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Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies

WORKING PAPER 3

Exploring rural-urban interactions in Tanzania: a critical review of the methods and tools used

by
Bitrina Diyamett, Mathew Diyamett, Jovita James Anthony Kibadu, Fred Ierise, Richard Mabala, Esther Mbutolwe and Nimrod Mushi

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1. Introduction

This research project is part of a collaborative multi-country research programme on rural-urban interactions, livelihood strategies and socio-economic change. The overall objectives of the programme are:

a) To increase understanding of the nature, range and scale of rural-urban interactions in selected countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with a view to promoting policies at local, national and international levels, encouraging positive interactions between rural and urban areas (intended as those benefiting sustainable growth and contributing to the elimination of poverty), whilst reducing or eliminating negative interactions; and

b) To encourage and develop the capacity of a network of research teams in the South to understand and document the nature of rural-urban interactions within their own regions and develop a dialogue with local and national governments on this subject.

The first group of case studies has focused on sub-Saharan Africa, and includes the present project and work currently being finalised in Mali and Nigeria. The Tanzanian research project was the first case study in the group, and as such has set the template for the methodology which has been broadly adopted by the other teams, albeit with the necessary modifications to adapt it to different contexts. Collaboration and capacity-building have been a priority since the beginning, and the project largely reflected the discussions of a two-week methodological workshop held in Dar es Salaam in March 1998. The workshop was organised by the research team (University College for Land and Architectural Studies and the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, supported by IIED) and was divided into two parts. In the first part, academics, NGOs and policy makers were invited to discuss the main issues to include in the project; the outcome is reflected in the key research questions (see next section). In the second part, the team discussed in detail the methods and tools to be used, the training needs, and the practical organisation of the project. These were then revised during the review workshops, as described in this paper. IIED provided support in formulating the research design, choosing appropriate methodological tools and organising the data analysis.

2. Key Research Questions

The main working hypothesis for the study is that rural-urban interactions are an important element of the livelihood strategies of both rural and urban households, either in the form of flows of people, goods, information and money, or in the form of income diversification such as urban agriculture and non-agricultural rural employment. Livelihood strategies which straddle the rural-urban divide are the outcome of the opportunities and constraints arising from wider transformations in the socio-economic context, and of specific and 'local' historical, political, socio-cultural and ecological factors. For example, spatial proximity to potential resources (for instance markets for goods and labour) is an important factor in access to resources, and especially so for the poor because of the monetary and opportunity costs of distance. The key questions guiding the study are:

1. What patterns can be identified in the productive activities of different groups in different locations, which involve access to both rural-based and urban-based resources, or which are based on income diversification such as urban agriculture or non-agricultural rural employment? Distinctions can be drawn on the scale and nature of these activities on the grounds of location, income, gender, generation and ethnicity. These in turn are important factors in determining access to resources.

2. How does land tenure affect access to agricultural production for different groups in different locations, and how does it influence land use and rural-urban interactions? In Tanzania access to natural resources, including fertile land, is generally perceived as a critical factor for rural-urban and rural-rural migration. While population pressure and land degradation are usually seen as the major reasons for land shortage, it is likely that land tenure is also, if not equally, important, especially for women and for the younger generations. The market-based system introduced by the 1999 Village Land Act may exacerbate the polarisation in access to land between low-income and better-off groups, especially in areas with access to physical infrastructure such as roads and irrigation schemes. Land tenure and use are expected to be important factors in migration and income diversification.

3. What are the direction, scale and nature of flows of goods between urban and rural areas? Access to local markets can be critical for smallholders who cannot afford high transport costs. However, real markets are far more complex than usually portrayed in competitive markets models and location theory, and are best understood as social institutions involving power and control by some actors and the exclusion of others. Important features include transaction costs, imperfect information and segmented markets. Markets are examined in this study along different lines, including the role of traders and middlemen and access to information. In addition, goods are often exchanged between relatives as part of social and kin networks, whose role is also examined in the study.

4. How does access to service provision affect different types of interactions for different groups? As a consequence of cuts in social infrastructure spending, public expenditure is increasingly concentrated in urban centres. However, in Tanzania this has traditionally been counterbalanced by international donors and the intervention of NGOs in the rural areas. Flows of people linked to service provision (especially education but also health) are likely to be mediated by affordability – and, by extension, income, as well as by accessibility.

