECC was never mentioned during the free listing activities in either sub-village. It came up in the women's focus group in Kirinjiko Chini after some probing by the moderator. The findings suggest that the VECC in Meserani is not very active. Two informants there had never heard of it. A member of the Water Committee stated that the Committee was discussing opportunities for joint activities with the VECC although nothing has materialized so far.

In Kirinjiko Chini, the presence of the VECC was more significant than in Meserani and its presence was well known among the people. It was found that the VECC functions as a linkage between the sub-villagers and the KVFP. The VECC represented the people in making requests to the KVFP for film shows as well as water needed for school construction. It is also responsible for the management of the cattle trough provided by the project.

With regard to activities related to tree planting, the objectives of the VECC were clearly understood by its members. It is less active during the dry season because many men are away grazing their cattle and also the dryness makes tree planting difficult. However, it has made some contribution in promoting reforestation activities. One woman attributed current tree planting activities to successful promotion by the VECC.

During the poverty assessment exercise in Kirinjiko Chini, the women explained that the living standards could be increased if people conducted joint activities to address the development needs of the sub-village. In relation to this, they said that the VECC addressed the keyword "poor cooperation (among villagers)." The establishment of the School Committee and the VECC were both seen as factors that strengthen the ties among people, thus leading to the uplifting of their living standards in the long run.

The difference in the roles of the VECC in the two sub-villages reflects the very origin of the idea to incorporate it as a KVFP activity. The formation of the first VECC took place in Njoro village based on the initiative of the villagers. According to the KVFPs own analysis, the formation of an environmental committee in Njoro Village was so successful, it seemed that many moderators could not resist recommending it in other villages¹¹. This observation suggests that unless there

¹¹ p.4. Problems Found in Initial Stage of PRA Practices: Findings and Recommendations. Project Working Paper No. 14

is a will among the villagers and the timing is ripe, a new organization may not achieve the intended objectives. In this regard, the VECC of Kirinjiko Chini may have been created under more favorable circumstances.

(3) Assistance in school construction

In Kirinjiko Chini, the KVFP provided water to produce bricks for school construction. In Meserani, 100 iron sheets for the corrugated roof of the school were provided. It was clear that both sub-villages have appreciated this support and acknowledged it as a positive impact on the keyword “school/education.”

Although the majority of children will benefit from the KVFP’s assistance, those not able to afford the fees and other necessary costs will be excluded. Families with limited cash income or without adult labor to sell will not benefit. There are no schemes within the sub-villages to subsidize education for children with financial difficulties. In addition, children who are already enrolled in other schools will face difficulty transferring to the new schools as the process will be complicated. Likewise, older children will not be able to benefit as the new schools will only have classes for younger children. It is expected to take some time until the full-fledged primary schools are established in these sub-villages.

The establishment of new schools will make it possible for children to live at home instead of going away to other villages to attend school. This means that families will not have to pay for boarding with relatives or friends. Better supervision of children was also raised as a benefit. Mothers were particularly concerned about problems of child delinquency while the children are living away from home. Moreover, some mothers showed reluctance in sending female children away to distant schools.

The KVFP’s assistance in school construction brought other positive impacts, separate from the intended objectives. In Kirinjiko Chini, a female key informant stated that more women would be able to engage in petty business if the school were constructed close to their homes. She explained that if the school were nearby, children who are now living in faraway villages would come back to live with their families. She felt that this would decrease women’s labor time and create time for women to engage in income-generating activities because the children would be there to help out with the chores. Therefore, the KVFP’s assistance indirectly addresses the keyword “market/petty business.”

Different observations were made in Meserani. The men in Meserani appreciated the school roof for creating a shaded area to hold village meetings¹². Similarly, it was explained that the school has been used as a venue for prenatal check-ups, providing women with privacy during examination. Thus, women and children are benefiting from the school building in manners not anticipated by outsiders. As such, the KVFP assistance indirectly addresses the keyword “hospital”¹³.

Another impact of school construction in Meserani was with regard to the keyword “advice.” It was stated that teachers become available in the sub-village when the school is there. One key informant explained that the people are now able to seek technical advice on different issues from the teachers.

(4) Mkonga demonstration farm, cattle trough and water point

The KVFP provided a water point for domestic consumption and a cattle trough to be used by the people residing around the project site including the residents of Kirinjiko Chini. The origin of these two facilities goes back to when the KVFP was initiated. The project site, which includes the office compound and the adjacent Mkonga demonstration farm and its nursery, was public land designated by the GOT to be used for the KVFP. Although there were no residents within its boundaries, some nearby villagers were using it for grazing. These people were no longer allowed to enter the area to graze after the start of the project. As the KVFP staff at the time was aware of the potential negative impacts this might entail, they have made arrangements to extend pipes from the project well to a convenient location across from the project office to create the cattle trough and water point.

Meanwhile, the KVFP had to justify the reason for closing off the land that was once accessible to them. The KVFP explained to them that the land has become subject to Mlimbiko. “Mlimbiko” is a traditional system practiced by the local people for conserving natural resources. It is an incentive-led system, which defines specific resources to be protected and a predetermined time frame to assure villagers tangible returns if they follow the rules. The mlimbiko adopted in this region include ones for protecting important trees, grazing areas, and catchment areas. In the case of mlimbiko for grazing land, a certain portion of the pasture area will be closed off during

¹² Considering the climate in these areas, shade is highly valued especially as a venue for village meetings and for the welfare of livestock.

¹³ The keyword “hospital” is synonymous with “dispensary.”

the rain season to let the vegetation regenerate and opened up during the dry season to allow livestock to graze on it. This is just one example of mlimbiko as many variations exist according to local circumstances. Mlimbiko is adopted based on the rules agreed upon by villagers and the Mlimbiko Committee is set up to impose such rules. There are also rules regarding the punishment of offenders.

According to the Interim Evaluation of the Participatory Approach conducted by the KVFP in 1997, Kirinjiko Chini sub-villagers accepted the mlimbiko of Mkonga. They saw it as a way “to protect natural and planted trees from illegal cutting, bush fires and animal damage.”

Although the people have been clearly benefiting from the water point and cattle trough, there was a need to explore the impacts of the mlimbiko introduced by the KVFP. The KVFP staff were concerned about this aspect because they were aware that a careless application of mlimbiko may not only deteriorate their relationship with the people but also affect their livelihood.

(5) Cattle trough

The people of Kirinjiko Chini accorded great significance to the cattle trough provided by the KVFP. According to one sub-villager, this reduced the grazing distance from 15km to 3km. Although the distance and time reductions differ according to where one resides, they have clearly benefited many men. It was stated that the reduction of travel distance lowered the chances of their livestock contracting diseases as they are less exposed to various types of pathogen. Although they are generally content with the location of the trough, some individuals are not benefiting as the capacity is not large enough for all cattle in the village.

Discussions with the men and women of Kirinjiko Chini revealed that they did not see the cattle trough as compensation for the loss of access to the Mkonga area. It was interesting to find out that they saw it as just another form of assistance provided by the project.

(6) Water point

The creation of a water point near the KVFP office was also benefiting the people of Kirinjiko Chini, but once again, the people did not associate this with the lost access to Mkonga.

During the free listing of outside interventions, the provision of water point was brought up by

the men of Kirinjiko Chini only and not by the women. It was revealed during the discussions that almost all of the female informants were using another water source located by a nearby mountain because of the shorter distance. They explained that they use the KVFP water point only when the water at the mountain dries up. However, those fortunate enough to own a bicycle routinely go to the KVFP water point as it can be reached by taking the main road. Even though the distance is shorter, the unpaved dirt path makes the water source at the mountain more difficult to reach by bicycle. This may be the reason why men brought up the KVFP water point during the free listing as men are more likely to fetch water by bicycle. The evaluation team found out that close to 20 women come to collect water at the KVFP source everyday. Although they may be residing at other neighboring villages, it proved that the local people appreciated the KVFP water point.

(7) Impact from closing off the Mkonga area

The evaluation team found out that there has been no serious negative impact brought by the siting of the project area. Nothing in relation to this was brought up during the free listing exercise in Kirinjiko Chini. With some probing by the moderator, the informants explained that nobody suffers from the shortage of grazing land and there has been no negative impacts resulting from the mlimbiko at Mkonga. However, there was one person who got fined for encroachment. An interview with him revealed that he used to graze his cattle in the area prior to the arrival of the KVFP, but fully agrees with the objectives of the current mlimbiko. He was fined for encroachment because his goats wandered off into the reserve by accident. The goats were simply attracted to the fruits of *Balamites aegyptica*, a species that goats find particularly palatable, and ended up in the reserve. As such, this did not occur as a result of the lack of grazing area.

The research team found out through further probing that the villagers of Masandare may have been affected by the mlimbiko of Mkonga. The team made a short visit and conducted interviews at Masandare, but no negative impact was observed. Due to time and logistical constraints, the team was not able to approach more informants to confirm the finding. It may be a prudent idea to further explore this issue.

(8) Cross-check at Kimonyu Village

The review of the results of the crosscheck at Kimonyu Village confirmed that the perceptions of poverty vary according to the conditions in which people live. Moreover, the same poverty

keywords mean different things when the living conditions and environment are different. Most importantly, the findings from Kimonyu highlighted the particularly harsh conditions to which the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani are exposed. For example, the keyword “water” raised in Kimonyu meant water for irrigation, whereas the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani need water for household use. Likewise, while the two sub-villages indicated high demand for primary school, the people of Kimonyu see the lack of nursery school as an aspect of poverty. The prevalence of poverty keywords related to agricultural activities in Kimonyu, such as “farm input,” “farming land,” and “irrigation water,” indicate that farming is practiced widely as opposed to the other two sub-villages.

In sum, the findings from Kimonyu demonstrate that the aspects of poverty differ from one community to another. Therefore, poverty alleviation activities need to take such variations into consideration. Application of a uniform set of project activities are not likely to address the varying forms of poverty perceived by the potential beneficiaries of development projects.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

6-1 Conclusion of the study

The KVFP has been successful in addressing the priority needs of the people of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages. Much of the positive impacts were brought by supplementary activities initiated by the project staff, such as through providing assistance in school construction and water provision. Although some of the people were not able to benefit from such assistance, the constraints were not due to the way interventions were carried out. Rather, the exclusions were the result of factors beyond the control of the KVFP.

The impacts of the main KVFP activities, namely the seedling distribution, establishment of the VECC, and siting of the Mkonga demonstration forest varied.

Seedling distribution had limited positive impacts in terms of the survival rate of the trees. This was primarily because of the lack of a conducive environment for tree planting, namely the lack of water and the vulnerability to livestock and insects. Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages suffer from harsh living conditions when compared with many of the other villages covered by the KVFP. The team conducted a crosscheck at Kimonyu Village where there were schools, a hospital, milling machine, market and an adequate supply of domestic water. Discussions with the people of Kimonyu suggested that there has been some positive impacts from seedling distribution, particularly through the training of Village Extension Agents. As such, the same KVFP activities may have different outcomes depending on the conditions surrounding the people.

