THE IMPACT OF VILLAGISATION ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

A CASE STUDY OF IRAMBA DISTRICT, TANZANIA.

By

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A Thesis submitted in part fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts (M.A.) in Urban and Regional Planning in the University of Nairobi.

June 1980.
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Author: Kitilla, M.L.D.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Supervisor: Prof. A. Subbakrishniah.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Parents:
Danielson Kitilla and Magdalena Ibrahim.
Rural development Policy in Tanzania is the core of overall national social development. The country believes that rural development can be achieved much faster through rural transformation, and that this can be accomplished by making people live in "Planned" villages through the villagisation programme. This is based on the argument that when people live together in these villages, social and other services and facilities will be easily and cheaply provided thus leading to accelerated development. In essence, this is the core objective of the whole villagisation programme.

The programme also aims at encouraging public participation, whereby people are involved in the formulation and implementation of different development projects in their areas. This is a step towards the achievement of the country's planning aspiration of "planning from below" approach.

Presently, the programme is not doing well as it was anticipated due to a number of factors.
The study, which carried out field investigations through questionnaires and oral interviews, has revealed some of those factors responsible for the slow progress of the villagisation programme particularly in Iruma district. Village leadership, lack of adequate planning education and initiatives, educational levels of both the villagers and their leaders, and the low level of technology are among the identified factors impeding the smooth implementation and success of the villagisation programme.

The above findings lead to the following conclusions:

1. Villagisation has made little impact on the rural development in the district due to its slow progress.
2. Conflicts in the village leadership structure slow the rate of development in the villages.
3. Lack of initiatives and low level of both planning education and technology have resulted in low level of industrialisation in the district.
4: There is still no meaningful Public Participation in rural development in the area and the country's aspiration of planning from below i.e. from the grass-roots upwards is still far from being practical.
Acknowledgements

The completion of this study could not have been successfully accomplished without the co-operation and goodwill of many people to whom I owe a lot of thanks.

In particular I would like to thank most heartily my Supervisor Professor A. Subbakrishriah, Chairman of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, for his most invaluable guidance, supervision and constructive criticisms which have greatly enriched this thesis.

Also I would like to thank all those people who provided me with useful information during my research, especially District Departmental Heads and the District Planning Officer.

My thanks also go to the rural people of Tanzania, particularly those in Iramba district, who have taught me a lot about rural life and its strategy for development. I learnt many things from them during my research which is the basis of this work.
Finally special thanks are also due to Miss S. Boga and Miss Mary Manyaki who kindly and tirelessly offered to type the manuscript.

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Finally special thanks are also due to Miss S. Boga and Miss Mary Wanyoki who kindly and tirelessly offered to type the manuscript.

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1.0 General

1.01 Before independence, the majority of Tanzania's people lived in rural areas, generally in scattered settlement pattern and rural development was restricted to estate and plantation agriculture in the more fertile areas of the country. Subsistence agriculture, to maintain themselves and their families, was the practice of the people, and the concept of working for National development had not yet been formulated. Also the potential of the Tanzania's people to achieve self-realization and self-sufficiency was not being tapped.

1.02 After independence and especially after the publication of the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania's rural development strategy changed greatly. Today, the main focus of Tanzania's development policy is on rural areas where 95% of the population live, still completely dependent on subsistence agriculture. The main objective of Tanzania's rural development or transformation, therefore, is to raise the standard of living of the rural population and transform the
subsistence economy to a market (commercial) agricultural economy. This is in effect the core of overall national social development.

1.03 In order to achieve the above broad objective, Tanzania has chosen the Ujamaa policy (concept) as her development strategy whereby peasants are encouraged to live in communally organized, self-help Ujamaa villages. This is made possible through the villagisation programme. In these villages individual Tanzanians are encouraged to participate in development and take part in development activities on a co-operative basis. Although Ujamaa concept is often associated with the creation of communal villages, it actually refers to the total integrated strategy of enabling farmers (villagers) to participate in and eventually be responsible for planning and decision making in production, processing, storage, distribution, marketing and for defining the quality of their social and political lives. More communal spirit, more spontaneity, greater utilization of local resources and self-reliance are also important aspects of the Ujamaa concept.

1.04 There are two factors which make possible the application of Ujamaa concept in Tanzania. These are the nationalisation of land and the abundance and
potential of public participation - involving peasants, civil and party leaders. When land is in the hands of the state, problems associated with land tenure which would have otherwise faced the villagisation programme are eliminated. Again public participation makes project implementation in the villages easy and less costly because such projects can be carried out by the villagers themselves on self-help basis provided they are given proper direction and guidance.

1.05 The villagisation programme, on the other end, is faced with severe limitations. These include limitations on financing, budgetting and organisation, necessary for the achievement of high production in the villages, using local available resources. In its effort to help the villages overcome these limitations, the Government, through the enactment of village and Ujamaa Villages Act, has issued guidelines on how best villages should plan and organize themselves so as to achieve high production.

1.06 By and large, the Ujamaa concept has had varying successes in the various parts of the country. It has been successful in certain areas but a "failure" in other areas. The "failure"
referred to here is only in relative terms because there is not a single area in the country where the concept has never or cannot be completely applied. The variations in the success of the concept are mainly attributed to the following factors:

1. The degree of acceptance of the concept, often influenced by political limitations
2. Resource availability and utilization
3. Availability and capacity of arable land.
4. Nature of crops - the concept is difficult to apply in areas with permanent crops.

All the above factors influence the development of the village. For instance, development has been observed to be much faster in areas with high resource base than in those areas with less resources. Similarly areas with high land capacity, facilitating high productivity and production, develop at a faster pace than those areas with low land capacity. Despite the above-mentioned shortcomings of the Ujamaa concept, the development of Ujamaa villages, and, as their main material basis, agricultural producer co-operatives, is central to the whole strategy of Tanzanian rural development.

1.07 For one to understand better the rural development
policy, he needs to know what is meant by a rural area and rural development. It is not easy to distinguish between that which is "urban" and that is "rural" because one cannot draw a clear dividing line between the two although attempts have been made to distinguish them using different criteria. The criteria used include population size (demographic definition), functional criterion and occupation. For the purpose of this study, a rural area will be taken to be an area where agricultural and/or pastoral enterprises are the basis of its economy. The definition is arrived at from the occupation point of view.

1.08 The term Rural Development is not easy to define, and as such a number of definitions have been given to it. The definition, to be adopted in this study, is the one advanced by Kimani and Taylor. These describe Rural development as a series of quantitative and qualitative change occurring among a given rural population and whose converging effects indicate in time a rise in the standard of living and favourable changes in the way of life. Put into simpler terms,

this definition simply implies that rural development is a process whereby living standards of the mass of low-income population residing in rural areas are improved and their process of development made self-sustaining without completely changing their rural way of life.

1.09 In order to improve the living standards of the subsistence population, resources should be mobilized and allocated so as to reach a desirable balance over time between the welfare and productive services available to the subsistence sector. Furthermore, to make the development process self-sustaining, development of appropriate skills and implementing capacity is required. Also institutions at the local, district, regional and national levels should be present so as to ensure the effective use of existing resources and to foster the mobilization of additional financial and human resources for continued development of the subsistence sector.

1.10 On the basis of the above arguments it can be said that rural development, which is dependent on land, can be realized if land productivity is increased. This can be achieved through proper organisation, resource mobilization and allocation, appropriate technological innovations and transformation
from traditional to modern agricultural techniques. Increased land productivity leads to increased agricultural production, which in term, demands adequate storage facilities for the produce. High agricultural production will also attract auxiliary activities such as Agro-based food processing industries, etc. These industries will create employment opportunities for the rural population thus enabling them earn incomes and at the same time trying to solve the problem of unemployment. With rise in income levels, the peasants would be able to build better housing and afford certain types of infrastructure. There will be therefore, gradual development of housing and infrastructure. When such a situation will be reached, villagers will relatively be well-off and hence improving their living conditions. In the final analysis, the gap between urban-rural imbalance will be considerably narrowed, thus minimizing the rural to urban migration.

1.11 Although distinction between rural and urban areas is sought, the two actually co-exist in the sense that they grow side by side with mutual interaction. For example there are always some linkages between local communities and the outside; and these linkages keep the rural societies in touch with the urban areas. In fact it is argued that urban and rural development are
complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Thus an urban area cannot be planned in isolation from its hinterland.

1.12 The basic objective of rural development, that is, improving living standards of the rural population can be attained through two approaches: Centralized or planned economy approach and the free enterprise approach. The planned economy approach requires meeting basic human needs of the entire population, whose fulfilment requires not only a rapid increase in production of certain types of goods and services but also a redistribution of land and other production assets. This advocates a model in which the primary emphasis is on equality of opportunity and collective or state ownership of land. Before proceeding further it's worth at this juncture, to try and define the term basic human needs. The term basic human needs has been heard more and more in recent years in international and national circles. There are many problems associated with the identification and assessment of such needs; for example needs vary geographically and climatically, different social systems may accord different orders or priority to human needs and the setting of any level to

2. The application of this won't be difficult in Tanzania where land and other major means of production are owned by the state.
represent a reasonable minimum is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. Nonetheless it would seem that those basic needs which are essential for a satisfactory human existence anywhere - needs which are in effect universal - include the physical needs of food, health, shelter, water, access, energy and the social ones of education, creative employment, individual freedom, and ability to participate in the prevailing social system.

1.13 The free enterprise approach, at the other end of the scale, has primary reliance on existing patterns of land and the means of production, more investments and emphasizes economic objectives like higher production, more investments, larger export and price stability. The argument behind it is that by creating incentives for maximum individual growth and favourable climate for private investment, rapid progress can be achieved which will trickle down in due course to the lowest income groups (peasants) through fuller employment and better social services supported by selective fiscal devices to improve income distribution. In practice these development models have produced mixed results. Some have been more successful than others. The choice of which model one state should follow depends entirely on the state itself.

1.14 Tanzania, with aspirations to build a society based
on socialist and self-reliance principles, has chosen the socialist model for her development. She wants to develop this model basing it on the traditional concepts and at the same time utilizing some analytical tools which have been developed elsewhere in understanding her own situation. This means that she is going to learn from the experience of various other countries such as China, Russia, Israel, Cuba and others with some socialistic models for development. It should be made clear here that Tanzania will not only provide her people with basic needs but also all other supplementary needs and goals which would arise after the basic needs have been satisfied, such as infrastructure, community facilities and other services.

1.15 In Tanzania, with the exception of a few people who live in urban areas, the vast majority of the population live in scattered homesteads and farms all over the country. The question then of providing basic needs and facilities to the entire population becomes difficult especially when people are haphazardly scattered in a large country like Tanzania.

3. Exceptions to this are those settlements whose nucleation was caused by defensive needs and the establishments of missions, administrative centres, etc.
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3. Exceptions to this are those settlements whose nucleation was caused by defensive needs and the establishments of missions, administrative centres, etc.
Definitely within economic limits it is virtually impossible. This is one problem which have to be overcome if the chosen strategy is to succeed.

1.16 In the case of Tanzania, the answer to the above problem was to get the people (through the villagisation programme) who were living in scattered homesteads and farms live together in nucleated communities or villages. This concept of nucleation is not new to man. The idea of nucleated villages is as old as man himself. What is advocated by the present villagisation programme is the application of the present knowledge of rural technology to enable such villages become economically viable entities. Indeed this is the core aim of the socialist concept, which is only a means to an end. The concept requires scattered rural population to live in "planned" villages so that they can be easily and cheaply provided with basic community facilities and services. In this way the prohibitive costs involved will be minimized.

1.17 Moreover, in these villages, it will be easy to disseminate knowledge about improved production and crop husbandry techniques and provide the inputs for production increases when people live together in villages. It can be therefore said that the main objectives of establishment of villages are the transformation of individual and generally dispersed
homesteads into clustered homesteads and large-scale co-operative production units designed to achieve a rapid increase in production and material wealth and a sustained improvement in the living conditions of peasants. In these villages also people will live together and work together for the good of all. They will also own the means of production (land). At the same time the villages will exist as viable economic and social units and will be regarded as "development poles" for the majority of the people. Thus one of the problems which physical planners will have to face will be the design of village form or forms conducive to the growth of the economic and social structures needed in the villages. The comparison between the former scattered and present nucleated settlement pattern is shown in Table 1.1. below.
### Table 1.0 Comparison between former scattered and present nucleated settlements.

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<th>SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS</th>
<th>NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Pattern</td>
<td>Loosely knit</td>
<td>Organised</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. Production and storage</td>
<td>Individual responsibility</td>
<td>Collective and more economical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Agriculture</td>
<td>Traditional small holdings</td>
<td>Improved techniques and communal farming</td>
</tr>
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<td>4. Agricultural inputs</td>
<td>Difficult to get</td>
<td>Easily obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social services</td>
<td>Difficult and costly to provide</td>
<td>Efficiently provided at less costs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Technology</td>
<td>Rudimentary</td>
<td>Improved/modern technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Planning</td>
<td>- Depended on centralized planning - Depended on village elders - No land use plans</td>
<td>- Villagers plan and implement own programme - Have village governments - Land use plans.</td>
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</table>

1.18 Rural settlements have generally had substandard housing and poor living conditions where limited resources, low per capita income and unemployment are rampant. Most communities in these settlements are not supplied with necessary services like water, schools and community facilities like shops, etc. This situation is a result
of planners being biased. They have been stressing urban growth at the expense of the vast rural hinterland and thus creating a disparity between urban and rural areas, which has resulted in accelerated rural-urban migration. Because of this urban-rural imbalance, people from rural areas migrate into the urban areas with the expectation of better opportunities in employment, housing and social amenities which they have not been able to have access to in the rural areas. But when they go to the urban areas, their expectations are not met. As these migrants had hoped for a better change in their direction of life, when their desires and aspirations meet a dead end, they end up as urban unemployed people who become squatters, street loiterers and main causes of other social ills. Again this is another problem which physical planners will have to face.

1.19 In its long term perspective, villagisation can be seen as one of the answers to the rural-urban migration problem. This will only be true though when real development has been attained in villages, thereby minimizing the rural-urban imbalance. Real development consists of a change for a better - better farms, better implements, better crops, better yields, better incomes for the people, better houses, better food. A country can be said to be undergoing
development when a situation arises where the above changes take place for the masses of people. Real development will be attained in villages when the villagers, through appropriate choice of technology and proper organisation can efficiently utilize the local available resources in their areas; and also through good co-ordination between location and land-use for all economic activities.

1.20 Most governments of developing countries are trying hard to curb the rural-urban migration. In tackling this problem, they are trying to balance the resource allocation between rural and urban settlements so that rural areas are able to contain their population. Through planned allocation of these resources, the governments are able to provide the rural areas with essential facilities and services. Thus if the politicians, the planners and the people who participate in planning are trying to steer rural and urban development, then they must have the power to organise the economic development in accordance to their plans. Without this predominance of politics over economy, the uncontrolled economic or accumulation process will generate a lot of structural problems, among which is the serious problem of the maintenance of the disparity between urban and rural areas.

1.21 Improved agriculture is one of the important and necessary pre-requisites to rural development. The main objective of agricultural improvement is the attainment of economic land usage which depends on the rational application of labour, capital, knowledge and skill to the available natural resources. Improved agricultural sector will give rise to a more affluent rural people who will be increasingly able to share in economic burdens of nation-building. Moreover, agricultural development will bring in its wake improvement and expansion of social services (health, education, communication, etc.). Improvement of peasant agriculture will therefore, not only foster the attainment of higher standards of living in the rural areas but will also strengthen the nation's economic base. It is anticipated that, in the long run, agricultural improvement in Tanzania will only be achieved through state and co-operative (communal) farming in the villages.

1.22 When closely looked at, the Ujamaa concept basically advocates the development of human settlement through the villagisation programme. The development of human settlements requires the efforts and needs of the people themselves to mobilise their resources and choose the technology appropriate for achieving the desired land use
changes in balance with a given environment. This calls for planning, especially physical planning for its proper fulfilment. For physical planning is concerned primarily with efficient functioning of, and the rational use of resources in the built environment. It also establishes a perspective view of the alternative courses of action and their consequences and it brings about the co-ordination between location and land-use for all activities to achieve a maximisation of benefits. Efficient functioning involves designation of such land uses which minimize cost of development without reducing efficiency and the pleasant aspects of the environment. But however good goals a plan aims at, these goals cannot be completely achieved if the people are made the planning objective. Planning is by the people and with the people. Any plan which lacks the people's consent and commitment is bound to fail because the two are vital if success is to be realized. That is, public participation is essential. It implies that in order to have a plan that will be well implemented, it is fundamental that people should be involved at all stages of the planning process, that is, formulation of objectives, identification of policy priorities and

5. In this respect, public participation is taken to mean the involvement of citizen participation with planning experts during the planning process as a means for evolving and implementing democratic plans.
implementation of plans. In fact involving people in
deciding or influencing decisions in issues likely to
effect them, not only raises their political
consciousness but also makes them more committed
to the goals decided upon. They will also be proud
to do what they have decided for themselves; whereas
they will not respond with enthusiasm to a call for
development work which may be to their benefit, but
which has been decided upon and planned by an authority
hundred of miles away.

1.23 It can thus be seen that villagisation programme
is a broad one. On one hand it is seen as the last
stage of Tanzania's policy of decentralization whereby
power is taken to the people at the grass-root i.e.
village level. People are given the power over their
lives and their development. For Tanzania, this
accomplishes the aspiration of planning from below.
Planning from below is based on the argument that
local people understand the local problems and their
urgency. They should be given the power to use their
initiatives in finding solutions. Whether this type
of planning is succeeding or not in Tanzania, will be
discussed in the later parts of the study (Chapter 4).
In connection with the above, it is argued that rural
development will not occur unless governments are
absolutely committed to attacking poverty at its
roots in the rural areas. But governments by themselves cannot achieve rural development. They can only facilitate it and make it possible. They can organise, help and guide, they cannot do. For rural development is people's development of themselves, their lives and environment. And the people cannot do it if they have no power.

1.24 On the other hand villagisation is seen as a process of moving people from isolated homesteads into planned villages with the end result of total collectivisation. This emphasizes communal and public participation. In order to ensure proper participation and more power to the people in deciding on development programmes, the village and Ujamaa Villages Act No. 21 of 1975 was enacted. It provided for the first time for legal recognition of villages. In fact it abolished the formal recognition of all Ujamaa villages which had been formed when the Ujamaa concept was first initiated; and required their registration first as only villages. Once that is finished, villages will be able to apply for legal identification as Ujamaa villages only after they have fulfilled certain requirements (refer Chapter two under Ujamaa Villages)

Section). Thus legally there have been no Ujamaa Villages since 1975. In view of the above discussion, it can be noted that villagisation does not only concern itself with moving people into villages but it also advocates the planning of such villages so as to satisfy the basic requirements for human settlements as well as make them viable, self-reliant economic units.

1.25 Villagisation is also seen as one of the long term solutions to the problem of inter and intra-regional imbalances. As it is known, inter and intra-regional planning are concerned with the allocation of resources between regions and sub-regions of a region respectively. The imbalances are caused by the inequitable resource allocation between potentially "strong" and "weak" regions or sub-regions. As a result "strong" regions or sub-regions are developed at the expense of "weak" ones thus creating economic and developmental differentials among them. In the long run under the villagisation programme, villages in a particular region will utilize the available local resources for their economic enhancement and eventually become economically self-reliant and less dependent on government assistance. This is to say, the villages' prosperity and development will depend entirely on the people's own initiatives and effort and not on the
funds (resources) from the government and hence alleviating the imbalances at least those induced by the planning agencies.

1.26 Up to this point the study has centred its discussion on only the good side of the Ujamaa policy and the villagisation programme in particular. The policy has its own problems and shortcomings. In this section only a brief mention of them is made, for the detailed discussion will be given in the later parts of the study. The first problem is related to the way the villagisation programme was carried out. The programme lacked proper planning and co-ordination and was embarked "in a rush" without considering the immediate effects on the welfare of the villagers. This resulted in villagers being shifted to new areas with virtually no immediate facilities and poor selection of village sites. The other problem can be termed as economic inadequacy. The policy's objective is to see that after a period of time the villages become economically self-reliant and less dependent on government assistance. The policy didn't take into account the economic bases, levels of technology, production capabilities and quality of organisation (leadership) in the villages. One finds out that even in villages with resources, development has been difficult to achieve to the desirable level because of the above factors. In the final analysis, a gap is created between the policy's expectations and
the villages' performance. This situation increases the burden on the government in terms of resources because it has to provide services to the villages to supplement the few that they have been able to realize.

1.27 The next problem is brought about by the restriction of the village size growth in terms of population or simply the optimum population threshold in the villages. The policy (under the Village Act) requires that villages should have a minimum of 250 families and a maximum of 600 families. It further goes to say that when a village population exceeds 600 families, the excess families should be moved to a new village thus keeping the village size constant. This has very serious planning implications. In the first place the whole move will retard rural development rather than enhancing it because the move will restrict mushrooming of "potential growth spots" which are necessary catalysts to development. Secondly, in the long run it will lead to the creation of class of people who would belong to no where. At present the movement of excess families (spillover population) to new areas does not seem to be a problem because land in the country is still in abundance. Its impact will be felt when the problem of land pressure arises. Once that
situation is reached, the spillover population will have no more areas to be settled. Unless non-agricultural activities are introduced in the rural areas to absorb this population, it will have no other alternative except to flock into urban areas, accelerating rural-urban migration. This will be contrary to the expected role of villagisation of curbing rural exodus into urban areas.

1.28 The other problem, closely related to the above, is a social one. When the excess population from the various villages is brought together in a new village, there will be people with different ethnic backgrounds and attitudes. It won't be easy for them to interact freely and live in harmony, especially when they consider themselves as aliens. Moreover leadership and organisation in such villages will be difficult and will in turn affect the development of the villages.

1.29 The study also looks at villages as co-operative societies. However there are two aspects of the word "co-operative" which are considered. In the first aspect, villages are looked at as co-operative societies whereby people work and live on the basis of communal production. In the second aspect, villages are looked at as marketing co-operative societies.
1.1. **Problem Statement**

1.11 Villagisation programme started when the Ujamaa village policy was initiated in 1967 but by then it was mainly concerned with the establishment of only Ujamaa villages. It got its stronghold in 1973 when the Presidential order was given which required all peasants to live in villages which were not necessarily Ujamaa ones. The programme received further reinforcement in 1975 when the Village and Ujamaa Villages Act was enacted. Today villagisation is a general programme with the main aim of settling people into planned villages which are not necessarily Ujamaa villages.