3. Choice of Locations

The aim of the study is to provide a detailed, holistic picture of how the livelihood strategies of different groups straddle the rural-urban divide. In order to identify critical factors determining opportunities and constraints, two locations were selected, each consisting of an urban centre and two villages in its surrounding region. The two locations are not representative of Tanzania's small and intermediate centres (indeed, one of the reasons for the high rates of failure of spatial planning is that they were falsely assumed to be representative). However, they can be seen as occupying the

two extremes of the spectrum, with one, Himo, developing fast but with serious constraints, and the other, Lindi, continuing to decline despite a number of potentially favourable factors. The two locations were selected by the whole team during the planning workshop, by ranking a number of potential sites according to agreed criteria. These included demographic and infrastructural aspects, social aspects (availability and quality of services; gender and generational norms; religion, migration and ethnic diversity); commercial criteria (international and national markets; proximity to borders); production characteristics (land availability and fertility; food versus cash production; industrial development; large and small scale farming); and administrative criteria (land tenure systems; administrative status; presence and role of international donors). The sub-locations were, for Himo town, the central market and Mtenga residential neighbourhood and the villages of Marawe Kyura and Lotima. For Lindi, the urban locations were the central market and Nachingwea urban ward, and the villages of Mitwero and Narunyu.

4. Research Design and Techniques

Given the wide range of issues covered by the study and its focus on social processes, it was necessary to adopt a methodology allowing for the combination of descriptive analysis and causal explanation. This included a combination of qualitative and quantitative tools. Although it is common practice in research design to start with quantitative data collection (in order to answer 'what' questions) and follow this with quantitative techniques (to answer 'why' questions), the team decided to avoid pre-determined categorisations and to adopt as much as possible a holistic approach. This was achieved by the use of qualitative, participatory techniques in the initial phase, which helped to determine the main lines of rural-urban interactions in the two locations and the livelihood strategies of different groups. This was followed by a questionnaire survey and commodity chain analyses for selected agricultural produce (fish and coconuts in Lindi, tomatoes and bananas in Himo) during the second phase. During both phases, semi-structured interviews with key informants were conducted by the research team. In addition, general meetings at the beginning, after completion of phase one and at the end of the research project have ensured that respondents were able to question or validate the research findings. The next sections describe in detail and critically assess the tools used.

5. First Phase: PRA

A one-week methodology and training workshop was held in Lindi at the beginning of the project (September 1998). The objectives of the meeting were to refresh the team's memory of the planning workshop held in March, plan the fieldwork details and train the research team in PRA and qualitative techniques. An experienced trainer from an Indian NGO (SPEECH, based in Tamil Nadu) introduced the basic concepts of PRA, and helped the team identify tools and sequences of use. Staff from a large integrated rural development project in Lindi region were also drawn in as co-trainers and later as field assistants, therefore ensuring that they had first-hand links with the research team. Due to time constraints, field training was limited to one day, which later proved to be insufficient (see below).

In the first phase, a general meeting, mapping and wealth ranking were carried out, while in the focus group discussions the tools used were seasonality diagrams, Venn diagrams on services, mobility/migration matrices and intra-household matrices. In the feedback meeting at the end of the first phase of the research, the trend change was used.

The focus groups were composed of:

a) Men from the richest group in the wealth ranking
b) Women from the richest group
c) Men from the poorest group
d) Women from the poorest group
e) Young men from the middle group
f) Young women from the middle group

Each group was supposed to consist of eight to ten people although, in a few cases, the size varied for reasons difficult to control, such as the fact that a larger number arrived for the discussion and insisted on taking part. The use of PRA tools was effective and led to the collection of a great deal of qualitative information, much of which was directly relevant to the research issues. The tools were particularly effective for the reasons outlined below:

- **The participants took part in discussions**
  Rather than always directly answering questions from the facilitator, the participants talked among themselves as they went about the task set for them by whatever tool was being used. The participants really got into discussion as they placed the stones, positioned the chapatis etc. Thus information arose organically rather than being directed by the questioner.

- **The participants reached conclusions**
  The visualisation process integral to PRA led to the participants themselves reaching conclusions they did not expect. For example, in Lotima Village (Himo), participants were very judgmental of young women who were regarded as lazy. However, upon completing the intra-household matrix which showed clearly that the girls did a large amount of the work, received almost nothing and were the main migrants, they laughed ruefully and commented: *Hawa watu wajanja sana. Wametufanya tufanye wenyewe*[1]. After that no further comment was made about the laziness of young women as the visualised matrix made it so clear that they were just unpaid household labour with no expectations.

- **Feeling of common purpose**
  Participating in the production of visualised information led to a feeling of common purpose between researcher and participants. A social relationship was created which helped to break down the barriers between outsiders and insiders. Researchers and villagers come to know each other by name. In the settlements studied in Lindi, villagers referred to the researchers by name and not by the common name of *mtaalam* (expert) which was how they usually referred to educated outsiders.

[1] These people are very cunning. They have made us do it ourselves.

- **Reaching consensus between researchers and villagers**
  Talking together to fulfil a certain task also proved a good way of reaching consensus, not only among villagers but also between villagers and the researchers. For example, in the general meeting in Narunyu village in Lindi, villagers suggested, and it was agreed, that a larger focus group of up to 17 men from the middle rank be used, as the majority of the villagers fell into that category.