However, the findings also showed that the people of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini were generally enthusiastic about tree planting. The biggest accomplishment of the KVFP with regard to seedling distribution in these sub-villages was that the people have come to know that trees not only grow naturally, but can be planted by themselves. In that sense, the KVFP was instrumental in creating a turning point in the way people perceive reforestation activities.

The VECC proved to be more active in Kirinjiko Chini and functioned as a mediator between the people and the KVFP. Its effective liaison with the project resulted in attracting supplementary support by the KVFP. The VECC in Meserani was seen to be less active and almost no positive impacts were observed during the study. This may have been the result of the hasty formation of

the committee as mentioned in a study conducted by the KVFP¹⁴. Further exploration of this matter may be useful.

The team observed no negative impacts from the siting of the Mkonga demonstration forest. The cattle trough and water point for domestic use, which were provided as compensation for the lost grazing area, were highly appreciated by the people even though they did not associate them with the Mkonga demonstration forest.

Lastly, the study team acknowledged that the KVFP team was able to create a favorable relationship with the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages. It was clear that the KVFP did not confine its interactions with the villagers to the formal activities of the project. The KVFP responded to the needs of the people through both bold and subtle measures when assistance was sought. While the bold measures include assistance for school construction and access to water, the subtle measures include giving rides to people under emergency situations or relaying people's requests to the district office. For those living in remote areas, a series of such minor activities can contribute to establishing a solid relationship based on trust and respect. And these accomplishments can influence the level of people's interest and involvement in the formal activities of the project.

6-2 Lessons learned

(1) Multidimensionality of perspectives on poverty

The primary objective of this survey was to understand the "local people's perception of poverty."

What were found from the results of the survey were that "there are a wide variety of factors that constitute people's perceptions of poverty" and that "factors that constitute poverty differ by village even in the same region and by gender even in the same village." This result was anticipated to some extent, but is a point that should never be forgotten in planning future poverty measures.

There is one other point which was found from the survey results and should be taken into consideration in thinking of the future direction of donors' "poverty measures." It is a point that there are gaps between "a donor's perception of poverty" and "the local people's perception of

¹⁴ p.4. Problems Found in Initial Stage of PRA Practices: Findings and Recommendations. Project Working Paper No.14

poverty.”

One of the gaps is the point that an “increase of income” and “improvement of economic conditions,” which have been traditionally considered to be the presupposition of donors’ “poverty reduction” measures, do not always conform to people’s perceptions of poverty. Villagers hardly mentioned “money-related” factors in this survey on the perception of poverty*.

The second gap is the point that residents also hardly raised factors related to social justice (including “some concepts of democracy” summarized as “good governance”) such as “empowerment,” which the bilateral aid agencies of European countries and the United States and international agencies have emphasized in “poverty measures” in recent years. Perhaps, it should be considered at least subjectively that there is no logic connecting “empowerment” and “elimination of poverty.”

- * In this survey, the team did not ask the question, “Are you poor?” This is because the team was concerned that people would start an appeal competition (in anticipation of aid) by saying “I am poor to such an extent” if the team asked such a question. Instead, the team tried to reveal people’s perceptions of poverty by asking the following questions: “What kind of village is poor?” and “What kind of family is poor?” It is presumable that people are unlikely to mention money-related factors due to this.

(2) Impacts of the KVFP

The KVFP (Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project), which played a central role in this survey, is a Type-I “technical cooperation project that intervenes sectors.” However, since this project was not originally positioned as a “poverty measure” project, this survey on impact is absolutely a survey on what “incidental” or “indirect” impact project activities had on poverty-related factors by carrying out originally assumed activities (transfer/dissemination of afforestation technology, etc.). Therefore, the survey does not aim to evaluate activities related to poverty measures (which were not assumed at the beginning) under this project**.

The following were confirmed according to the results of this survey. First of all, various activities of the KVFP (as a matter of course) had hardly any direct impact on poverty reduction in the region. However, the effects by the peripheral activities of the project (construction of a water intake plant beside a nursery center, etc.), extra profits brought by the existence of Japanese

experts for the project (mediation to receive funds from donors other than JICA, etc.) and secondary activities by the existence and itinerancy of local counterparts in the region (communication of information to villages, riding the project cars of civil officers in other prefectural sectors) are strongly remembered by villagers. So it is true that there are positive impacts on the factors that constitute “poverty” from both subjective and objective viewpoints. However, it must be noted that these impacts are often based not on project design itself but on the personal efforts of individual experts on the spot. In other words, there is a high possibility that the impacts will not be accumulated as “institutional memory” if the situation remains as it is.

** There are often examples of “social development-related post evaluation” that incrementally include factors that were not assumed at the start of the project (for example, consideration of gender, consideration for the socially vulnerable, activities for dissemination to local residents) in the PDM and point out the “lack” of such views. Even if it were necessary to accumulate experience as institutional memory, which will be used as references for the future projects, it must be considered unfair to those who engaged in the project, in terms of “evaluation.” Such evaluation will not urge reflection but provoke a backlash among the persons concerned, much like criticism of the ODA by the mass media, and is not likely to contribute to improving aid in the end.

6-3 Recommendations concerning the future direction of poverty reduction projects

(1) What kind of aid will constitute “poverty measures”?

In the case of assuming the above recognition that “there are a wide variety of factors that constitute poverty,” what kind of “poverty measures” can donors come up with?

First of all, it is conceivable to conduct intervention by making up a project for an individual “sector” for each factor (raising opportunities for schools and education, access to medical care, procurement of potable water, acquirement of agricultural water, access to agricultural implements and fertilizers, access to the market, threat that livestock will catch a disease, lack of firewood and charcoal wood, etc.). This is JICA’s strong point, adopting a style of the past “technical cooperation” projects implemented by sector, and it cannot be denied that these projects have some meaning as “poverty measures” in this sense. However, in light of the point that “there are a wide variety of factors that constitute poverty,” it is predictable, as a matter of course, that approaches focusing on only one of the factors can have only a limited impact.

Secondly, approaches through intervention by combining some factors which are considered “basic human needs” and “basic minimum needs” among factors constituting poverty are conceivable. In the area of this survey, Christian church-affiliated NGOs are carrying out these activities based on pedigree records from the “missionary” age (for example, Lutheran and Caritas). The typical activities are “primary healthcare” activities centering on “public health centers (dispensaries/clinics)” and educational activities centering on “schools” as well as attempts for “regional development” by combining support such as “well digging.” It can be confirmed that these “traditional” approaches are extremely effective in improving the regional living conditions concerned. However, the effect cannot be expected to expand to other regions, and arbitrariness in the reason why a specific region is selected is undeniable. Therefore, it is anticipated to be difficult to give any reason for implementation thereof by the ODA.

Thirdly, some donors have been trying “small-scale financing (micro finance),” “food for work (employment for development work for income) and “vocational training” based on the assumption that “the lack of economic opportunities is the reason why the poor cannot escape poverty.” The examples of such activities are the “Pregnant Cow (hypha)” Lending Project by a U.S. NGO, entrustment of street clean-up to local women’s group by the GTZ and various projects for “poverty measures” supported by the UNDP, all of which directly intervene with “economic opportunities.” In these cases, “expertise” is unnecessary, and what is required is know-how for program management. Therefore, the project is not likely to be implemented directly by donors but likely to be implemented through local NGOs. The keys to success in these projects are how to decide “who the targets are” and how to cultivate sustainability after the withdrawal of donors during the project period. Japanese aid agencies have not accumulated know-how in these points.

Fourthly, the “empowerment (including projects for WID/GAD)” approach has been enjoying a boom in recent years. This coincides with the fact that international agencies including the UNDP, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank advocate relationships between “poverty” and “empowerment” in their policy papers. However, it is still under trial and error what form of projects actually lead to “poverty reduction.” Moreover, it can be found from the results of this survey that people in developing countries are not aware of any direct connection between “poverty” and “empowerment,” and such approach may encounter criticism stating that it is the imposition of a “donor’s perception (initiated by European and U.S. Christian value)” and “donor’s idealized vision.”

(2) Future “poverty measure” approach by JICA

There are a wide variety of factors that constitute poverty, and the factors are different according to regions, villages and sex. These facts indicate that “poverty measures” targeting only one sector are insufficient. There seems to be a move to drastically shift strategy to one based on the idea that “poverty reduction directly copes with poverty problems and covers all sectors” among some donors. However, isn’t there any other option?

The Tanzanian Government had defined “poverty reduction” as a national objective since the era of President Nyerere, father of his country, and the Government and many donors have tried various projects. A wide variety of projects are now under way around the Kilimanjaro Province. However, even when trying to implement projects that aim to “reduce poverty directly,” it is in all events difficult to cover all of the wide-variety of sectors. In the first place, it is difficult to define what “all factors” are in the context of the region concerned.

What are actually implemented are not projects covering all sectors but projects based on an approach in which they are started from a specific “entry point,” such as small-scale financing, the lending of livestock, primary health care, well digging and small-scale irrigation, and then gradually expand the scope of activities to periphery sectors. This strategy is considered to be practical.

If this is true, wouldn’t it be a more practical measure for JICA to formulate a mechanism to expand activities to periphery sectors according to actual regional conditions while taking “technical cooperation project to a sector” as an entry point than to bother starting a new “poverty measure” project? In order to formulate such mechanism, it is certainly necessary to approach it through project designing, into which not only the “technical experts” in the sector concerned but also the “regional experts” and “experts in social survey” are inputted at the stage of the preliminary survey to understand “actual regional conditions.” This approach also conforms to the direction of current “regional organizational changes” by JICA.

Secondly, it must be considered natural that a project operation “crosses sectors” while focusing on a specific sector. It is a matter of course that forestry experts play a core role in the forestry sector, medical experts in the health sector and agricultural experts in agriculture. If, however, the ultimate objective of the project is “poverty reduction” (Almost all past technical cooperation projects seem to have ultimately aimed at “poverty reduction.”), it is necessary to take a stance

of actively bringing in needs that have been found along with the progress of the project. Self-limitation as follows should not be placed without reflection: “Well digging is not appropriate as a forestry project”; “The founding of a school is questionable as a health and medical care project”; “The opening of class to increase literacy of women is not adapted to an agricultural project.”

Since poverty consists of many factors in the first place, such limitation even hinders the outcomes of activities in the original sector from emerging in the society concerned. (It is possible to assume cases such as where even if guidance on raising seedling were given, the women who take care of seedling could not understand the explanatory manual and where a village cannot procure water required to irrigate seedlings.)

(3) Cooperation and friendly competition among donors

This survey was carried out jointly by JICA and the UNDP. The fact that “poverty” and “Africa” were selected as the themes of the survey indicates the high attention to these themes in the donor circle. It is said that the World Bank’s “Development Report” will deal with “poverty” as the main theme for this fiscal year, the Asian Development Bank announced a strategy that “all activities are to be consolidated into poverty,” and other donors are increasing attention to “poverty.” “Poverty reduction” is certainly the most radical task for development aid. However, why has this come to be specially emphasized now? Behind this fact are circumstances, the “aid fatigue” and the “exhaustion of aid funds” of European and U.S. donors; and aptitude as “fashion,” which is regularly transmitted by the development industry to raise interest among the public, is undeniable. Japan has so far provided aid after being “given” such issues set by European and the U.S. donors, and has accumulated experience as a donor by catching up with them.