1.12 Tanzania is a nation in a hurry. She wants to develop her people fast. Villagisation programme is seen to be the one tool for accomplishing the above goal. That is, if properly implemented, the programme will help develop the rural people much faster. This follows from the argument that when people have been settled in planned villages which are expected to become economically self-reliant after a period of time, their living standards will be improved. The programme, through the Village Act, issues development guidelines to the villages in terms of village physical layouts, administration structure and
economic planning. But however feasible and good these guidelines are, they are useless if they are not properly followed and implemented. Despite the Party's and Government's great emphasis and effort towards the villagisation programme, hitherto the programme is not doing well as it was anticipated. This is the central problem, which this study sets out to find the reasons responsible for it.

1.13 Related to the above central problem, there are also sideline problems. Despite the fact that guidelines on village size and site selection have been issued, some villages do not follow them. This lands them in a situation where they find themselves confronted with problems related to their sizes (in terms of area) and spatial location. Some villages are located in poor and difficult sites which render development in them expensive. Others have small demarcated areas (boundaries) which limit their future physical and economic activities expansion. These become constraints to the development of the village.

1.14 There are also planning problems brought about by the policy itself when it tries to impose restrictive measures on the optimum threshold
population in the villages. These problems have already been discussed and stated above.

1.2 Significance of the Study

1.21 Tanzania's main development focus is on the rural areas. She believes that development can be achieved much faster through rural transformation and that this can be accomplished through villagisation. Through villagisation, it is hoped that the social and economic welfare of the Tanzanian masses will be improved. Thus the study is important as far as both social and economic consideration of the rural population and the country at large are concerned.

1.22 When people live in "planned" villages, social and other services and facilities will be easily and cheaply provided. On the economic side, the villages, it is hoped will become viable, self-sustaining economic units through the dissemination of modern agricultural techniques and other technological innovations. Once this happens, there will be increased productivity and production in the villages both in cash and subsistence crops. This will lead to the springing up of other auxiliary activities which in turn will lead to the diversification of rural economy.
1.23 Since Tanzania's economy greatly depends on agriculture, increased production in the villages means increased crop output for the country, which subsequently leads to its economic growth. With these ends in mind, the study is seen to be significant in that it deals with the evaluation of villagisation which is considered to be the backbone of the country's future.

1.3 Area of Study

1.31 Iramba District is one of the three districts in Singida Region which is situated at the central part of Tanzania. Singida Region is boarded by Arusha Region on the North-East, Dodoma Region on the East, Iringa and Mbeya Regions on the South and Tabora Region on the West (Refer Map No. 1).

1.32 Iramba District itself has seven Administrative Divisions namely Kisiriri, Shelui, Kinampanda, Ndago, Kinyangiri, Nduguti and Kirumi (Map No. 2). The district has an area of 7,900 square kilometers and a population of 242,003 people according to the 1978 National census. The main tribe is Nyiramba. The district has an average annual rainfall of about 370 mm, and two seasons, the dry and wet seasons.
1.33 There are varied economic activities in the district. These range from farming, bee-keeping, animal husbandry, fishing, etc. Also a number of different crops are grown in the district. These include millet, maize, cotton, sunflower, groundnuts, onions, beans, etc. The main cash crops being cotton, sunflower, groundnuts and onions. These are discussed in detail in Chapter three. (Shown on map No.4)

1.34 Iramba was chosen as a study area for the following reasons:

(1) It was the 1977/78 "best district" in the zone (comprising Singida, Dodoma and Tabora regions?)

(2) No other study has been done on the district.

(3) Its potentiality for economic activities.

(4) The traditional villages in the district were more or less of a scattered pattern such that the effects of creating nucleated pattern of village settlement could be evaluated against the conditions in former settlement (as opposed to other districts in the country with permanent crops where shifting villages is difficult).

(5) As a realistic macro-unit for planning and development.

7. In order to encourage villagers to work hard, the government organizes seasonal competitions so as to choose the best village in the district, region and respective zone. High production and communal work organisation are among the things looked at in the competition.
Objectives of the Study

1. In 1972 Tanzania, in her attempt to alleviate the problem of over centralization, adopted the policy of decentralization whose main purpose was and still is to take power closer to the people. Incidentally the decentralization process ended at the district level. Later on it was decided to further take the power to the rural people at the village level through the villagisation programme. This was done because of the country's belief that planning should be effected from the bottom rather than from above. In other words it advocates the "planning from below" approach to planning. It is the study's first objective to evaluate the effectiveness of such decentralized planning i.e. planning from grassroots upwards.

2. The second objective is to evaluate the efficiency of villages in their function as co-operative societies both in communal production and as marketing agents.

3. The third objective is to investigate and identify the bottlenecks to the smooth implementation of the villagisation programme and how this affects rural development (in the district).
1.5 Assumptions and Hypotheses

1.5.1 Assumptions

The study assumes that:
The likelihood or degree of acceptance of the villagisation programme will depend upon -
(i) the traditional land tenure system of the people
(ii) and the people's degree of adaptability and attitude to innovations.

1.5.2 Hypotheses

The hypotheses below are based on the factors which influence the peasants to join the new villages.

Hypothesis 1

The motivation of an individual to join a new village may reasonably be linked with the degree of his satisfaction with the improvement of his life. If he feels the trend of introduced changes by an Agent are satisfactory, one might suppose that he would willingly join the village. Thus one can state the relationship as:

The number of peasants willing to join the villages will depend on their expectation of better living standards (i.e. improvement in his life).
Hypothesis 2

One other important individual level motive for joining a village is the expectation of services and material benefit. Thus one can generally hypothesize as:

The number of peasants willing to join the villages will depend on their expectation of material benefit.

Hypothesis 3

During the initiation of Ujamaa village policy, it was argued that only persuasion should be used to get people to join the village and then work communally in them. But when persuasion did not work with sufficient speed force was permitted (though to a small extent). Thus based on the above argument one might expect the following relationship:

The greater the number of peasants that joined the villages the more likely force was used to get them join the villages.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.6.1 Scope of the Study

The study looked into the factors which hinder the successful performance of the villagisation programme. Some of the factors looked at include:
1. Planning process in the village
2. Village leadership
3. People's attitudes towards villagisation
4. Educational levels of both villages and village leaders.
5. Availability and adequacy of various services and infrastructure.

1.6.2 Limitations

1.6.21 As already mentioned above, Iramba district (study area) has an area of 7,900 square kilometres. Considering such a vast area, it was not easy for the author alone to visit a large number of villages as it would have been desirable within the given time period. Thus the size of the study area and the author's single handedness are considered as a limitation to the study.

1.6.22 During the undertaking of the study, there was acute shortage of oil in the area and the country at large. The situation very much affected transportation in the area. In turn it had adverse effects on the author's mobility and hence limiting the number of villages to be visited. Transport problem is thus considered as one of the limitations to the study.
1.62 Of the villages visited, interviews were conducted in the presence of village leaders. To some extent this affected the respondents' freedom to express themselves especially on touchy and sensitive issues because of being afraid. This is also considered as a limitation because it might have affected the data collected.

1.7 Research Methodology

1.71 Today 100% of the district population lives in registered villages. In total there are 107 such villages in the district. A total of 20 villages, which is a 19.4% sample were interviewed. A 20% sample was intended but due to the above limitations the target was not reached.

1.72 The selection of these villages was based on a number of factors. Mainly they were selected according to the physical sub-regions (divisions) in the district, population figures, special characteristics and others were specifically chosen as examples of "problem areas". Under special characteristics are included things like physical location e.g. nodal villages, historical villages (e.g. Mkalama) and villages which are already "small townships" or "trading centres" like Iguguno, Mselembue, etc. Examples of problem areas are those villages with no or poor access. These were selected so as to ascertain the problems they encounter.
1.73 To begin with, at least two villages were selected from each of the seven Administrative Divisions in the district. As an attempt to "weight the sample", more villages were selected from those divisions with higher population figures.

1.74 To each of the selected village, three sets of questionnaires were administered. First, questionnaires on the household characteristics were administered to a 10% sample of the total households in the village. In this case, systematic sampling was used. Where the village household houses were arranged in a symmetric pattern, then questionnaires were administered after each chosen interval of houses. In cases of villages whereby the houses were not in any symmetrical pattern, the village household list from the village chairman was used, from which the households to be interviewed were selected. This too was done using systematic sampling.

1.75 The second set of questionnaire was administered to the various village leaders and committee members so as to get information on their backgrounds. Apart from his background information, more information on the various activities in the village was sought from
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the village Manager since he is supposed to be the overall co-ordinator of planning activities in the village.

1.76 The last set of questionnaire was an inventory or survey of the different infrastructure and services in the village. This was administered to the village leaders. There were also oral interviews and discussions with the village leaders with regards to issues not covered in the questionnaires.

1.77 Finally there were scheduled interviews with the District Departmental Heads especially those departments closely related to villagisation. This was done in order to get their opinions and views. Where it was possible relevant secondary data was collected from available documents.

1.78 Average data on village household characteristics were obtained by averaging the data outcomes (results) by the total number of (the 10%) households interviewed in the village. This 10% household data was converted to the 100% proportions (when required) so as to get the total data for the village. For example if the 10% household sample kept a certain number of livestock, to get the total number of livestock in the village, the figure from the 10% sample was converted to 100%.
proportions. Similarly the average data for the district was obtained by dividing the data results of the number of the (19% sample) villages interviewed in the district. Only when particular data was required for the whole district, was the 19% sample results converted to the 100% proportions.
CHAPTER TWO

COMPARATIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT

2.0 General

2.01 Different countries have different approaches to rural development with varying results. This chapter reviews selected approaches and evaluates the extent of achieving the objectives of rural development. The countries selected include China, Israel and Ghana. The approaches followed by each of these countries are discussed briefly, only to throw enough light for the purposes of comparison with the approach pursued by Tanzania.

2.02 Tanzania's approach is discussed at length. The discussion traces the background to the present villagisation programme. It also goes further to discuss the present village structure and various policies.

2.1 The People's Communes of China

2.11 A Chinese Commune is not a large agricultural co-operative but a composite unit of local government that encompasses the whole range of economic, social,
administrative and political functions for the rural community. Its essential purpose is to organise and mobilize the rural population to develop their land and other resources in order to meet their essential needs on the principle of self-reliance while at the same time reducing social inequalities.

2.12 The main factors which led to the introduction of the Chinese People's Communes include increased pressure of population on land and scarcity of cultivable land, natural calamities and traditional land tenure. To tackle the problem of land pressure, the peasants wanted to live together so that only one area could be set for settlement (nucleated) and the rest for agriculture rather than uneconomically sub-divide the land for each individual peasant. Also by working together as a community, the peasants could acquire valuable experience of large public work to face the problem of natural calamities like floods and drought.

2.13 Under the traditional Chinese land tenure, landlords and rich peasants owned bulk of the
cultivable land and the poor masses remained virtually landless. This situation could only be corrected through land reform. As a reaction to the then prevailing agrarian situation the peasants were compelled to join hands so as to effectively tackle the issue of land reform. As a result of this, the Revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party began in the 1920's with the aim of "eliminating" the landlord system. Under this struggle, certain areas were liberated and land and property belonging to the landlords were redistributed equally among the peasants. By 1952 a complete reform of the agrarian system had been carried out, and this reform created favourable conditions for further steps in the transformation of the rural society. China's transition from a small peasant economy towards collective agriculture is divided into four stages:

2.13 Mutual Aid Teams: Peasants pooled together their labour, animals or farm implements by grouping a number of households but retaining individual ownership of land. This enabled the teams to utilize effectively the available means of production. The value of a man's labour or the work done by a member's draught animal was determined through local standards.
2.132 Elementary Co-operatives:
This was the second stage of collectivisation where semi-socialist Agricultural Producers Co-operatives were initiated. Land was pooled for joint or collective cultivation through these co-operatives, which recognized individual's property rights in the system of income distribution. About 65% of the total income was distributed on the basis of work done by each member whereas the remaining 35% of the total income was distributed as dividends to each individual's contribution to the share capital in the co-operative.

2.133 Advanced Co-operatives:
These were the amalgamation of 10-20 elementary co-operatives and in these co-operatives the entire income of the co-operative was only distributed among members on the basis of the work done. These co-operatives had large capital with which to acquire agricultural machinery and finance small scale industries.

2.134 The People's Communes:
This was the last stage of collectivisation. The communes are large enough to undertake larger projects and build many industrial units. The agricultural co-operatives and the lowest
administrative units (hsiang) merged into the people's communes so as to make the communes units of rural development which could go beyond agriculture and manage all the economic, administrative, social and political aspects of rural life. In these communes, each peasant was allotted a small private plot to enable him to produce pigs, poultry and vegetables for the use of the family or for sale to supplement his income. The size of a commune varies enormously depending on the population density and in a particular area in proportion to available land. The communes are linked to the central government through counties and provinces.

Structurally, the commune is divided into a number of production brigades which are further sub-divided into production teams (Fig 2.1).

2.134.1 The Production Team
This consists of a natural village or cluster of houses cultivating the available land. The team is the basic production and accounting unit which owns land and is responsible for all the decision involving the deployment of available manpower, managing production and distribution of income.
FIGURE 2.1 CHINESE PEOPLE'S COMMUNE
generated by it. The team has substantial autonomy in making investment decisions involving its own labour and savings. In practice the production team is still the most important unit of rural organisation in China.

2.134.2 The Production Brigade:
The production brigade co-ordinates the annual production plans of the teams on the basis of quotas assigned by the commune. Its most important functions are to undertake investment and development activities on a scale that is too large for the production team. The brigades are also the lowest levels at which the party operates through direct contact with the rural population.

2.134.3 The Commune
2.134.31 The commune co-ordinates, supervises and guides all the activities of the production teams and brigades. It also undertakes larger projects that require considerable workforce or substantial financial resources such as rural roads, industrial units and supplementary social services like secondary schools and hospital facilities. On the political side, the commune supervises and implements the political and administrative policies of the government.
The economic role of the commune is to provide leadership, guidance and assistance for agricultural and rural development through production planning, provision of essential inputs and the diversification of rural economy. The commune is also free to decide the best use of the land, water and human resources and how to distribute, save or invest its income.

The members of a commune form a people's Assembly which elects Peoples' Council which in turn elects a Revolutionary Committee. The Council performs managerial and supervisory functions. The Party Secretary is sometimes the Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee. There are similar Revolutionary Committees at the brigade level elected by members of the brigade.

The progress of the Chinese system of rural development is attributed to a number of facts. The first of these is the system's ability to mobilise and utilize the unemployed and underemployed labour force in the rural areas for improving and cultivating the land more intensively. This was greatly facilitated by China's policy of collectivisation.
2.134.35 The second factor is its ability to diversify the rural economy which is necessary not only for absorbing additions to the rural labour force but also to generate additional incomes for the rural population.

2.134.36 The third feature of the system is its progress in improving the knowledge and skills of the rural population; for, the raised output per man depends partly on his access to capital, essential inputs and equipment. The system of rural education and training in China is different from other countries in that Chinese system is geared to educating and training the rural population for work within the commune and not for "white collar" jobs in urban areas.

2.134.37 The capacity for equitable distribution of income is the fourth feature of the system. The bulk of peasant's income is related to the work done for collective work. In other words different kinds of activities earn "work points" and each person gets wages according to total work points earned. The system of work points is, in effect, a piece rate system. It should also be pointed out that ideological motivation generated by the system in a country plays an important role in wheeling that country to progress.
The final factor is the system's role in planning. The mechanism of local planning is in accordance with the simple philosophy "From the bottom up and from the top down". The commune's proposals, which largely reflect the proposals of various brigades and teams based on their own needs and priorities and the best use of available manpower and financial resources, are sent to the county which after discussion with the commune, passes them on to the province which in turn submits them to the Central Planning Commission. Then a National Plan is formulated. The approved targets are then passed back to lower levels where there is a second round of meetings to firm up the plans.

From the above discussion, the objective of rural development in China may be summarized as: to organize, develop and utilize the available resources in such a manner that the entire rural population dependent on these resources has an equal (or at least an equitable) opportunity to meet, as a minimum, their basic needs with reasonable facilities for education, and health and can live together in a positive and healthy social environment.
2.2. The Kibbutz of Israel

2.21 Israel's kibbutz offers another successful example of collective farming besides China, although the kibbutz was established because of totally different reasons from those of China's Commune. Here we find that people were to live in the collective farm settlements or kibbutzim because they had no choice. Most of them were migrants who had been living and working in Europe and Middle East. In reaching Israel, there was no better way of absorbing them other than settling themselves in the Kibbutzim.

2.22 The Kibbutz or collective as the name itself indicates, represents a much more drastic departure from the conventional village where there is a collection of individual agricultural units. It is an agricultural village in which land and all property with minor exceptions, is collectively owned, in which work is collectively organised and in which living arrangements - including the rearing of children are, to a great degree collective. In this village, children are brought up in special quarters from infancy. The work is allocated to each individual according to the needs of the collectivity and is not confined
to agriculture. Moreover all the income belongs to the community and is equally distributed, largely through improved services and facilities in kind. Thus a kibbutz is a unit of production, consumption and socialisation with the main purpose of development on socialist principles.

2.23 As already indicated above, the kibbutzim were introduced for the purposes of agricultural settlement to resettle Jewish migrants from Europe and Middle East. In the early stages, Religion was the unifying force among the settlers in various kibbutzim. But in the subsequent years, these kibbutzim became associated with Political Parties. Thus a number of them were started on political basis so as to enable those parties to compete for Public support. So kibbutzim were first set up by immigrants in Palestine and are based on the collective ownership of resources and equal sharing of labour and farm produce among the members. On the average, a kibbutz has 300-400 members and a cultivated area of 200-1000 hectares.
2.24 Members' needs are provided for equally by communal institutions. They are allocated a small house but they take their meals in a common dining hall. Members also received a small cash allowance only for the yearly vacation and minimal personal needs. Membership to the kibbutz is totally voluntary and depends on one's commitment.

2.25 Farming is managed and operated as a single unit, each member working according to a centralised work schedule. No wages are paid but members are provided with goods and services they need with equal rights for all. Mixed farming is most commonly practised. Profits are not distributed among the members but are reinvested in the improvement of farm technology and standards of social services. Although kibbutzim are primarily agricultural in character, many of them have introduced agricultural processing and industrial plants as an additional source of income. This makes the kibbutz an individual agro-economic unit characterized by an overall division into functional sections (Fig 2.2). All residential houses are located in one section. Nearby are the central services (dining hall, cultural
FIG. 22 ISRAEL'S KIBBUTZ - COMMUNAL VILLAGE
centre, clinic, secretariat, etc.). The agro-economic section contains all farm buildings, tractor sheds, etc. Many kibbutzim today have industrial enterprises too.

2.76 The kibbutz is one of the most highly-organised human communities. It has self-governing and legislative institutions, which constantly function with all members taking active part. The highest authority of the kibbutz is the General Assembly of all members, but the power is delegated to the elected committees as the village and the regional level for all purposes of planning and development investment decision. Only the major issues such as the decision on budget and annual election to committees are placed before the General Assembly. The kibbutz, therefore represents "comprehensive co-operation" because "all the essential interests of life are satisfied in a co-operative way".

2.27 Planning and implementation are carried out in the regional offices comprising interdisciplinary teams living in the region. The team works in close co-operation with local
farmers' organisations and co-ordinates development activities with various departments at the regional and local levels.

2.28 Israel, under this approach to rural development has attained great progress. There has been a high rate of growth of agricultural output. This has been possible due to collective and co-operative structure of farming, more intensive use of available water supplies, intensive extension services, provision of credit, inputs and marketing facilities. The other area of progress is the considerable expansion of employment opportunities in rural areas through the integration of agriculture, industry and services and the development of agro-processing and industrial plants under collective ownership and management.

2.29 There are also latent or intangible factors which have contributed to Israel's rural development progress. These include high level of technology, most sophisticated concept of management and various types and nature of researches. For instance in areas where there was little land suitable for intensive cultivation, it was necessary to ameliorate the land mainly
by removing rocks and stones or by building terraces on the slopes. This required technology. Technology was also used in the design and construction of channels. These are only a few aspects where high level of technology is manifested. Kibbutz members were able to absorb the technology because of the application of the Education - assimilation - adoption - implementation concept, which is complete in Israel. Israel's experience also demonstrates that ideological and non-material motivation is required to create a more egalitarian or a socialist society.

2.30 From the discussion above it can be said that the conscious intention of the kibbutz is to serve its political ideals through the creation of socialist communities where people do their best out of loyalty to the group and its values, without any incentive of personal gain, and where a new, better way of life is created, based on the sense of belonging to the community as a whole and on economic equality, fraternity and lack of competition.

2.3 Villanés in Ghana

Like any other developing country, a larger part
of Ghana's population lives in villages in the rural areas. This short section discusses the nature of villages in Ghana. Under this discussion the villages are divided into two categories: Those villages which will be considered as "natural villages" and planned villages which are a result of re-settlement. For the latter category, Asuofua Re-settlement village (scheme) is taken as an example.

2.3.1 Natural Villages

2.3.1.1 Natural villages are the traditional villages which are based on tribal groupings. People in these villages live according to their cultural values and local organisation. In most cases these villages are located on fertile agricultural land, alongside roads or at road junctions. They are normally surrounded by farms, small vegetable farms on the village outskirt and large farms thereafter extending radially from the village.

2.3.1.2 On the question of organisation and leadership, these villages are under chiefdoms. There is a chief who is assisted by several village elders or committees which deal with different villages matters. As a tradition
every villager contributes at least a third of his annual agricultural produce to the chief. These contributions are used for the welfare of the village in terms of provision of different services.

2.3.13 Since the villages are unplanned, the village houses are not arranged in the gridion pattern, instead are haphazardly located though there are defined land uses. The houses are of different shapes. Others are L-shaped, others U-shaped and others are square shaped with a central court. The most common type is the detached Ashanti compound house with a central court.

2.3.14 As the population of the village grows basic services and facilities will be required. Thus services and facilities like shops, schools, post-office, market, public open spaces, worship places, etc. are found in the village. One feature of these villages is that one is not confined to the village - he has the freedom to leave the village and move to the city or elsewhere.

2.3.2 **Planned Villages**

2.3.21 Contrary to traditional villages, planned
villages are surveyed and the houses are arranged in gridiron pattern. There may be several types of houses of standard designs built on standard surveyed and developed plots. In actual fact these villages look more of urban housing estates than villages, with well defined land uses for specific purposes and are inter-related with one another.

2.3.22 Taking Asuofua Resettlement village as our yardstick, we can identify the various steps or stages necessary for establishing a planned village. As it shall be seen in the later chapters, this village resettlement scheme is very much similar to the establishment of new villages in Tanzania under the villagisation programme. In cases where the village is not going to be built on a self-help basis, finance, equipment and skilled personnel are the first considerations as these will be the driving forces of the whole scheme.

2.3.23 The second step is the site selection. The new site is commanded by a number of factors, major ones being nature of topography, accessibility, potential water supply, capability of land to accommodate the incoming population, availability of sufficient land for housing and farming and the
degree of friction between incoming and indigenous people if the site is not in exclusion from inhabited area.