Problems specific to the tools

In the settlements around Himo, each tool had something valuable to contribute to the process, although certain tools proved to be much more valuable and relevant than others, especially the mobility and intra-household matrices. The other tools created problems. In particular, with regard to the seasonality diagram and Venn diagram, participants failed to connect the tools with the introductory explanation on the nature of the research. Especially in Marawe Kyura (Himo) where they have easy access to all major services without having to travel very far, they felt they were doing an irrelevant exercise since no migration and little mobility was involved. In Lindi it was different. Evaluating the performance of service provision through Venn diagrams was easily understood and was accomplished with little explanation from the facilitator. Through Venn diagrams villagers were able to show the quality of services, and this in turn was related to the reasons for going elsewhere for services as they indicated in their mobility matrix. One reason for such a difference in response could be that some villagers had been exposed to some of the PRA tools earlier through other development projects, or that the availability and quality of service provision was more of a burning issue to them.

Other problems arose from the manner in which the tools were prepared and used. Members of the research team were all PRA neophytes who, on the basis of one week's training in PRA, prepared and administered the tools, without sufficient pre-testing. As a result, we were hopelessly ambitious to expect to use four different tools in each focus group discussion, which made the group discussions excessively long and boring for the participants, as well as forcing the researchers to rush the discussions. The timing of the sessions was also problematic for some of the focus groups, especially women. In Lindi, the researchers had to provide the focus group members with soft drinks and madafu (coconut juice) to sustain them during long sessions. Both morning and afternoon sessions coincided with the time for cooking and/or feeding the children. One participant warned the researchers in one of the sessions which started at around 11.20 a.m. and continued to 1.20 p.m., that she was very hungry, and that the time for cooking was over. In addition to the warning about hunger the participant was also concerned about the benefits to the participants of being involved in the research. She emphasised her point by saying '*Tununulieni soda, ninyi mnapata mamilioni, sisi hamtupi kitu'* literally meaning, 'buy us a soda, you researchers get millions and you don't give us a thing'.

Flexibility in using tools

Failure to see the overlaps between one tool and another caused unnecessary repetition. For example, the issue of services was dealt with in mapping, Venn diagrams and mobility matrices. For Lindi the use of trend change analysis during the

feedback meeting was in most cases considered to be a repetition, as expressed in Narunyu village where participants commented, 'We have already told you that in the focus groups, what else do you need?'

Although researchers were asked to be flexible, flexibility is often a product of familiarity: only when one is comfortable with tools, having used them before, that one can start to be flexible. Thus the research guide became a holy book from which no significant deviation was made, and the tools became directors of the process rather than accessories to it. The only flexibility shown was to reduce the number of tools used with most of the groups.

This is not to invalidate the process, which was able to generate the information required to enable the research team to carry out the second phase of the research in a much more focused manner. It also greatly enriched the researchers themselves who will certainly use PRA methods again, albeit in a more flexible manner. However, in hindsight it was clear that it is essential to test the tools beforehand. With pre-testing, it would have been obvious that it is not possible to use four tools in one focus group discussion since each tool takes one to one and a half hours. It would also have been possible to streamline and adapt the tools to meet the specific requirements of the research. Finally, aspects of flexibility could have been discussed and internalised rather than being imposed.

One way to have avoided using too many tools for each focus group discussion would have been to use different tools with different groups. However, it was felt that the division of groups according to wealth ranking, gender and generation was an important contribution to the effectiveness of the research. Furthermore, while there were many similarities between the answers of different groups, the differences that emerged validated the importance of using the same tools with every group.

For example, in Lotima the answers of the young women on issues relating to the Intra-household Matrix were significantly different from the answers of the older women who were not prepared to produce information which implicitly criticised their husbands. If the girls had not used the same tool, the dynamics of gender and generational conflict would not have become apparent. In Lindi all women focus groups, including those from Nachingwea urban neighborhood who live close to the regional hospital, listed traditional birth attendants as an important service. None of the men focus groups mentioned that service at all. Similarly, there were significant differences in the way the better- and worse-off perceived the services. Generally in Lindi, the household matrix was clearer and more manageable for the women focus groups than for the men.

One area where flexibility was definitely required was in the adaptation of tools to an urban environment. This was not so apparent in Lindi which, despite its size, is still similar to a large rural community, where agriculture within and outside the town is an important income and food supply source to the urban residents, whether salaried or not. However, in Nachingwea it was difficult to carry out wealth ranking of residents who were not present in the general meeting, as the participants cautioned: 'Yes, we know each other, but it is not easy to know what a neighbour does and what properties he or she owns. Most of us spend the day in Lindi town and sleep in Nachingwea'. Likewise in Himo Town, it proved impossible to use many of the tools.