The donor circle is now interested in a “direct and overall approach to poverty” and a “sector-wide approach (Donors pool aid resources for a specific sector of one country in common).” In this context, the “technology transfer-focused approach,” “infrastructure-building approach” and “loan aid” in Japanese aid are likely to be criticized as “out of date” and “isolated” strategies. Japan cannot effectively argue against such criticism since Japanese aid agencies are not sufficiently “armed with theories” (This is not merely due to the lack of aid agencies’ efforts but due to the absence of overall “development studies”).

For example, regarding “poverty measures,” there is actually no theoretical logic that proves a

clear connection between the “multidimensionality of factors that constitute poverty” and the “necessity of the empowerment approach” which are described in documents prepared by the UNDP and the World Bank.

It is certainly true that Japan’s past approach focusing on “technology” and “infrastructure” lacked consideration to social aspects. Japan must reflect on this fact and make improvements. However, this fact does not directly mean that approaches focusing on “technology” and “infrastructure” do not contribute to “poverty reduction.” This can never be a reason for considering a shift from “technical cooperation project” to “poverty measure project” inevitable either. There may be some cases where a grounded technology transfer with sufficient social consideration is more useful than groundless humanism.

The matter of necessity is to enhance practical, theoretical dialogue on “poverty reduction” among donors. For example, JICA should promote arming with studies and theories that clarify the “logic of connection between technology transfer and poverty reduction” (This should not be, certainly, a bureaucratic composition to defend “Japanese-style aid”).

European and U.S. donors come up with aid strategies one after another based on their experience, values and the analysis of current conditions as well as their own political and social conditions behind these. As a member of the donor circle, Japan is asked neither to cater to these strategies nor to merely oppose them, but is requested to transmit unique aid strategies as a unique donor that has a different cultural background and a history of being a “developing country.” JICA and Japan are truly requested to make an “international contribution” by positioning the “joint valuation survey” conducted with international agencies including the UNDP or other bilateral donors as a place for transmitting such strategies and “to increase ability” as a donor.

APPENDIX

- I. List of People Visited by the Team
- II. Poverty Reduction in JICA and the UNDP's Cooperation
- III. International Efforts in Poverty Reduction in Tanzania
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- V. Analysis of the Individual Patterns of the Ten Stones Exercise
- VI. Impact Assessment Methodology
- VII. Interview Guide for Impact Assessment
- VIII. Records of the Impact Assessment
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Appendix I

List of People Visited by the Team

Office of the Vice President, Government of Tanzania

Mr. Pascal Assey, Head, Department of Poverty Alleviation

Office of the District Commissioner, Government of Tanzania

Mr. G. Moshi, Personnel Officer

Office of the District Executive Director

Mr. Malya, Personnel Officer

Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP) Team

Mr. Naoto Noda, Team Leader

Ms. Yukiko Maki, Extension Advisor/Coordinator

Mr. Joseph M. Butuyuyu, Project Manager

Mr. M. E. Makupa, Head, Extension Section

Ms. Dorothy L. Mwanga, Assistant Head of Extension Section

Ms. Raphia H. Koshuma, Gender Specialist

Mr. Maggid

Mr. L. O. Chegere, Head, Nursery Section

Kilimanjaro Agricultural Training Center (KATC) Team

Mr. Noboru Koibuchi, Team Leader, KATC

Mr. Takashi Nakagawa, KATC

Mr. Kiyoshi Shiratori, Agricultural Extension and Training, KATC

UNDP Tanzania Office

Ms. Sally Fegan-Wyles, UNDP Resident Representative

Mr. Christopher A. Mushi, Programme Analyst, Poverty Eradication Unit

Ms. Kumiko Sakamoto, Monitoring Systems Expert, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit

UNICEF

Mr. Bjorn Ljungqvist, Representative

Mr. Augustine Obeleagu Agu, Head of Unit, Education and Child Development

GTZ

Dr. Lothar Diehl, Director

Mr. K. Schneider, Advisor to Regional Engineers, Road Maintenance Project

Embassy of Sweden (SIDA)

Dr. Jan Lindström, First Secretary

WFP

Ms. Irene Lacy, Representative

OXFAM

Mr. Roger Yates, Water and Sanitation Coordinator

KARITUS, Same Diocese

Mr. Orest Issae, Assistant Coordinator

Sr. Leonarda Mbwambo, WAWATA Official

Mr. Mziray, Project Coordinator, Nutrition Project

Heifer Project

Mr. Samuel Golugwa

Programme Accountant

Maarifa ni Ufunguo

Ms. Kate Dyer, Executive Chairperson

KKKT, Same Diocese

Mr. Mark Lever, Secretary General

Embassy of Japan

Mr. Keitaro Sato, Ambassador

Mr. Tomohiko Taminato, Second Secretary

JICA Tanzania Office

Mr. Shinya Nakai, Resident Representative

Mr. Shinichiro Futami, Assistant Resident Representative

Mr. Eiji Shibasaki, Coordinator of JOCV

Mr. Jackson M. Biswaro, Chief Programme Officer

Appendix II

Poverty Reduction in JICA and the UNDP's Cooperation

1. Poverty reduction and evaluation in JICA's cooperation

JICA Experience

JICA has been striving to establish effective approaches of intervention against "poverty" through its projects. The first such undertaking was to form an aid study group on poverty, which produced the "Study for Development Assistance-Poverty" in 1990. It emphasized the necessity of going beyond the basic human needs approach, in such a manner as to promote development particularly with the participation of the local people.

The group recommended an increase in the substantial poverty eradication project (especially those containing direct countermeasures for the poor through community participation) in order to reinforce JICA's implementation system to host such trials, streamline JICA's cooperation in selected sectors to continuously support individual efforts, strengthen a learning process approach in project formation and implementation, and promote joint research in poverty with partner countries¹. It also presented a guideline to make such recommendations concrete. With the above recommendations in mind, JICA developed a guidebook for poverty issues in 1993. Several other researches have also been conducted with specific interests and viewpoints².

On the ground, initial trials to realize the fruits of those studies have commenced. The first case was carried out in the Philippines from 1991. Since then, two in Indonesia and one each in the Philippines and Nepal have been started. They usually aim at rural development with the local communities' participation, together with the capacity building of the local authorities of partner countries. In addition, the new initiative to enable JICA to directly support local and international NGOs was launched in 1997³. It is expected to facilitate JICA's contributions to the improvement of social welfare and poverty reduction at the grass-roots level.

Role of Evaluation

As is mentioned above, those attempts are still in their initial stages. As a result, JICA has

¹ Issue-wise study "POVERTY", July 1990, JICA.

² Poverty and countermeasures: local community and importance in enhancing its social capacity, 1994, JICA, and the Utilization of social capacity in development cooperation projects, 1995, JICA.

³ It is called the "Community Empowerment Program". It places a particular emphasis on community development, support for the elderly, the disabled and child welfare, health and hygiene improvement, women's empowerment, improvement of living environments, capacity building and promotion of local industries.

not been able to evaluate their impact on the poor in partner countries. Monitoring and at-completion evaluations have been carried out in some cases but it is still too early to present lessons for organization-wide learning.

To benefit from evaluation exercises, JICA needs to sharpen the targeting and planned outcomes of interventions, i.e. who the beneficiaries of the project are, what kind of changes should be brought to them by participating in project planning and implementation, and so on. Too often in the past they had been so vague that an evaluation could not demonstrate persuasive results and lessons. This would be more true in the case of poverty reduction projects.

At the same time, the focus on poverty and the impact of project activities on beneficiaries' life improvements should be strategically contained and strengthened in monitoring and evaluation activities. Experiences as such will provide insights of effective approaches for poverty reduction in future cooperation in different sectors and projects. Such efforts in both project design and evaluation are indispensable to reinforcing the overall performance of the organization towards poverty reduction.

To move forward in this direction, there are some difficulties to be overcome. The biggest problem is to develop a monitoring and evaluation method on poverty measurement which can be mainstreamed in various types of evaluations. In the international arena, it has been said that assessment and evaluation on poverty should focus not only on a collective basis, such as regions and villages as well as an economic term, but also on individuals and the social dimensions of poverty ("context")⁴. The Evaluation Study, JICA's first attempt in this direction, maintains a similar viewpoint.

However, such an approach consumes both time and energy, especially with the absence of a good level of knowledge of the context (including local language and culture) and relationship with the local people. Monitoring and evaluation studies of the projects or programs, whose primary purposes are not stated as poverty reduction, usually are not allowed to have enough time nor human resources for such an investigation. Therefore, more simplified measures should also be explored for such cases in the future.

2. Poverty Reduction and Evaluation in the United Nations Development Programme

In 1994, the UNDP defined Sustainable Human Development (SHD), its core mandate, as

⁴ One of such example is "Consultations with the Poor," a participatory poverty assessment study by the World Bank for the World Development Report 2000/01.

"development that not only generates economic growth but also distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalizing them. It gives priority to the poor, increasing their choices and opportunities, and provides for their participation in decisions affecting them." The links between the concept of SHD and poverty are, thus, clear. Since 1994, the UNDP has continued to sharpen its focus on poverty eradication and on reducing "human poverty" – defined as the denial of choices and opportunities for living a tolerable life.⁵ In 1995, the Executive Board made poverty eradication the UNDP's "overriding priority."

The UNDP's championing of the concept of Human Development and the multidimensional concept of poverty have been most visible in its Human Development Reports (HDR). First published in 1990, these reports have served as a forum for developing and establishing the concept of Human Development. While the contribution of each of the HDRs to poverty alleviation strategies has been critical, the 1997 report is particularly important. The 1997 HDR focused on poverty itself, providing both a more comprehensive definition of poverty and an operational tool in the form of the Human Poverty Index. The HDRs have also been instrumental in shaping the UNDP's own policy for supporting programme countries to eradicate poverty. The HDR has been especially valuable in contributing to policy dialogue in poverty reduction at the national level. The first set of National Human Development Reports appeared in 1994 in Eastern Europe and CIS programme countries, and by 1998, 114 countries had produced such reports.⁶ These reports have prompted new attention to poverty in each country, collecting data and analysing policy at the national level.

A mid-term review of the UNDP fifth-cycle (1992-1996) poverty programmes highlighted both the constraints and challenges for the UNDP. The review found that while in principle poverty reduction was the main thrust of the UNDP's policies, the organisation still needed a UNDP-wide operational definition of poverty. The evaluation team stressed the UNDP's main comparative advantage as "facilitator: coordinating/mobilising international assistance to build the capacity for development and implementation of national policy and for replication of micro-interventions."⁷ Within this context of the UNDP's strengths, the review recommended that the UNDP concentrate on capacity building and supporting national poverty programmes, stressing replicability and coherence in its programmes.

The UNDP has responded to this review by placing a new emphasis on learning and

⁵ 1997 Human Development Report, pg. 2.