2.3.24 The third stage is the carrying out of various survey and feasibility studies, the socio-economic survey being the main one. This will cover the aspects of population, education, housing, occupation and community facilities which are necessary in planning. The following points should be noted here. Resettlement should take the advantage of improving living standards of the people and environmental conditions. But this should not be over-emphasized. With regards to housing, the improved houses should still be close to the existing practices so that there is little deviation or otherwise the houses may become unpopular if they are considered foreign. Connected with the above the plot sizes should also be of the order which people have been used to i.e., they should be based on the existing plot sizes in the former villages. Where possible residential areas should be organised into a system of neighbourhood or communities in order to maintain the structural identity of the former settlements.
2.3.25 After gathering the relevant data, the fourth step is that of preparing the village development plan. In this plan, the various land uses are defined and proposed. The major ones are residential, commercial, industrial, civic and cultural (services) areas, open spaces and sanitary areas which serve as refuse disposal and collecting areas. These various land uses are shown in Fig. 2.3 for the Asuofua Resettlement scheme. Also land is made available for future extension.

2.3.26 The final stage is that of implementation. Under this stage, the whole project is phased i.e., the different stages of development are phased depending on priorities and in some cases on the available capital.

2.3.27 As already said above, the experience of the Asuofua scheme is very vital to Tanzania, especially at this stage when village development plans are being prepared for the newly settled villages. It gives the insight of how the villages can be planned and managed. The only difference here is that Asuofua Resettlement village depended on the Central Government for the initial capital whereas the establishment of villages in Tanzania is on the basis of self-reliance.
FIG. 23 ASUOFUA RESETTLEMENT SCHEME - GHANA
except for certain social amenities which require government assistance. This does not imply that there was no villagers' initiatives in the Asuofua Scheme. No. People participated communally in clearing their new site. It is in pursuance of this that people must have active participation in projects implementation (even in their planning stages) for this does not only help to complete the projects, but may help cut down considerably the high costs of the projects. In most cases, due to limited resources, the government cannot be heavily relied on the provision of services to the villages. In this connection, it is strongly recommended then that the people be organised to contribute by way of communal labour or otherwise in carrying out any project to ensure that the united efforts of all the agencies involved in the project are crowned with success.

2.4 The Tanzanian Experience

2.4.1 Historical Development of Villager

2.4.11 The villagisation programme as it is known today has had a long historical background. It has passed through a series of stages and under each stage the villages experienced changes in land tenure, and organisation; and of late even the spatial framework has been affected.
2.4.12 Before the colonial influence there were the traditional African villages in which people had their own lifestyles. With the coming of colonialists these villages changed both in their lifestyles and organisation. There was even the adaptation of long-distance trade and the European penetration. These villages experienced changes after the attainment of independence, when some colonial aspects, especially in organisational machinery were abolished or corrected. Various attempts were made to transform the villages. One such attempt was the establishment of village pilot settlement schemes which did not prove successful. This state of affairs continued this way until the pronouncement of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 which heralded a new phase by providing a necessary sign post of the direction in which the Nation was to travel. As a result of this, villages experienced serious changes both in organisation structure and spatial locations.

2.4.13 After the initiation of Ujamaa policy in the same year (1967), Ujamaa villages based on socialist principles were established. These were later followed by "planned villages" or "development villages" which were a result of the presidential order that all peasants had to live in villages.
Before the colonial influence there were the traditional African villages in which people had their own lifestyles. With the coming of colonialists these villages changed both in their lifestyles and organisation. There was even the adaptation of long-distance trade and the European penetration. These villages experienced changes after the attainment of independence, when some colonial aspects, especially in organisational machinery were abolished or corrected. Various attempts were made to transform the villages. One such attempt was the establishment of village pilot settlement schemes which did not prove successful. This state of affairs continued this way until the pronouncement of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 which heralded a new phase by providing a necessary signpost of the direction in which the Nation was to travel. As a result of this, villages experienced serious changes both in organisation structure and spatial locations.

After the initiation of Ujamaa policy in the same year (1967), Ujamaa villages based on socialist principles were established. These were later followed by "planned villages" or "development villages" which were a result of the presidential order that all peasants had to live in villages.
In effect these villages did not adhere to the ideas of Ujamaa. Finally came the present general villagisation programme which abolished all the earlier types of villages and required all of them to be registered as just villages which could later be registered as Ujamaa villages depending on their performance in economic activities. With this brief introduction, it is worth discussing the villages under the various stages.

2.4.2. **Traditional Villages**

2.4.21 The traditional village was a conglomeration of families which had come to live together because of various reasons. The one reason, which is perhaps the most important was that of defensive needs. Consequent threat and fear of attack by wild game and warring tribes led the people to group themselves into villages so that security and protection could collectively be provided. In some cases outbreaks of natural calamities made the people come to live together. The other reason, though of relatively less importance was that of shifting cultivation. People would move from one area to settle in another so as to leave the already exhausted land to fallow. This is the manifestation of traditional agriculture.
2.4.22 The traditional African family lived according to the basic principle of Ujamaa although its members were unconscious about it. They lived together and worked together and they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with. The results of their joint effort were divided unequally between them but according to well-understood customs. The underlying principle is that every family had enough (of everything necessary for living) before any of them had anything extra.

2.4.23 Although communal living is one aspect of traditionalism, it doesn't imply that everything was shared altogether. Each family had a house and property. Also within the clan land, separate plots were allocated to individual families which cultivated them. It should be noted here that the families were only allocated these land plots to use and not to own.

2.4.24 There were several areas of activities which were carried communally. The important purpose of communalism was to aid individuals on a reciprocal basis. An important aspect of traditional communalism was to mobilise labour
for various activities. These include building houses, cultivation, harvesting, burial obligations, marriage obligations and the co-operation which operated during emergencies.

2.4.25 In the case of house building, cultivation, and harvesting activities, every able-bodied member of the village was expected to take part. These activities were done in reciprocal basis. Today work is done for one family, tomorrow for the other and so on. At the end of the day's work, the family or person being aided prepared beer or food or even slaughtered a goat to be consumed by the participants. It should be emphasised that the beer or food was not the key factor attracting the participants. There was no obligation to provide it, and only those who could afford to did so. One advantage of this sort of communalism, especially in cultivation, is that, because of the available communal labour the family was able to expand its farm any time it felt necessary, thus increasing production.

2.4.26 In case of burial obligations, all adult members of the village irrespective of clan ties were expected to help in the digging of graves. They
were further expected to assist in sustaining the bereaved until such time when the family sufficiently recovered from the effects of the loss of their member. There were also communal obligations with respect to marriage and fines for a convicted offender. The provision of food for marriage ceremonies was an important form of cooperation. In case of fines the clan members contributed towards the payment of such fines.

2.4.27 Land ownership was another type of communalism. The clan land was collectively owned by the whole clan. The allocated individual family plots could not be sold or transferred to other clans or families without the consent of the clan. Such land was normally inherited within the clan and it was easy to pass the ownership between individuals within the clan system, provided consent was sought from other members of the lineage. The major effect of traditional inheritance was that it reduced the size of the average landholding greatly.

2.4.28 Leadership in these villages depended on various qualities and personalities. Persons with widely accepted personalities and who seemed to possess leadership qualities were chosen. Some people were made leaders because of their special
qualities such as rainmakers and witchcrafts. Rainmakers were respected and accepted because the villagers believed that their lives were vested upon their power. Some became leaders because they had displayed bravery and courage in the battle fields and others simply because of their influence e.g. the affluent ones. Wisdom and accumulated experience from old age was another factor considered in leadership.

2.4.29 In the administrative side, the village leaders had wise elders as their advisor. Each family in the village was obliged to take part of its agricultural produce to these leaders. This food was stored so that it could be available during the needy times of emergencies. The rest of surplus produce was used for feasts and traditional celebrations which were free for any member of the village. Finally the decision-making was mostly on the shoulders of the leader, although sometimes he had to consult the village elders.

2.4.3. Villages during Colonial Era

2.4.31 Tanzania's villages experienced two types of formal colonial rule: the German rule and the British one. Great changes took place in the village during the colonial era. In the first place the village
was turned into a unit of production or source of raw materials needed by the metropolitan industries.

2.4.32 There were also changes in the lifestyles of the people, land tenure and organisational or administrative structure. The village was integrated to the external market or money economy. The villages began to adapt themselves to long-distance trade and European penetration.

2.4.33 The administration introduced by the German rule disrupted the pre-colonial system of administration in the village. The German administration had a governor at its head. The colony was also divided into districts which were under the district officer who commanded a small police force of African troops. He collected taxation through the chiefs (whom he appointed and dismissed), "skidas" and village headmen. Often he ruled with a strong hand and ruthless. This was typical direct rule. The direct rule caused unrest among African societies and was the cause of the various tribal uprisings. Also under this rule villagers were obliged to contribute part of their produce to the District Officer.

2.4.34 On the Agricultural side the German rule introduced three methods of agricultural development.
The first was the cash crop plantations in the highland areas (Usambara, Kilimanjaro, etc.) where Africans were used as cheap source of labour. The second was the settler farming also in the highlands where settlers owned large farms. The last was that of forced small holdings for Africans. These were forced to grow cash crops in the pretext that they would be able to pay taxes. At the same time, it can be said that the introduction of taxation was one way of forcing Africans to sell their labour cheaply in the plantations. The system of small farm holdings together with the introduction of monetary economy changed the village land tenure system from communal to individualistic leading to land alienation.

2.4.35 When the British took over the administration, they expropriated and resold the German plantations to European owners. The villages also experienced change in administration. The British used indirect rule in local administration which was executed to the villages through the chiefs, headmen and village messengers. Briefly stated the system involved the principle that local matters including the administration of justice should be governed by local laws and left to recognized local rulers with final responsibility to the administrative officers. This was adopted
2.4.36 Analysing the two systems of colonial rule several conclusive remarks can be made. Firstly, it can be noted that village leadership no longer had decision-making powers. Its role was simply that of receiving and executing orders from above. Secondly, the colonial approach to agriculture had undeniable impact upon the internal pre-existing African societies especially in the area where there was enforcement of small-holder cash cropping. In effect, despite real disruptions, these cash-cropping areas can be considered to have been, in some sense, "favoured" by the colonial impact - this is one of the most important seeds of the uneven development of various regions in Tanzania today. Finally, both African small holder agriculture and European agriculture contributed to the territorial pattern of dependency, for both were premised on the servicing, through agricultural export, of metropolitan needs. The infrastructure built was, therefore, designed to facilitate the export of raw materials and the import and sale of manufactured goods.
2.4.4 Post Colonial Era Villages and before
Arusha Declaration

2.4.41 With the advent of independence in 1961, villages saw great changes in land tenure, leadership and even in legislation. For the first time villages were seriously made subjects of development. During the early years of independence before proper administrative machinery was established, villages were in a state of confusion as they did not know to whom they were directly answerable.

2.4.42 Immediately after attainment of independence, the government declared its commitment to building a socialist society. In this respect it nationalised all the land and adopted a policy of unification of the courts systems and rules and principles of customary law, resulting in a major change of land tenure.

2.4.43 Even after independence Tanzania still remained an agricultural country with greater part of the economy depending on agriculture. It is in this line of view that Tanzania lays greater emphasis on Rural (village) Development. To enhance the rural development, the government chose the "Transformation Approach" to agriculture as its development strategy.
2.4.44 The objective of the approach was to concentrate capital investment and technical manpower on groups of farmers settled in the more fertile areas, and to introduce farming systems based on more intensive and permanent use of the land. By this means production of priority crops would increase, and farmer education, provision of services and use of modern technology would be more easily promoted. It was also supposed that a community of farmers partly removed from the traditional conservative environment would be less resistant to the adoption of innovations. Finally, although the political aspect of the government's policy was not stressed very much at the time of the Five Year Plan (1961-3), the gathering of scattered families into villages where they could work together co-operatively. These villages were to be started as pilot settlement schemes which, if successful, would have "spread effects" in the surrounding unplanned villages. A number of such "village settlement schemes" were set up under the Rural Settlement Commission, the government agency which was responsible for the transformation approach.

2.4.45 Unfortunately these schemes didn't prove
successful, although the whole programme gave practical experience of the physical and economic planning needed for co-operative farm development, some understanding of the problems of co-operative work organisation and the basis on which to found a new policy. With this experience an important change of policy was made in 1966, which put great emphasis on modernising existing traditional villages by injecting capital and technical services to enable the farmers to work together and take advantage of modern farming techniques. This was the state of affairs until when the Arusha Declaration was published.

2.4.46 A number of reasons have been advanced for the failure of the pilot settlement schemes. Among those which are agreed upon (by researchers) are first, the often unnecessarily heavy capital investment, intended to guarantee the scheme's success, but which led in fact to economic unviability and poor response on the part of the farmers. Secondly the schemes were initiated and managed by officials other than the people themselves and although the intention was that the farmers should farm themselves into co-operatives to take over the management, the progress in that direction was very slow. Thirdly,
the special treatment accorded by the farmers from government had tended to make them regard themselves as a privileged class (and there was real danger of government creating a middle class of farmers in the settlements). Finally the scheme's impact on the total development picture was too slight i.e. the schemes involved only a very small fraction of the total farming population. For organisation purposes, a system of tencell leadership was established.

2.4.5 Villages after Arusha Declaration

2.4.51 The Arusha Declaration outlined the country's socialist objectives, while the strategy for implementation was detailed by the policy booklet on "Socialism and Rural Development".

2.4.52 The Arusha Declaration stressed the importance of democratic organisation for real development of the people and the need for basing development on the people's own efforts and not on money. Experience had showed that the injection of capital is no substitute for hard work.

2.4.53 The objective of the new policy was and still is, to achieve an egalitarian social and economic development throughout the country on the basis of Ujamaa villages, in which people could live and work together for the good of the whole community, practising cooperation in the
widest sense. Purchasing and marketing would be done co-operatively and farmers would produce their crops on communal fields. Returns should be distributed on the basis of work contributed. The Ujamaa policy has both economic and socio-political advantages.

2.4.54 The economic arguments behind the policy may be summarised as follows:

(i) increased labour productivity through groups of farmers working together; where there would be division of labour and strong leadership to guide group enthusiasm into productive channels.

(ii) advantage of economies of scale in purchasing, marketing and provision of services.

(iii) increased openness to technical innovations through increase in scale, readier access to farmer education and credit, and removal from the conservative influence of the traditional environment.

2.4.55 In the socio-political field, the objectives are the creation of self-reliant and
self-determining communities; and raising the status of agriculture and reducing the gulf between urban and rural life.

2.4.56 On the side of organisation and leadership, the policy stresses the importance of balancing the need for vigorous leadership and official encouragement against the need to avoid the dangers of bureaucratic control, coercion and over-capitalisation which would negate the very principles of self-help and co-operation which the villages are intended to embody. This, in short, implies that decision-making within the villages must be the people's own responsibility.

2.4.57 Since the publication of Arusha Declaration, villages passed through a number of phases before the present villagisation programme was attained. On the basis of the principles of Ujamaa policy, a number of "Ujamaa" villages were started based on communal cultivation, which was one of the essentials to be fulfilled before the village could be recognized as an Ujamaa village. Not so many of these villages had been established before the situation changed. The rate of "natural" establishment of these villages was said to be slow so steps were taken to activate it so as to make sure that greater part of the
rural population lives in nucleated villages. On these lines, a Presidential order was issued in 1973 requiring all peasants, to live in villages. This brought forth the birth of other forms of villages which were called "planned villages" or "development villages". These villages were hastily established and didn't conform or adhere to the ideas of Ujamaa.

2.4.58 The pattern of villages changed again as from 1975 when the village and Ujamaa Village Act was enacted, which provided for the first time for legal recognition of villages. In effect it abolished the formal recognition of all "Ujamaa" villages and required their registration first as just "villages" (cf Section 2.5). It also issued guidelines regarding the village structure and organisation. This actually was the beginning of the present villagisation programme.

2.5 Present Villagisation Policy
2.5.1 The Village and Ujamaa Village Act, 1975
2.5.11 This Act was enacted to provide for the registration of villages, the administration of registered villages and designation of Ujamaa
villages. The Act provides that a village can only be registered if not less than 250 families have settled and made their homes within it and that the boundaries of such a village can be particularly defined. The Act also requires that the village should apply for its registration after which it will be issued with a certificate of registration.

2.5.12 The main objective of the Act is to make people live in villages and later on in Ujamaa villages so that, in the long run they'll have better standards of living through their own efforts. In these villages, people can determine the framework of the National policies, draw up their own rules of living and working together towards economic sufficiency. In short the Act has reinforced village land rights, created guidelines for community self-government and production management and provided substantial powers for elected village Councils. Also under this Act, the village is deemed a co-operative society i.e. the village and its various organs will perform their functions as if the village was a multi-purpose co-operative society.
2.5.2 The Village Structure

The objectives of the establishment of villages are the transformation of individual and generally dispersed homesteads and farm units into clustered homesteads and large scale co-operative production units designed to achieve a rapid increase in production and material wealth, and a sustained improvement in the living conditions of peasants. The organisation structure of the village is shown in Fig. 2.4.

2.5.2.1 Village Assembly and Village Councils

2.5.2.11 Under the Act, each village has a Village Assembly and a Village Council. The Village Assembly consists of every person who is an adult and an ordinarily resident in the village.

2.5.2.12 The Village Council is elected by the Village Assembly after the registration of the village. It consists of five different committees (see Section 2.5.2.2) with members not exceeding 25. After the Council has been elected, the Registrar of villages issues it with a certificate of incorporation after which it becomes a corporate body with perpetual succession and a common seal so that it is capable in law of suing and being sued in its corporate name and having legal powers where property is concerned.
2.5.2.13 The village council performs several functions. The first function is to do acts and things which are expedient for the economic and social development of the village. The other is to plan and co-ordinate the activities and render assistance and advice to the village residents who may be engaged in various activities such as agriculture, forestry, etc. The other important function is to encourage village residents in undertaking and participating in communal enterprises. Finally, the Council has the duty of participating either by way of partnership or otherwise in economic enterprises with other village councils. The council performs all these functions under the auspices of the Party. The Council also submits to the Village Assembly all important questions affecting public interest, village development plan and the use of resources for discussion and decision.

2.5.2.2 Committees of the Village Council

These committees apply both for villages and Ujamaa villages. Each village council consists of the following committees, each of which
Fig. 2.4 CHART OF (UJAMAA) VILLAGE ORGANISATION STRUCTURE

- SUGGESTIONS
- CONSULTATION
- PROJECTS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

VILLAGE COUNCIL
(NOT MORE THAN 25 MEMBERS)

GOVERNMENT AND PARTY EXPERTS

SECURITY AND DEFENCE COMMITTEE

PRODUCTION AND MARKETING COMMITTEE

FINANCE AND PLANNING COMMITTEE

WORKS AND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE COMMITTEE

VILLAGE SHOP SUB-COMMITTEE

SAVING AND CREDIT SUB-COMMITTEE

SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES SUB-COMMITTEE
comprises not more than five members. The major functions of each committee are briefly mentioned.

1. Finance and Planning Committee:

   Main functions are:

   (a) To formulate various village projects
   (b) To collect necessary planning statistical data of the village
   (c) To zone the village into various land uses.
   (d) To keep village accounts and to carry out all banking activities.

2. Production and Marketing Committee.

   (a) To ensure that modern agricultural techniques and methods are used in the village.
   (b) To ensure that villagers follow the modern livestock improvement methods.
   (c) To promote small-scale industries in the village.
   (d) To ensure safe storage and marketing of village crops (produce).
   (e) To see that livestock is sold to recognized legal markets in good time.


   (a) To see that every child of school-going
age and illiterate adults go to or attend school (i.e. are educated)

(b) To see that kindergarten schools are built in the village.

(c) To make arrangements, with the co-ordination of District or Regional Education officer, so that newspapers and films reach the village.

(d) To sponsor pupils or teachers going for further education/training outside the village.

4. Security and Defence Committee:

(a) To see that all able-bodied adults (except the aged) attend militia training.

(b) To maintain general order in the village i.e. monitor all incoming and outgoing visitors.

(c) To co-ordinate with District or Regional Security officers in exchange of information regarding criminal offences.

(d) To prepare estimates on activities related to security and defence.
5. Works and Transport committee:

(a) It is responsible for better and permanent housing in the village and to ensure that the houses are built on good sites.

(b) To educate the villagers on building techniques, with the assistance of experts from Prime Minister's office.

(c) To procure building materials and secure loans for building.

(d) With the use of small scale expertise, to construct wells, etc.

(e) To prepare estimates for housing and pass them to the Finance and Planning Committee.

2.5.3 Ujamaa Villages.

2.5.31 Under the present Village and Ujamaa Villages Act, till now there is not a single Ujamaa Village in the country. A village can only be designated as Ujamaa Village after it has fulfilled basic requirements. In order to be designated the village should have a substantial portion of the economic activities which are being undertaken and carried out in a communal basis. The village is designated by the Minister responsible after it has been recommended by the Regional Development Committee. After designation, the village Council is issued with a certificate of designation. Basically, there are three main objectives of the development of Ujamaa Villages
2.5.32 The first objective is to build a society in which all members have equal opportunities and a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury. The second objective is to develop new socialist relations of production based on communal land utilization, communal ownership of means of production, socialist organization of labour and application of the principle of tying income to efficiency. Also to allow village residents to develop their activity and creative initiatives to the full. The final objective is to promote a spirit of self-reliance in social and economic activities.

2.5.4 Land Use And Property Ownership In the Villages

2.5.41 The land for the use of a village comprises such areas of land which are reserved for various purposes. The main land uses are residential, commercial, industrial, recreational (e.g. open space and play grounds), public building areas.

2.5.42 The structural pattern and the use of the farms are determined by the village council. Each family is allotted at least one acre for the purpose of building thereon dwelling houses and for other domestic purposes such as poultry rearing, vegetable gardens, etc. The village council has the duty of making provision for reserve land for future expansion of the village.
2.5.43 Under the Act, no person is allowed to transfer to any other person his right to the use of land in the village. The Village Council, in the exercise of its powers relating to planning and co-ordination of activities in the village ensures that every piece of land allotted to a family for its use is maintained as an economic unit and that no fragmentation is permitted.

2.5.44 As regards to property, all heavy agricultural machinery and other capital goods are owned by the Village Council; and the Council makes the acquisition of the same from individual village residents owning them. The case will be different in Ujamaa Villages. In these villages, all major means of production including machinery, equipment, factories, industrial and commercial buildings, will be collectively owned by the residents of the village.

2.5.5 Villages as Co-operative Societies

2.5.51 The co-operative movement is one of the most effective means by which people in the villages can promote their own economic and social progress.

