Rural Livelihoods, Their Links to Urban Centres, and the Roles of Women and Young Adults

The example of the Songwe Basin, Tanzania and Malawi

Master Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the University of Bern by

Manuela Born & Hannah Kästli

2008

Supervisor:
Prof. Dr. Urs Wiesmann

Centre for Development and Environment (CDE), Institute of Geography
National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South
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Photographs
Front cover: Traditional houses in a neighbouring village of Ifumbo (Malawi), Born & Kästli 2007
Front page of chapter 1: View on the Songwe River from the bridge at Kasumulu border (Kyela), Born & Kästli 2007
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Summary

This study was conducted within the framework of the Songwe River Transboundary Catchment Management Project (SRTCMP), a joint initiative of the governments of Tanzania and Malawi, initiated by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), and funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). The river and its frequently changing course has been and still is subject of conflicts between the two neighbouring countries, and its heavy sediment load causes changes in the habitats of the Lake Malawi/Nyasa, which endangers several endemic fish species of the lake’s ecosystem. This study aims at contributing to the understanding of the upstream livelihoods, and thus at minimising the negative impacts of the inhabitants’ activities on the environment. It investigates the life circumstances of the people living in the Songwe Basin, their livelihood strategies, and their connectivities to towns. Additionally to the livelihood investigation on a household level, a special focus was laid on the roles of two particularly vulnerable actor groups: women and young adults. Women have been chosen because their role has a major impact on the development in their village, while the young adults’ views promise to open a window to see possible future developments in the area. Finally, as the Songwe Basin is a bi-national area, possible differences of the livelihoods and the rural-urban interactions between the two countries were of particular interest.

In order to find answers to the research questions posed, different methods for the data collection were applied. During a three-month stay in the field, 36 households were interviewed in a structured interview to gain information on the peoples livelihoods. Additionally, semi-structured interviews with 26 women and 25 young adults were conducted in order to find out more about the specific roles of these actor groups. Finally, a market investigation was made aiming at getting an overview of market relations in the area, but also of long-distance trade. Personal observations helped understanding the information gained and interpreting the results.

The results were surprisingly unsurprising. The livelihoods of the people in the upper and middle Songwe Basin are very traditional. Almost all families depend mainly on subsistence farming with the main crops maize and beans. Particularly the women play very traditional roles in their families: keeping the house, helping on the fields, having children and caring for them. Poverty is widespread and food shortage in the dry season is common. Two thirds of the sample households live on only little more than one US Dollar per day. One strategy to fight poverty is income diversification, which is practised by several households. However, the more remote a village is the more difficult it is to find an off-farm income.

Despite transport difficulties, most families have good connections to town. The most usual reasons for going to town are visiting family members or friends, and business relations. For the daily life in rural areas, the compareably small local centres are of greater importance than the bigger, but more distant towns. Concerning the living standards, however, the distance
and (road) access to town is of great importance, as it has a direct impact on the mean income. If transportation of goods and persons is possible, more income generating opportunities are available. More than half of the young adults would like to live in town and raise their children there because of better information (including education), higher living standards, and ‘easier’ life. However, they are aware of the fact that everything costs money in town, and that they cannot go there without having some capital to start a good life.

The differences between livelihood strategies on the Tanzanian and the Malawian side of the Songwe River do not seem to be big. In the whole area people are cultivating on a small-scale level and fighting poverty. However, the livelihood context varies a little bit concerning available infrastructure and services. The most important point is, however, that borders, district and international borders, do not play any significant role for the local population. The people can move freely in the area and pick whatever suits them best from both countries. Therefore, the net of interactions and interrelations is dense, and cooperation of all parties concerned is indispensable in order to solve problems and increase living standards.
Preface

This master thesis was shaped within the Songwe River Transboundary Catchment Management Project (SRTCMP), at the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) at the institution of Geography of the University of Berne. The institute offered us the opportunity to write our master thesis as a team. The chance to contribute to an ongoing international project was a unique opportunity to gain fieldwork experience in an unknown environment. The fieldwork for the present study was conducted between April and July 2007 in Tanzania and Malawi.

The work on the thesis has been a very challenging and interesting experience which would not have been possible without the support, assistance, and contributions of numerous people and institutions. To all these people and institutions we would like to express our gratitude. We would like to thank the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) of the University of Berne, Switzerland, for having given us the opportunity to do field research in Malawi and Tanzania, which was a unique opportunity and life experience. We are particularly thankful to Professor Dr. Urs Wiesmann for the content wise and conceptual supervision of our work and to Udo Hoeggel for his inspiring recommendations, inputs, advice, and supervising of this thesis. We additionally would like to thank Silvia Künzler-Roth at the CDE for her time-consuming and accurate map-compilation.