⁶ UNDP Annual Report 1998, DRAFT, pg. 8.

⁷ Godfrey, Martin et al. Building the Capacity to Prevent Poverty: UNDP as Facilitator (Mid-Term Evaluation of UNDP's Fifth Cycle Poverty Alleviation Programme), October 1994, pg. 37.

monitoring, establishing clear programme goals, and by transforming the UNDP into a results-driven organization.

UNDP Poverty Policy

In 1999, the UNDP produced a Strategic Results Framework (SRF) for each of its major areas of intervention: Poverty Eradication, Creating an Enabling Environment for SHD, Support to the UN, Gender, the Environment, Management, and Special Development Situations. Each SRF states the UNDP's goals and sub-goals in that given area, lists indicators for monitoring and delineates specific areas of support. Headquarters elaborated draft versions of these SRFs, which, following testing in 10 pilot countries, were revised and sent to the country offices for completion. The country offices have subsequently completed these frameworks such that they reflect the results generated by the country programmes.

The SRF for poverty eradication and sustainable livelihood articulates the policy focus of the UNDP; within which UNDP underlines that poverty is a global and multidimensional phenomenon that must be addressed in all its manifestations. Poverty reduction is primarily seen as the responsibility of the governments of programme countries, with support and advocacy by the UNDP. The SRF also fully commits the UNDP to the goals and follow-up of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) for the eradication of extreme poverty and the reduction of overall poverty.

To this end, the UNDP will work to disseminate knowledge on poverty issues and lessons learned from poverty reduction programmes and projects, develop strategic partnerships with national and external actors and support the mobilization of additional resources for poverty reduction initiatives. In the area of assessment, the UNDP is committed to measuring the results, in terms of achieving specific objectives, of the poverty reduction activities funded under its national, regional and global programmes. Relevant indicators will be monitored at all levels and adjusted according to constraints perceived in their application.

The overall goal of the UNDP in the Poverty SRF is therefore stated as eradicating extreme poverty and substantially reducing overall poverty (the UNDP shares in the OECD/DAC target of reducing extreme poverty by 50% by the year 2015), with the added sub-goals of:

- (i) *promoting poverty-focused development*, which includes advancing adequately financed anti-poverty plans and policies, making poverty the central focus of national development planning and macroeconomic policies, supporting poverty-focused systems of social protection, incorporating time-bound goals and participatory assessments in the monitoring of human and income poverty;

- (ii) *increasing the poor's access to assets and resources*, with particular attention to access to basic services, employment, natural resources, and skills, and support for pro-poor structural reforms, including land and housing tenure; and
- (iii) *reducing the vulnerability of the poor* by supporting their mobilisation and organisation, especially self-organization, developing the capacity of civil society, and promoting legal reforms that ensure improved access.

While the poverty-focused SRF directly tackles UNDP goals with respect to poverty, the links to poverty in the other SRFs are clearly demonstrated. Each SRF links the work of the UNDP in that area to poverty, through areas of support that include the need to increase the poor's access to markets and assets, decision-making mechanisms, basic services and to decrease their vulnerability to adverse circumstances. For example, the SRF for gender equality ranks achieving women's access to and control over economic and social assets and resources as its second sub-goal. Additionally, the SRF for the environment lists promoting the poor's access to natural resource assets as a key sub-goal. The desired impact on the poor is therefore clearly stated and reflected in each SRF.

With the SRFs in place and supported by strong indicators and organisation-wide commitment, the UNDP is poised to realistically meet its goals in poverty reduction and contribute to the policy environment.

The UNDP Experience

At the policy level, the UNDP, under the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC), formulated the first ever joint Statement of Commitment for Action to Eradicate Poverty. In 1998, the UNDP also published the first issue of "Overcoming Human Poverty," an annual global report on the progress of programme countries and the UNDP in implementing the commitments made to poverty eradication at the WSSD in Copenhagen.

Work at the policy level has raised a number of important issues and areas of work for the UNDP:

- (i) *Definitions of Poverty*

One of the UNDP's priorities has been to implement a multi-dimensional approach to poverty eradication, including policy and operational linkages between poverty, macroeconomics, environmental management, gender equality, and governance. At the policy level, the UNDP advocates for the concept of human poverty and promotes national government recognition of this multi-dimensional approach.

(ii) *Growth, Macroeconomic Adjustment and Human Poverty*

Whether in the context of the structural adjustment experience in Africa or looking at the recent South East Asian financial crisis, the UNDP has promoted the need for positive linkages between growth, macroeconomic stabilisation and poverty reduction. In looking at these linkages, a definite correlation between growth and poverty reduction is apparent. However, when it comes to reducing poverty through growth some patterns are better than others.

(iii) *Global Paradigms and National Realities*

Another important lesson emerging from the UNDP's work in policy has been the importance of properly applying global lessons to country-specific situations. While the importance of coherent strategies and a global perspective are clear, the importance of reflecting country conditions is even more compelling.

Pro-poor policies are of course necessary but not sufficient. Experience indicates that more direct interventions are critical in addressing the causes and symptoms of poverty. Accordingly, the UNDP has set out programme goals at the meso and micro levels as well as at the policy level.

At the meso and micro level, the UNDP provides a range of interventions in support of poverty eradication. The UNDP interventions include qualitative poverty assessments, household surveys and poverty maps, poverty reduction strategies and programmes, analyses of social spending and aid flows to basic services, national human development reports, capacity development for poverty reduction planning, and social mobilisation and constituency building. A few main issues emerge.

(i) *Community Empowerment and Social Mobilisation*

The UNDP's experience suggests that community anti-poverty programmes should be firmly based on "social mobilisation." Once mobilised, people can dictate the directions in which they wish to move, address the sources of their deprivation, such as lack of economic and political power, and affect the national agenda. Experience has shown that poor communities do not need to be led; as opportunities emerge, they will produce their own leaders and set their own directions.

(ii) *Expanding Opportunities*

The UNDP has become increasingly involved in supporting micro-credit, training micro-entrepreneurs and creating linkages between the micro and the macro. These forms of interventions are well-documented and have demonstrated positive outcomes worldwide, especially for women.

(iii) *Building Human Capabilities*

Another critical group of interventions for poverty reduction builds upon people's human

capabilities, by promoting literacy, improving nutrition, or enhancing health. For the poorest, these interventions are often the most critical and the most valuable.

A Critical Role for Evaluations

In evaluation, our focus is now on the contribution that the UNDP is making towards achieving specific development outcomes. The focus on outcomes has been sharpened by the application of result-based management in the UNDP and the establishment of more specific goals and areas of interest in the SRFs. This approach also highlights the importance of solid and enduring partnerships, without which it is not possible to attain positive and sustainable progress on development outcomes. As such, this also places a high priority on joint evaluations for collectively learning about key development outcomes, especially those arising from global conferences and the follow-up to WSSD.

In the UNDP, the Evaluation Office (EO) is seeking to promote the following emphases:

- (1) **Strategic and thematic evaluations.** The structure of the UNDP's strategic result frameworks provide us with an opportunity to assess progress in specific areas and relate it to organizational policy and practice.
- (2) The assessments carried out so far by the UNDP on the new poverty approaches have been project-or programme-specific. We need to go to the next step by looking at specific issues of interest and by systematically bringing together what we have learned. These analyses can then be used to **promote a broader, more experience-based dialogue** on many of the key issues in front of us in the promotion and implementation of what has been referred to as "the new poverty approaches."
- (3) The EO intends to carry out **independent impact assessments** at the country level choosing a specific area or concern, such as capacity building. The first pilot assessment was launched this year, and two more are planned. The pilots will test the methodology on how best to undertake such assessments. Impact is notoriously difficult to document and assess. We need to develop good analytical tools for us to move ahead in this area. All too often, many impact assessments, particularly at the project level, tend to be anecdotal in nature and of limited global interest.
- (4) **Joint Evaluations.** The EO is committed to partnerships in the areas of interest. We have initiated such partnerships with UN agencies, especially funds and programmes of the UN, and with the Bank. We are of course mindful of the high transaction costs involved for such joint evaluations; we are nonetheless convinced that this is the way to go for the future. As such, the UNDP is highly supportive of the DAC in its attempts to promote joint evaluations.

Appendix III

International Efforts in Poverty Reduction in Tanzania

1. International trends in poverty mainstreaming

Despite the half-century long efforts of development cooperation, there still remain 1.3 billion people living in absolute poverty. They are mainly people in the least developed countries in Africa and Asia. The DAC 21st Century Strategy sets forth the ambitious goal of halving the population in absolute poverty by the year 2015. The diminishing aid budgets, particularly, of the G7 countries compels the DAC member countries to use aid resources to maximize development effects. In this context, poverty reduction has become the highest priority issue not only in the developing countries but in the donor community as well. Japan is no exception. Japan has clearly stated, in its Medium-Term Policy on ODA announced in August 1999, that it will assist developing countries in their efforts to improve policy formulation and implementation capabilities and to comprehensively address poverty alleviation. It also emphasized software-oriented cooperation such as the development of institutions that will promote the distribution of the benefits of economic development to impoverished populations.

2. Bilateral and Multilateral donors' policies, strategies and activities aimed at poverty reduction in Tanzania

The **UNDP** plays a pivotal role in coordinating donor approaches in poverty reduction in Tanzania. It has been working closely with the Vice President's Office of the Government of Tanzania (GOT), which has been responsible for formulating 1) strategies, 2) indicators and 3) plans of action for poverty reduction since 1995 when it started up its poverty reduction program with a grant of \$13 million. This program included:

- (1) study tours to Mauritania, Indonesia and Latin American countries, which have succeeded in poverty reduction;
- (2) a study on the poor's access to credit;
- (3) a community-based initiative program with the cooperation of UNV in which CBO's are given credit for petty trade and cottage industries;
- (4) support for refugee hosting areas, which accept refugees from Brundi and Rwanda; and
- (5) the National Income Generation Program (NIGP) which is designed to support the private sector.

The NIGP is an autonomous trust fund established by the GOT with the assistance of external donors. It is an important facility for the GOT to address poverty issues and for international

donors both governmental and non-governmental to coordinate their inputs. Sixteen donors and 68 local NGO's participate in this program. The UNDP coordinates donor funding. The UNDP also supported the GOT's Vice President Office in preparing a set of poverty indicators including those related to food security, water and education. The selected indicators will be used to assess the impact of activities to be carried out under Tanzania's National Poverty Eradication Strategy.

Other international organizations such as **UNICEF** and **WFP** are also active in poverty-related assistance in their respective mandates. As an agency that cares for children in developing countries, UNICEF is concerned with children who are out of school for poverty reasons. It has set up two out-of-school centers for poor children in Tanzania, which provide flexible curriculum for them. It also conducts an immunization program for children with health risks. Such an intervention is done in 54 districts, half of the nation, with a view to protecting children against HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other infectious diseases. In terms of monitoring its activities, UNICEF subscribes to 8 indicators including literacy, school enrollment, the infant mortality rate, nutrition, HIV prevalence, and household income.