Many residents are tenants and did not even know the area in which they were living. The town dwellers in Himo, unlike their counterparts in Lindi, were also much less enthusiastic about drawing on the ground. While we accept the idea that drawing on paper is too final and makes it more difficult to change the mapping or scoring, in more literate communities where other facilities are available, it may be more appropriate to do the ranking on tables using match sticks or whatever.

Researchers interests versus those of the community

On a more philosophical note, some of the researchers felt a little uneasy using participatory methods in an extractive manner. Participatory research provides opportunities to community members to voice their views and take an active role in the production of knowledge. But we doubt whether the respondents in the study saw their participation in that way. Sometimes we felt uneasy about getting them deeply involved in a process which took up their time, with little direct benefit to themselves. Such uneasiness was amplified by the questions of the community members themselves who see the advent of any outsider in their community as a chance to bring some new 'development', and continually asked what they, as individuals or as a community, would benefit from their participation in the research. These expectations could be associated with the donor-led or government-determined interventions which have characterised Tanzania since the 1960s. This situation seems to have huge impacts on, among other things, people's perception of researchers and people's description of their wealth and access to services. In the long run these manipulative descriptions might contaminate what people perceive and think. Furthermore, this research finds neither satisfying answers to the residents' questions nor solutions to their manipulative descriptions.

The perception of research as a source of material donation to the community was particularly evident in Lotima village (Himo) and in Nachingwea and Mitwero (Lindi) where participants were convinced that we had come to provide them with a new service or identify individuals who qualify for loans. This feeling was heightened when we did the wealth ranking. They were rushing through the exercise of mapping and wealth ranking, believing that something was going to be given to those of the lowest rank. Even the better-off in the community wanted to be ranked in the bottom group. This is, of course, an occupational hazard of any research, and in fact before the end, although many realised that we were not donors in disguise, they still participated enthusiastically in the research. In Lotima, more people attended the final meeting than the first one. The expectations of loans were even higher in Lindi, because the researchers' visits coincided with a visit by staff of the National Income Generating Programme (NIGP) from Dar es Salaam who were conducting workshops to assist the business community to form a regional NGO which would be instrumental in directing loans to the region. In addition, a Poverty Eradication team under UNDP, also from Dar es Salaam, was in the area identifying groups to receive loans. We were sometimes mistakenly assumed to have come from one of these two groups.

The Venn diagram was one that lent itself particularly to such misconceptions, since it highlighted the relative importance and accessibility of services which made participants believe that the missing services would be provided. Thus in Lotima, on the basis of a PRA carried out by a different organisation the year before, they had

been given a milling machine, which was not even mentioned as important when we arrived, probably because they wanted to make sure that they were not given another one.

There was, however, a slight difference in perception in Lindi. One woman from Nachingwea cautioned the group members in the local vernacular, which the members of the research team could not understand, but was translated by another woman, that if they prioritised a school, they would be required to build one. The woman was worried that listing the school as an important service might result in forcing the community to contribute and build one in their area. To avoid such a situation, they felt they should not list any service as important. However in the Lindi settlements, the Venn diagram provided an opportunity for participants to complain about poor services offered by the town and district councils.

Specific tools

The sequencing of the tools started with a general meeting where the research team explained the objectives of the study, and then asked participants to go through the tools described below. One objective of this first set of tools was to create a broad picture of the settlement, and to identify the sub-groups with which to conduct focus group discussions using different tools.

General meetings

These were well attended, especially in Lindi, with on average 100 people or more attending, although the number of participants ebbed and flowed when some of them realised that the meetings were not intended for listing names for assistance. In Mitwero the general meeting lasted for about five hours on the first day, and participants still attended another two-hour session on the following day to accomplish tasks from the previous session. In Narunyu and in the urban neighborhood the general meeting lasted more than three hours.

In both villages participants were enthusiastic about the meeting given their expectation to be listed for support. The meeting took a shorter time in Narunyu, partly because the researchers were more experienced having attended the first meeting in Mitwero, and partly because participants were less free to express personal opinions as they deferred more to the village authorities. In order to keep such a large group active we were forced to apply two or three tools at the same time. For instance, house plotting, recording household information on the cards and wealth ranking were carried out at the same time. This kept the majority of the villagers active and involved, thereby ensuring that they did not leave the meeting.

In Himo town, it was almost impossible to hold the general meeting, partly because the inhabitants of the area were involved in multiple activities and partly because of the conflicts, identified during the focus group discussions, which inhibited the cooperation of the local leadership. In Marawe Kyura there were fewer participants because, as we were told, ‘Chagga men only attend meetings when they have money in their pockets’. These days, because of the decline of coffee production, there is very little money. Marawe Kyura was also conspicuous for the small number of women who attended.