A special thank goes to Mr. Boniface Kiteme for his professional support and to Professor Ngana from the University of Dar es Salaam who arranged for our two research assistants and for their valuable contributions and helpful comments to our work. We are highly indebted to our two great assistants Magdalena Manyala and Brown Gwambene for their generous help, invaluable advice, encouragements, and sedulous assignments during our fieldwork. Asante sana!

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Above all we are greatly indebted to all our interview partners and their families in the Songwe Basin for their friendliness, openness, and patience to answer all our questions. Without them our work could not have been implemented. Further thanks go to all our hosts during our fieldwork, especially to Harriet Eliufoo and her family in Dar es Salaam for her open house and great hospitality, further to Neema Mwalukoba and Ms kuma in Mbeya where we were welcomed anytime. Additionally, we want to thank Lilian Naman, Mwasi
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July 2008
Manulea Born & Hannah Kästli
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List of abbreviations

ADMARC  Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation
CCM    Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Tanzanian ruling political party)
CDE-SPI Centre for Development and Environment and its Southern Partner Institutions
DFID   Department for International Development
GAD    Gender and Development
GDP    Gross Domestic Product
HDI    Human Development Index
HH     Household
IMF    International Monetary Fund
MCH    Mother and Child Health
MCP    Malawi Congress Party
NDP    National Development Plan
SDC    Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SLF    Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SRTCMP Songwe River Transboundary Catchment Management Project
TANU   Tanganyika African National Union
UDF    United Democratic Front
UN     United Nations
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
WAD    Women and Development
WAV    Wahrdumu wa Afya Vijijni (village health servant)
WED    Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development
WID    Women in Development
WWF    World Wide Fund for Nature
1 PROBLEM DEFINITION AND GOALS OF THE PAPER
In Isongole, we see the Songwe River for the first time – rather a creek than a river. The sandy banks are eroded, and wire nettings filled with stones along the banks prove that people are fighting against the water.

Downstream, from the bridge at Kasumulu border (Kyela), the river looks different. It is a wide, brown stream now, flowing in a bed lined with bushes and trees. Some trees are banana trees. Also close to the river banks the light green of rice fields makes a beautiful contrast to the brown colour of the river water. The houses look nice and stable, built with fired bricks and corrugated iron. The bridge is one of the few official border crossings between Tanzania and Malawi, and many people walk across it. Several young men ask whether we need to change money. Standing on the bridge, we observe two men wade across the river. They balance big loads over their heads, and the water reaches up to their chest.

Already these simple observations made on the very first day we spent in the study area give a good impression of the problems in the river basin. Erosion is in some places severe, leading to a big sediment load (and brown colour) in the river, which is finally washed into Lake Malawi/Nyassa, where it is deposited. The river banks are cultivated because they provide flat land with sufficient moisture, but this again supports further erosion. The people in the area are poor despite the nice looking houses. The corrugated iron is a big investment for a family, but inside, the houses remain virtually empty. Finally, the international border has positive and negative impacts on the local people. On the one hand it creates opportunities for income generating activities like the informal money exchange, and on the other hand it is a barrier for trade and personal mobility.

This first chapter aims at giving an introduction to the study we conducted in the Songwe River basin. The following section outlines the background of the work and the framework in which the study was conducted. The goals of the paper and the research questions are introduced in chapter 1.2, and the last part of this chapter outlines the structure of the thesis.

### 1.1 Background of the work

The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) adopted an ‘ecoregion’ approach as a base for its worldwide conservation programs. More than 200 ecologically valuable and sometimes also vulnerable areas were identified as ecoregions worthy of protection. One of these ecoregions is Lake Malawi and its catchment areas, which include regions in Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique. The Songwe River with its big sediment load was identified as one of the key elements endangering the biodiversity in the Lake Malawi, and was thus considered a prime conservation area. As the river builds part of the Tanzanian-Malawian border, not only the support of several districts was needed, but the collaboration of two independent countries. Starting from 2004, the Songwe River Transboundary Catchment Management Project (SRTCMP) was developed, a joint initiative of the governments of Malawi and Tanzania,
WWF and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). The project’s goal is „to enhance the sustainable use of the natural resources in the Songwe river basin and to minimize the adverse impacts on the river and lake ecosystems, thereby improving the human livelihoods and contributing to poverty reduction” (Mahegere: 4). Additionally, SRTCMP is a pilot project for transboundary initiatives.