The WFP is concerned with food security in Tanzania, as is the mandate of the organization. In the disaster or emergency stage it provides free food mostly in the form of white maize. But in normal situations it employs community-based approaches which enable local communities to form a committee to design projects to be implemented under the food-for-work scheme, such as building schools, and to identify the poor group of people to whom priority should be given in food distribution. Knowing that too much intervention in food supply may discourage local production of the food item given in aid, WFP normally starts from a small-scale pilot project.

Bilateral donors such as **JICA** and the **GTZ** are trying to integrate poverty components in designing and implementing their projects rather than conducting poverty-specific projects. JICA's Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project, which is a case in point in this evaluation exercise, is one of such projects. Another example is the GTZ's Road Maintenance Project based in Arusha. In this project the GTZ makes it mandatory that 30 to 40 percent of the laborers employed by the project must be poor women living near the site. Those women are engaged in light jobs such as grass cutting, cleaning of culverts and tree planting on the roadside. And what is more, the seedlings for tree planting are cultivated in nearby schools, and the GTZ rewards those schools by constructing classrooms for them.

3. Policies, strategies, and activities of international and local NGO's active in poverty reduction in Tanzania

Church-affiliated organizations play a significant role in combating poverty in Tanzania. The

KKKT has more of a religious orientation. Its strategy is to sensitize people on spiritual needs rather than material ones. However, it carries out a number of activities aimed at improving people's economic status. They vary from the promotion of agro-forestry, offering of high grade milking cows, food for work, health care, and education. The CARITUS, a major Roman Catholic organization also emphasizes spiritual aspects of people but it aims to develop them to be economically sound as well. The organization's aid strategy is to empower people through food for work and to support women through the provision of loans. CARITUS is also concerned with afforestation and terrace farming.

Unlike church-related NGO's that work mainly on the small project basis, major western NGO's such as OXFAM seem to be inclined to play advocacy or policy support roles. Their strategy is to build the capacity of local NGO's by giving expert advice and holding seminars. For instance, OXFAM is supporting a local NGO based in Arusha which advocates for equitable, accessible and affordable good-quality education.

Appendix IV

Defining Poverty in Swahili

List of questions that can be asked during the focused group interview.

1. Ni mambo gani unahitaji kuwa nayo ili uwe na maisha ya kawaida ya kila siku? (What are the essential needs to lead a normal life?)
2. (Who do you think is poor? Why do you think s/he is poor? What keeps them poor?)
3. Ni kitongoji gani unayoweza kusema kuwa ni maskini? (What kind of village (community) is poor?)
4. Tuna maadui watatu hapa nchini, Ujinga, Umaskini na Maradhi. Ni familia ya namna gani tunayoweza kusema ina hali ya umaskini? (We have 3 enemies in this country: poverty, poor health, and illiteracy. Which family suffers from poverty?)
5. Ni mtu wa namna gani tunaweza kusema ana hali ya umaskini? (What kind of person do you think suffers from poverty?)

A question that can be asked during the wrap-up.

1. Ni watu gani wanastahili kupata msamaha wa ada za shule au uchangiaji wa matibabu? ñNi sawa sawa na wale mliotaja kuwa ni maskini? (Who qualifies for exemptions for school and health care fees? Are they the same people that we defined as poor?)

Appendix V

Analysis of the Individual Patterns of the Ten Stones Exercise

During the ten stones exercise, the voting pattern of each individual was recorded with the intention of observing how different individuals perceived poverty. The results were analyzed by studying the relationships between the voting patterns and the participants' designations within the village, such as the Village Chairperson, Women's Group Member, etc. However, the team was not able to discuss the voting patterns with the informants due to time constraints. As a result, the following analysis is based on the assumptions made by the team.

Meserani Men

- Out of the 4 school-related committee members (School Committee, Kindergarten Committee, and School Building Committee), nobody except 1 person belonging to the School Building Committee placed any stones under the keyword "school." This person placed 4 stones, according highest priority on it. An individual who could not afford school fees placed 3 stones, thus according second highest priority. This perhaps implies that the member of the School Building Committee considers "(the presence of) school" as the most important aspect of poverty, probably due to his own involvement in the construction process. On the other hand, the members of other school-related committees who are more involved in the management side of the school had considered other keywords such as "water" and "hospital/dispensary" to be more important.
- A Village Committee member placed 2 stones under "hospital," "water," "road," "school," and "keeping animals." All of these keywords were ranked high by the other informants. Thus, his selection of these keywords with equal weight suggests that he shares his concerns with many of the other sub-villagers.
- A Water Group member placed the highest score on the keyword "water."

Meserani Women

- A petty trader placed 4 stones under "water" and 3 stones under both "hospital" and "road," showing that she placed equal importance over the latter two keywords. Having a good road is important to her, because she travels to the market once a week for her trading activities.
- Another petty trader placed 2 stones under "water," "hospital," "road," "livestock medicine," and "school." Although the first three keywords attracted 75% of the votes (30%, 28%, and 17%, respectively), "livestock medicine" and "school" received 7.5% and 5.1% of the total votes. However, a woman placed equal importance on all of them. Reviewing her background, one can see why she values the role of cattle as an asset. She started her petty trade business by selling her cattle that she received from her brother. It may be that she sees a stronger relationship between "livestock" and poverty. With regard to school, two of her

children are currently attending school and that may be the reason why she placed equal importance on the keyword “school.”

Kirinjiko Chini men

- A man placed 2 stones under “farming” and 1 stone under “food supply,” which is consistent with his background as a farmer who grows cassava, sugarcane and bananas. He accorded the highest priority on water as he said he is worried about the drought affecting his ability to earn cash through farm products.
- Two people voted on “good housing.” One of them was living with his daughter and son-in-law while building his own house at the time of the interview. It may have been that building a new house was one of his priorities at the time and looking at his own living arrangements, he may have considered himself poor for not having his own place.
- Another man voted three stones for “dispensary,” according highest importance on it alongside the keyword “water.” This may be because his daughter and her husband had been ill in the past and they stayed at Same until they recovered. Although this happened before he joined the young couple in Kirinjiko Chini, he may have felt the need for a dispensary in the sub-village.
- A School Committee member man voted only 2 stones for “school.” He accorded the most importance on “clean water.” As a member of the School Committee, he considered the lack of water a hindrance to school construction.
- The VECC Chairperson gave the highest score to the keyword “dispensary.” He was one of only two people who considered “dispensary” more important than “clean water.” When discussing the issue of seedling distribution, he emphasized the medicinal use of the tree. It may be that he is concerned with the lack of access to medicines within the sub-village. At the same time, he may be conscious about his own role as the VECC Chairperson. As he is in a position to transmit village requests to the KVFP, he may have assumed that now that the sub-village has the school, the cattle trough, and the water point for domestic water use, the next tangible assistance would be a dispensary.

Kirinjiko Chini Women

- The Women’s Group Chairperson, voted 5 stones for “poor cooperation.” Considering her role as the Chairperson, her emphasis on the importance of cooperation among sub-villagers was not surprising.
- A woman said that some women are not able to join the Women’s Group because of their heavy workload at home. She thought that the sub-village needed better access to water, a hospital and a milling machine, as this will lessen women’s workload. However, she did not vote for “hospital” or “milling machine.” Perhaps she thought that improved cooperation among the sub-villagers would lead to development within the community, resulting in

improved access to basic services.

- A VECC member woman was one of the two women who did not cast a vote for “water.” She gave the highest score to “school” and “milling machine.” During an interview, She said that she normally uses the mountain water source and resorts to the KVFP water point when the mountain source dries up. She also mentioned that the KVFP had provided the water necessary for the construction of the school. It may be that access to water is not as serious a problem to her when compared with other issues.
- Another woman gave the most points to the keyword “school.” Out of her 5 children, 3 are enrolled in school. All of them are living away from home because there is no school nearby. During an interview, she explained that the benefit of having school in the village is that children would be able to live at home, helping mothers with chores and becoming less susceptible to delinquency.
- A petty trader woman voted 2 stones for “livestock disease.” She started her petty trade business about 5 years ago after many of her cattle died due to the drought and disease. She earned the starting capital by selling milk. This may have been the reason why she accorded importance to the well being of livestock.

Impact Assessment Methodology

1. Approach of impact assessment

The underlying principle of the study was to solicit the subjective perspectives of people and to understand their assessment of the impact of the KVFP on their lives. This is in contrast with conventional impact assessments conducted from the perspective of outsiders where questions are asked about project-specific activities, which often end up confining discussions within the boundary of what the evaluators are seeking. Therefore, the primary role of the evaluators in this study was to make it easier for the people to bring up issues that they consider to have affected their lives, either positively or negatively.

2. Method of impact assessment

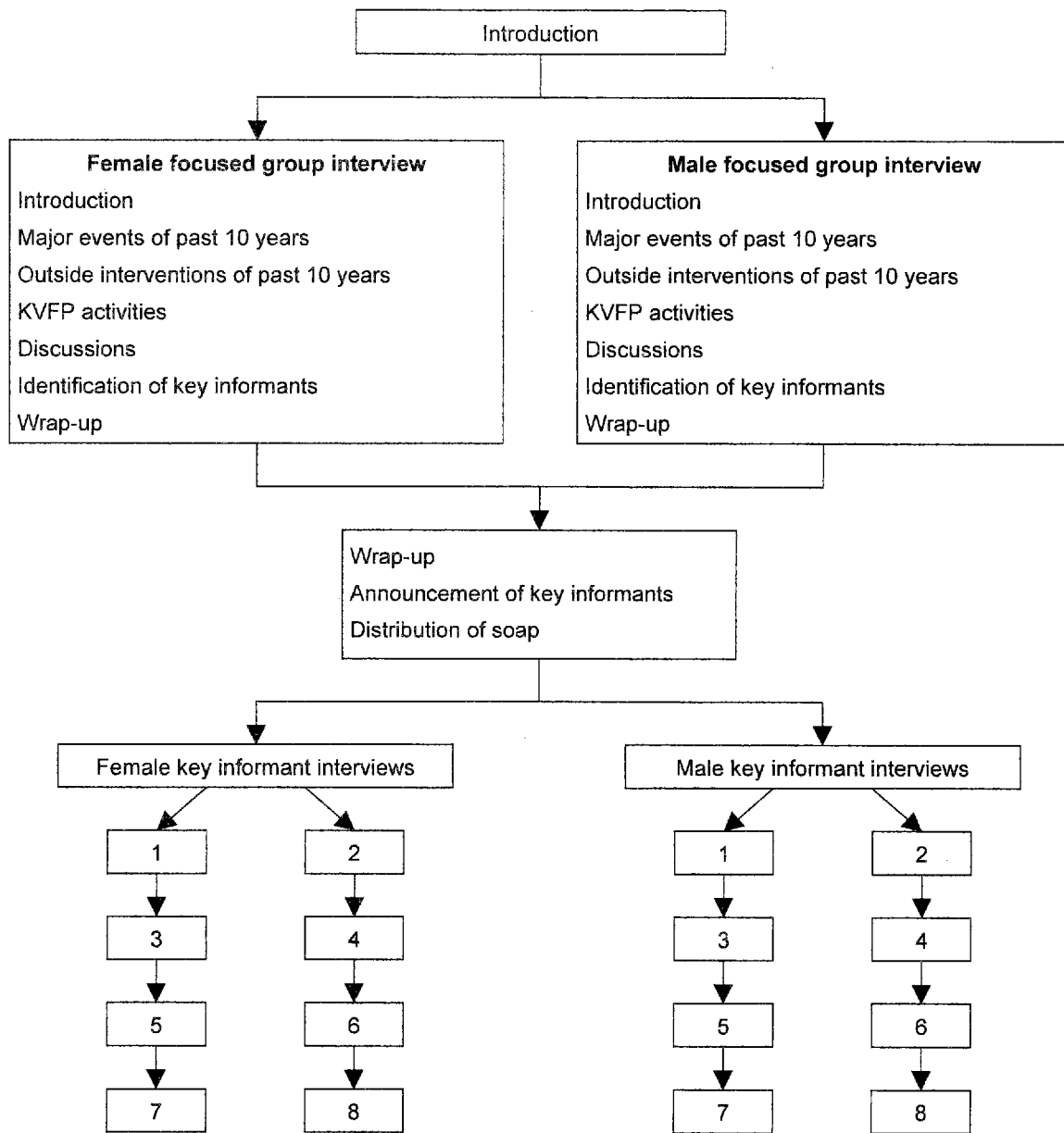
In order to put the above principle into practice, the study was designed in accordance with the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) approach. The commonly accepted definition of RRA states that it is a set of techniques used by development practitioners, originally in rural areas, to collect and analyze data in a relatively short period of time and with fewer costs, as compared with the more conventional social science approaches. Such techniques are attractive when the aim is not to capture precise figures but to elicit the knowledge of the local people about issues concerning their lives and perspectives. The evaluation team decided to adopt the RRA approach because it is a flexible approach that allows the team to explore people's ideas and issues that may not have been anticipated in designing the study. Moreover, past experiences using rapid appraisal methods, especially the key informant interview and focus group interview, show that they are particularly effective in answering the "why" and "how" questions about people's lives and perceptions. Understanding the motivations and reasoning behind people's actions is a prerequisite for generating practical suggestions and recommendations for future project activities.