2.5.52 The long term importance of the co-operative movement for the country is to be found rather in its educational value. The magnitude of the contribution which co-operatives can make to the process of fostering and maintaining a true
community spirit, the awareness of civic responsibility and to a gradual, voluntary acceptance of democratic methods of control. These are indispensable factors for building healthy, strong communities which are badly needed by most developing countries.

2.5.53 The co-operative movement offers these intangible values to the people, along with the more immediate, physical advantages that are produced by joint achievements where individual, isolated effects are usually utterly inadequate. Thus co-operatives are basically socialist institutions.

2.5.54 Having said all this, an attempt should be made to define a co-operative. Many definitions have been given to the word co-operative. Taking only one of them, a co-operative society can be defined as an incorporated association in which persons join together of their own free will to attain some economic service which would be either too difficult or too costly for each to obtain by working alone. The society is operated by the members according to true democratic principles.

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2.5.55 The purpose which co-operation can serve are very numerous and very diverse. In view of this we find that there are very many types of co-operative societies. These include Agricultural Production Co-operative Societies, Consumer Co-operatives, Marketing Co-operatives, Housing co-operatives, Credit co-operatives, etc. This section is confined only to Agricultural Production and Marketing Co-operatives.

2.5.56 The co-operative movement in Tanzania is a source of considerable strength for the growth of socialism, i.e. it represents a major advance over a private, capitalist system.

2.5.5.1 Communal Production

2.5.5.11 In this aspect of co-operation, it is expected that the villagers will live together according to the commonly accepted division of labour for the good of all in this way they will better organise themselves to achieve higher levels of agricultural production. They will also own and control all the major means of production through their village Governments and their co-operatives.

2.5.5.12 The villagers will cultivate village land collectively using modern techniques of production and they will share the proceeds according to the work contributed.
They will also enjoy the common facilities like schools, medical care, water supplies, etc., which are normally built by the villagers themselves, though with financial assistance from the Government.

2.5.5.13 The above discussion implies that in order to achieve their goal, the villagers should have autonomy over their planning and implementation of their activities. Thus the villagers are directly involved in the formation and implementation of projects and programmes within their own environment. In this way, the Government gives an individual the means to become a member of co-operative on equal basis.

2.5.5.2 Villages as Marketing Co-operatives

2.5.5.21 The primary marketing co-operative societies were abolished in Tanzania in 1976 because they did not "tie well" with the Ujamaa policy. These societies acted like "middlemen", strictly dealing with marketing of crops. They bought crops from the peasants and sold them elsewhere at higher prices, thus indirectly exploiting the peasants. The societies did not cater for the peasants' needs and rights, nor did they help the peasants improve their production methods. Because of these reasons, the whole
co-operative movement had to be revolutionised. The most important measure taken has been the creation of new co-operative societies based on Ujamaa Villages. Under the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975, villages have been deemed to be co-operative societies. This means that a village and its various organs will perform their functions as if the village were a multi-purpose society.

2.5.5.22 Under the present system, villages are made "Agents" for the various crop Authorities. The village buys the produce from the peasants on credit and stores it. The produce is fetched from the village by the Authorities after they have paid the village such amount of money corresponding to the kilogrammes bought (by the village). Then the village in turn pays the peasants accordingly.

2.5.5.24 The village also levies these authorities for each kilogramme of produce it buys, the levy varying from crop to crop depending on the agreement with the various Authorities. In this way, the village earns some revenue.

2. These are Authorities which deal with various crops of eg., Tanzania Cotton Authority, Sisal Authority of Tanzania, Tanzania Cashewnut Authority, Tanzania Coffee Authority, etc.
2.5.5.24 One other advantage of this new system is that the authorities help the villages in raising production and productivity in that they provide crop production services such as fertilizers, insecticides and farm implements. In some cases the Authorities even put up "demonstration" farms in the villages, for it is argued that the most satisfactory way to educate the farming public is for them to see the new methods being successfully carried out by the agricultural experts posted in the villages by the authorities.

2.5.5.25 In summary, it can be said that the inauguration of the new system of co-operative movement enables crop Authorities to buy produce directly from the villages. This arrangement is expected to benefit the peasant for he will no longer have to pay for maintenance of the middlemen, as it used to be the case. Also under the new arrangement, crop Authorities have to construct adequate storage facilities, godowns and provide vehicles for the transportation of the crops.

2.5.6 Planning Process and Implementation

2.5.61 The success of any system greatly depends on proper planning. In Tanzania the mechanism of local planning
is in accordance of the simple philosophy of "planning from below". The main aim of this type of planning is to involve the people in the development process—in decision-making and implementation of the so decided projects. This can only be successfully achieved if there is decentralised administration which integrates the economy and links rural areas with District, Regional and National administration. Tanzania is among those countries which are trying this approach to planning.

2.5.62 The planning in Tanzania starts at the village level, moves to the ward, divisional and then to the district and regional levels (Table 2.1). Regional plans are co-ordinated in the Prime Minister's Office before they are filed to be dealt with at the national level.

2.5.63 There are planning Organizations at each of these levels. The village has a Village Development Committee (VDC) for planning purposes. The VDC sets out the needs of the village, arranges priorities, sets production targets (through the Production and Marketing Committee) and identifies which projects can be carried out with the resources of the village and which requires external assistance.
Table 2.1 An Outline of Tanzania's Administrative Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>National Executive Committee - Chairman - President</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATION</td>
<td>National Representatives of Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Assembly - Representative from all over the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Country (elected and nominated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>Regional Executive Committee - Regional Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary (head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Development Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Planning Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT</td>
<td>District Executive Committee - District Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary (head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District Development Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District Planning Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVISION</td>
<td>Division Executive Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Division Party Secretary and Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extension Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARD</td>
<td>Ward Executive Secretary and Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ward Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 CELLS</td>
<td>Balozi (CCM Cell Leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Party Elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 CELLS</td>
<td>Balozi (Cell Leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A CELL</td>
<td>Balozi - CCM Cell Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A HOUSEHOLD</td>
<td>Head of the Household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Members of the Household</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.64 Village plans are co-ordinated at the divisional level by the divisional Development Committee. This body checks and verifies the needs, priorities and targets of each village plan and relates the same to the resources available both from within and external sources.

2.5.65 Divisional development plans are sent to the District where they are dealt with by the District Planning Committee. The Committee co-ordinates all divisional plans, assesses the viability of the projects, the reality of targets and priority arrangements.

2.5.66 The Committee goes further to arrange the availability of not only resources but also those of infrastructure, manpower - especially technical - and amounts of inputs required to carry out the projects. Preliminary adjustments are made and the final district plan is drawn up and submitted to the region.

2.5.67 The Regional Development Committee examines all the district plans and, based on the priorities, prepares the regional plan. The regional plan is composed of projects, priorities and targets of all the villages, divisions and districts in the region, a programme of action for the region and those elements or projects which are to be carried out by the regional administration.
2.5.68 To strengthen planning at the regional level, the Government has created the post of the Regional Development Director (RDD) at the Principle Secretary level and planning officers in all regions and districts. Of late, the Government has also introduced the post of the Village Manager to strengthen planning in the village.

2.5.69 The Regional Development Directors and District Development Directors are heads of the Civil Service at their respective levels. The department of planning in the Prime Minister's office is responsible for overseeing all aspects of regional planning activities.

2.5.610 The Ministry of Finance and Planning has a number of planning committees which are sub-committees of the National Planning Commission composed of all Members of Parliament. The committees study regional plans and submit them to the National Planning Commission.

2.5.611 The Commission looks at the whole plan, balances it against resources, makes final adjustments and submits the plan to the National Executive Committee of the Party, which studies and submits it to the National Assembly for debate and final approval. The approved projects are returned to the villages through the same channels. (see Fig. 2.5). This hierarchy of Planning is shown in Figure 2.6.
Fig. 2.5 Hierarchical Planning in Tanzania
Fig. 2.5 Hierarchical Planning in Tanzania

```
  NATION
    ↓
  REGION
    ↓
DISTRICT
    ↓
DIVISION
    ↓
WARD
    ↓
VILLAGE
```
Fig. 2.6 Descending Hierarchy of the Plan

1. NATIONAL PLAN
2. REGIONAL PLAN
3. DISTRICT PLAN
4. DIVISION PLAN
5. WARD PLAN
6. VILLAGE PLAN
2.5.7 Policies

2.5.7.1 Land Policy

Land is the basis of human life and every man has the right to use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because of this basic reason, land in Tanzania belongs to the State, and it is the duty of the Government to see to it that it is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people. In short, land belongs to the Society, not to individuals. This implies that every man has the right to use the land but not to own it. The right to land is dependent on the use made of it. Also in Tanzania land is not considered as a commercial commodity so no one has the right to sell it.

2.5.7.2 Shelter

2.5.7.21 The prime objective of Government policy in shelter (housing) is to have everybody live in a decent and permanent house which provides at least the basic standards of health, privacy and security, mainly through self-reliance. This applies to both Urban and Rural areas although great emphasis is put in the rural areas.
2.5.7.22 To ensure the successful achievement of the objective, the Government has already embarked on a special campaign aimed at mobilizing people to build decent houses. Besides, Builder's Brigades and rural Construction Units have already been established for the construction purposes. To facilitate the construction, efforts have been increased to ensure that building materials are easily available to villagers. In order to enable the villagers to procure these building materials, the Tanzania Housing Bank gives them loans, which are granted in accordance with the production capacity and hence the level of income earning of a particular village. This is to say, a village which has economically viable projects will have higher chances to borrow from the Bank and so be better able to build modern and permanent residential houses for its members. Proposed house design for decent rural housing is shown in Fig. 2.7.

2.5.7.3 Infrastructure and Services

2.5.7.31 Water

Water is one of the essential necessities for human life. It is one of the measures of national development and critical for domestic purposes, agricultural and industrial activities. Inadequate water supplies may be fatal to people and the nation as a whole.
The main objective is to provide the entire population (greater emphasis on rural population) with adequate clean water supplies by 1991. Government policies are geared towards the attainment of this goal, efforts are made to identify and wherever possible provide clean water points to every village.

**Health**

With regards to health, the Government policy is to encourage expansion of health services so that they can cover villages where more than 95% of the population lives. This aim is also geared to restructuring the present situation by expanding and strengthening rural health centres in order to emphasize more on preventive services. In summary, the policy has three aims: to strengthen health services so that they can be available to more people; to strengthen preventive services; and to develop the training programmes for various health workers with emphasis to those who will serve in the rural areas.

**Education**

The Government's policy is on the emphasis of education as a goal for preparing the people to fulfill their responsibility in National development, under the policy of socialism and self reliance. In short, the
2.5.7.32 The main objective is to provide the entire population (greater emphasis on rural population) with adequate clean water supplies by 1991. Government policies are geared towards the attainment of this goal, efforts are made to identify and wherever possible provide clean water points to every village.

2.5.7.33 Health

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2.5.7.34 Education

The Government's policy is on the emphasis of education as a goal for preparing the people to fulfill their responsibility in National development, under the policy of socialism and self reliance. In short, the
Government's objective in education is the eradication of illiteracy and ignorance. That every child of school-going age should enter or attend a primary school (i.e., Universal Primary Education) and any illiterate adult should register with an adult class. The other objective is to be self sufficient in high level manpower, especially in deficient fields.

2.5.7.35 **Transport and Communication**

Transport and communication are important services for promoting a country's social and economic development. Speedy transportation of production inputs like fertilizers, seeds and raw materials goes a long way towards facilitating production activities.

2.5.7.36 The main objective of this sector is to improve and strengthen all institutions which are responsible for providing transportation and communication services so that they can provide efficient and sound services, e.g. the provision of all weather access to all people, as well as to the production and consumption centres.
2.5.7.4 Public Participation

The Government policy on participation is that people should be involved as far as possible in the process of decision making, i.e. local people should be given greater effective control over events in their area (in other words, democracy is advocated). They should also participate in the execution of projects either totally on self-help basis or partial labour contribution to a project being carried out by another agent. The policy is further strengthened by the enactment of the Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975, which requires the people in a village to determine the development of their own place on self-reliance basis, provided the development is within the framework of the National Policies. That is to say, people have to decide on their priority projects and consequently implement them on communal basis, every villager taking place. For instance, every villager will be required to participate in the cultivation of the collective village farm, and in the building of public buildings like schools, offices, dispensaries, etc.
2.5.7.51 The main purpose of the 1972 decentralisation policy was to give greater power to the people in the regions and districts in deciding their own development programmes. To facilitate this, the Government posted experienced experts from different fields to these areas. These were supposed to give advice on various planning matters.

2.5.7.52 It was learnt later on that people in the villages received little advice from the experts since they were all concentrated at the regional or district centres. For any advice pertaining to economic or technical decision-making, villagers had to go to the district centre to meet these experts. This wasted a lot of time and money and resulted in delays to the projects. This situation also affected the performance of the village Governments (started in 1975) since they lacked the necessary advices in the planning and integrating various economic activities in their villages.

2.5.7.53 Because of the above factors, the Government in its effort to help the villages, decided to post "experts" to the villages. Among these experts were Village Managers.
The role of these managers is only advisory and they function under the Village Council. Their major duties and responsibilities are inter alia:-

1. To be advisor of Village Government - Assembly and Council.
2. To co-ordinate and supervise the planning and implementation of Village Management Plan.
3. To become secretary to the Finance and Planning Committee of the Village Development Council.
4. To be responsible for the progress of economic activities undertaken by the village.
5. To evaluate or find ways of adjusting the current economic plans and find ways of improving them.
6. To be overall responsible for the financial management of the village.
7. To be accountable to the Village Government.
8. To be a co-ordinator of all extension or village functional personnel stationed in the village.

Comparative Statement on the Various Models

The various approaches discussed are self explanatory. It is not the purpose of this study to evaluate the successes or failures of any one approach. The purpose of this section is to briefly comment on the experiences which can be drawn from each approach.
2.5.82 From its approach to rural development, China has demonstrated that production is no longer dependent on investment but rather on the popular participation and involvement of people in both execution and decision-making process in undertaking various projects. China's experience has also shown that agricultural intensification and diversification of rural economy may be one of the answers to the problems of rural-urban migration and unemployment.

2.5.83 Israel's approach of collective and co-operative farming as a development model, gives the experience on the organisation of collective ownership of land, co-operative services and opportunities of diversification to non-agricultural activities. It also gives the experience on the importance of high level of technology in rural development.

2.5.84 Ghana's experience on resettlement schemes indicates that the schemes can be successful if the following points are taken into account when planning is done. Firstly, the people to be resettled should themselves be involved in the whole programme so that they do not feel the programme is being imposed on them. This also implies that educating them on the resettlement subject is imperative.
Secondly, the planned settlement scheme should be designed or planned in such a way that it does not completely change the lifestyles of the people or otherwise when everything looks foreign to them the programme may become unpopular. Thus when the plan is being prepared, people's lifestyles in the former village settlements must be taken into account.

2.5.85 As for Tanzania, the way is open for it to adopt any of these experiences it considers relevant for the success of the present villagisation programme.
CHAPTER THREE

RESOURCE BASE OF IRANBI DISTRICT - STUDY AREA.

3.0 General

3.01 Social achievement within any area is dependent, to a large extent, on the development of the resources in that area. As new resources are identified and utilised and new patterns of existing resource use are formulated and developed, there will also be a refinement in marketing, management, technology and communication.

3.02 This chapter discusses the significant resources in the district. With the available limited quantitative data, the chapter throws light on the resources available in the district, which in turn can be used to identify the potentialities of the various parts of the district. The resources in the district are discussed below.

3.1 Agriculture

3.11 The economy of the district depends almost on agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishing, with hardly any industry. As already
mentioned earlier elsewhere, the main crops in the district are cotton, sunflower, groundnuts, maize, millet, onions, beans, potatoes cassava, etc; of these cotton, sunflower, groundnuts and onions are the most important in terms of their marketed value. Grape vines have also been introduced in the district. Nothing much can be said on this as the crop is still on experimental basis.

3.12 Large areas of the district are suitable for livestock. Most livestock farming suffers from fairly primitive animal husbandry and a shortage of necessary veterinary and other specialised services. Goats and sheep are other important livestock animals and the keeping of these is widespread, though they are not kept on a marketable scale. These are only sold when the peasant is in great need of money.

3.13 The district has only indigenous cattle as Grade cattle breeding has not yet been introduced. Tick borne disease is the most biggest killer of the livestock in the district. Considerable measures have and are being taken to arrest the situation. A number of cattle dips have been constructed and a district-wide
campaign is being carried out to educate the farmers on the importance of taking their livestock for dipping. Despite this move, as Table 3.1 indicates, dip coverage and dip operation is still relatively poor in the district. Distribution of cattle dips is shown on Map 5.

Table 3.1 Annual livestock Dipping in the District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CATTLE</th>
<th>SHEEP</th>
<th>GOATS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,212,992</td>
<td>300,350</td>
<td>189,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,942,347</td>
<td>134,087</td>
<td>213,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1,820,508</td>
<td>144,619</td>
<td>197,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>1,547,737</td>
<td>136,508</td>
<td>182,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1,424,009</td>
<td>163,865</td>
<td>213,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1,035,869</td>
<td>136,654</td>
<td>263,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>406,680</td>
<td>73,232</td>
<td>109,483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District livestock office

3.14 It can be noted from the table above that the number of livestock taken for dipping decreased as years passed. This was a result of decreased livestock population in the district which was caused by severe drought conditions in the district (1792-1974). As a result a great
IRAMBA DISTRICT — DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE DIPS

LEGEND
- REGIONAL BOUNDARIES
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- DIVISIONAL BOUNDARIES
- ALL WEATHER ROADS
- DRY WEATHER ROADS
- DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
- DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS
- WATER BODIES

SCALE 1:500,000

KITILLA, M.L.D.
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
M.A. THESIS 1979/80
number of livestock died. During the period of 1971/72 livestock population in the district was 775,795. Currently, because of the above reason, the livestock population is estimated to be slightly over 850,000.

3.15 It is surprising to note that despite the large number of livestock, the people in the district are still relatively poor. This is attributed to the fact that people normally don't sell their livestock on their own will. Two reasons are responsible for this. First people regard livestock as a sign of wealth. So unless one is faced with a very big financial problem, he won't sell any of his livestock. Secondly, the company responsible for livestock marketing, the Tanzania Livestock Marketing Company offers very low prices. This makes the people reluctant to sell their livestock.

3.16 On the question of crop distribution, each village has been allocated certain crops to grow depending on the suitability of soils and climatic conditions. The set target is that each village should have a minimum of
100 acres for every crop allocated. The distribution of crops is shown in Map 4.

Also research done by the District Agricultural Officer and his team seem to indicate that the district is capable of high productivity. Table 3.2 shows the expected productivity per acre for the various crops in the district.

Table 3.2 Crop Productivity per acre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CROP</th>
<th>PRODUCTION/ACRE</th>
<th>UNIT OF MEASUREMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>kilos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunflower</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>bags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groundnuts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maize</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millet</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorghum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beans</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peanuts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simsim</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castor oil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>tonnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet potatoes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Agriculture Office
3.2 Beekeeping

3.21 Iramba district is endowed with expansive forests which are a big potential in producing honey and beeswax. By adopting modern beekeeping methods, this activity can fetch substantial earnings for individual peasants, co-operatives and the District Development Corporation, as well as enable the people get honey for their own consumption and at the same time earning foreign exchange for the country.

3.22 Iramba district is among those districts which are seriously undertaking beekeeping. The government is helping the villages in this industry by freely distributing modern beehives to the villages. Table 3.3 shows the number of villages which have already engaged themselves with beekeeping. Like other sectors in the district, the bee industry is faced with problems. Some of these problems include shortage of bee experts, lack of modern bee-farming techniques (in the part of the peasants) and the markets for the beeswax and honey products.
Table 3.3. Villages engaged in Beekeeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE NAME</th>
<th>NO. OF MODERN BEEHIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndago</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwandugembe</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugungia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikonge</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimpunda</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaselya</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkulu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urughu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugundu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makunda</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Natural Resources office.

3.3. Forestry

3.3.1 The government policy on forestry emphasizes conservation of existing forests, expansion of indigenous forests and planting new forests, with the objective of having forests available for different economic utilities such as timber, construction poles and firewood.
3.32 The significance of the forest is further enhanced by its influence on the natural environment far beyond the limits of the forest itself. Forests indirectly affect climate, stream flow and soil conditions especially in the areas of drainage basins, and thus exercise a beneficial influence on agriculture and grazing, recreation and wildlife. The destruction of the forests not only puts an end to these benign indirect effects but lets loose highly destructive forces which manifest themselves in floods and soil erosion and the ultimate catastrophe, the desert.

3.33 Although the actual area covered by the forests in the district is not known, Iramba district is endowed with indigenous forests, although none of them is gazetted. Two forests, Senkenke and Ndago have been proposed to be forest reserves.

3.34 Firewood and charcoal are the main sources of cooking energy in the district. With the population increase the need for these is going to grow. Furthermore the need for building poles and timber for house construction has
increased rapidly of late owing to the villagisation programme. All these factors lead to accelerated deforestation. Thus if drastic measures are not taken in time, the district will face a crisis. Fortunately the District Authorities, especially the District Natural Resources Department is aware of this problem. A district-wide afforestation campaign has been launched, in line with the National policy. Villagers have been urged to plant trees in special areas reserved in their villages. The government, on the other hand, is planting trees in special set aside areas in the district. Trees are also being planted in all public lands, like schools, etc. The villagers are given tree seedlings free of charge so as to encourage them to dedicate efforts towards the afforestation programme.

3.35 In 1979, there were 8 forest nurseries in the district which produced 733,695 seedlings. During this time alone trees covering 474.2 acres were planted; 250.9 acres were planted by the government in various parts of the district and the rest of 233.3 acres were planted by villagers in their villages and
The afforestation carried by the government is taken as a demonstration to the villagers on how to do and the importance of the programme.

Despite the fact that forestry in the district is not fully developed, the district earns a substantial revenue from it. This fact is manifested in Table 3.4 which shows the revenue collected from "forests" for the period 1978/79.

Table 3.4 Revenue Collected from forest resources (1978/79)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CROP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>UNITS OF MEASURE</th>
<th>REVENUE EARNED (SHS.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timber logs</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>m$^3$</td>
<td>29,560.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>sacks</td>
<td>460.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskets</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>m$^3$</td>
<td>1,212.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planned timber(wood)</td>
<td>7015</td>
<td>running metres</td>
<td>4,732.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building poles</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bundles</td>
<td>23.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gum</td>
<td>5055.5</td>
<td>Kilogrammes</td>
<td>910.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,352.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>40,286.10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Natural Resources Department*
Note: The table shows only those transactions which were carried by the District Forestry Division. It does not include those transactions carried by individuals and villages, for which data is not available. It can be said therefore that if the forestry industry is developed in the district it would be an important source of employment opportunities.