On a recommendation of the SDC, the Centre for Development and Environment and its Southern Partner Institutions (CDE-SPI) took over a support mandate for the SRTCMP. This support follows five different activity lines: overall development of SRTCMP, database development, participatory land use planning, environmental services, and capitalizing on experiences (CDE 2006).

With this as the background, this study was conducted in close collaboration with the SRTCMP, and with great support of the project leaders and the staff on the ground.

1.2 Goals and research questions

This study aims to investigate rural livelihoods in the upper and the middle Songwe Basin, and the trans-local relations between rural and urban areas in this region. On top of the general livelihood investigation, a special focus was laid on the roles of women and young adults within these livelihood strategies. These two actor groups were chosen because they were deemed to be especially vulnerable and to have a major impact on the present family life and the future development of the area’s society.

In order to address these issues, we first had to gather information about the people’s livelihood strategies. Getting a good picture of the rural livelihoods in the Songwe Basin turned out to include the biggest part of the work, and therefore also the largest part of this report. The guiding research questions elaborated were the following:

- What are the livelihood strategies of the people in the Songwe Basin?
- What are the roles of women and young adults in the rural areas?
- What is the meaning of near-by towns, their services and their infrastructure for the livelihoods of the rural population?
- Are there differences in livelihood strategies and rural-urban relations between Tanzania and Malawi?
- Is it possible to draw a „Transboundary map of livelihood strategies“, showing the net of rural-urban relations, as well as relations between the different districts and the two countries?
By addressing these questions, we hope to contribute information to the SRTCMP, supporting future planning and decision making, and through this contributing to the efforts made by the project to reduce poverty in the region and make livelihoods more sustainable.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

This study was structured into 9 chapters. The first two chapters make an introduction to the study and to the study area. Chapter 1 describes the background of the work and the paper’s goals. Chapter 2 gives a short overview over the two countries involved, Malawi and Tanzania. After a brief history of the two countries, the livelihood contexts of the rural population in the Songwe Basin are introduced.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework of our work. Livelihood approaches are introduced, as well as concepts on the needs of women and young adults, which were guiding our work. In chapter 4, we describe the methodologies used to gather the information presented in this thesis.

The chapters 5 to 8 present our data and its evaluation. Chapter 5 focuses on the life circumstances in the study area, describing the villages and the property the families can call their own. Chapter 6 deals with the livelihoods in the upper and middle Songwe Basin. Access to natural resources is explored, farm production systems are described, and the people’s off-farm activities are discussed. Finally, we try to give an impression of the respondents’ situations concerning finances and expenses. Chapter 7 discusses the rural-urban interactions. The people’s connections to towns are an issue, as well as the infrastructure they use in the village and in town. Further, the results of a small market investigation are presented, along with information gathered about border issues and corruption. Chapter 8 aims at positioning the roles of women and young adults. Daily routine, education, family, connections to towns and perceptions of the future are issues we discussed with the respondents.

Finally, chapter 9 contains our synthesis and conclusions, where the five questions posed above will be answered according to our understanding gained from the data collected during our fieldwork and while working on this thesis.
2 THE STUDY AREA
In this chapter, the location where this study was conducted will be introduced. In order to achieve an overview of the living conditions of the people in the upper and the middle Songwe Basin, we will first make a short introduction into the historical development and the present situation of the two countries involved, namely Tanzania and Malawi. In the second part of the chapter, an introduction to rural livelihoods shall be given. Finally, we will zoom in and provide some more information on the Songwe Basin.

### 2.1 Brief overview over the historic developments in Tanzania and Malawi

Both, Tanzania and Malawi, used to be European colonies up to the 1960s. While Malawi was a British protectorate, Tanganyika was a German colony between 1880 and 1917, before it became a British protectorate after Germany lost the First World War.\(^1\) After independence in the 1960s, the two countries chose different political models, which will briefly be described here.

#### 2.1.1 Tanzania

In 1961, Tanganyika was the first country in south-eastern Africa gaining independence. Julius Nyerere from the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) became Tanganyika’s first prime minister, and one year later its first president (Ofcansky and Yeager 1997: 139). The following years, Tanganyika changed existing British colonial policies only slowly. The first major political change was the union of Tanganyika with the islands of Zanzibar in 1964. The newly built state of Tanzania adopted a new constitution in 1966, „which legally created a one-party state, with provisions for competition within the party” (Kessler 2006: 35).