However, the amount of data to be collected in the general meeting was too ambitious, and meetings lasted up to five hours. In Mitwero the meeting actually had to continue under the headlights of our vehicle and still could not be completed the same day. Such long meetings are not fruitful because most participants leave after the mapping exercise, with only only a few remaining to carry out the wealth ranking. This casts doubt on the validity and accuracy of the information generated. In our opinion such a meeting should not last more than three hours. While some are doing the mapping, others should do the wealth ranking in order to reduce the time for the meetings. This would require more researchers, at least five in each meeting.

Mapping

This proved very useful in gaining a general understanding of the village, as we were able to note the services as well as the resources inside and outside the village, the productive activities taking place and the concentrations of population. However, once again, we were too ambitious and the exercise of placing households on the map proved a long and tedious exercise.

While the maps produced were of little benefit to the research team in Himo, they were very useful in Lindi. In Narunyu, villagers wanted to use the map drawn and used during the villagisation resettlement, but the village leaders could not produce it. Instead they requested a copy of the PRA map and pinned it on the wall in the village office for future reference. To the researchers, the map was used to ensure that members of the focus groups were drawn from different locations in the village. In the urban neighborhood, people did not see the need to draw a map of their area since there were plans of their neighborhood in the town council offices. Instead of drawing a new map, the residents used the urban planning map of their area and indicated their compounds using plot numbers if they could remember them. Others were assisted by those who could read the plan.

In Lotima, during the mapping exercise, participants quickly grew impatient and divided themselves up into their respective neighborhoods to produce maps on pieces of paper. Maybe in future it would be better to do the general map on the ground for the services and productive activities, and then allow participants to produce their own neighborhood maps. In addition, the experience in Himo suggested that people were more comfortable using chalk on the floor than a stick on the ground. In Himo town, it proved impossible to carry out the mapping exercise as most of the participants (who are migrants from all over the country) did not even know the name of their neighborhood, let alone its boundaries. In general, villagers in both Lindi and Himo seem to be more knowledgeable about the extent of their areas than are urban residents.

Wealth ranking

This was a very useful tool for identifying people from different wealth groups for the focus group discussions, thereby forming homogeneous groups composed of members who were likely to feel comfortable with one another. In the three settlements in Lindi, there was a significant difference in the criteria used between the urban ward and the two villages, even though residents in the three settlements depend on crop cultivation. In Nachingwea the quality of the house one owns in the area was considered to be the most important factor. In Mitwero the criteria for the highest rank included a house roofed with CI sheets, a shop, livestock (dairy cattle or goats), and a

farm with permanent crops such as coconuts or cashew nuts. In Narunyu, farmland was more important than a house. For one to be placed in the highest rank, it required a well attended coconut farm measuring five acres and above, a well attended cashew farm of the same size, a house roofed with CI sheets, and livestock (dairy cattle, goats and sheep). One would expect the nature and type of employment to be important criteria for urban residents, but that was not the case in Nachingwea, probably because residents often do not know each other's source of income, and it is the quality of the house one owns that reflects his or her wealth group.

There were also a number of practical limitations in wealth ranking, as listed below.

- **Too large a group and lack of facilitators**
  The number of households was just too great, which meant that in both Lindi and Himo villages, the meeting broke up into sub-groups according to *vitongoji* (sub-villages) in order to rank. In such a situation, there were insufficient facilitators to conduct the exercise and, for those neighborhoods that had no facilitator, the exercise was performed poorly, without closely following the agreed criteria for wealth ranking. As a result of the large number of households to rank, further discussion and refining of the categories was not carried out sufficiently. This situation also created some unease among researchers. It was as if we had our own agenda, which we were unable or unwilling to communicate. Thus, while we encouraged participants to give us their own perceptions of well-being, all we were really interested in was the ranking so that we could set up our focus groups and later use the different categories to select relevant respondents for the structured interviews.

- **Influence from previous research activities**
  In Lotima (Himo), probably because a similar exercise was carried out the year before, participants concluded that something would be given to those in the bottom rank, as a result of which all wanted to be placed in that group and deliberately ranked themselves lower.

- **Ranking to assist or to punish**
  In Mitwero (Lindi), two purposes governed which rank a person was placed in. Placing someone in the bottom rank was either meant to facilitate his or her access to assistance from the government, or to embarrass them. Those who had inherited properties, qualifying them for a higher rank, were still ranked lower because they did not work and earn their property. One councillor residing in Mitwero was ranked low despite his political position because he rents accommodation in the village and is not married. In Lindi, it was also felt that public discussion of wealth ranking of individual households caused some anger among participants who objected to being placed where they felt they did not belong.