The specific information sources and activities employed during the impact assessment include the following:

Information sources and activities	Description
secondary data, maps, and reports for background information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • review of project documents, working papers, study reports
incident histories from KVFP staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interviews and formal/informal discussions with KVFP staff
focus group interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus groups were recruited to conduct free listing exercises and to discuss the impacts of the events that occurred in the village within the last 10 years
free listing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subjects were asked to list all of the major events as well as outside interventions that occurred within the last 10 years
semi-structured key informant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • key informants in this study were selected during the focus group interviews and were interviewed with interview guides that list topics and the issues to be covered
direct observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evaluation team members recorded information about people's lives through observation and conversations during field visits, including overnight stays in two villages

The impact assessment was conducted in the sub-villages of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini. All discussions and interviews were moderated or conducted by KVFP C/P staff and the local consultant, while two Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) participated as interpreters and the evaluation team members managed the process. Two moderators with one leading the process and the other taking notes conducted each focused group interview. One person responsible for both interviewing and note-taking conducted the key informant interviews. In all of these sessions, an interpreter took notes in Japanese so that a JICA evaluation team member could use the notes to follow the process and intervene only when necessary.

The flow-chart below shows the framework of the impact assessment process.



Plenary Introduction

The KVFP staff informed the Village Chairpersons of both villages about the impact assessment study in advance and were asked to gather 10 women and 10 men as informants. Upon arrival of the study team, a plenary introduction session took place. The objective of the study was explained to all informants and they were divided into men and women's focus groups.

Focus group interviews

Prior to starting the sessions, moderators reviewed the poverty keywords and kept them in mind during the interviews in order to assess to what degree the people's lives were affected by the activities of the KVFP. The two focus group interviews of men and women were conducted simultaneously and lasted approximately two hours. At the beginning of each session, the moderators asked the informants to give their names and mention any designations held within the village, such as Village Chairperson, Women's Group member, teacher, etc.

Free listing of major events

Following the interview guide (attachment x), moderators requested that the informants list three major events, such as natural disasters or disease outbreaks, that took place within the last ten years. The study team selected the specific time frame of ten years because the KVFP had started in 1991. The objective of listing the major events was to identify key years that would assist in jogging the informants' memories so that they could come up with outside interventions during the next step. The informants were reminded that they did not need to be overly concerned with providing the exact years or selecting the type of events. Rather, the listing of any major events that they considered significant and the approximate timing were sufficient for this exercise. With some assistance by the moderators, several events were brought up and recorded on a large piece of paper put up on the wall as in diagram x.x below.

1996/96	drought
1998	bush fires burned houses
1998	El-Nino (heavy) rains

Through this process, timelines were constructed to assist the informants in the next step. At the same time, it demonstrated valuable information about what people perceived to be major events in each village and the differences in perceptions between men and women. The results and analysis are elaborated under 7.3 and 7.4, respectively.

Free listing of outside interventions

The moderators requested that the informants list all outside interventions that took place within the last ten years. The intention behind this question was to understand what assistance

has been provided to the villages and what aspects of people's perceived poverty were addressed by such interventions. The moderators explained that the term "outsiders" referred to anyone other than the villagers and it may include government agencies, NGOs, religious groups, donors and individuals. No specific reference was made to the KVFP, because the study team wished to observe how the people perceived KVFP activities. The assumption was that any KVFP activity with either negative or positive impact on the lives of people would be brought up without the team's probing. In the same token, KVFP activities without much significance to the people's lives were not expected to be listed.

Occasionally referring to the timelines, the informants listed the activities initiated by outsiders within the last ten years. An example of a completed timeline is shown below as diagram x.x. The results and analysis are provided under 7.3 and 7.4, respectively.

1990	food assistance by KKKT (NGO)
1992-97	seedlings provided by JICA
1994	cattle trough and water point provided by JICA
1996/96	drought
1997	food assistance by GOT
????	permission to build school granted by GOT(*)
????	permission to collect funds for water granted by GOT(*)
????	livestock medicine provided by GOT(*)
1998	bush fires burned houses
1998	EI-Nino (heavy) rains

(*) The informants could not recall the years in which these interventions took place.

Discussions on KVFP activities

Reviewing the timelines, the moderators selected the interventions by the KVFP and initiated discussions on them. According to the interview guide, the following questions were asked on each of the issues.

1	who used or benefited from it?
1-1	why?
1-2	what was the outcome?
2	who did not use or did not benefit from it?
2-1	why?
2-2	what was the outcome?

The objective of asking the above questions was to understand whether or not the KVFP activities impacted the entire population of the sub-village or affected certain segments of the society and the reasons why some people were excluded or were not interested in benefiting. Furthermore, the informants' perceptions of their personal experiences as well as ideas for improving the situations were extracted out of the discussions. The results and analysis are elaborated under 7.3 and 7.4, respectively.

Screening of remaining keywords

The moderators reviewed the information gathered while referring back to the poverty assessment keywords and identified issues that were not addressed. For example, the women in Meserani brought up "market" as a poverty keyword, explaining that both the lack of access to market as well as opportunities for establishing petty businesses are contributing factors for poverty. However, outside interventions addressing neither of these issues were raised during the early part of the impact assessment study. Therefore, the moderators brought this issue up with the informants and asked them if any progress had been made with regard to the market. In this particular example, the informants explained that although no outside intervention has been provided to address the problem, a women's "Shop Group" was established in the sub-village⁸. They also stated that a number of women have been engaging in petty business activities out of their own initiative. In this manner, the moderators went over all remaining key words to ensure that all relevant interventions were covered.

Identification of key informants

The list of key informants were prepared by the moderators during the focus group interviews based on the information given by the informants. The key informants were selected based on their affiliation with events related to poverty keywords. Efforts were made to include individuals who benefited and did not benefit from specific activities, such as those list below:

- those able to send children to school and those unable to do so
- members of the Shop Group, Church Group, etc.
- those using the cattle trough provided by the KVFP
- those who received seedlings from the KVFP and those who did not
- members of the Village Environmental Conservation Committee (VECC) established with KVFP support
- those engaged in income-generation activities such as petty trading and bee keeping

⁸ It was later revealed during a key informant interview with the male Church leader that the Lutheran Church provided the women's Shop Group with material to construct the shop.

Key informant interviews

12 and 16 key informants were selected from Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini, respectively, with half of them constituting women. The majority of individuals were participants of the focus group interviews of either the impact or poverty assessment studies, whereas several have been identified among the rest of the sub-villagers who have not participated in either. Prior to the interviews, the evaluation team and the moderators agreed upon the types of questions to ask each interviewee because the reasons for selecting the key informants varied. Each interview lasted approximately 1 hour.

Crosscheck of the study results

The crosscheck of the study results was conducted at the end of the field study. The intention was to find out whether the study findings would be accepted as the general conditions of poverty in the semi-arid areas of Same District. The study team shared the poverty keywords elicited from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages with another Kimonyu village in Same district. Kimonyu village, located south of the KVFP project office, had a mainly Muslim population. The living conditions were relatively better than in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The village had some basic social services such as primary and secondary schools, a clinic, and a market place.

Two focus group interviews were conducted at Kimonyu, one for men and another for women. The moderators presented a combined table of poverty keywords collected from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The keywords were ranked in order of importance accorded by the people of the two villages, identified with the combined number of stones cast on each keyword. The informants were asked to comment on the selection and ranking of the keywords. They discussed whether they agreed or disagreed with each of the keywords and the ranking and the reasons for that. They were then asked to come up with their own list of poverty keywords and rank them according to their perceptions. This provided the team with information to assess the similarity and differences in the people's perceptions of poverty within the semi-arid area of Same District.

3. Results of impact assessment

Free listing of major events

The results of the free listing of major events are as follows:

Meserani women	Meserani men	Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
82 earthquake	drought	96-97 famine	96-97 drought
90 malaria	earthquake	97 heavy rain	98 bush fires
	cattle disease	99 cattle disease	98 heavy rain

Free listing of outside interventions

The results of the free listing of outside interventions within the last ten years are as follows:

Meserani women		Meserani men	
95	KVFP provided seedlings	90	KKKT, the Lutheran Church provided a water pump
95	KKKT, the Lutheran Church started church construction	91	District Council provided mobile clinic service
97	school construction started	98	JICA provided 100 iron sheets for school roof
98	school construction completed		Ministry of Education (MoE) provided cement for school construction MOE provided 23 kg. of nails for school construction 25 desks provided, but cannot remember from whom JICA provided tree seedlings KKKT advised building a church women were advised to form Shop Group, but could not remember by whom received training on how to make low-priced bricks, but could not remember from whom
99	children started to attend school		
99	the church provided a water pump		
99	Laramataki, a local NGO provided school desks		
99	KVFP provided school roof		

Kirinjiko Chini women		Kirinjiko Chini men	
82	World Vision dug a well an individual brought a church roof	90	KKKT provided water well GOT granted permission to build school
97	KVFP provided a cattle trough	92-99	seedlings provided by JICA
97	KVFP started distributing seedlings	94	JICA provided cattle trough and water point for domestic use GOT provided livestock medicine
97	KVFP provided water to make bricks for school construction		GOT granted permission to collect funds to dig a water well
99	GOT distributed maize	97	GOT provided food assistance

Discussions on KVFP activities

Out of the issues raised during the free listing exercise, the moderators identified the following KVFP activities for further discussions.