During the early 1960s, Nyerere developed his own socialist ideas. The so called Arusha declaration approved by the TANU in 1967 foresaw a „full-scale program of *ujamaa na kujitegemea* (socialism and self-reliance)” (Ofcansky and Yeager 1997: 21). According to Pinkney, Nyerere’s socialism was „concerned less with grandiose projects for industrialization, and more with simple rural developments” (Pinkney 1997: 89). To push rural development, peasants from scattered settlements were moved into *ujamaa* villages, where it was easier to provide people with water, schools, health centres and transport facilities (Pinkney 1997: 92). By 1977, ten years after the Arusha declaration was adopted, approximately 13.5 million people, or about 80% of the population lived in 7373 registered *ujamaa* villages (ibid). The industry sector was affected by the new socialist philosophy as well. Most industries came under state control, including banking, agriculture and manufacturing (Kessler 2006: 37).

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\(^1\) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania)
The outcomes of Nyerere’s socialist policy were positive and negative. To keep this section short, however, only the final outcome is presented here. All in all, “the creation of Ujamaa villages turned out to be an economic, social, human-ecological, and political failure” (Ofcansky and Yeager 1997: 183), and “the Ujamaa experiment became a rural policy disaster that crippled the agricultural sector and seriously compromised Nyerere’s political standing throughout Tanzania (ibid: 188).

Starting from 1982, Nyerere had to turn away from his socialist policy towards a more liberal one. In 1985, after ruling the country for more than 20 years, he resigned and gave way for a new generation of politicians. Under the new president Mwinyi, Tanzania adopted structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (ÖFSE 2000: 14). As in many other African countries, structural adjustment meant privatisation and further liberalization of the economy, removal of subsidies, and devaluation of the Shilling (Agrawal et al. 1993:13). The effects of these structural changes for the rural populations are described in chapter 2.2.3.

In 1992, the government adopted a multi-party system. Unlike in other countries, this political reform did not come from the masses, but was pushed by the elites in power, including the former President Nyerere, and resisted by the masses (Hyden 1999: 153). The first multi-party elections took place in October 1995, with a sound victory for the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), and Mkapa who was elected president (Nyang’oro 2006: 2).

The elections in 2000 did not bring any change; CCM received 71.7% of all votes, and President Mkapa was re-elected. In 2005, “the electoral victory of CCM was so thorough that one of the presidential candidates remarked that Tanzania should go back to a one party system because in essence this is what it has become” (Nyang’oro 2006: 2). The new president Kikwete received 80.28% of the total vote cast. Pre-election polling data predicted CCM’s victory, and election monitors declared the 2005 general elections as largely free and fair (ibid.).

Soon after independence, Tanzania became the preferred destination for all those people fleeing apartheid in South Africa or colonial rule in the former Portuguese colonies. Also in the newer history of southern Africa, Tanzania is an important player in peace and security issues (Nyang’oro 2006: 1). Even though Tanzania has a lot of conflict potential, being an impoverished country with very diverse living standards, relatively equal sized populations of Muslims and Christians, and many different ethnic groups, the country has been peaceful ever since independence. Indeed, it could serve „as the northern anchor [with South Africa serving as the southern anchor, on which] the region can build a security structure that is stable and legitimate” (Nyang’oro 2006: 5).

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2 See Ofcansky and Yeager 1997 for more details.
3 The TANU, the only widely supported party on the mainland, and the leading party of Zanzibar ASP merged in 1977 to form a single party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (Kessler 2006: 36).
2.1.2 Malawi

Malawi gained independence in 1964, three years after Tanganyika. In contrast to Tanzania, Malawi does not have a socialist background. Instead, one strong man, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and his party introduced a dictatorship and ruled the country from independence in 1964 up until the mid-1990s. Banda’s definition of democracy was rather simple: „A Government chosen by the people themselves – whether it is a dictatorship or not, as long as it is the people who choose the dictator, it is not a dictatorship. That’s all. That is what democracy is” (McCracken 1998: 248, citing the Speech to annual convention of MCP, 17.10.1965). According to this idea of democracy, Banda ruled Malawi during 31 years. His Malawi Congress Party (MCP) regime „had been characterized by a remarkably high degree of legitimacy” (Forster 1994: 477), in spite, or maybe due to, political repression. A climate of fear dominated in the country, the press was strictly controlled, critics and dissents were harassed, and „the state security apparatus enforced the power of a dictator and his elite with considerable ruthlessness” (Sturges 1998: 186). According to Brown, Malawi was „one of the continent’s most brutal and firmly entrenched dictatorships” (Brown 2004: 1).