Focus group discussions

As a result of the wealth ranking and the cooperation of the local leadership, it was possible to carry out the focus group discussions. Of the three settlements in Lindi, Narunyu recorded the best performance, as all members attended. There were

instances where additional members joined the focus group discussions out of their own interest. In the urban neighborhood, turn-out was almost 100 per cent with only one or two repondents being late or not appearing at all. Mitwero respondents were not as keen in the focus groups as the others. Sometimes we spent hours waiting for the participants. When they did not turn up we had to search for them at their residences. Despite all these efforts, there are instances where sessions were conducted with five or six people instead of ten.

In the two villages in Himo, the focus group discussions went on as planned and turn-out was generally according to expectations. In Himo town, because of the problems mentioned above, which made it impossible even to hold a general meeting, more eclectic methods had to be used. For instance, the local leaders were consulted and asked to assemble people for group discussions. This did not always work either. Respondents were also visited at their place of work e.g. women food vendors. As a result of the difficulty of assembling groups, and being forced to follow people to their place of work and talk with them as they went about their business, it was impossible to use the tools. Instead, general discussions around issues of services, mobility and migration were carried out.

Seasonality diagram

This was the least used tool in Himo, as it seemed to be disconnected from the purpose of the research. The issues raised, such as seasons for agricultural activities, had minimal relevance to the theme of rural-urban interactions, thus leaving the participants puzzled and a little frustrated. Scoring was sometimes not possible as some of the seasonality issues could not be weighed or compared. Although they did the exercise, they always asked at the end why this was relevant to our stated aims. They had been all ready to discuss migration, mobility and interactions and ended up talking about interactions with maize plants. However, in Lindi this tool was used in all focus group discussions and generated considerable debate. Some aspects of the seasonality diagram were relevant, particularly those related to mobility, income and expenditure.

Venn Diagram

It was felt that while the Venn diagram is very useful for prioritisation of issues and community planning, it was not so useful to the research and, in some cases, was actually detrimental as it led to false expectations and left participants unsatisfied when none of the expectations were met. For instance, in Mitwero villagers debated strongly over the existence of a police dispensary as not being useful to the villagers, in order to produce positive recommendations from the research team for a new dispensary. As it is, most of the information generated by the Venn diagrams was also generated in the mapping and mobility/migration matrix (where they go and why). Thus, it would be possible to integrate the issue of the importance of each service into the mobility matrix.

Intra-household matrix

This was a very useful instrument which helped to visualise clearly the relationship between household division of labour, access to and ownership of household resources and migration patterns, in particular in relation to girls. In Lotima, the

elders stopped blaming the girls immediately the matrix reached completion since it was so obvious why the girls were migrating.

By contrast, although it was clear in the matrix that youths in Lindi have limited access to land and other family resources, it was not taken to be a serious issue. Elders argued that there was plenty of land and that if the youths were interested they could easily acquire a piece of land, clear it and establish their own farms. One participant among the women from rich households in Nachingwea said that land was available. The problem was lack of tools and low financial capacity. The intra-household matrix provided a valuable space for women to discuss unequal household divisions. Their husbands control all sales of produce and subsequent use of the income generated, but they hardly participate in crop production activity.

Mobility/migration matrix

This was the other really useful instrument because it showed clearly mobility and migration patterns and generated a lot of discussion on the reasons for these patterns. In Himo, it also showed the centrality of Himo to the villages around it, especially those below the road. In Lindi a different picture emerged whereby Lindi town competes with other settlements, especially rural service centres in attracting users of various services. With regard to trade, some villagers showed that buyers could come all the way from Dar es Salaam, Nachingwea and Masasi, without going through Lindi town.

Key informants' interviews

In addition to the focus group discussions, several key informants were interviewed to beef up the qualitative data obtained from the PRA. District officials and representatives from civil society associations were interviewed.

Feedback meetings

It proved impossible to carry out a feedback meeting with Himo town residents. Elsewhere the feedback provided an important space for researchers to validate their research findings and reflect with participants on the issues raised and how they should be addressed. Villagers participated enthusiastically in the meetings and several concrete suggestions were made. For example, in Lotima, the girls were very vocal and pushed their parents to the point where they had to admit that the lack of access to land and resources was the major factor in girls' moving to Mombasa, and returning with either unwanted babies, or HIV/AIDS or both. There were definite signs that the girls would be given access to land and resources in the future. In Marawe-Kyura, the whole issue of the expansion of the boundaries of Himo town and its effect on their lives was discussed in detail and suggestions made as to what they expect from the district council, suggestions presented to the district council in the final feedback meeting.

The story in Lindi is similar to that of Himo. In Mitwero it was not possible to carry out the feedback meeting as planned. The day the villagers had set aside for the meeting was changed into land allocation day. As that was the peak period for farm preparation, it was not possible to make another appointment. Trend change was not conducted because the village chairman and the Village Executive Officer did not turn

up for the general meeting. However, a copy of the village map developed during the first general meeting was handed to a village council member who was present.