Meserani women		Meserani men	
95	KVFP provided seedlings	98	JICA provided 100 iron sheets for school roof
99	KVFP provided school roof		JICA provided tree seedlings

Kirinjiko Chini women		Kirinjiko Chini men	
97	KVFP provided a cattle trough	92-99	seedlings provided by JICA
97	KVFP started distributing seedlings	94	JICA provided cattle trough and water point for domestic use
97	KVFP provided water to make bricks for school construction		

Key informant interviews

During the focus group interviews, the following key informants were selected.

Meserani women: key informants	Meserani men: key informants
① Shop Group member	① Sub-village Chairperson
② Milling Group member	② did not receive seedlings
③ trader	③ Lutheran Church leader
④ trader	④ Water Committee member
	⑤ does not send children to school
	⑥ Kindergarten Committee leader/Ten-cell leader
	⑦ School Committee leader
	⑧ Secretary of Grazing Association

Kirinjiko Chini women: key informants	Kirinjiko Chini men: key informants
① VECC member	① did not receive seedlings
② VECC member	② did not receive seedlings
③ VECC member	③ VECC Chairperson
④ trader	④ unable to send children to school
⑤ trader	⑤ School Committee member
⑥ trader	⑥ beekeeper
⑦ Women's Group Chairperson	⑦ uses the cattle trough provided by the KVFP
⑧ School Committee member	⑧ fined for encroaching in the Mkonga Reserve

In Meserani sub-village, only four female key informants were interviewed as a result of a sudden change in the team's schedule. The team spent one day at the sub-village instead of two as initially planned. This was because upon completion of the poverty assessment study, the team decided to allocate one day for a meeting with the KVFP staff to prepare for the impact assessment phase and to postpone all field visits by one day. This resulted in a situation where only the male interviewees were able to conduct fieldwork in Meserani for two days.

Crosscheck of the study results

The crosscheck of the study results was conducted at the end of the field study. The intention was to find out whether the study findings would be accepted as the general conditions of poverty in the semi-arid areas of Same District. The study team shared the poverty keywords elicited from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages with another village in Same district. Bangalala village was originally selected as the crosscheck site. However, the site was changed to Kimonyu village at the last minute because there was a funeral going on at Bangalala. Kimonyu village, located south of the KVFP project office, had a mainly Muslim population. The living conditions were relatively better than in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The village had some basic social services such as primary and secondary schools, a clinic, and a market place. Many of the people there

practiced agriculture by using a basic irrigation system.

Two focus group interviews were conducted at Kimonyu, one for men and another for women. The moderators presented a combined table of poverty keywords collected from Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani. The keywords were ranked in order of importance accorded by the people of the two villages, identified with the combined number of stones cast on each keyword. The informants were asked to comment on the selection and ranking of the keywords. They discussed whether they agreed or disagreed with each of the keywords and the ranking and the reasons for that. They were then asked to come up with their own list of poverty keywords and rank them according to their perceptions. This provided the team with information to assess the similarity and differences in the people's perceptions of poverty within the semi-arid area of Same District.

Crosscheck at Kimonyu village

The results of the cross check at Kimonyu village are presented in the table below.

Aspects of poverty ranked in the order of importance	
Women	Men
nursery school	irrigation water
drought	farming land
water	small-scale industries
irrigation water	technical advice
cooperation among villagers	food storage
cattle disease	shops selling farm input and livestock medicine
farming tool	
women's group	
technical advice	
women's involvement in decision-making	

4. Analysis of impact assessment

Based on the results of the free listing activities, the two tables were prepared to demonstrate to what extent the aspects of people's perceived poverty were addressed by outside interventions, inclusive of KVFP activities, within the last ten years. The poverty keywords on the left column are listed according to the combined 10 stones ranking by both men and women. The activities of the KVFP are shown in bold type for easy reference. Likewise, the aspects of poverty covered by KVFP activities are shaded. The table was constructed on the basis of information collected during all stages of the field research, namely the focus group and key informant interviews, direct observations, free listing, and the 10 stones exercise.

Poverty keywords	Outside interventions raised	
	Kirinjiko Chini women	Kirinjiko Chini men
water (101)	World Vision dug a well (1982) KVFP provided cattle trough KVFP provided water for school construction	KKKT dug a well (1990) GOT permitted collecting funds to dig a well KVFP provided cattle trough KVFP provided domestic water
education/school (80)	KVFP provided water for school construction	GOT granted permission to construct
dispensary/hospital (69)		
farming (27)		
milling machine (21)		
food supply (16)	GOT distributed maize (1999)	GOT distributed food (1997)
keeping livestock/ livestock disease (11)	KVFP provided cattle trough	GOT distributed medicine KVFP provided cattle trough
poor cooperation (11)	KVFP started VECC	
clothing (8)		
market/petty business (6)	KVFP provided water for school construction	
good housing (5)		
drought (4)		
seeking advice (0)	Church advised forming shop group	KVFP advised on tree planting through VECC
transportation (0)		

Poverty keywords	Outside interventions raised	
	Meserani women	Meserani men
hospital (127)		District Council provided mobile clinic KVFP provided school roof
water supply (117)	Church provided water pump	KKKT provided water pump
road (72)		
school (44)	Laramataki provided school desks KVFP provided school roof	JICA provided school roof MoE provided cement MoE provided nails received desks
keeping livestock/ livestock medicine (21)		
tools (9)		
farming (7)		
market/petty business (7)		
advice (5)		KKKT advised building a church received advice for Shop Group KVFP provided school roof drug stores advise on livestock medicine
milling machine (3)		
family harmony (3)		presence of the church
belief in god (2)	KKKT started church construction	KKKT advised building a church
women's freedom (2)		

A review of the above tables indicate that in Kirinjiko Chini sub-village, 6 out of 14 aspects of poverty have been covered by KVFP activities, either directly or indirectly. KVFP has been successful there in addressing the people's two top priority needs, namely "water" and "education." It also addressed other important aspects such as "keeping livestock/livestock disease," "poor cooperation," "market/petty business" and "advice," three of which had also been raised as poverty keywords in Meserani. In Meserani, 3 out of 13 aspects have been covered by KVFP interventions either directly or indirectly.

The analysis of the KVFP's impact on poverty are done by reviewing the interventions of the KVFP and how they have addressed the aspects of poverty perceived by the people. The specific activities to be reviewed are: seedling distribution, establishment of the VECC, siting of the project site, provision of cattle trough, provision of water point for domestic use, and assistance in school construction.

Seedling distribution in Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages

Seedling distribution by the KVFP was appreciated by many informants. However, during the free listing of outside interventions, this activity was raised only after more significant interventions were raised such as those addressing people's needs for water and education. This is understandable considering the fact that these sub-villages are located in the harsher areas of Same where people do not have access to basic services.

However, the findings also showed that the people were generally enthusiastic about tree planting. The biggest accomplishment of the KVFP with regard to seedling distribution in these sub-villages was that the people have come to know that trees not only grow naturally, but can be planted by themselves. In that sense, the KVFP was instrumental in creating a turning point in the way people perceive reforestation activities.

People were well aware of the benefits of having trees, such as for shade, timber, fruit, windbreak, firewood, malaria and measles medicine, prevention of soil erosion, improving soil fertility, and inducing rain. However, discussions with them revealed that the survival rates of trees were low due to lack of water, damage caused by insects and livestock, and drought. This explains why seedling distribution by the KVFP has not addressed the poverty keywords in either sub-village. However, if the environment were conducive for tree growth, there would be potential for covering some of the keywords such as "food supply," "market," "keeping livestock/livestock disease," "drought," and "farming" in either the short-term or long-term future.

One male informant in Kirinjiko Chini and one woman in Meserani pointed out the need for training and advice on tree planting. At least five individuals said that their trees had been

damaged by either insects or livestock. Such comments suggest that the survival rate of trees may increase by providing training to the recipients of seedlings. However, other comments imply that the KVFP was able to address the people's need for training. One informant said that he watered trees at the wrong time which he corrected after receiving advice from a KVFP C/P. At least two women in Kirinjiko Chini were protecting their trees from livestock by using thorny branches.

The situation surrounding the availability of water for trees seemed more serious. In Meserani, three men mentioned that the lack of access to a donkey or bicycle prevented them from watering trees⁹. Two women said that they were too old to fetch water¹⁰. Three informants were waiting for the rain to come before they would request or purchase seedlings. In Kirinjiko Chini, a male informant said that the water source was far and that domestic water gets priority over trees.

The review of people's comments indicated that there may be a correlation between the availability of water and the degree of attention that people pay to trees. As water has been raised as the critical determinant for the survival of trees, those with poor access may be less inclined to care for the trees. Following that logic, addressing people's needs for water is necessary in order for the KVFP to promote reforestation in the two sub-villages.

VECC

The Village Environmental Conservation Committee (VECC) is a committee set up in the model villages with support from the KVFP. Although the specific activities carried out by different VECCs may vary, the overall objective is to promote reforestation activities within the community.

The positive impact of the VECC on the aspects of people's poverty was limited. The VECC was never mentioned during the free listing activities in either sub-village. It came up in the women's focus group in Kirinjiko Chini after some probing by the moderator. The findings suggest that the VECC in Meserani is not very active. Two informants there had never heard of it. A member of the Water Committee stated that the Committee was discussing opportunities for joint activities with the VECC although nothing has materialized so far.

In Kirinjiko Chini, the presence of the VECC was more significant than in Meserani and its presence was well known among the people. It was found that the VECC functions as a linkage between the sub-villagers and the KVFP. The VECC represented the people in making requests to the KVFP for film shows as well as water needed for school construction. It is also responsible for the management of the cattle trough provided by the project.

⁹ It is mostly men who ride bicycles to fetch water.

¹⁰ Fetching water is considered a woman's job. When the family owns a bicycle, men tend to take over the task.

With regard to activities related to tree planting, the objectives of the VECC were clearly understood by its members. It is less active during the dry season because many men are away grazing their cattle and also the dryness makes tree planting difficult. However, it has made some contribution in promoting reforestation activities. One woman attributed current tree planting activities to successful promotion by the VECC.

During the poverty assessment exercise in Kirinjiko Chini, the women explained that the living standards could be increased if people conducted joint activities to address the development needs of the sub-village. In relation to this, they said that the VECC addressed the keyword “poor cooperation (among villagers).” The establishment of the School Committee and the VECC were both seen as factors that strengthen the ties among people, thus leading to the uplifting of their living standards in the long run.