In the beginning of the 1990s, pressure on Banda’s regime began to form from different sides, namely from churches, exiles, and Western donors. But also domestic popular mobilization, and not the least miscalculations and wrong reactions of the regime in this situation of pressure, finally pushed Banda to announce a referendum on the future of the one-party state (Brown 2004: 2ff).

In June 1993, the referendum was held, and Malawi’s voters decided in favour of a multi-party democracy. The President for Life Kamuzu Banda was replaced by Bakili Muluzi of the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Fozzard and Chauncy 2002:3). The change to a multi-party system brought considerable change: A new constitution was passed, „providing for freedom of the press and freedom of information and establishing oversight bodies, including an Ombudsman and Human Rights and Electoral Commissions; civil society organizations and an independent press have emerged as vocal critics of government policy” (Fozzard and Chauncy 2002: 2). While civil liberties clearly improved, a stagnating economy and the growing corruption reduced the transition’s success. The highly concentrated presidential power, accompanied by a weak parliament, led back to harassment of critical newspapers, repression of opposition, and intimidation of critics (Brown 2004: 7ff).

In the 1999 elections, UDF managed to win a small majority again. The opposition parties, however, complained about unequal coverage offered by the state controlled media and delays in the distribution of ballot papers in constituencies dominated by the opposition (Patel 2000, in Fozzard and Chauncy 2002: 3).

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4 See Brown (2004) for more details.
In 2004, the last elections were held, and Bingu wa Mutharika was elected President. While international observers considered the 1999 elections free and generally fair, the 2004 elections were qualitatively worse: „reasonably free (on election day) but not fair, due to a playing field that patently favoured the ruling party“ (Brown 2004: 8). Brown further suggests that the outcome of the 2004 elections was of little importance, because the „various parties shared the same kind of thinking and neopatrimonial politics and sought power primarily for their own benefit (...) – what may be called a democracy without democrats“ (Brown 2004: 9).

2.1.3 Relations between Tanzania and Malawi

Even though Tanzania and Malawi are neighbouring countries, their political developments do not have much in common. The most important difference probably is that Tanzania adopted a socialist ideology, which put the country to the side of the communist states during the Cold War, while Malawi staid on the side of the western countries. Accordingly, relations could not have been friendly as long as the Cold War lasted.

In the end of the 1960s, the two countries were close to starting an armed conflict because of a border dispute concerning the demarcation along Lake Malawi. According to Mayall (1973), there were mainly three conflicting issues between the two countries: First, there was a conflict, „arising out of their differing policies towards the ‘white South’ [the apartheid regime in South Africa]“ (Mayall 1973: 626). Second, President Banda feared that Tanzania was supporting Malawi exiles in subverting his regime, and third, there was a dispute about the boundary between the two states along the Lake Malawi. These three issues are linked to each other, and the boundary conflict along Lake Malawi probably was a consequence of the first two conflicts.

The boundary dispute openly took place between May 1967 and September 1968, and came close to a military conflict (Mayall 1973: 620). The problem was that according to an old Anglo-German agreement the state boundary followed the (fluctuating) shoreline on the Tanzanian side of the lake, instead of being situated in the middle of the lake, as it is usual when a lake delimits a country. This meant that Tanzania did not have access to the water and everything inside the lake. As at that time a population of 600,000 people was living along the shore, being dependent on the lake, it is understandable that Nyerere claimed the lake up to the median line for his country. Malawi’s President Banda responded that Malawi would not accept this claim. Banda even provoked Nyerere by saying that four of Tanzania’s southern districts belong to Malawi ‘by nature’. This led to an „exchange of more-or-less personal accusations and counter-accusations which were only indirectly linked to the subject at issue“ (Mayall 1973: 619). After Banda claimed the four Tanzanian districts, Nyerere said he was insane, while Banda called Nyerere a „coward“ and a „communist inspired jellyfish“.
However, after some verbal threats and the preparation of military forces along the lakeshore, the matter rested (ibid.).

Today, the border is still following the Tanzanian shoreline. Therefore, it is still fluctuating, just as the border north of the lake following the Songwe River, which changes its course from time to time. The conflict is sleeping, but problems can arise at any time in the future. Along the Songwe River, both countries are cooperating today in order to solve the problem. The fluctuating course of the river was one of the reasons that prompted both countries work together in the Songwe River Transboundary Catchment Management Project (SRTCMP).