In Narunyu, about 100 villagers turned up for the feedback meeting. However, when we introduced the subject of the meeting, they argued that they had said everything in the focus group discussions and that there was nothing else to tell. As we were also satisfied that the data to be collected through the feedback meeting had already been gathered through the other tools, we agreed with the villagers and called off the meeting.

In the urban neighborhood, the feedback meeting was revised, and instead of applying the trend change, we asked general questions such as what was retarding development in Lindi. Although, the meeting in Nachingwea took about 45 minutes, the reasons given for the low rate of development in Lindi provided an excellent catalyst for further discussions of the issues and the formulation of concrete recommendations.

6. Second Phase: Questionnaire Survey and Commodity Chain Analyses

Questionnaire preparation and pre-testing

The findings of the first phase of fieldwork were presented at a one-week review workshop, attended by three external advisers to the project, all of them professional researchers with an interest in the topic of the study. The aims of the meeting were to summarise the findings; to identify gaps in the information gathered; and to identify and develop the tools for Phase 2. As originally planned, a questionnaire survey was deemed necessary to supplement qualitative data with quantitative data and give more specific information on the differences between groups and locations. In addition, it was decided that commodity chain analyses would contribute to a better understanding of the problems identified in Phase 1. with regard to access to markets.

Because of the lack of a sampling frame, it was decided that the questionnaire survey sample would not be statistically representative but rather a purposive sample. The respondents (120 for each location, or 40 for each sub-location) were selected along the same categories used for the qualitative focus group discussions. A draft questionnaire was prepared in Dar es Salaam and tested in a nearby village which was intended to offer similar characteristics to those found in the two study locations.

The pre-testing was important in two ways:

- It exposed a number of ambiguities in the original questionnaire which were re-written.
- It made it possible to develop a preliminary codebook.

Second phase fieldwork

The second phase field work took place during January 1999. In Lindi it was the peak period for cultivation. Three activities were planned and carried out.

Feedback workshops

Draft reports produced from the qualitative survey (some in English and some in Swahili) were provided to selected district level staff and councillors to read and comment on during the workshop. Participants had about a week to prepare for the meeting.

In Lindi the workshop was well attended with fourteen officers and 7 councillors who were actively involved. Probably the good working relationship created during phase one provided a basis for the commitment demonstrated by the participants. During the meeting the draft report was scrutinised almost page by page, suggestions were made and the text revised accordingly. Additional data requirements were also identified. The feedback workshop in Himo consisted of a series of presentations followed by discussion and recommendations. It was attended by the majority of district staff as well as representatives from the three research sites and two relevant councillors. The workshop was successful in bringing out the major points of contention for discussion: land tenure and alienation, the formal recognition of Himo as a township, the location of the main market and environmental conservation.

In Lindi the dominant issues were interactions related to initiation ceremonies, low agricultural production, and poor accessibility. Unlike in Himo where it was difficult to organise feedback meetings as people felt they had already given their feedback at the end of the first phase, in Lindi such meetings were held but the attendance in the three settlements was not as high as it was at the district-level workshop. In Narunyu, for instance, most villagers were busy with farm work particularly guarding their crops against wildlife. However comments and some resolutions were made and additional qualitative data made available to the research team.

Questionnaire survey

The difficult part for the questionnaire survey was to identify relevant respondents for the interviews. In each location it was planned to interview 120 respondents each from Himo and Lindi, 40 from each settlement. Our intention was to interview representatives from gender, generation and income categories, since data from the qualitative survey suggested that the way individuals and families straddle the rural-urban divide is conditioned by these three factors. In general the young had different livelihood strategies from the old. While the old maintained traditional crops, the young tried new crops in Himo and got involved in trading (Himo and Lindi). In addition, young men have livelihood strategies different from young women, and young men from rich families or with rich relatives adopt different strategies from those of their poor counterparts. In Lindi and Himo it is increasingly common for young people to live alone away from their parents. While those living alone are reasonably free, those staying with their parents might be more controlled, thus limiting their movements, for instance in commuting for trading. Drawing on our experience from the PRA data, we defined a young person as one below forty years old. In the settlements studied most people who are above forty are considered old. On the basis of this, twelve categories were identified:

Category A: Old respondents either heads of households or not

1. Men above forty years from households categorised as rich from wealth ranking
2. Women above forty years from households categorised as rich from wealth ranking
3. Men above forty years from households categorised as poor from wealth ranking
4. Women above forty years from households categorised as poor from wealth ranking

Category B: Respondents below forty years, living with their parents

1. Young men living with parents whose households were ranked as poor
2. Young women living with parents whose households were ranked as poor
3. Young men living with parents whose households were ranked as rich
4. Young women living with parents whose households were ranked as rich

Category C: Respondents below forty years, not living with their parents

1. Young men not living with parents, and considered as rich
2. Young men not living with parents, and considered as poor
3. Young women not living with parents, and considered as rich
4. Young women not living with parents, and considered as poor.