The difference in the roles of the VECC in the two sub-villages reflects the very origin of the idea to incorporate it as a KVFP activity. The formation of the first VECC took place in Njoro village based on the initiative of the villagers. According to the KVFP’s own analysis, “the formation of an environmental committee in Njoro Village was so successful, it seemed that many moderators could not resist recommending it in other villages”¹¹. This observation suggests that unless there is a will among the villagers and the timing ripe, a new organization may not achieve the intended objectives. In this regard, the VECC of Kirinjiko Chini may have been created under more favorable circumstances.

Assistance in school construction

In Kirinjiko Chini, the KVFP provided water to produce bricks for school construction. In Meserani, 100 iron sheets for the corrugated roof of the school were provided. It was clear that both sub-villages have appreciated this support and acknowledged it as a positive impact on the keyword “school/education.”

Although the majority of children will benefit from the KVFP’s assistance, those not able to afford the fees and other necessary costs will be excluded. Families with limited cash income or without adult labor to sell will not benefit. There are no schemes within the sub-villages to subsidize education for children with financial difficulties. In addition, children who are already enrolled in other schools will face difficulty transferring to the new schools as the process will be complicated. Likewise, older children will not be able to benefit as the new schools will only have classes for younger children. It is expected to take some time until the full-fledged primary schools

¹¹ p.4. Problems Found in Initial Stage of PRA Practices: Findings and Recommendations. Project Working Paper No. 14

are established in these sub-villages.

The establishment of new schools will make it possible for children to live at home instead of going away to other villages to attend school. This means that families will not have to pay for boarding with relatives or friends. Better supervision of children was also raised as a benefit. Mothers were particularly concerned about problems of child delinquency while the children are living away from home. Moreover, some mothers showed reluctance in sending female children away to distant schools.

The KVFP's assistance in school construction brought other positive impacts, separate from the intended objectives. In Kirinjiko Chini, a female key informant stated that more women would be able to engage in petty business if the school were constructed close to their homes. She explained that if the school were nearby, children who are now living in faraway villages would come back to live with their families. She felt that this would decrease women's labor time and create time for women to engage in income-generating activities because the children would be there to help out with the chores. Therefore, the KVFP's assistance indirectly addresses the keyword "market/petty business."

Different observations were made in Meserani. The men in Meserani appreciated the school roof for creating a shaded area to hold village meetings¹². Similarly, it was explained that the school has been used as a venue for prenatal check-ups, providing women with privacy during examination. Thus, women and children are benefiting from the school building in manners not anticipated by outsiders. As such, the KVFP assistance indirectly addresses the keyword "hospital"¹³.

Another impact of school construction in Meserani was with regard to the keyword "advice." It was stated that teachers become available in the sub-village when the school is there. One key informant explained that the people are now able to seek technical advice on different issues from the teachers.

Mkonga demonstration farm, cattle trough and water point

The KVFP provided a water point for domestic consumption and a cattle trough to be used by the people residing around the project site including the residents of Kirinjiko Chini. The origin of these two facilities goes back to when the KVFP was initiated. The project site, which includes the

¹² Considering the climate in these areas, shade is highly valued especially as a venue for village meetings and for the welfare of livestock.

¹³ The keyword "hospital" is synonymous with "dispensary."

office compound and the adjacent Mkonga demonstration farm and its nursery, was public land designated by the GOT to be used for the KVFP. Although there were no residents within its boundaries, some nearby villagers were using it for grazing. These people were no longer allowed to enter the area to graze after the start of the project. As the KVFP staff at the time was aware of the potential negative impacts this might entail, they have made arrangements to extend pipes from the project well to a convenient location across from the project office to create the cattle trough and water point.

Meanwhile, the KVFP had to justify the reason to close off a land that was once accessible to them. The KVFP explained to them that the land has become subject to Mlimbiko. "Mlimbiko" is a traditional system practiced by the local people for conserving natural resources. It is an incentive-led system that defines specific resources to be protected and a predetermined time frame to assure villagers tangible returns if they follow the rules. The mlimbiko adopted in this region include ones for protecting important trees, grazing areas, and catchment areas. In the case of mlimbiko for grazing land, a certain portion of the pasture area will be closed off during the rain season to let the vegetation regenerate and opened up during the dry season to allow livestock to graze on it. This is just one example of mlimbiko as many variations exist according to local circumstances. Mlimbiko is adopted based on the rules agreed upon by villagers, and the Mlimbiko Committee is set up to impose such rules. There are also rules regarding the punishment of offenders.

According to the Interim Evaluation of Participatory Approach conducted by the KVFP in 1997, Kirinjiko Chini sub-villagers accepted the mlimbiko of Mkonga. They saw it as a way "to protect natural and planted trees from illegal cutting, bush fires and animal damage."

Although the people have been clearly benefiting from the water point and cattle trough, there was a need to explore the impacts of the mlimbiko introduced by the KVFP. The KVFP staff were concerned about this aspect because they were aware that a careless application of mlimbiko may not only deteriorate their relationship with the people but also affect their livelihood.

Cattle trough

The people of Kirinjiko Chini accorded great significance to the cattle trough provided by the KVFP. According to one sub-villager, this reduced the grazing distance from 15km to 3km. Although the distance and time reductions differ according to where one resides, they have clearly benefited many men. It was stated that the reduction of travel distance lowered the chances of their livestock contracting diseases as they are less exposed to various types of pathogen. Although they are generally content with the location of the trough, some individuals are not benefiting as the capacity is not large enough for all cattle in the village.

Discussions with the men and women of Kirinjiko Chini revealed that they did not see the cattle trough as compensation for the loss of access to the Mkonga area. It was interesting to find out that they saw it as just another form of assistance provided by the project.

Water point

The creation of a water point near the KVFP office was also benefiting the people of Kirinjiko Chini, but once again, the people did not associate this with the lost access to Mkonga.

During the free listing of outside interventions, the provision of water point was brought up by the men of Kirinjiko Chini only and not by the women. It was revealed during the discussions that almost all of the female informants were using another water source located by a nearby mountain because of the shorter distance. They explained that they use the KVFP water point only when the water at the mountain dries up. However, those fortunate enough to own a bicycle routinely go to the KVFP water point as it can be reached by taking the main road. Even though the distance is shorter, the unpaved dirt path makes the water source at the mountain more difficult to reach by bicycle. This may be the reason why men brought up the KVFP water point during the free listing as men are more likely to fetch water by bicycle. The evaluation team found out that close to 20 women come to collect water at the KVFP source everyday. Although they may be residing at other neighboring villages, it proved that the KVFP water point was appreciated by the local people.

Impact from closing off the Mkonga area

The evaluation team found out that there has been no serious negative impact brought by the siting of the project area. Nothing in relation to this was brought up during the free listing exercise in Kirinjiko Chini. With some probing by the moderator, the informants explained that nobody suffers from the shortage of grazing land and there has been no negative impacts resulting from the mlimbiko at Mkonga. However, there was one person who got fined for encroachment. An interview with him revealed that he used to graze his cattle in the area prior to the arrival of the KVFP, but fully agrees with the objectives of the current mlimbiko. He was fined for encroachment because his goats wandered off into the reserve by accident. The goats were simply attracted to the fruits of *Balamites aegyptica*, a species that goats find particularly palatable, and ended up in the reserve. As such, this did not occur as a result of the lack of grazing area.

The research team found out through further probing that the villagers of Masandare may have been affected by the mlimbiko of Mkonga. The team made a short visit and conducted interviews at Masandare, but no negative impact was observed. Due to time and logistical constraints, the team was not able to approach more informants to confirm the finding. It may be a prudent idea to further explore this issue.

Crosscheck at Kimonyu Village

The review of the results of the crosscheck at Kimonyu Village confirmed that the perceptions of poverty vary according to the conditions in which people live. Moreover, the same poverty keywords mean different things when the living conditions and environment are different. Most importantly, the findings from Kimonyu highlighted the particularly harsh conditions to which the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani are exposed. For example, the keyword “water” raised in Kimonyu meant water for irrigation, whereas the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani need water for household use. Likewise, while the two sub-villages indicated high demand for primary school, the people of Kimonyu see the lack of nursery school as an aspect of poverty. The prevalence of poverty keywords related to agricultural activities in Kimonyu, such as “farm input,” “farming land,” and “irrigation water,” indicate that farming is practiced widely as opposed to the other two sub-villages.

In sum, the findings from Kimonyu demonstrate that the aspects of poverty differ from one community to another. Therefore, poverty alleviation activities need to take such variations into consideration. Application of a uniform set of project activities are not likely to address the varying forms of poverty perceived by the potential beneficiaries of development projects.

Summary

The KVFP has been successful in addressing the priority needs of the people of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages. Much of the positive impacts were brought about by supplementary activities initiated by the project staff, such as through providing assistance in school construction and water provision. Although some of the people were not able to benefit from such assistance, the constraints were not due to the way that the interventions were carried out. Rather, the exclusions were the result of factors beyond the control of the KVFP.

The impacts of the main KVFP activities, namely the seedling distribution, establishment of the VECC, and siting of the Mkonga demonstration forest varied.

Seedling distribution had limited positive impacts in term of the survival rate of the trees. This was primarily because of the lack of a conducive environment for tree planting, namely the lack of water and the vulnerability to livestock and insects. Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini sub-villages suffer from harsh living conditions when compared with many of the other villages covered by the KVFP. The team conducted a crosscheck at Kimonyu Village where there were schools, hospitals, a milling machine, markets and an adequate supply of domestic water. Discussions with the people of Kimonyu suggested that there has been some positive impacts from seedling distribution, particularly through the training of Village Extension Agents. As such, the same KVFP activities may have different outcomes depending on the conditions surrounding the people.

However, the findings also showed that the people of Meserani and Kirinjiko Chini were generally enthusiastic about tree planting. The biggest accomplishment of the KVFP with regard to seedling distribution in these sub-villages was that the people have come to know that trees not only grow naturally, but can be planted by themselves. In that sense, the KVFP was instrumental in creating a turning point in the way that people perceive reforestation activities.

The VECC proved to be more active in Kirinjiko Chini and functioned as a mediator between the people and the KVFP. Its effective liaison with the project resulted in attracting supplementary support by the KVFP. The VECC in Meserani was seen to be less active and almost no positive impacts were observed during the study. This may have been the result of a hasty formation of the committee as mentioned in a study conducted by the KVFP¹⁴. Further exploration of this matter may be useful.

The team observed no negative impacts from the siting of the Mkonga demonstration forest. The cattle trough and water point for domestic use provided as compensation for the lost grazing area were highly appreciated by the people even though they did not associate them with the Mkonga demonstration forest.

Lastly, the study team acknowledged that the KVFP team was able to create a favorable relationship with the people of Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani sub-villages. It was clear that the KVFP did not confine its interactions with the villagers to the formal activities of the project. The KVFP responded to the needs of the people, through both bold and subtle measures, when assistance was sought. While the bold measures include assistance for school construction and access to water, the subtle measures include giving rides to people under emergency situations or relaying people's requests to the district office. For those living in remote areas, a series of such minor activities can contribute to establishing a solid relationship based on trust and respect. And these accomplishments can influence the level of people's interest and involvement in the formal activities of the project.

¹⁴ p.4. Problems Found in Initial Stage of PRA Practices: Findings and Recommendations. Project Working Paper No.14