2.2 Rural livelihoods in Tanzania and Malawi

A big share of Tanzania’s and Malawi’s rural population lives on subsistence farming, maybe with some extra income from non-agricultural income generating activities. The economies of Tanzania and Malawi are both very much relying on agriculture. In Tanzania, 80% of the labour force is in this sector, in Malawi 90% (CIA 2008). The fact that according to the statistics and compared to the big labour force only a relatively small percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is earned in the agricultural sector (36.3% in Malawi, 42% in Tanzania) indicates that many farmers do not produce much for the market, but conduct mainly subsistence farming. The situation and the strategies of these small-scale farmers shall be explored in this section of the study.

2.2.1 The livelihood context

On the 2006 Human Development Index (HDI) Ranking, Tanzania and Malawi are both found near the bottom of the list, at rank 162 and 166 out of 177 (UNDP 2006). Poverty and debt are major issues in both countries, and both countries had to adopt structural adjustment programs in order to get support from the North.

Between 1990 and 2004, 57.8% of the Tanzanian population were living with less than one US Dollar a day, and 89.9% had less than two Dollars a day. For Malawi, the corresponding figures are 41.7% and 76.1% (UNDP 2006). It is surprising that the figures for Malawi look a little bit better than those for Tanzania, because Tanzania has a higher GDP per capita (PPP $1100 versus $800) and lies higher in the HDI ranking. Effectively, while in Tanzania, more than one third of the population lives below the poverty line, this is true in Malawi for more than half (CIA World Factbook 2008) or even two thirds (UNDP 2006) of the population. One possible explanation could be that in Malawi the purchase power of one US Dollar is lower than in Tanzania, which means that people in Malawi can buy less with one US Dollar than people in Tanzania. Therefore, even though Malawi has fewer people living with only one or two Dollars a day, more people live in poverty.
The situation for smallholders (small-scale farmers) is rather difficult. According to Ellis et al. (2003: 1497), about 85% of Malawi’s population live in rural areas, and the biggest part on only small plots of land, ranging from 0.2 to 3ha. Many poor smallholders rely on their own food production. This makes them particularly vulnerable to shocks like drought, flood, crop pests and the like. According to Ellis et al. (2003) and statements of different people during informal conversations, the peasants’ situation is more difficult in Malawi’s Southern Region than in the North. Population density is higher in the South, the average farm size smaller and the number of the poor higher.

Tanzania is less densely populated than Malawi, but the problems remain similar. A large part of the land is not suitable for agricultural use. Smallholders are mostly poor and do not have means to mitigate shocks or adverse conditions.

2.2.2 Smallholders’ options to secure their livelihoods

From the rather difficult life circumstances described above one question arises: What kind of possibilities do peasants have to improve their situation? Wiesmann (1998: 112ff) explored the different options smallholders in Laikipia (Kenya) have in order to obtain a sustainable livelihood, and named these options ‘spheres of action’ (Figure 1).

In his concept, Wiesmann differentiates between spheres of action directly and not directly related to use of natural resources. The traditional peasant activities as farming and livestock keeping, collecting natural resources for home use and developing the farm and its infrastructure belong to the first category of spheres of action. All these activities are directly related to natural resources. To the category of the spheres of action not directly related to natural resources belong off-farm employment, education, and networking within the family and within the community. Each household can build its livelihood strategy by combining the different spheres of action. Thereby, the household has to consider the action-guiding conditions, which build the frame within which the household can operate. These action-guiding conditions include the available and accessible resources, the economic status of the household, the household’s area of origin and background, and the socio-demographic household structures. An example of the interrelation is the following case: If a household’s economic status is very low, educational activities might not be possible because the family is not able to pay the school fees. Therefore, the household has to look for other strategies. The model allows to „make an empirical examination of household action and changes of action (...) using an analytical and explanatory approach at two different levels: The first level is concerned with an analysis of action and spheres of action, and the relations between them, while the second concentrates on how action-guiding conditions affect spheres of action“ (Wiesmann 1998: 119). Even though Wiesmann developed this concept for smallholders in Laikipia (Kenya), it works perfectly for other rural areas in Africa as well.
2.2.3 Changing strategies under market liberalization

As stated before, Tanzania and Malawi both had to adopt structural adjustment programs and consequently to liberalize their markets. In both countries these structural adjustments had profound impacts on the whole economy. In particular, liberalisation meant dramatic change in Tanzania, which was previously a socialist country, where the state has been particularly strong.
Farmers were faced with some changes that were fundamental for their production. First of all, subsidies on farm inputs and fertilizers were removed, leading to lower production per acreage. Additionally, the market environment became more uncertain, with widely fluctuating prices. For farmers living off the main road the situation became particularly difficult, where the private traders replacing the parastatal enterprises avoided long routes because of the high transport costs (Bryceson 2002). As a consequence, the income from farming activities declined, and non-farm income generating activities became more important. Different authors observe changing livelihood strategies in rural areas of different Sub-Saharan countries. Three main terms in this discussion are diversification, de-agrarisation and commercialisation (Orr & Mwale 2001, Bryceson & Bank 2001, Bryceson 2002, Ponte 2002, Ellis & Mdoe 2003, Ellis et al. 2003).