3.4 Fisheries

3.41 Fishing is one of the occupations for the villages near the lakes and other water bodies like dams, etc. In Iramba district there is only one large lake, Kitangiri, which is also the largest in Singida region. There are several dams where fishing is also carried. Major ones include Urughu, Kisiriri, Mwendugembe, Kampenta, Meli and Gumanda. Most of these dams were built by the District Water Department, while the fish planting was done by the Natural Resources Department.

3.42 Among the problems facing the fishery industry in the district are shortage of larger fishing vessels and trained crews, and storage facilities. Although certain villages are trying co-operative fishing, this has not been
fully established. The main reason leading to the failure of co-operative fishing is that the majority of the fishermen in lake Kitangiri come from different places, mostly outside the region. The fact that these have different ethnic backgrounds and social values, make co-operation difficult but not impossible.

3.43 To help develop fishery in the district, the District Authorities have embarked on two projects. One is the establishment a boat-making and repairing centre at Doromoni, a village near Lake Kitangiri. The centre makes new fishing boats and repairs the existing ones. The second one is the establishment of District Fishing Unit which is charged with the responsibility of guiding and educating the fishermen on better fishing methods. The unit is also involved in fishing activities.

3.44 The problem of storage is indirectly caused by poor transportation network in the district. Because of poor transport facilities, the fish that have been hauled are not easily distributed to the villages and other centres where they could be sold; as a result a great proportion of the
fish catch is wasted through rotting. Because of similar transportation problem, the National Cold Chain Operations (NCCO), a co-operation which distributes frozen fish to large consumer markets in the country is unable to reach the area.

3.45 Despite the problems facing it, the fishery industry is making a commendable progress especially in Lake Kitangiri. There have been increases in both the number of fishermen and tonnage of fish caught. Correspondingly the revenue earned from fishery has greatly risen (Table 3.5). The types of fish found in Lake Kitangiri are tilapia, claries and .protopterus.

Table 3.5 Tonnage and Revenue earned from Fishery Industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of fishermen</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of boats</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish caught (tonnes)</td>
<td>204.4</td>
<td>1,371.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue earned (Shs.)</td>
<td>216,100.00</td>
<td>1,011,600.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: District Fishery Department
3.46 The fish industry has ready open market. Currently fish is ferried by individual traders to places like Dar-es-Salaam, Iringa, Tabora, etc. Also quite a big proportion is consumed within the region. In view of this, it can be said that the fish industry has a bright future if only the problems facing it are arrested. Although no survey has been done on the quantity of fish to be found in the lake, and the dams, there appears to be more than sufficient quantities of fish to support a larger industry than there is at present. Thus if the industry is developed, it would provide the people with an alternative source of income especially those around the lake and dams.

3.5 Wildlife

3.51 Wildlife is important in the development of tourism which generate foreign exchange. Trophies, hunting and export of live animals are sources of revenue to the government. Wildlife could be one of the major resources in the district with great potential for rapidly increasing returns if managed correctly. Wildlife, was in the past considered merely as an obstacle to good farming.
in the district. Now it is being appreciated as a form of land use which can bring revenue and capable of useful returns of protein and other products. Animal resources are thus valuable illustration of the functional nature of resources.

3.52 The district has great herds of wild animals of different species. To mention only a few, these include lions, elephants, zebras, buffaloes, leopards, etc. As the district is now aware of the importance of wildlife, it has embarked on a campaign of also educating the public on the importance of wildlife to the district and the nation at large. Conservation of the wildlife is also strongly being advocated.

3.53 Two things pose danger to the wildlife in the district: poaching and legal hunting. The rate of poaching in the district is alarming. For instance in 1978 alone, items worth Shillings 157,000/- were recovered from poachers by the District Natural Resources Department. Table 3.6 shows the various items which were recovered. Legal hunting is another thing which endangers wildlife in the district. Since the district earns a substantial revenue from hunting licences, it seems to forget the side effects of such a practice.
3.54 Another factor which is contributing to the diminution of the wildlife in the district is the shooting of "destructive animals" which are said to be dangerous to people's lives, livestock and crops. As Table 3.7 shows, quite a number of animals are killed in this way. If wildlife in the district is not going to be jeopardised, corrective measures should be taken against the above factors.

Table 3.6 Animal products (items) recovered from Poachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER</th>
<th>VALUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ivory tusks</td>
<td>805.6 Kilogrammes</td>
<td>107,350.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion skins</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopard skins</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebra skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eland skins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazette skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annadillo scales</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyena skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koodoo trophy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartebeest tail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koodoo skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piece of lion skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>157,000.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Natural Resources Department*
3.54 Another factor which is contributing to the diminution of the wildlife in the district is the shooting of "destructive animals" which are said to be dangerous to people's lives, livestock and crops. As Table 3.7 shows, quite a number of animals are killed in this way. If wildlife in the district is not going to be jeopardised, corrective measures should be taken against the above factors.

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koodoo skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piece of lion skin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**                    | **157,000.00** |

*Source: District Natural Resources Department*
Table 3.7 "Destructive Animals" killed during 1978/79 period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANIMAL</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. KILLED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lions</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephants</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffaloes</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild pigs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild boar</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyenas</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebras</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupines</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartebeests</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koodoo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elands</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazelles</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>114</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Game Office

3.5.1 Wildlife Protection Areas

Despite the large herds of wildlife the district does not have wildlife protection areas. This means that presently there are no Game Reserves or National Parks in the district. However, in its development plan the district has proposed one National Park at Endasiku.
3.6 Mining and Industry

3.6.1 Minerals are among the very important resources which can be exploited for the benefit of the people. There is little mining in the district. Important mineral deposits in the district include clays (e.g. Kaolin) and salt pans. Although these deposits are unquantified, there is strong evidence of their existence. Already in areas where the clay deposits exist, villagers are using them for pottery. Examples of such villages are Mkalama and Meli. Large salt deposits exist in Kirumi Division on which the whole district depends for its supply.

3.6.2 The other known mineral resource in the district is diamond. This is found at Mampanta (Kirondatal) and Senkenke. There had been mining activities in these areas during the colonial period but ever since independence these areas have been abandoned. The State Mining Corporation has done nothing apart from gazetting and fencing the areas. It is believed that more mineral deposits may be discovered if intensive exploration is carried in the district.
3.63 Industrialisation in the district is still at a very low level. The district has only three industries which are not even fully operational. These include metal fabrication, wood and oil extracting industries. The extraction industry utilizes the groundnuts and sunflower grown in the district. These industries do not include the smaller industries in the villages.

3.7 Summary and Recommendations

3.7.1 Agriculture
There is great scope for the improvement of agricultural yields from the district if farm inputs and modern farming techniques are adopted. Increased agricultural prosperity, will in turn, give rise to an increased demand for consumer (manufactured) goods, contributing to an expanded market potential. This trend may provide impetus for the development of a secondary sector i.e. manufacturing industry.

3.7.2 Livestock
3.7.21 It has been found that the district has poor dip coverage and operation. It neither has Grade cattle (dairy and beef grade) nor artificial Insemination services which are necessary for improved animal husbandry. Thus if livestock is
to be successful in the district, livestock improvement Programme should be launched. Dipping programme should be embarked which will present an opportunity for checking and observation of the livestock coming to a dip. The aim of the dipping programme will be the provision of comprehensive disease control at each dip which, in effect, will become a Livestock Improvement Centre, with permanent veterinary facilities.

3.7.22 The district should make an effort to introduce Grade cattle, both dairy and beef grade. It should also start the Artificial insemination services. Dairy farming could provide the district population with milk to add to their diet and at the same time earning them incomes. Ranching and fattening of cattle have some scope and ready market in the district. In the future even tanneries could be started in the area.

3.7.3 Beekeeping

Lack of modern bee-farming techniques and markets for beewax and honey products are the two main problems facing beekeeping. In order
to improve the beekeeping industry the following are recommended.

(a) Modern bee-farming techniques should be taught to the peasants, and should be encouraged to plant bee-attracting trees such as eucalyptus, etc.

(b) The government should help the peasants in securing markets for the beeswax and honey products.

3.7.4 Forestry

3.7.4.1 The district should have long term objectives of forest development policy, such as:

(a) to assure the continued availability of firewood and building poles for the rural community.

(b) to promote the long-term growth in exports of wood products.

3.7.4.2 Forestry conservation should also not be neglected. It should go hand in hand with forest utilization with the main purpose of preventing soil erosion and also providing water catchment areas.
3.7.5 Fisheries

3.7.51 Improved boats, gear methods - including establishment of preservation by boat-ice and receiving station refrigeration and improved transportation system so as to enable HCCO to reach fishing areas, could lead to a major increase in the effectiveness and profitability of the fishery resource.

3.7.52 Village fishing units should also be started with the objective of disseminating modern fishing techniques among the villagers so as to increase their fishing capacity.

3.7.6 Mining and Industry

3.7.61 According to the Village and Ujamaa Villages Act, villages are empowered to initiate and establish industries. Great emphasis should thus be placed on the establishment of small scale industries in the villages using locally available raw materials.

3.7.62 With the development of these local small-scale industries, various activities could develop within the district in the near future. These would include things like agricultural
produce processing industries, brick and tile manufacture and other industries using clay; cotton spinning or even weaving and village creameries. The district could also increase the use of wood, for example carpentry, charcoal production and even carving. Eventually this will lead to total diversification of rural economy in the district.

1. Charcoal production should go alongside with effective afforestation programme.
CHAPTER FOUR

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 General

This chapter sets the analysis data based on the field survey of the selected villages in the district. The information gathered include data from field survey, secondary data from various reports, and from personal interviews with village leaders and various District officials. Since many villages were interviewed, the problems and findings are on a generalized basis and not on particular villages. When particular villages are cited, mention will be made.

4.1 Village size and location

4.1.1 Village size

4.1.11 In order for a village to effectively carry out its activities necessary for its growth, it requires optimum size, a size which will allow for its physical expansion and for expanded economic activities.

4.1.12 As required by the village and Ujamaa Villages Act, all villages in the district have been demarcated. This means that each village has its own defined boundaries. It was found out that the demarcated
village sizes vary greatly. Some are very big while others are extremely small. Both these village sizes have their own implications. In larger villages, administration and organisation was found to be the main problem. In these villages organizing people, especially for communal works is difficult. Moreover people take a long time to all assemble and start working. Also in the case of a large village, the fields are too far from the village centre and hence a lot of working time is lost due to walking to these fields. So many man-hours are wasted this way.

4.1.13 The problem is even severe in the case of smaller villages, for these have no room for expansion. The village is so confined that it cannot expand its economic activities, namely agriculture. The village size then becomes a constraint to its physical and economic growth consequently checking its development. Because of this "created" land shortage, the village is forced to "give out" part of its agricultural land so as to accommodate village immigrants and other villagers resulting from natural
population increases. These problems have forced the District Authorities to revise the village boundaries. A new demarcation exercise was being carried out during the period of field survey.

4.1.2 Village Location

Spatial allocation of villages was identified as another problem. This problem is greatly attributed to poor village site selection. Some of the villages were found to be located in sites which make their development difficult and costly. For instance some villages have been established on hill tops, to which it is expensive to bring water and difficult accessibility. Some have been located on poor land which, unless modern agricultural techniques are employed, will be exhausted after a few years' cropping. These are only few examples which show how village location can be a constraint to provision of services and rapid development of the village if the site is not carefully chosen.

4.2. Village Leadership

4.2.1 General

4.2.1 Efficient internal organisation of villages
is of vital important. The higher the level of development, the greater the need for intelligent leadership, accepted rules of conduct and sanctions. Some of the earlier villages collapsed because they tried to adopt a degree of co-operation for which they had not had the necessary organisation, understanding and leadership. It was in the light of these problems that the government outlines the village structure and organisation guidelines through the Village Act of 1975. Despite these guidelines, leadership was found still to be a persistent problem. The problem is divided into two: lack of knowledge on the part of the village leaders and leadership conflict among them and between the extension service officers. Most of the present village leaders lack the leadership qualities and the basic knowledge necessary for leadership. The majority of committee members (to the various committees of the Village Council) interviewed, didn't even know what their duties were in their respective committees. It was also learnt that most of the committee members were elected against their wills. Perhaps that is why some of them are not committed to their duties.
4.2.12 Leadership conflict was found to be a common problem in the villages. The conflict among the village leaders has greatly been magnified since the appointment of Village Managers. Most village leaders, especially village chairmen feared that the village managers were posted to the village to take up their positions. With this attitude in their minds, they make sure that they don't co-operate with the managers. This situation greatly affects the performance of the managers because villagers tend to hear and follow the chairmen more than the "new" managers, since the chairmen have been accepted by the people. It follows from here that whatever good ideas the manager comes up with, people will be against them as long as the village chairman is not for them. In this way most of the manager's ideas and innovations go into drains. When this happens, the manager can not do otherwise since he's only an adviser and has no decision-making powers.

4.2.13 Conflicts between village leaders and extension officers stem from a number of factors. The fault seems to lie in the principles that divide their functions and define their relations.
There frequently develops a greater concern for preserving and furthering each leader's interests and authority than for helping to serve the primary purpose of building the village on a joint basis. For instance some extensionists charge that the village government infringes and usurps on their responsibilities. On the other end the village government perceives the extension officers as unindustrious and uncommitted to the progress of the village since the extension officers are civil servants who work simply for money. A member of the village government when interviewed, complained that extension officers were not working diligently and went on to say that perhaps that could happen only when they had their own experts, recruited and trained by the village itself. With such misunderstandings and fearful and suspicious relationships, the effectiveness of the whole leadership structure tends to be reduced.

4.2.14 The above factor is also important because it leads to an apparently rigid pattern of control. The village government, which has administrative authority over the major activities tends to assume a hegemonic role,
while the manager and the extension officers - the professionals who provide knowledge and skills as a means of realizing the village goals - tend to be in a subordinate position. In cases of conflicts between the two categories of leadership, decision-making is slanted in favour of the village government. In the circumstances the manager and the extensionists enjoy little autonomy; that is, they are tightly controlled and lose the discretion of them being professionals. They fear the risk of making decisions on their own and therefore play it safe by observing the village government's rules and policies with the result that important operational considerations receive inadequate emphasis. This, in a basic sense, makes the manager and the extension worker perceive themselves as more of government workers than as inhabitants of the village. They become mainly preoccupied with the observance of bureaucratic norms and regulations. This limits their involvements in the village activities as agents of social and economic changes.

4.2.15 Apart from leadership conflicts, there are also problems related to leadership. From the survey it was found out that 67% of the village chairman and 92% of the village secretaries come from within the villages. Since these have been
living in the villages, people know them too well that they don't take seriously whatever these leaders say. In the final analysis we find that this situation affects the overall performance of the various activities in the village. On the other end, leaders from outside the village are treated as aliens. Mostly this applies to the village managers of whom 56.5% come from outside the villages. It takes a long time before these are accepted by the villagers, as a result the managers perform their duties under difficult conditions. Sometimes the managers encounter the problem of language barrier if they come from outside the district.

4.2.16 According to the Village Act, villages are empowered to make their own bye-laws as guidelines for the running of their daily activities. For example, in all the villages interviewed there is a bye-law that whoever doesn't turn up for communal works should be fined accordingly. But it was found that such fines are not normally affected simply because of the relationships between the villagers and their leaders. In most villages in the district, village members are of related extended families and such leaders are afraid to take any stern measures against their relatives.
This has the implication that people will have the tendency of not attending communal works, knowing that no steps will be taken on them. In the final analysis production is lowered and hence consequently affecting the economy of the village.

4.2.2 Village Managers

4.2.2.1 As we saw in Chapter two, the duties of the Village Manager include among others, those of co-ordinating and supervising the planning and implementation of village management plan. The Manager is also responsible for the progress of economic activities undertaken by the village. In order to realize any success in these matters, managers should have the necessary qualifications - in terms of both education and profession - to be able to carry their duties effectively. This is not the situation at present.

4.2.2.2 It was found from the study that the levels of education of the managers ranged from primary to university. The managers also have different professional backgrounds. These included
economists, medical assistants, librarians, community development officers, agricultural officers, veterinary officers, administrators, planning assistants, ujamaa and co-operative officers and clerical officers. From these professional qualifications, it can be seen that only a few are relevant to effective village planning activities. This only shows the lack of serious planning on the part of the government. The situation implies also that the whole programme of posting managers to the villages did not receive adequate attention. It was hurriedly implemented without taking into account the availability of skilled manpower that would be needed. So unless the present managers are given special courses on village planning and management, it is doubtful if they will effectively carry out their duties for the betterment of the villages. Furthermore if these managers continue to play the advisory role, with no powers vested upon them to make decisions on vital "technical matters" in the villages their presence in these villages will not be beneficial.

4.3 Social Characteristics
4.3.1 Tribal Structure

The tribal structure in most villages in the district comprises of Nyiramba tribe which forms more than 98.7% of the village populations. Businessmen (from other parts of the country) and the various civil servants such as teachers, extension officers and managers who are posted to the villages, constitute the few other tribes present in the villages.

4.3.2 Population

4.3.2.1 Table 4.1 shows the population distribution in the district according to the administrative divisions. The number of families and corresponding populations vary from village to village depending on the village size (Table 4.3). From the sample survey, the average number of families and population in each village were found to be 612 and 2,907 respectively. The average number of families in a village is greater than the anticipated village ceiling of 600 families. This only shows that the recommended maximum village population size is not practical, for as long as conditions are favourable, villages are bound to grow.
### Table 4.1 Population Distribution in Iramba District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>NAME OF DIVISION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF WARDS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF VILLAGES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF FAMILIES</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ndugati</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8,434</td>
<td>43,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kisiriri</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8,257</td>
<td>39,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shelui</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7,609</td>
<td>37,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ndago</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7,945</td>
<td>37,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kirumi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6,079</td>
<td>31,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kinyanjiri</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6,591</td>
<td>27,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kinampando</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,661</td>
<td>24,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,656</strong></td>
<td><strong>242,003</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** 1978 National Census

4.3.22 The survey also shows that the average size of household in each village is 5.03 which can be approximately taken to be 5 members. This is slightly higher than the national average of 4.7 people. The village average household size has been greatly affected by the villagisation programme, whereby family members were forced by circumstances to live many together in a house while constructing other permanent houses.

Table 4.2 Village Household Composition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE NAME</th>
<th>ADULTS</th>
<th>CHILDREN</th>
<th>SEX RATIO</th>
<th>AGE RATIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ndugati</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1:1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Gumanga</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1:1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Singa</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>1206</td>
<td>1:1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nwando</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td>1:1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mkulankala</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>1:1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Kisiriri</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>1:1.35</td>
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## Table 4.3 Village Sample and Household Characteristics

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<th>NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS INTERVIEWED (10% SAMPLE)</th>
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<th>AVERAGE SIZE OF PRIVATE FARM (ACRES)</th>
<th>FREQUENCY OF COMMUNAL WORK (DAYS/WEEK)</th>
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</table>

**TOTAL** | **12,237** | **58,143** | **1226** | **Ave 5.03** | **Ave 2,976** | **Ave 6.5** | **CATTLE** | **SHEEP** | **GOATS** |

Source: Field Survey
A.3.23 The average sex ratio (male to female) were calculated to be 1:1.26. The ratio implies that, on the average there are more females than males in the villages. This has a significant effect on the overall village performance in the various activities, especially agriculture. According to the traditions in the district, there is a marked division of labour between males and females. For example, when considering cultivation on individual parcels of land, heavy works such as ploughing are male responsibility. Although females also take part in cultivation, they are mainly responsible for the bulk of the domestic work such as food preparation, wood and water gathering and child rearing, works which the males refuse to perform. This rigid division of labour on sexual basis in which men refuse to perform "women's work" therefore places a limitation on the amount of labour available for agricultural production.

4.3.24 The average age ratio or dependance ratio (adults to children) was calculated to be 1.16 (Table 4.2). This ratio has a
significant effect on the labour availability needed for the different economic activities in the villages. The greater the number of able-bodied adults the greater the amount of labour available for production. In other words increased production in the villages partly depends on the amount of labour available.

4.3.3 Income

4.3.3.1 The main source of income for the villages is the sale of agricultural cash crops and livestock. Those with gardens supplement their incomes by selling vegetables, chicken, eggs, etc. The majority of the villagers also practice animal husbandry, hence they derive, though to a very limited extent, some income through livestock marketing. Some villagers earn extra incomes through their individual small-scale economic activities such as handicrafts, carpentry, pottery, etc. As we shall see later, so far villagers do not receive any cash incomes from the various projects in their villages and from communal works.
4.3.32 The total average annual household income in the villages was calculated and found to be 2,376/- shillings. This includes all such incomes earned by a household through the sale of crops, livestock or otherwise. Two things should be noted in connection to the above figure. First the information on household income is liable to bias. This is so because the issue is so sensitive that the respondents were likely to give false figures (data). Moreover it was learnt that people were afraid to give their actual incomes fearing that the government was intending to introduce some sort of income tax, so they tended to give false figures. Even the figures given were only estimates for virtually no villager keeps records on his yearly earnings.

4.3.33 The second thing to note is that the average income calculated might have been raised (above actual villagers' incomes) because of averaging incomes of village managers, teachers and other extension officers who earn substantial monthly incomes. Thus this average income, in a way, may give a wrong impression on the earning powers of the villagers.
4.3.34 From Table 4.4, which is extracted from Table 4.3 showing average household incomes arranged in descending order, one relationship can be observed. From the data presented in the table, we find that there is a correlation between income, size of household private farm and the number of livestock kept in the particular village. It should be remembered here that the total livestock in the village is obtained from adding livestock kept by individual households. Apart from slight deviations, the relationship can be stated thus: The average household income depends on the size of its private farm and on the number of livestock reared by that household.

4.3.35 Another relationship which could have been possible to test is that relating income to the frequency of attending communal work. The expected relationship could have stated: the more days devoted to communal production the higher is the village income (which boils to individual incomes). Since proceeds from communal production don't directly contribute to individual household's income yet, the relationship therefore doesn't hold.
Table 4.4 Factors influencing household income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>AVERAGE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (SHS.)</th>
<th>AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD FARM (ACRES)</th>
<th>LIVESTOCK IN VILLAGE (TO THE NEAREST TENTH)</th>
<th>FREQUENCY COMMUNAL (DAYS/WEEK)</th>
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Source: Field Survey
4.3.36 Accepting the average annual household income of 2,876/- and taking the calculated average household size of 5 people the per capita income for the villages can be calculated. Using the above figures the per capita income is calculated to be Shillings 575/-. This falls far below the country's 1978 estimated per capita of US $150 (or Tanzanian Shillings 1050/- if 1978 dollar value of 7/- is used).  

4.4 Reasons for moving to villages

Every household interviewed in the sample villages was asked for the reasons which led it join the village. It was made to choose from the following pre-listed reasons:

1. The household was living in the material place (area) before the village was started.

2. Expectation for better facilities and amenities i.e. improvement in living standards.

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3. Expectation for material benefit.