Category A. provided 16 while category B and C provided 24 respondents respectively.

Selecting respondents

During the wealth ranking exercise, we prepared a list of names for the majority of the inhabitants. The list indicates the wealth group, but we had no data on the age of the head of the respective household. The rest of the information needed was obtained during Phase 2. fieldwork from a group of people from each settlement. In most cases village leaders provided the information about age and whether there was a young person living with their parents in a respective household. Since the categorisation in terms of age did not require specific years, it was easy for the inhabitants to categorise the people. Once a list was made for each of the twelve categories a random selection of the appropriate number of respondents was made.

While selecting respondents for category A. was relatively easy, finding relevant respondents for categories B. and C. was more difficult. In Himo there were no young men living with parents, and very few in Marawe Kyura and Lotima. There were no young women living alone. In Nachingwea in Lindi town, it was even more difficult to find young men whether living with parents or not. However through assistance from the leaders it was possible to find a sufficient number of respondents, sometimes through several attempts and visits to a given household. In case one was not available then through a discussion with the leaders it was possible to find a replacement. Eventually we managed to assemble respondents for the twelve categories.

Flexibility in terms of time and place at which one was interviewed also contributed to successful work. Although most respondents were found and interviewed at their home, others were interviewed at their work place or at the village centre. Young people were more eager to be interviewed than the rest, while those from households categorised as poor considered the questionnaire interview as a continuation of the exercise started during phase one in identifying people for loans. Being aware of this, we tried as much as possible to limit its impact on the data. In Himo, we experienced suspicion and even refusal to answer the questionnaire, particularly on issues related to income. The first day the revenue collection books were put away for fear that we had been sent by the Prime Minister's office to investigate corruption. One researcher was actually threatened with violence. Income was therefore generally under-estimated. In the villages where expectation of aid existed, income and support from relatives outside were again under-estimated. For example, in Marawe Kyura one old man said he got nothing from his daughter at all until the sub-village chairman objected: 'Oh come on, didn't she bring you those corrugated sheets for the roof of your house', which he sheepishly agreed to be the case. In Marawe Kyura, where remittances are a key part of survival strategies and many old men and women are living in houses built by their children, all they would admit to was a kilo of sugar here and there and a few coins at Christmas.

Commodity chain analysis

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the interactions associated with trade we carried out commodity chain analyses for tomatoes and bananas in Himo, and coconuts, fish and aggregates in Lindi. The chains for these commodities were constructed through key informant interviews in the settlements and where it was possible in the destinations, say market places in Dar es Salaam. These analyses were very fruitful in revealing the formal and informal networks that existed despite more distrust as to the purpose of the question.

Quantitative data analysis and report writing

Since the research team had access to the University of Dar es Salaam's SPSS software, it was decided to use it to analyse the quantitative data. A short training session was organised to expose the research team to the basics of the programme so that we could all participate in finalising the data coding and in drawing trends and lessons from the data. The training was also in line with the research objective of building capacity of local researchers in Tanzania. After the training coding was accomplished. Care was taken not to have too many variables which might be misleading during analysis. In some cases we decided to combine some variables into one, for the reasons stated above. Once the code book was agreed upon, a member of the research team entered the data into the database. In case of unclear answers the relevant interviewer was consulted for clarification. The data were analysed using simple statistics – essentially frequencies and cross-tabulations. This reflects the research design and the general concern to avoid generalisations and concentrate instead on social process as experienced by different actors. A third one-week workshop was held in August 1999 to organise the quantitative data analysis and develop a conceptual framework for both location reports and the final report.

7. Conclusion

In general the use of both the PRA and quantitative tools proved valuable and stimulating, both to the researchers and to the respondents in the research. The absorption shown by focus group discussions when they felt the particular tool being used was relevant to them is proof enough of the power and importance of such tools.

However, the research also showed the importance of thinking through more carefully and adapting the instruments to be used, and pre-testing them in order to ensure maximum effectiveness. The pre-testing of the survey questionnaire not only improved the structure but gave an idea on the problem of coding before finalising the interviews.

In order to achieve the research objectives, we have built into the research process an additional mechanism to continue empowering the community members to remain active in the policy process and to improve interactions positive to them. The research reports were produced in short Swahili versions, and local people invited to a national workshop where the research findings were be presented and discussed.

Finally, given the nature of the assignment, more thought needs to be given to the contradictions between the extractive nature of such research and the expectations of respondents who gave so freely of their time and ideas. We can now only hope that the final report resulting from the research will be powerful enough to trigger some of the processes of change for which the participants argued so eloquently in the expectation that the research would also be of value to them.