Ponte (2002) argues that with liberalisation an increasing commercialisation of the rural life took place. On the one hand, more cash than before was needed for school and health care fees and more expensive agricultural inputs. On the other hand, consumer goods became more easily available, thus increasing the demand and changing the lifestyle towards a more expensive one. Farmer households were therefore forced to seek activities, which brought a steadier cash income throughout the year than farming. As a consequence, farmers started to diversify their activities. Diversification was encouraged by the liberalisation, and especially small scale rural trade and service activities were stimulated (Orr & Mwale 2001). Bryceson (2002) argues that non-agricultural income generation is taking place at the expense of agriculture. Especially young farmers are turning away from agriculture and are seeking their luck in trade activities. She names this process de-agrarisation or de-peasantisation.

Many authors agree (Orr & Mwale 2001, Bryceson & Bank 2001, Bryceson 2002, Ponte 2002, Ellis & Mdoe 2003, Ellis et al. 2003) that non-farm activities only bring higher returns to better-off families, who have the means to enter high-input activities. Poor families engage in low-input activities, which might help to distribute risks, but which do not enable the households to accumulate capital.

Ellis & Mdoe (2003) conclude that the rural poor in Tanzania depend mainly on food crop agriculture and seasonal wage income, while the better-off groups combine agriculture, livestock holding and non-farm self-employment. Therefore, poverty reduction has „more to do with facilitating diversity than promoting one sector in particular” (Ellis and Mdoe 2003: 1381). The same seems to be true for Malawi, where Ellis et al. (2003) found in their case study that the top income quartile did not have the biggest landholdings, but generated its income mainly from non-farm activities.

Surprisingly, the often appreciated idea of decentralisation is discussed very critically by Ellis & Mdoe and Ellis et al. (2003). According to these authors, rural dwellers have to pay all sorts of formal and informal taxes to the local institutions, because a „decentralized government will recreate at district and lower levels the rent-seeking environment that characterizes
inadequately remunerated and underfunded public service jobs wherever they are located” (Ellis & Mdoe 2003: 1381). Therefore, decentralisation becomes rather a problem of rural poverty than part of the solution.

The developments described above (diversification, de-agrarisation and commercialisation) are only possible in areas with market access. People living in remote villages barely have the chance to earn money from non-farm activities, except maybe offering services within their village. Effectively, remote villages are more relying on self-provision than villages with good market access (Ellis & Mdoe 2003). Or, as Orr & Mwale put it: „Remote villages are poor because they are, well, remote” (Orr & Mwale 2001: 1332). According to these authors, villages with poor market access have generally not benefited from market liberalization, but were rather confronted with even harsher conditions.

2.3 The Songwe Basin

In this sub-chapter an overview on the geographical research area and its vegetation will be given. First we will talk about the geographical location of the study area, followed by an overview on the five districts which are part of the research area of the Songwe Basin. Afterwards the bio-physical aspects and the most relevant towns in the nearby area will be described.

2.3.1 Location of the study area

The study area of this research project covers the regions in the south-west of the United Republic of Tanzania and the north of the Republic of Malawi. The Songwe River which forms part of the border of the two nations above flows from north-west to south-east into the Lake Malawi at its north end. 54.6% of the basin area is Tanzanian and 45.4% Malawian territory. The total area makes up 4,214.3 square kilometres (see map appendix I).

The Songwe Basin comprises six districts. Four districts are found in Tanzania as Mbeya, Mbozi, Ileje, and Kyela, two districts like Karonga and Chitipa are in Malawi. In the following section all these districts will be shortly described (see map appendix II).

2.3.2 Administrative units’ characteristics

The Mbeya district is named after the Region Mbeya and is one of its seven districts. Mbeya district covers a total area of 19,098km$^2$. 15,420km$^2$ are used for crop production, 466.2km$^2$ are forest, 1,569.4km$^2$ are covered by water and the remaining hectares are settlement and used for other purposes (Malacho 1997: 1 et seq.). The population in the region is steadily increasing and rose from 422,491 in 1997 to 519,655 in 2002. $^5$ The district is at an altitude

$^5$ http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/mbeya.htm
ranging from 1000 to 2400 metres above sea level. The district can be characterized by highlands, mountainous peaks, lowlands of the Songwe Valley and the Usangu plains. The most predominant natural vegetation includes tropical and savannah wooded grassland and thorny bushes. The central Plains and the Highlands of the district form the major catchment areas of the two main rivers Ruaha and Songwe in the district (Malacho 1997: 20 et seq.).