4. Social security.

5. Forced.

4.41 From the survey results it was found that the majority of the villagers (63%) didn't move into the villages from the distant areas but were living in those areas even before the establishment of the villages. Some were in traditional villages which were just encouraged to "go ujamaa" with minimum reorganisation and rearrangement. Others were just moved from within their old villages into Central areas thus creating new villages.

4.42 37% of the villagers moved away from their old traditional villages into the new "planned" villages. These gave different reasons for their moving. 44% (out of 37%) of them said they moved into the planned villages because of the expectation of improvement in their living standards, that is, they expect life in the new villages to be better than the past. This general response confirms the hypothesis (1) that the number of peasants willing to join new village depends on their expectation of better living standards in these villages.
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<th>Households Moved into Village</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Material to Improve in Living Standards</th>
<th>Social Benefit</th>
<th>Social Security</th>
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<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>772</strong></td>
<td><strong>454</strong></td>
<td><strong>1226</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>165</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>454</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

Table 4.5 Household Reasons for joining villages
4.43 Expectation of material benefits was the second popular reason given. 36.3% (of 37%) of the households reported that they joined the villages because they expected material benefits. This response also confirms the hypothesis (2) that the number of peasants willing to join new villages depends on their expectation of material benefits. One might expect here that failure to receive significant material benefit from communal work may lead to diminution of this trend, but this is not the case. Despite the fact that so far villagers receive no cash returns from communal production, yet people (from distant areas, urban areas, etc.) still apply to join the villages.

4.44 From the survey only 7.7% (of 37%) of the households reported that they were forced to join the villages. This proportion is too low to substantiate the nation that the use of force made the majority of the peasants join the new villages. This fact therefore disapproves the hypothesis (3) that greater number of peasants joined the villages because of force. One point should not be overlooked here. Since interviews were conducted in the presence of village
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leaders, villagers were afraid to voice their complaints. Thus given the fears that constrained villagers from voicing their complaints, the data collected are probably underestimations.

4.45 As can be seen in Table 4.5 quite a substantial percentage (12%) of the villagers reported to have moved into the new villages because of social security.

4.5 Economic Planning in Villages

4.51 Planning in the villages was identified as one of the problems which affect the economic performance and realization of goals. Many of the villages, although full of enthusiasm, lack the basic planning knowledge. This applies both to villagers and their leaders, especially members of the various committees. It was found that 93% of the committee members have no formal education and out of these 5.2% were completely illiterate. For example when one committee was asked to explain what his duties were in the committee he replied "I don't know, ask the manager."
One fails to understand how such a person who doesn't even know what he is supposed to do can be helpful in the planning and general running of the village.

4.52 It was also found that in almost all the villages, villagers do not understand the planning process. Because of this, the villagers are denied the chance to participate fully in the planning for their villages. Their role is reduced to that of only voting for the projects initiated by village elites. This shows that the country's aspiration of having planning from the grassroot level upwards (i.e. planning from below) is still far from being practical. Unless the villagers are educated and enlightened on the whole planning process, we will be cheating ourselves.

4.53 Presently there are several planning approaches followed or rather used by the village elites in initiating various projects in the villages. These approaches are shown in Table 4.6. All of them show that the villagers are not involved in the planning process, especially in goal formulation and project initiation.
4.54 There are two types of projects initiated in villages. There are those which don't require external aid, which therefore can be carried out by the village alone, utilizing the available resources within it. The second type of projects are those projects which require external aid normally in form of expertise and finance. Such projects are taken up to higher authorities like Ward and Division levels and then to the district level where they are scrutinized and integrated into a district plan. The hierarchy of the plan is shown in Figure 2.6, Chapter two.

4.60 Communal Works and Public Participation

4.61 Public participation has a great potential in villages if the villagers are properly directed and organised, and most important of all, given the chance to participate in both good formulation and implementation stages of the planning process. The full aim of public participation, that is, encouraging co-operation, self-confidence and creativity among villagers as the means of solving their problems (e.g. self-help co-operatives) will have been achieved if villagers understand and participate in various activities in the village.
### Table 4.6 Planning Approaches used in various villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPROACH</th>
<th>PLANNING PROCEDURE</th>
<th>(PROJECT INITIATIONS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Finance and Planning Committee (initiates projects)</td>
<td>Village CCM Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Village Manager and Various Committees</td>
<td>Village General Assembly (informed on what has been agreed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Village Manager (Scans Resources - natural and human)</td>
<td>Finance and Planning Committee (proposes projects based on resources)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Village Manager (briefs influential elders on proposed projects)</td>
<td>Village Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Village Council</td>
<td>Village CCM Committee (chooses suitable projects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Village Manager</td>
<td>Finance and Planning Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Village Manager</td>
<td>Individual Village Committee (responsible for proposed projects)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: Projects not requiring external aid are taken for implementation. Source: Field Survey
It is encouraging to note that quite a number of projects in the villages like construction of schools, dispensaries, etc. have been and are being implemented on self-help basis where all villagers participate fully. Substantial amounts of finance are saved through these self-help programmes.

4.62 Communal or collective working in the villages is an important tool in realizing village goals co-operatively. The allocation of the village labour pool to different areas of productive work is governed by the overall labour available. The most common method that was observed for allocating labour in the villages was according to the ten-cell system. Only when the nature of work required great labour force was the work organised and divided according to the 100-cell system. In both cases each (ten-cell or 100-cell) leader organises his people and makes sure that every able-bodied villager attends the communal work. These groups work in shifts according to the number of days devoted to communal work in the village. Each village, according to its bye-law, has a different number of days per week set aside for communal work (Table 4.2).
Each villager who fails to attend communal work without any acceptable reasons is brought before the Village reconciliation committee where is fined accordingly. The fines vary from village to village and are based on the village bye-laws. In some villages defaulters are fined one chicken, ten shillings or even a goat everytime they miss work. But as already pointed out in Section 4.2, these fines are not seriously affected.

4.63 It was noted that presently most villages do not directly distribute the proceeds from various projects and communal works amongst themselves. Part of the surplus realized is used for the procurement of various items needed by the village (e.g. flour milling machines, ploughs, etc.) and in the enhancement of unfinished projects or starting new ones. The other part of the surplus is credited to the village bank account.

4.7 Agriculture

4.7.10 Production

4.7.11 Agricultural production is realized from three different forms of farm lands. The first
of these is the traditional kinship land. Some villagers still go back to cultivate in their former farmlands. The motive behind this is their strong attachment to "family" land and related cultural beliefs.

4.7.12 The second form of farm land is known as block farms. These are individual household farms which, according to village guidelines, are supposed to be laid out close together in a linear (blocks) pattern so as to facilitate and reduce the costs of using mechanised equipment. Most villages do not follow this, as a result farms are scattered, with no proper orientation. The sizes of these individual farms vary greatly from village to village depending on the availability of suitable arable land in the village. (Table 4.3). The average size of the private farm per household in the district was found to be 6.5 acres. This includes land for both food and cash crops.

4.7.13 According to the present Five Year Development Plan (ending June 1981) the

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3. Third Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, First Volume - Page 118.
following are the national targets for agriculture:

1. Every villager should have a minimum of
   $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of food crops and 1 acre of
   cash crops in order to have more food
   and money.

2. Every household (homestead) should have at
   least $\frac{1}{4}$ acre for fruit trees and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre as
   a vegetable garden. Based on these targets
   the total minimum average needed per house­
   hold can be calculated. Using the calculated
   average household size of 5 people and average
   age ratio of 1.16 the above can be calculated
   as follows:

   Let $A =$ Adults and $C =$ Children

   then $A + C = 5$ ........ (1)

   and $\frac{A}{C} = 1.16$ ........ (2)

   From (2) $C = \frac{A}{1.16}$

   Substituting in (i), $A + \frac{A}{1.16} = 5$ which gives

   $A = 2.69$

   This implies that for a household of 5 people,
   2.69 are adults. Target requires that every
   villager (adult) to have $1 + 1\frac{1}{2} = 2.5$ acres of
   both cash and food crops. For the whole house­
   hold the average will be $2.5 \times 2.69 = 6.725$ acres.
Again each household is required to have $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{2}$ acre of fruit trees and vegetables.

Therefore total minimum household acreage according to the targets is $6.725 + 0.5 = 7.2$ acres (approximately).

4.7.14 We therefore find that present average household farms of 6.5 acres in the district is still below the target figure. More efforts should be put on the expansion of farming land if the target is to be realized.

4.7.15 The last category of farm land is the communal farms. Information on the sizes of communal farms in the villages was not obtained because there were no records on the exact sizes, since the area under communal cultivation varied from season to season. However two factors were found to affect communal production in the villages. These are private farms and serious ideological inadequacy. Most villagers tend not to do their communal work as carefully as they work on their private farms. They just attend communal work because they see it as an obligation. Thus the qualitatively lower commitment to communal farms and greater commitment to the private farms affect
the communal production. It can also be said that villagers' lack of commitment to communal farming is due to ideological inadequacy, namely the low level of socio-political consciousness. This implies that people have not understood yet the importance of communal production.

4.7.16 On the other end the villagers have a good reason to devote their efforts to their private farms. As was pointed earlier in section 4.6, proceeds realized from village projects and communal works are not distributed among the villagers at present. Thus villagers are forced to obtain cash incomes from their private activities (farms) so as to get essentials such as paraffin, soap, etc. which are not produced in the village. For this reason villagers become more committed to their private farms than to communal farming.

4.7.17 Data on acreage under each crop and its annual production (tonnage) was not obtained because the majority of the villages did not keep records on these. The same thing applies to the revenue realized by the village from the sale of each cash crop.
4.7.18 Production is also partially dependent on the farming methods. The better the farming methods the increased labour productivity. The most common methods of land tillage in the villages were found to be ox-plough and the hand-hoe. Most villagers use ox-ploughs to till the land and the hand hoe for weeding. Both these methods make villagers devote more hours per unit of land (i.e. acre.), generally affecting the level of production.

4.7.19 The use of tractors is not yet common in the district. Most villages cannot afford tractorization at present. Now that the government has decided to introduce tractor hire services in the rural areas, most villages will afford it and production is expected to increase because of the expanded areas which would be put under cultivation.

4.7.20 Marketing

4.7.21 Under the Village Act, villages have been deemed as marketing co-operative societies. Thus the marketing of all agricultural produce in the village is done by the village itself. The village
buys the various crops from the farmers and stores them. When enough has been collected the village informs the relevant crop Authorities which then remit money according to the kilogrammes of crops bought. The village in turn pays it to the farmers. Ferrying of the crops is the responsibility of the Authorities.

4.7.22 The good thing with this new system is that villages earn substantial revenue by levying every kilogramme of produce (crop) they buy on behalf of the Authorities. For example the village gets 16 cents for every kilogramme of cotton it buys on behalf of Tanzania Cotton Authority. The majority of the villages seem to like this system because when asked to compare with the former Co-operative Societies, 90% of them were in favour of this new system.

4.7.23 Much as the system seems to be good, it has its own problems. Since these village societies are still young (1-3 years), they still don't have enough qualified staff to run them. As a result of this, we find most societies don't keep proper comprehensive records. The other problem
is brought about by the various Crop Authorities when they fail to remit money in time in order to pay the farmers. Farmers stay for long periods without being paid, a situation which greatly demoralises them. The crop prices used in the villages are those set by the government.

4.7.30 Storage

4.7.31 Information was sought for three categories of storage: storage of crops just after harvest, storage of crop produce bought by the village society, and storage of food stuffs by the villagers for preservation purposes.

4.7.32 In the first category, it was found out that 51.5% of the villagers keep their newly harvested crops on their rooftops for drying. This may be due to the nature of the most common house - "tembe" - which has flat roof (Plate VIII). This has the advantage that the produce is safe from destructive elements like livestock, chicken, etc. although it is open to birds. The other widely used method of storing crops (52.9%) for drying purposes is that of using a crib, (elevated stand) on which the crop is spread. Other storing methods
like tying and hanging maize on trees, spreading the crops on the ground, etc. account for only 15.6%.

4.7.33 In the case of storing food for preservation purposes, 0.2% of the villagers store their food stuffs within the main house. Food is put in locally constructed storage vessels made of twisted thin stick pieces (Figure 4.1). Only 19.1% of the villagers store their food stuffs in separate stores. Food is either spread on mats on the floor or packed in sacks. At present there are no modern granaries in the villages. Weevils and other pests and the rats pose great danger to food stuffs stored using the above methods. Great amounts of grains can be lost this way in villages where the majority of the villagers cannot afford pesticides.

4.7.34 For the storage of crop produce bought by the village, the Crop Authorities are responsible for the provision of storage facilities. Despite the efforts made by these Authorities, 67% of the villages indicated the problem of inadequate storage facilities.
FIG. 4.1 LOCALLY CONSTRUCTED STORAGE BIN (VESSEL)
Most of the excess produce (which can not find room in the godown) is just spread outside and poorly covered. In some cases different types of crops are kept in close proximity in one store where they get mixed up. This problem of inadequate storage facilities is further aggravated when the Crop Authorities fail to ferry the produce regularly. If great attention is not given to this storage problem, it may lead to great crop losses. The type of storage structures constructed in villages is shown in Plate II.

4.80 Livestock

4.91 Livestock keeping is practised in all villages in the district, mostly on individual basis. Only traditional type is kept since Grade cattle has not been introduced in the area. Collective keeping of livestock is not yet common. The only livestock kept on communal basis are the village oxen used for ploughing village communal farms. But in most villages all the individual livestock (cattle) are kept in one pen at night where the individual owners guard the pen in turn.
4.82 Of those households which keep livestock, 90.8% of them don't sell their livestock on their own wills; but only when they are in emergent need of money. There are two reasons for this: (1) Traditionally livestock is regarded as a sign of wealth therefore no farmer is willing to part with any of his livestock. (2) The price of livestock offered by the Tanzania Livestock Marketing Corporation is so low that it discourages the farmers from selling their livestock. The Corporation holds the livestock markets in every ward on a monthly basis. Plates III and IV show the type of livestock markets available in the district.

4.83 If the farmers are educated on the dangers of keeping great heads of livestock and prices improved, they will be willing to sell their livestock. This could earn them substantial cash incomes and subsequently raising their living standards.

4.9 Infrastructure
Infrastructure, categorized as physical and social, refers to elements that must be provided to make life possible at any level or size of settlement.
4.9.10 **Water Supply**

4.9.11 Despite the government's efforts of providing clean water to rural areas, rivers and streams were found to be still the main sources of water supply in the villages. More than 63% of the village still depend on rivers and streams for their water supply. The distances from the villages to these water sources range from one mile up to five miles. Thus making water one of the major problems in the villages. Only a small number of villages get their water from bore holes/wells and piped water supply which are usually in or near the villages.

4.9.12 During the early days of villagisation, quite a number of villages were provided (by the government) with clean tapped water as an incentive for people to join the villages. Diesel water pumps were installed and elevated reinforced concrete tanks were constructed. The most common type of tanks constructed in villages is shown in Plate V. Today water supply in the village is the responsibility of both the village and District Water Department. Villagers dig the pipeline
trenches on self-help basis while the Water Department is responsible for pipe laying, construction of tanks and installation of water pumps. After these works, the Water Department hands over the water project to the village which would be responsible for its running.

4.9.13 It seems the whole rural water supply programme was hurriedly launched without proper planning. Little studies were carried to ascertain the feasibility, viability location and affordability of the villagers to run the water projects. During the time the study was carried many of the water projects in the villages were found to be out of operation. For instance out of the 20 villages interviewed, 11 were recorded to have water projects. Out of these only 3 were operational. The main reasons for this were found to be:

1. that the villagers could not afford the cost of diesel to run the pumps and their corresponding maintenance costs.

4. Water project here refers to piped water supply
2. Non-availability of diesel in the villages (due to oil shortages).

3. Lack of technical expertise necessary for regular pump maintenance.

This situation is very deceiving. The government spends a lot of money in the name of providing water to the rural areas but yet the villagers, despite the presence of pumps and tanks in their villages, continue to walk miles in search of water from rivers and streams. In some of the villages, people are forced (by water problem) to draw water from natural wells which are not constructed in any way and are not protected from surface run-off (Plate VI). Villagers near the rivers get their domestic water by "digging make-shift wells" in the sand especially during the dry season (Plate VII). All these show the great health hazards facing the villagers.

4.9.13 The water situation in the district seems to beat the government's target of providing sources of clean water to 100% of the rural population by 1981. In summary, high fuel costs, lack of adequate skilled manpower and
I. Section of the trees planted in the Village through the Afforestation Programme.

II. Type of storage structure provided by the Crop Authorities
Plate III. Cattle market

Plate IV. Another view of the cattle market
Plate V. Reinforced concrete elevated water tank commonly constructed in the villages.
Plate VII. "Make Shift Well" in sand - during the dry season when the river is dry

Plate VIII. Raw-brick house ("tembe") commonly constructed in the villages (Note the type of roofing)
Plate IX. Section of the village (watch the pattern and type of housing)

Plate X. Another type of housing - with walls built of clay reinforced with timber
Plate XI. Alternative Sources of Energy. Windmills are being used in certain villages to pump water.

Plate XII. Another view of the windmill.
Plate XI. Alternative Sources of Energy. Windmills are being used in certain villages to pump water.

Plate XII. Another view of the windmill.
finances were identified as the major constraint to provision of potable water in the rural areas of the district.

4.9.20 Access

4.9.21 As can be seen from Map No. 2, Iramba District has very few all weather roads, which results in poor transport system. Because of the poor transportation network in the district, most villages suffer from the problem of poor accessibility. Although 42% of the villages reported that the access roads to their villages were fair (i.e. were passable under normal conditions), most of these roads become almost impassable during the rainy season.

4.9.21 Although many villages have applied for the purchase of motor vehicles (mostly lorries and pick-ups) virtually no village owns a vehicle at the moment. This situation affects the movement of goods to and from the villages, considerably affecting economic activities in the villages. Of the villages off the main roads, 67% of them reported that poor transport system affects their economic activities.
4.9.22 Passenger transport problems in the district have been considerably reduced by the procurement of five co-operative buses. Each village in the district contributed a minimum of Shillings 4,000/- (one share) towards the buying of the buses. Currently the buses are run by a Co-operative Society to which all villages are members. Although each village has a representative to the management of the society, the top management is provided by the District Development Corporation.

4.9.23 In villages where accessibility is practically difficult, villagers either walk or cycle. From the survey the transport modal split in the district was found to be: 75% of the villagers use co-operative or privately own buses that pass through their villages, 24% travel on foot and only 1% use bicycles. The reason for the small number of people using bicycles is that most of the villagers cannot afford exorbitant bicycle prices. Currently a bicycle is selling at 850/- Shillings.

4.9.24 The transport situation in the district can be eased if the roads are improved and
villages encouraged to contribute towards the buying of transportors and more buses.

4.9.30 Health Facilities:

4.9.31 Inadequate health facilities and skilled manpower required to man the existing dispensaries and health centres were identified as two major problems facing the health sector in the district. Presently the district has two hospitals (one government district hospital and one mission hospital) with a total of 190 hospital beds, two rural health centres, 22 government dispensaries and 10 village aid dispensaries. Village aid dispensaries offer lower services than the government dispensaries. For this reason they are not considered when calculating the adequacy of dispensaries in the district. Table 4.7 shows the distribution of these health facilities in the district. Their spatial distribution is shown on Map No. 3.

4.9.32 According to the present government targets, one dispensary is supposed to serve a population of 8,000 people and one rural health centre a population of 50,000 people. Also it is the government's target to have one hospital bed for 1,000 people in each district. Based on
these target figures and the district's population of 242,003, we find that to reach the target the district should have 30 dispensaries, 5 health centres and 242 hospital beds. Comparing these figures and the existing situation, we see that the district is deficient of 8 dispensaries, 3 rural health centres and 52 hospital beds. This situation explains why the inadequate health facilities is a major problem in the district. Since the provision of health facilities is in the hands of the central government, there is not much the district in its own can do about much as it would want to increase these facilities.

4.9.40 Educational Facilities

4.9.41 The two major problems facing the educational sector in the district are lack of adequate primary schools and trained teachers. The problem of inadequate primary schools is brought about by the government's policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) which requires that every child of school-going age must go to school. As a result of this, the rise of children enrollment has been so
great that it cannot cope with the existing educational facilities. Similarly the demand for teachers has been so high that the government has been compelled to recruit Primary School leavers who had had no training at all to teach these children. This move has the adverse effect of lowering the educational standards. Associated with the above problems is the inadequate teaching aids and desks necessary for the running of full primary schools. The annual growth of primary schools in the district is shown in Table 4.8. It should be noted that in 1974 and 1977 the number of schools fell. This is because some of the smaller villages in the district were made to amalgamate and hence affecting the number of schools.

Table 4.8 Annual growth of Primary Schools in the District.

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<td>N. OF SCHOOL</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>112</td>
<td>105</td>
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</table>

Source: District Education Office

4.9.42 The provision of facilities for the young children seems to be unpopular in the villages.
Presently there is not a single village with a nursery school. The reason for this perhaps, is that parents in the villages have enough time to look after their children unlike in the urban areas where parents have to go to office leaving their children behind. In the villages, mothers take the children with them to the fields. This practice leads to great losses of working man-hours because these mothers use considerable hours in tending their children.

4.9.43 Great progress has been made in the district where adult education is concerned. Only 36% of the district adult population does not know how to read and write. This high literate rate in the district has the advantage that people will be able to adopt innovations and various other instructions pertaining to modern agricultural techniques more easily. This may lead to improved agriculture in the district.

4.9.44 On formal education, the district has only one secondary school and one teacher training college.
Table 4.7 Distribution of Health Facilities in the District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACILITY TYPE</th>
<th>HOSPITAL</th>
<th>RURAL HEALTH CENTRE</th>
<th>VILLAGE AID DISPENSARY</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY</th>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Iurga</td>
<td>Munguli</td>
<td>Iurga</td>
<td>Munguli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Munguli</td>
<td>Iguguno</td>
<td>Munguli</td>
<td>Iguguno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Iguguno</td>
<td>Ndulungu</td>
<td>Iguguno</td>
<td>Ndulungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ndulungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Health Office
4.9.50 Public Facilities

4.9.51 Only a few villages have provisions for these facilities. When a post office or a police station exists, its catchment area is so large that the distant villages don't fully make use of the facility.

4.9.52 The District Education Office has established libraries in every ward where various books on politics and adult education are stocked. There are no proper provisions for sports and recreational facilities in the villages. This deprives the villagers the recreation needed after a hard day's work.

4.9.60 Sewage Disposal

4.9.61 Sewage disposal refers to the collection and disposition of human waste and household refuse.

4.9.62 Pit latrine is the most common method of disposition of human wastes in the village. However, it was observed that a great number of villagers did not have proper and permanent pit latrines or any other acceptable methods of waste disposition. Such a situation is
dangerous because it is very favourable for the outbreak of epidemics like dysentry, cholera, etc.

4.9.63 Disposal pits for household refuse are not common in the villages where refuse is just thrown around the house. If villages are encouraged to use these pits, they will serve them (villagers) two purposes: First as a means of refuse disposal and secondly, in the long run, may be used as compost pits where good manure can be obtained for agricultural improvement.

4.10 Housing

4.10.1 The prime objective of the government policy in housing is to move towards a situation where every family will live in a decent house which provides at least the basic standards of health, privacy and security. During the study, houses in the villages were judged on the basis of the above statement. A house was classified as good, fair or poor according to the building materials used and its general appearance. The permanency of a house was
judged on the basis of its construction. For example a house was said to be permanent if it was thoroughly sound structurally i.e. proper foundations and walls and permanent roofing material. A poor house was taken to be that house which is poorly constructed with temporary materials and which can be easily replaced. On these criteria, the assessed housing condition in the villages are summarized in Table 4.9.

4.102 From the data presented in Table 4.9 the following remarks can be made:

1. The majority of houses in the villages fall under the category of fair. (i.e. 68%)

2. Raw clay bricks is the most commonly used material for wall building (89.3%) followed by wooden poles and mud (i.e. clay with timber reinforcements). These are shown in Plates VIII, IX and X. The choice of these materials is dependent on their availability in the areas. For instance in places where suitable clay for brick making is available, villagers use clay bricks and in place with abundance of natural
Forests people build their houses using clay with timber reinforcements. Burnt bricks are used in villages with abundance forests and where brick baking has been their long time tradition. Housing quality in the villages may be improved if villagers are encouraged to use burnt bricks which are more durable.

3. Wooden poles and mud (commonly referred to as "tembe" in Kiswahili) was found to be the widely used type of roofing (Plate VIII). Because of the "better rural housing" campaign, villagers are now turning from "tembe" to corrugated iron sheet roofing. The only reported constraint to this was finance. Iron sheets have become so expensive that the majority of the villagers can not afford. In the same line, cement has also become dear, as a result most floors in the houses are still those of earth. Because of this prevailing housing situation, the majority of the houses in the villages are still semi-permanent.
4.10.3 Due to financial constraints, most villages have started house improvement programme through which villagers' houses are constructed on collective efforts. Each year a number of households are selected to put up the walls of their houses. The village then aids them by providing them with iron roofing sheets on credit. The village government secures the loans from Tanzania Housing Bank and other lending institutions.

4.11 Energy

4.11.1 The main source of domestic energy is firewood and charcoal. Firewood is mostly used in the mornings for quick fire while charcoal is largely used in the evenings. Only a very small percentage of the population uses kerosene for cooking, otherwise kerosene is mostly used for lighting purposes. This implies that there is over-dependence on forests for energy supply in the villages. This overdependence connotes a fuel problem in few years to come if re-afforestation and afforestation measures are not enforced or alternative sources of energy sought.
Table 4.9 Housing situation in the villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>% TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Housing Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Building Materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for walls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw bricks</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnt bricks</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stones</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden poles + mud</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete blocks</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Roofing Materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrugated iron sheets</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass thatching</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Poles + mud (Tembe)</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Materials for floor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Type of Structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-permanent</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
4.112 The strain on forest resources can be shown by the following calculation. According to Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) research in Tanzania, wood consumption is about 2.3 $m^3$ per person per year. The average number of families in a village and the average size of the family have been calculated to be 612 and 5 respectively. So amount of fuel wood per village = $612 \times 5 \times 2.3 = 7030$ $m^3$ per year.

One hectare is capable of producing 40 cubic metres. Therefore each village needs $\frac{7030}{40} = 176$ hectares of a consolidated forest reserve. It can be said therefore that in the absence of village reserve forests to replenish firewood, there will be a yearly afforestation deficit of 7030 $m^3$ per village.

4.113 Apart from firewood and charcoal there are no other sources of energy in the district which can be used to enhance the much emphasized rural industrialization (at least for those industries which require the use of energy). Thus if such a programme is to become a reality, alternative sources of energy will have to be sought.

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5. FAC, Research in Tanzania, 1971
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5. FAC, Research in Tanzania, 1971
4.12 Economic Base

The development of an area depends among other things on its economic base, which facilitates the opening up of various economic activities such as industries, markets, shops and other establishments.

4.12.10 Industries and Services

4.12.11 Despite the availability of different resources for potential industrial development (Chapter 3), there is very little progress towards rural industrialization in the district. Only 16% of the villages were found to have cottage and small scale industries, which mainly included wood industries, crafts and pottery. The main reasons for this low level of industrialization were found to be lack of finances for the initial project capital outlays, and lack of technocrats needed for initiation of sound economic projects. Lack of adequate and proper technology was also seen as a constraint to the industrial sector.

4.12.12 With the appointment of village manager, (charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating all economic activities in the village), most villages are now able to economically plan their development projects.
During the time of the study, quite a number of villages had interesting projects in the pipeline. Should these projects take off, a number of small-scale industries will spring up in the district which will facilitate inter-village trade and help diversify the rural economy.

4.12.13 Services found in the villages included shoe and bicycle repairs, smithing and carpentry. These were mostly found in villages which can be termed as "trading centres" normally allocated at road junctions or along main roads.

4.12.20 Shops and Trade

4.12.21 The number of shops in a village vary from village to village depending on the village size and location. In some favourably located villages (i.e. "trading centres") there were as many as 20 shops, the majority belonging to private individuals. Individual shops accounted for 53% of the shops interviewed in the villages. This shows that individual ownership is still predominant.

4.12.22 Most of the village co-operative shops were started with initial capitals from the
villagers themselves. Each household contributed an agreed amount (share) towards the shop establishment. Most of the shops sell household items, foodstuffs, oils, clothes and farm implements like hoes, ploughs, etc. These items sold are usually obtained from the District Trading Company and sometimes from individual traders in Singida town.

4.12.23 There are two main problems that face the shops in the villages. The first problem is that of inadequate qualified and trained personnel to run the shops. This explains why most shops do not keep accounts. The second problem, and probably the most critical one is that of transporting the commodities to the villages. Villages with easy accessibility transport their goods by buses which pass through them. In villages which are not easily accessible, goods are taken to these villages by oxen-drawn carts and by foot. This problem of accessibility affects the performance of the shops. Sometimes, because of this problem, goods do not reach the villages, causing shortages and hardships to the people - contrary to the main objective of village shops of easy availability of daily needs of the villagers. These shortages also affect the monthly turn-over of the shops. Nonetheless the average monthly sales from the village shops was found to be Shillings 2,056/-. 
4.12.24 On the question of trade, there is virtually no inter-village trade at present except at individual levels. There are two basic reasons for this: (1) the low level of industrialization affects the amount of commodities/products produced for sale. This implies that there are few items to be traded. (2) Where small-scale industries exist, most villages embark on similar projects thus producing similar items. This situation does not create demand conditions, whereas if villages carried out different projects and hence producing different items, the laws of demand and supply would follow. In other words village specialization is inevitable if inter-village trade is to occur.

4.130 Village Sources of Revenue

4.131 The main sources of revenue for a village are loans from various lending institutions and funds from the village itself. According to the Village Revenue Act of 1976, every village is supposed to have a Reserve Fund, where money is collected for use for the various village development projects. As to how the money is collected depends on the individual village's
bye-laws. The great majority of the villages contribute to their reserve fund by deciding that a certain percentage of income from communal farms and other projects in the village be paid to the reserve fund.

4.132 In other villages, levies are imposed on various economic activities carried out by individual villagers. The following are only a few examples on how villages earn revenue from levies on individual activities. In certain villages anyone selling charcoal on his own is charged five shillings per sack. In most villages anyone preparing local brew in the village pays 50/- shillings. In fact some villages have seen this to be a lucrative revenue earning that they have lost control over it. Villagers are allowed to brew on any day of the week (contrary to the official days—Saturdays and Sundays) as long as they paid the levy. As a result of this one finds villagers drunk early in the morning when they were supposed to go to work. If this practice is not corrected in time, production in such villages will go down and the villages are bound to fail economically.
5.1 Conclusions.

Given a framework composed of economically sound regional development plans and a maximum of consensus, it can be concluded that villagisation is worthwhile. The villagisation programme is rapidly gaining momentum throughout the district. Peasants and workers particularly in the villages, are correctly understanding the aims and objectives of the nation's development strategy as they struggle to liberate themselves from socio-economic problems. When fully apprehended, the villagisation programme will have a tremendous impact on rural development. However, there are problems which currently face the programme especially on its implementation. This leads to the first major conclusion that:

5.1.1 The performance and success of the villagisation programme in the district has been slow and thus has not reached the anticipated level. Factors responsible for this include policy inadequacy, village leadership, lack of planning education and individual ownership of farms.

1. In this context, the concept of region implies a portion (or portions) of the country which in account of physical, economic, historical and cultural circumstances is more or less homogeneous and is characterised by subsistence agriculture.
5.1.11 Adequate time was not given to the proper planning for the villagisation programme, as such the programme was implemented "in a rush" which resulted in undesirable development of villages. For instance, time was not accorded for the proper site selection for the villages. This led to villages being located in poor sites where, sometimes, development of these villages was difficult. The policy assumed that people understood the programme and knew what they were supposed to do, but that was not the case. In other words, peasants were not educated and politicised enough with regard to the villagisation programme. The policy also overlooked the question of organisation and leadership in the new villages which are necessary factors for their success.

5.1.12 The policy also requires that in the long run, villages should become economically self-sufficient so as to lessen the burden on the government, enabling the government to use the then saved resources (mostly capital) to develop other sectors of the economy. But no studies were carried to establish the production capabilities, the economic bases and the current level of technology in the villages to facilitate them carry out sound economic activities which would enable them become viable economic units. This has resulted into a gap between the policy's expectation and the actual performances in the villages. Instead of lessening the burden on the government, this situation has resulted in
overburdening on the government. Since people are already in villages, the government has to supplement the essential services and facilities which the villagers have not been able to attain on their own. In summary, we see that the policy did not take into account the several factors such as economic production, peoples' attitude towards the programme (level of peoples' ideological understanding), economic or resource bases of the villages and their levels of technology and the long range effect of living in these villages. These are necessary factors for the overall success of the programme.

5.1.13 Village leadership is the second factor which affects the performance of the villagisation programme. It is often said that village leadership is the key factor to the success of the village. Thus when proper village leadership lacks, the village's success is in jeopardy. Leadership that can contribute to the success of the village must be unified and harmonious. But in most villages, relations are strained between the various units of leadership structure. Such a situation does not render effectively the desired services to the villages, thus affecting their development.

5.1.14 There is also lack of knowledge and general understanding among the various cadres of village leaders. The majority of the leaders lack the necessary knowledge, especially planning education, which is essential to enable them carry out feasibility studies for new projects and
mobilize and utilize resources available in their villages. We find that even villages endowed with resources which could be mobilized for their economic growth, fail to develop simply because the village leaders lack initiatives and planning innovations to tap and utilize the resources.

5.1.15 Lack of planning education in the villages is the third major factor responsible for the slow pace of success of villagisation in the district. In the framework of Tanzania's policy on rural development planning is meant to be an important implement to mobilize local initiative among the rural population, which is brought about by a greater share of responsibility by "local communities" in planning, mobilization of resources and the implementation of rural development. But this is not the case at present. Virtually all the villagers do not understand the planning process and as such they are not incorporated in the planning process. Thus, Tanzania's aspirations of "planning from below" is far from being practical. Most of the planning is still done by a few individual leaders in the villages. Villagers are just used as instruments for implementing plans prepared by these individuals, which in some cases leads to failure of the plans. Some of the major failures of translating plans into practical and effective development achievement seem to arise from the disastrous gap between plan preparation on the one hand and implementation on the other. In many cases, those responsible for planning in the villages have no direct responsibilities for implementation; while those responsible
for putting development policies and programmes into action.

have had no responsibility for or little participation in
the formulation of these plans.

5.1.16 It follows from above that since the villagers do not understand the planning process, they are not incorporated during plan preparation. This implies that there is no public participation in the planning process. The only area where public participation is doing well is during implementation stages especially on self-help projects. Since public participation for planning purposes is a powerful tool for supporting the plans and also a necessary democratic strategy for achieving individual and social goals, village plans and its subsequent development, are greatly affected when this lacks.

5.1.17 Even in self-help projects, the success of public participation depends on the various factors such as:-

1. The previous experiences or their total knowledge on the issue.
2. The goal to be achieved in relation to the peoples' anticipation, benefits and motivation - both short and long range.
3. The system through which the self-help projects or programmes are carried out.
4. The role of extension workers and other age...
5.1.18 The low level of knowledge and technology also affects the agricultural output of the villages. Much as the crop average and production depend on climatic conditions there are also other factors which affect them. There has been a slow process in the adaptability to modern technological agricultural techniques. It is argued that agricultural productivity partly depends on crop cultivation practice and the farming methods. We find that the hand hoe and the ox-plough are still the widely used farming methods in the villages. This does not mean that these methods are inferior but since they require a lot of man-hours per unit of land, they limit the agricultural production. Tractorization or rather mechanization should have been a good substitute for these, but this is limited in Tanzania due to lack of sufficient foreign exchange to purchase the machines, of mechanical technology fully suitable to local conditions and sufficient skilled manpower to run and repair the equipment. The use of ox-ploughs, therefore, seems an attractive alternative to mechanization to increase labour productivity. The advantages of this will be discussed later in the text.

5.1.19 There are also other factors which affect increased agricultural productivity in the villages. One factor is that since villagisation programme was launched, there has not been any substantial increase in efficiency at the point of contact - both from the peasants' and the extension officers' point of view. The Ujamaa concept, though based on traditional
familyhood is a relatively new idea and as such it takes time for it to receive a great deal of support among the peasants. Thus time is needed to show them the results of the new production method.

5.1.12 The other factor concerns extension officers especially in the field of agriculture. Little effort has been made in raising the calibre of the extension staff. They remain the same as before, ill trained, lacking in enthusiasm and (as we saw earlier under leadership section) detached from the peasants. The problem is even compounded by the insufficient number of these officers. For instance in the whole of Iramba district, there are only 33 agricultural extension officers who are supposed to give advice to all the villagers in the district. As a result of this, not many villages are visited by these. Cases have been found where some villages have not had the advice of an agricultural extension officer for the whole of farming season. Besides, these officers are hampered by the poor transportation system in the district. Although quantitative figures are not available, it can be said that productivity in agriculture has therefore not increased much with villagisation.

5.1.121 The fourth major factor which affects the performance of villagisation programme is the individual ownership of farming plots or block farming as it is called.
One major objective of the villagisation programme is high agricultural production on communal or co-operative basis. Under block farming, villagers are still allowed to have their own individual farms. Because of ideological inadequacy (low level of socio-political consciousness) of the villagers on the need and importance of communal production, they tend to put more effort and spend much more time in their own individual farms. The peasants are less committed to the communal farm, and so affect yields on the communal farm. This subsequently affects the level of economic performance of the village.

5.1.20 The second conclusion revealed by the study is that the level of industrialization in the villages and district as a whole is still very low despite the availability of resources (Chapter 3) which are potential for industrial development. The industries referred to here are mainly small-scale industries.

5.1.21 Small scale industrial development is greatly emphasised by the government because the need of these small programmes will contribute to the total industrial needs of the nation. However, this goal has not been attained in the villages, where small-scale industry is supposed to play a great role in the development of the village. The main factors attributed to this low industrial growth are mainly lack of adequate finance, low level of technology and lack of initiative innovation and proper organisation towards
the mobilization and utilization of the available resources in the villages.

5.1.22 The majority of the villages have not attained "economic maturity" and so lack the finances needed for the initial outlays of the industrial establishments. Similarly, the low level of technology in the villages is a constraint to industrial development since the type and level of industrialization is partly dependent on this. Also rural industrialization is also affected by the lack of local initiatives in the villages. Villages do not have the necessary basic planning education of choosing proper integrated economic projects which would activate the mobilization and the utilization of the appropriate resources in their villages. To remedy this situation, the government sent village managers to almost every registered village in the country. As we saw earlier, the village manager's job is to direct and advice on the various aspects of development in the village. However, since this is a relatively new move and since the village managers are not experts in planning or in any other field relevant to the village development, their impact, at least for the time being, is not very much felt. The situation might improve perhaps when these managers have had adequate experience and planning knowledge.

5.1.30 The third major conclusion from the study is that the district and villages in particular suffer from low levels of infrastructural services and facilities. The major areas
of deficiency are transportation network, health and education, water supply and in power and energy.

5.1.31 As seen from Map No. 2, the district has a very few all weather roads which leads one to conclude that the transportation facilities are inadequate and poor. This has great effects on the economic activities in the various villages. In fact it is a constraint to both the supply of inputs for production and the marketing of the products from villages. In cases like in the fishery industry, poor transportation system has resulted in quality deterioration of the fish, that is, fish get rotten before reaching the markets. This is also coupled with the problem of lack of proper storage facilities.

5.1.32 Health and educational facilities (mainly for primary education) are not adequate in the district. These, especially inadequacies in health facilities, affect the economic activities in the area. It is argued that development of economic activities in the area will depend, among other factors, on good health of the people and their level of education.

5.1.33 Despite the many rivers and streams in the district (Map No. 3), water supply in the villages is still one of the major problems. This problem is of two dimensions: there are those villages which have not been supplied with clean water
and those which have been provided with clean tapped water but have failed to run these water projects. Many of the villages provided with pumped water supply have failed to maintain them due to high costs of fuel and maintenance. This gives a good lesson and experience that the use of diesel pumps for rural water supply seems not to be appropriate. It therefore calls for other sources of energy to pump or rather run water pumps which will relatively be cheap to the rural areas. If rural water supplies are to be effective, this point should be taken into account when new water projects are constructed.

5.1.34 Apart from firewood and charcoal, there are no other sources of energy and power in the district. This implies that there is overdependence on the forests for the supply of energy in the villages. This situation has two major implications. One, since there is overdependence on forests for energy source, a crisis will result, leading to complete deforestation if the rate of fuel wood consumption is not accompanied by higher rate of afforestation in the villages. Two, lack of power sources in the district will, in the long run, have adverse effects on rural industrialisation especially when it comes to power-consuming industries. Thus it is high time other alternative sources of energy/power in the district be sought as a move of taking care of the above anticipated problems.
5.1.40 The fourth and last major conclusion follows from the government's policy of restricting threshold population in the villages. Similar measures designed to develop settlements of an optimum size have failed in many parts of the world. Much as there is clear economic and social justifications for requiring optimum population in the villages, yet it can be concluded here that the whole move is not practical as well as feasible. The move is not practical on the grounds of the following arguments. First, as long as the conditions are favourable for growth, it is not possible to restrict the villages from growing. Second, there are many loopholes in the policy with regard to this issue.

5.1.41 In the first place, the policy does not give the criterion to be used in selecting the families which should be moved from the village when it has reached the optimum size. Definitely, no one will be willing to move on his accord from an already established village to go and start a new one elsewhere. The policy does not give information on what will happen to the families moved from these optimum villages if their number is less than the minimum required to establish a new village (i.e. 250 families); and does not say which mechanism will be provided to attract new villages. Furthermore, it implies that "spillover population" from various villages in different parts of the country will be grouped together in new villages. Leadership and organisation in these villages will be difficult since villagers will be of different ethnic backgrounds and social
values.

5.1.42 One other important aspect which the policy overlooked is the question of optimum land uses in the villages. If efficient and productive land uses by the existing populations in the villages is not established, may lead to "hoarding" and underutilization in some village while there may be overutilization in others.

5.1.43 The process of moving spillover population does seem to be a problem at present when land is still in abundance. But when a situation will be reached resulting in land pressure, a number of related planning problems will emerge. In the first instance, classes of landless people belonging to nowhere will be established. This class, resulting from the spillover population will then have to earn their living from non-agricultural activities for their social security. Since no or little employment opportunities exist in the rural areas, these people will have to seek alternative employment elsewhere - obviously in urban areas. This will lead to accelerated rural-urban migration which will defeat the very long-range purpose of villagisation in curtailing rural-urban immigration. The above conclusions can be summarised as:

1. The villagisation programme in the district is not achieving its designed objectives at
the anticipated pace.

2. Although not yet successful at the local levels, planning for rural development is having less control at the centre, that is, decentralisation is making a commendable progress.

3. Most villages fail to mobilise and utilise their available resources due to lack of initiatives in identifying development programmes.

4. Although the Arusha Declaration and the 1971 Part Guidelines emphasized the idea of involving the people at all levels in those decisions that affect their lives, this has not been fully achieved. This leads to the conclusion that there is still no meaningful public participation in the rural development in the district.

5. The country's aspiration of using "planning from below" method is still far from being practical, because of two reasons. One, the masses have not understood the planning process. Two, the Prime Minister's Office, together with the sectoral ministries still have enormous powers over the regions and districts.
They issue directives and planning guidelines which limit the manoeuvrability of the regions and districts. These choose projects within the confines and guidelines agreed with the "centre", that is, projects which fit in or synchronise with total national goals.

5.2 Recommendations.

The recommendations given here follow from the conclusions discussed above.

5.2.1 In order to alleviate the problem of leadership conflict, it is recommended that the professional workers should be integrated into the whole village leadership structure. Non-professional village leaders should be educated, either through seminars or otherwise so that they can play a more positive role in the deliberations of development programmes. These seminars should put more emphasis on planning knowledge, group organisation and management.

5.5.2 For increased agricultural productivity, the following should be done: Farming methods should be improved. Since most villages cannot afford mechanization, i.e., tractorization, they should revolt to extensive use of ox-ploughs. This has the advantage that much of the necessary equipment can be
produced and the oxen raised locally. So this type of mechanization avoids strains on foreign exchange. It also lessens the need for scale and alleviates the administrative difficulties frequently associated with tractorization.

5.2.3 Demand for relatively simple farm implements like ploughs, carts, etc. can be substantial in the rural areas provided the introduction of such implements is accompanied by other yield-increasing agricultural technologies. Moreover, the demand for such intermediate technology indicates a strong potential growth linkage between the agricultural sector and the small-industry and service sectors of the rural economy. Promoting use of oxen, ploughs and carts can create employment for craftsmen, mechanics and cattle producers through the multiplier effects arising from increased agricultural productivity and incomes as well as from increased rural industrial employment and incomes. However, political and other considerations may limit the promotion of intermediate technology and thereby restrict these growth linkages. For example, Tanzania's Ujamaa concept emphasizes self-reliance

2. The alternative of fostering intermediate technology of this kind will seem to create a new rural elite of artisans and craftsmen, a development which will conflict with the egalitarian principles underlying the Ujamaa concept.
and less spectacular forms of mechanization that are consistent with local resource. This, in a way limits the scope of application of sophisticated engine machinery which are important for increasing the output per unit of labour. On the other end, where labour is inexpensive, such mechanization (like tractorisation) may only mean substituting high-cost capital for low-cost labour. It therefore, follows that although there is often a scope for mechanised input to farming, the introduction of manual or animal-powered equipment may be a more feasible alternative than tractors. This does not mean that tractors should not be used in the villages. No. What is meant here is that tractorization would not be appropriate for the time being when the economic levels of the villages are still very low, hence limit their affordability to the purchase and maintaining of tractors.

5.2.4 The other way of realizing increased agricultural production lies in the improvement of yields rather than relying entirely on increases in acreage. Crop yields can be increased by:


2. Use of fertilizers.

3. Planting higher yielding varieties, provided the soil is fertile and there is proper management.

On the basis of this, it is recommended that a careful integrated system of seed testing, seed multiplication, and
seed distribution be carried out (by agricultural officers in the district) so as to upgrade yields through the adoption of better plant varieties. Of course this is a long term strategy.

5.2.5 Since the training level of the agricultural extension officers was found to be a constraint to agricultural production, it is recommended that there should be training and retraining of agricultural and other extension officers as well as increasing their numbers and providing them with some sort of reliable transport so that the can reach the peasants. It should be noted here though that increasing the number of extension officers depends on the central government which is responsible for their training and allocation. Also, on these reaching the peasants, depends on the overall improvement of the road network in the district. Emphasis is made here that everything possible should be made to enable the extension officers reach the villages because villages rely on them for their technical know-how.

5.2.6 Tanzania follows revolution by evolution in her development. That is, she tries to develop her society from one stage to another basing on the traditional values and systems. In other words, it is a guided revolution. This requires well planned and co-ordinated programs and takes time for the people to perceive and accept. This
does not happen overnight, for it involves changes in the systems, institutions and people's attitudes. This is why we still find people more committed to individual plots than to communal farms. In order to overcome this problem, villagers should be educated about the new way of life. They should be mobilized and politicized on the values and virtues of communal production and hard work to produce better results in agriculture and engage in self-help schemes.

5.2.7 Currently, crop produce data is not available in most of the villages. Villages should strive to keep records on this because from this information calculations of yield per cultivated area can be made, which is a very important evaluation study as it reveals productivity changes. These changes are of utmost importance because they can be used to compare with the population growth. If the productivity rate does not keep pace with the population growth; that is, if it is not increasing at the same rate as population growth, more land should be put under cultivation, or other measures should be done to increase productivity.

5.2.8 The move to restrict threshold population in the villages is not practical and if pursued will lead to a number of planning problems. It is not practical in the very sense that different villages have different growth potentials. Apart from the anticipated population growth, it is conceivable
that some villages will develop more rapidly than others, and indeed may prove the nuclei for future rural centres. This fact seems to be supported by Hansen when he argues that "growth does not appear everywhere at the same time; it shows itself in points, with variable intensities; it spreads by different channels and with variable final effects for the economy as a whole." Because of the inequality in the growth rates, the time span for attaining economic viability in different villages will also vary. Fast growing villages will have influence on other villages with relatively low growth potentials. In other words, villages with high potential for growth will dominate over others. The effect of domination "consists of an irreversible influence exercised by one unit on another. An economic unit exercises this effect by reason of its dimension, its negotiating strength the nature of its activity or because it belongs to a zone of dominant activity." It follows from this that one does not expect all villages in the district to develop at the same pace. It is true therefore, that there will be potential "growth points" among the villages. This situation leads to the following recommendations. When physical planners are planning for villages, they should identify potential growth points, and

4. Hansen, N.M. p. 110. Perroux's emphasis.
assist their growth. For development of these growth points needs some early assistance in order that they may be prepared for a planned "take-off" at a given time. The following are suggested considerations which could be used in identification of growth points in the district:

2. Present level of available services.
3. Accessibility (i.e. nodal villages).
4. Centrality, i.e. if it can play a central role in the higher level services.
5. Economic or resource base.
6. Non-agricultural activities carried which are not found in other villages.
7. Traditional market centres.

On the basis of population size, the following are seen to be possible potential growth points: Mgongo, Matongo, Iguguno and Kyalonsangi.

5.2.9 Having recognised the need for growth points, attempts should be made to anticipate the village sites that will be suitable for the growth of these points so that adequate provisions for future growth can be made in the initial planning stages. Further more, these potential growth point villages should be allocated larger land (village boundaries) so that portion of this land can be publicly owned (under
government trusteeship) for future expansion. This means that there will be consolidated village land reserved for the accommodation of future activities which will be generated by virtue of the village being a growth point. The whole move of identifying growth points will lead to the build up of a functional hierarchy of settlements, forming a "regional" network of urban and rural central places. A note should be made here that under this circumstance, the existing rural centres may possibly become regional centres.

5.2.10 The model shown in Fig. 5.1 illustrates the planning principles and growth patterns of such centres in relation to their regional components.

5.2.11 Stage I shows the existing situation in a region where potential growth points are identified. Due to their growth potential, these villages will outgrow other settlements in their neighbourhood and thus attain dominance. Because of their economic dominance, they will attract most of the activities from the nearby villages. This will cause villages with less resources die natural death while those with relatively stable economic bases will remain. In the initial stage, these villages will act as peripheries and the growth point as a core. During this stage, the core village will use resources from the periphery village while rendering no services to them. That is, labour and skills will flow to the core. (Stage II).
STAGE I

Existing Rural centre

Villages
Regional boundary

A, B, C, D, E are identified possible growth points

STAGE II

Possible regional centre

STAGE III - RESULTANT LAND USE FROM VILLAGE FUSION

Theoretical expansion ring

STAGE IV - CENTRAL VILLAGE CONCEPT

Central villages
Subsidiary villages

FIGURE 51 - MODEL SHOWING POSSIBLE GROWTH PATTERNS OF VILLAGES
5.2.12 In the course of time, the periphery villages will gain or attain a certain economic level and technology which will enable them start some economic activities. As these villages develop, there will be flow of services of capital, skills, etc., from the core villages, thus creating interaction between them, and there will be also the feedback effects. At the same time, there will be a strong interaction between these core villages and the regional centre, thus culminating in a regional network of urban and rural central places. It should not be forgotten that all this time these core villages will be playing the role of central villages in relation to the periphery villages.

5.2.13 Stage III only shows the result of fusion of the "weak" villages into the growth points. This stage shows the resultant land uses in the growth point village. In long run, the whole village interactions will lead to the central village concept, which is shown in Stage IV. This will also result into integrated approach for settlement, which would allow optimum utilization of community facilities like health, education, recreation and other services and will foster fraternity and co-operative feeling.

5.2.14 If specialization of activities and industries is encouraged in these central villages, village inter-trade will automatically follow, due to the laws of demand and supply. The specialisation advocated here is of both the manufacturing
and agricultural sectors which should be conducted at optimal level. Also the differential resource base has to be appreciated in weighing the relative merits of the central villages. This specialisation or decentralisation of developmental activities may lead to additional costs due to things like infrastructural development, etc. However, there must be full awareness of the scale of these additional costs, and careful regional planning may prevent them from becoming out of proportion.

5.2.15 In the light of the above discussions, it can therefore be said that rigid optimum sizes for village units should be avoided. The phenomenon of village growth should be accommodated rather than restricted. Control should be exercised by regulating economically productive land units and not by limiting the population of the villages. On the basis of this discussion, it can therefore be recommended that there should be a redress of the village Act so as to accommodate the following:

1. Spillover population.

2. Public land in villages which will be identified as growth points for their future expansion.

Otherwise if the Act is not amended, villagisation will accelerate the problem of rural-urban migration rather than solving it.
5.2.16 The future expansion and development of an area is largely dependent on the provision of adequate infrastructural services and facilities. Not much can be said on the provision of services like health and education on which the district has no autonomy. But a number of proposals can be made on transportation, power and energy and water supply.

5.2.17 The construction and maintenance of district roads are the responsibilities of the Ministry of Works (District department) which works under the District Development Director. We have already seen that the transport system in the district is very poor. As a short term strategy, it is recommended that the Ministry of Works should improve, expand and construct new feeder roads so as to open access to the all weather roads. This is so because the successful marketing of crops and livestock as well as other products of the rural areas depends partly on efficient and adequate transportation system. Moreover, better roads reduce transportation costs and make better use of available vehicles through shortening road trip travel time and reducing repair costs and the time lost during repair and maintenance.

5.2.18 On the question of sources of power and energy, the short term recommendation is to seek alternative sources of these. For domestic use, the use of bio-gas and solar energy
can be tried. Since the majority of the villagers use pit latrines, they can tap bio-gas from these, only when they have been enlightened about the technology involved. Similarly, since the district is endowed with long sunny hours, the use of solar energy would be applicable. Since this will be a new technology, it will take for it to be acceptable by the people. Again, the energy (charcoal) saving "micuta jiko" or stove\(^5\) can also be used in the villages. Further research is recommended on the full-scale use of these sources in the district.

5.2.19 Wind mills are also appropriate to the areas endowed with favourable wind regimes like Iramba district. These are now being used in a number of villages in the district as substitutes for the diesel pumps for pumping water (Plate XI and XII). It is highly recommended therefore, that windmills should be widely used in the district. The reasons for this are twofold. First they are cheap to construct\(^5\) and secondly they will assure all-round provision of water to the villages which have not been able to run the diesel pumps because of their operating costs.

5. This is a new charcoal stove introduced by Waclaw Micuta.

6. Currently, the erection of one windmill costs about 20,000/= Shillings since most of the materials are locally available.
5.2.20 A long term strategy of rural electrification is recommended so as to inter-marry with the long term rural industrialisation.

5.2.21 The numerous rivers seen in Map No. 3 give a false impression on the water availability in the district. The majority of these rivers are perennial, i.e., dry out during the dry season, thus causing severe water problems in the villages. On the grounds of this, it is recommended that the District Water Department should launch the programme of impounding these streams and rivers as a move to curb water shortages in the villages. Also where possible, modern wells and bore holes should be constructed.

5.2.22 The district has great potential for agro-processing industries. Since lack of knowledge and low level of technology were found to be one of the major constraints to industrialisation in the district, the first long term strategy is the district to make its manpower requirements and embark on stage by stage training programmes. Among the needed manpower are technicians who are needed to provide assistance in their evaluation and implementation of projects and to co-ordinate self-help efforts.

5.2.23 The district should next make researches on the resource bases for all the divisions, which would lead to the development of small-scale related industries. Example of a small complex based on ranching would include meat-
canning, hide-processing, tanning and shoe production. These small scale industries should be located at the division headquarters or at the identified growth points (if any in the division). At the same time, specialisation of these activities should not be overemphasized. In the long run, this situation will lead to diversification of the rural economy which will create employment opportunities to the rural population. On the grounds of the district resource base (discussed in Chapter Three) the following particular recommendations can be made on the district industrial establishments:

1. Industries related to bee-keeping activities should be started in Ndago Division, where bee-keeping is mostly carried out.

2. Wood industries should be established in areas with large forest reserves like in Shelui and Ndago Divisions.

3. Pottery should be carried out on large scale in villages in Kisiriri and Kirumi Divisions where clay deposits are large.

5.2.24 The above recommendations can be summarised as:

1. Village leaders should be given the right kind of education to enable them carry out
their duties effectively. There should also be a restructuring of the whole village leadership structure so as to incorporate extension officers in the villages. This would reduce friction and conflicts.

2. Village managers should be educated on planning principles and should also be given autonomy over deciding important development programmes. Equipped with this knowledge, they should be able to assess the resources available in the villages so that they plan economic activities accordingly. After this they should communicate the ideas to the people so that only preferable projects are chosen.

3. There is need for sufficient (extension) manpower to achieve a more intense, direct contact with the villages.

4. The country should look into the formulation of an energy policy geared towards the development of locally available energy sources.

5. For industrial adaptation and economic activities, external stimulus should be brought to the villages (for their initial take-off) rather than depend on the initiatives of the villages alone.
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APPENDIX 1 A

PART I  HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Name of Village: ........................................
Name of Interviewer: ......................Date of Interview:.............

1. Household Number
2. Size of Household
3. Number of Males in the Household
4. Number of Females in the Household
5. Ethnic Background
   1. Nyiramba
   2. Nyaturu
   3. Gogo
   4. Other
6. Were you born in the present village
   1. Yes
   2. No
7. If not where do you come from
   1. Nearby Village
   2. Within District
   3. Outside District
8. Why did you join the Village
   1. Was living here before the Village was started
   2. For better facilities and amenities (improvement of living standards)
   3. Material benefit
   4. Social Security
5. Forced
6. Other (specify)

9. How many years have passed since you shifted to this village
   1. One Year
   2. Two Years
   3. Three Years
   4. More than three Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member of Household</th>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Educational Level (Code)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code: 1. No formal education
       2. Primary
       3. Secondary
       4. University
       5. Vocational
       6. Semi-professional
       7. Other

11. Total Household annual income (Shillings) [12-15]
12. Acreage of private land
   1. Quarter Acre
   2. Half Acre
   3. One Acre
   4. More than One Acre (state)
13. Crops grown in this land
   1. ........................................
   2. ........................................
   3. ........................................
   4. ........................................
14. Position in the Village
   1. Ordinary Village Member
   2. Committee Member
   3. Village Chairman
   4. Village Secretary
   5. Village Manager
   6. Other (specify)
15. How often do you have your village meetings
   1. Weekly
   2. Monthly
   3. Other (specify)
16. How do you contribute your views in such meetings
   1. by suggestions
   2. by discussions
   3. by questions
17. Name the projects you have participated in their implementation
1
2
3

18. How many times (days) a week are you supposed to meet for communal work
1. two days
2. three days
3. four days
4. other (specify)

19. Do you attend every time
1. Yes
2. No

20. If no, why?
1. Poor Organization
2. Not beneficial/Low returns
3. Poor attendance of other people
4. Other (state)

21. Total annual income earned from communal work (shillings)

22. How do you use this money
1. Household expenditure
2. Improving private shamba
3. Buying small agricultural equipments
4. Saving
5. Other (specify)
PASTORALISM

24. How many cattle do you have .................
25. How many sheep do you have .................
26. How many goats do you have .................
27. How often do you sell the above animals
   1. Weekly
   2. Monthly
   3. Other

HOUSING

28. Condition of the house
   1. Good
   2. Fair
   3. Poor
29. Building materials for walls
   1. Raw (sun-dried) mud bricks
   2. Burnt Bricks
   3. Stones
   4. Timber
   5. Wooden poles and mud
   6. Concrete blocks
   7. Other (specify)
30. Roofing Materials
   1. Corrugated iron sheets
   2. Grass thatching
   3. Wooden poles and mud (tembe)
   4. Tiles
   5. Asbestos
   6. Other (specify)
31. Materials for floor
   1. Cement
   2. Wood
   3. Earth

32. Type of structure (Construction)
   1. Permanent
   2. Semi-permanent
   3. Temporary

33. Storage of field harvest
   1. On top of roof
   2. Crib (vitara)
   3. Barn (threshing floor)
   4. Other (state)

34. Storage of food for preservation purposes
   1. Within the main house
   2. Separate store
   3. Other (state)
A VILLAGE CHAIRMAN

1. Place of Origin
   1. Within Village
   2. Nearby Village
   3. Within District
   4. Outside District

2. Educational level
   1. No formal education
   2. Primary
   3. Secondary
   4. Adult education
   5. Other (specify)

3. What were you doing before becoming a chairman
   1. Peasant farmer
   2. Teacher
   3. Local politician
   4. Village elder/headman
   5. Other (specify)

4. Language spoken
   1. Local/vernacular
   2. Kiswahili
   3. English
   4. Other

5. What problems do you face as a chairman

..........................................................
6. What are your opinions on the whole present structural set up of the village (administratively)


8. VILLAGE SECRETARY

7. Place of origin

1. Within the village
2. Nearby (surrounding) villages
3. Distant village
4. Within District
5. Outside District

8. Educational level

1. No formal education
2. Primary
3. Secondary
4. University
5. Adult Education

9. Language spoken

1. Local/vernacular
2. Kiswahili
3. English
4. Other

10. How are the new village members registered in your village


11. Briefly explain your main functions in the village


12. What day to day problems do you encounter in your work


C. COMMITTEE MEMBER

13. Which committee are you in

1. Finance and Planning committee
2. Education, culture and social welfare
3. Works and transport
4. Production and crop marketing
5. Security and defence

14. How often does your committee meet

1. Weekly
2. Fortnightly
3. Monthly
4. Other

15. How do you arrive at your agenda

1. From villagers complaints
2. Villagers' views from meetings
3. Directives from various bodies in District
4. After certain incidents in the village
5. Other

16. What problems does your committee face?
17. How can such problems be solved in your views? 

D. VILLAGE MANAGER

18. Place of origin
   1. Village  
   2. Neighbourhood  
   3. Within District  
   4. Outside District

19. (a) Educational level
   1. Primary  
   2. Secondary  
   3. University  
   4. Other
   (b) Profession
   1. Economist  
   2. Agricultural Officer  
   3. Administrator  
   4. Planning Assistant  
   5. Other

20. How long have you been in the village (years)

21. What cash and subsistence crops are grown by the village
   Cash crops 1. Subsistence 1. 
   2. 2. 
   3. 3. 
   4. 
   Crops: 2. 3. 
   3. 
   4.
22. What is the annual production (tonnage) of each crop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Production (Kg.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

23. Acreage under each crop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

24. Farming Method(s)

1. Hoeing
2. Plough
3. Tractor
4. Other

25. Average/annual income from crop sales

26. How are the villagers organized to carry out collective/communal works?

27. What happens to those who do not turn up for such works?

28. How is planning effected in the village?

29. Do the villagers really understand the planning process?

1. Yes
2. No

30. If yes, how are they involved in planning and participation?
31. If No, what steps are taken to make them understand?

32. Who approves the planned projects in the village?

33. How are such planned projects forwarded to the higher authorities?

34. How are the people involved in the implementation after the projects are "returned" to the village?

35. How many projects have so far been implemented in the village and how are they faring?

36. How are the proceeds (if any) from these projects distributed among villagers?

37. Is there any inter-village trade?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   (a) If no, why?
   (b) If yes, what transactions are traded?

38. Does the village have any problems in terms of securing fertilizers and implements, crop production, marketing and transportation?
   1. Yes
   2. No
39. What are your future plans?
APPENDIX 1 C

PART III INVENTORY SURVEY

1. Total number of families in the village [1-3]

2. Total village population [4-7]

3. Distance of village from District Headquarters (miles) [8-10]

A. SHOPS

4. Number of shops in the village [11-12]

5. Ownership
   1. Village
   2. Individual
   3. Other (name)

6. Source of initial shop capital
   1. Shares from village member
   2. Loans from Bank, etc.
   3. Profits from other projects in the village
   4. Other (specify)

7. Does the shop have adequate qualified/trained personnel. 1. Yes

     2. No

8. Storage facilities
   1. Store attached to the shop
   2. Godown/store away from shop
   3. In the shop
   4. Other (specify)

9. Items/commodities sold in the shop
   1. ........................................
   2. ........................................
   3. ........................................
   4. ........................................
10. Sources of supplies

1. From the District Headquarters
2. District Trading Company
3. Regional Trading Company
4. Other (specify)

11. Means of getting the supplies to the village

1. By village vehicles
2. Through transport agents
3. Bicycles
4. Oxen-drawn carts
5. Foot
6. Other (state)

12. Average monthly income from sales

8. INDUSTRIES/SERVICES

13. Number of Industries in the village

14. Nature of industries

1. Cottage
2. Crafts
3. Small scale
4. Medium scale

15. Type of industry

1. Extraction (state)
2. Assembling
3. Service industries

4. Other

16. Ownership
   1. Village
   2. Individual
   3. Other

17. Source of raw materials used by industries
   1. Village itself
   2. Neighbourhood
   3. Within District
   4. Outside District

18. Marketing area (state where possible)
   1. Consumed/used in the village
   2. Nearby villages
   3. In the District
   4. Outside District

19. Services carried in the village
   1. Repairs
   2. Fitting
   3. Carpentry
   4. Smithing
   5. Other (name)

20. State what is done under each type of services above that is carried in the village.
21. Source of raw materials/spare parts for the services.

C. SCHOOLS

22. Number of Schools in the village

23. Type of schools and number
   1. Nursery
   2. Primary
   3. Secondary
   4. Other (name)

24. Origin of enrollment
   1. From village alone
   2. Nearby villages
   3. From District

25. Do the schools have enough staff
   1. Yes
   2. No

26. Are the schools adequate
   1. Yes
   2. No

D. HEALTH

27. Number of health facilities in the village
   1. None
   2. One
   3. Two
28. Type of health facility
   1. dispensary
   2. health centre
   3. clinic
   4. Other (specify)

29. Catchment area
   1. Village alone
   2. Nearby villages
   3. District

30. Are health facilities adequate
   1. Yes
   2. No

E. WATER SUPPLY

31. Source of water supply
   1. Piped communal stand pipe
   2. Well/bore hole
   3. Spring/stream/river
   4. Dam

32. Distance of water source from village (miles)

33. Who is responsible for the water supply
   1. Village
   2. Ministry of Water Development (District level)
   3. Other (state)

34. Is water shortage a permanent problem?
   1. Yes
   2. No
F. TRANSPORTATION

35. Distance of village from main road (miles)  

36. What does the village own  
   1. Lorry  
   2. Bus  
   3. Pick-up  
   4. None  

37. If none, what is the mode of transport to main road  
   1. Foot  
   2. Bicycle  
   3. Private bus passing/through village  

38. Condition of access road(s) (if any) to the main road  
   1. Good  
   2. Fair  
   3. Bad  
   4. Impassable  

39. Does transportation affect the economic activities of the village  
   1. Yes  
   2. No  

G. MARKETS

40. Does the village have a market?  
   1. No  
   2. Yes  

41. If yes, who conducts the market  
   1. Individual traders  
   2. Village  
   3. Other (state)
42. Frequency of Markets
   1. Daily
   2. Weekly
   3. Other (State)

43. State of the Market
   1. Permanently built
   2. Temporary and open
   3. Other (state)

44. Catchment area
   1. Village alone
   2. Nearby villages
   3. District

45. Transactions traded
   1. ........................................
   2. ........................................
   3. ........................................
   4. ........................................
   5. ........................................

H. CO-OPERATIVES

46. How old is the village co-operative society (years)  

47. Does the society have enough qualified staff
   1. Yes
   2. No

48. Is there enough storage facilities for the bought produce
   1. Yes
   2. No
49. If no, where do you keep the produce?
1. Just outside and cover
2. Hired/rented store
3. Other (specify)

50. Do the different crop Authorities and National Milling Corporation ferry the produce in good time?
1. Yes
2. No

51. How do you compare the present village co-operatives with the former central co-operative unions/societies. Give reasons 

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