The Mbozi district is also a district in the Mbeya region. It lies in the south western corner of the region. The Mbozi district extends an area of 9,679km². The land is divided in 7,666km² of arable land, 937km² forest reserves, 292km² of water and 783km² of settlements and others (Malacho 1997: 1 et seq.). The population size of the district ran up to 515,270 people in 2002. Comparing the number 331,653 of inhabitants of the year 1988 to the population 14 years later, it has tremendously increased. Some of the main reasons are the trading centres of Tunduma, Vwawa and Mlowo where the people migrate to do business (Malacho 1997: 14). The district lies at an altitude between 900 and 2750 meter above sea level. The land of the area is divided into two different zones, the lowland or the rift valley which has deep well drained volcanic soil, and the highlands which are characterized by loam and redish soil (Malacho 1997: 15). Compared to other districts like Mbeya and Kyela the communication network is little developed (Malacho 1997: 72). The road system is also poor. Apart from the tarred roads Mbeya-Tunduma, Tunduma-Sumbawanga and Tuduma-Songwe Road and some few others the roads are in bad condition and during rainy season often impassable (Malacho 1997: 65).

Ileje district belongs to the Mbeya region and is located in its south-western part. The district has a total area of 1,908km² (Bilal 2006). The area touches in the north the district of Mbeya, and Rungwe, in the east the Kyela district, in the northwest the Mbozi district and in the south the two countries Zambia and Malawi. The population was 110,194 in 2002 according to census results. The average population growth rate is around 2.2% per annum (Bilal 2006). The district lies on 1,294 meters above sea level. The topography is dominated by plateaus and highlands. Because Ileje is a periphery district a lot of people migrate to Mbozi and Mbeya district due to better employment opportunities (Bilal 2006).

The Kyela district is in the southern part of the Mbeya Region and is 965 km² large (Edson, Kayombo 2007: 208). The area borders in the south-east with the Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa) and in the south with the Republic of Malawi. The shared lake with Malawi and Mozambique is the largest water source of the district. However the area has four large rivers like the Songwe, Mbaka, Lufilyo, and Kiwira, many rivulets, a Crater Lake, and hot springs. About 294,33km² are covered with forest and 164,50km² with wood- and grass land. The climate of the area is warm and humid; the vegetation is tropical savannah forest and grass. Nearby the Songwe river the area lies in flood plains. The major agricultural productions are cocoa and

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6 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ileje
7 http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/districts/ileje.htm
8 http://www.geonames.org/159221/ileje-district.html
rice which is famous for its quality. The district is administratively divided into 15 wards. According to the 2002 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Kyela district was 174,470.

The district of Karonga is the most northern part of Malawi. It encloses an area of 3,355 km². The population of the district is 250,775 according to an estimation of this year. The area borders in the east on the Lake Malawi, in the north on the Songwe River which is the border to Tanzania, and in the west and in the south on the Nyika Plateau. Along the lake the landscape is flat and fertile. The topography towards the west is hilly. The national highway which connects Malawi’s South and North was completed 1981. The district was difficult to reach before. 1988 a border bridge over the Songwe River to Tanzania was built. Both foster trade and business opportunities in the area.

The Chitipa district is located in the north-west of Malawi. The area borders also on the north to Tanzania, on the west to Zambia, on the east to the district Karonga and on the south to the district Rumphi. Chitipa is one of the most remote districts in the country. The area covers 4,288 km². It is mountainous and is on an average height of 1,322 metres above sea level. The district counted 168,880 inhabitants in 2007.

The following Table 1 shows the area in square kilometres of each district, the area of each district within the Songwe Basin, how much the area of each district within the Songwe Basin represents to total area of the Songwe Basin, and measures each district area against the area of district within the Songwe Basin.

Table 1: Area distribution per district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>District Area [km²]</th>
<th>Area [km²] of the district within the Songwe Basin (SB)</th>
<th>Area of district within the SB measured against total SB area [%]</th>
<th>District area measured against area of district within SB [%]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>19,098</td>
<td>146.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbozi</td>
<td>9,679</td>
<td>627.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ileje</td>
<td>1,908</td>
<td>1,419.6</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>74.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyela</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>105.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Karonga</td>
<td>3,335</td>
<td>329.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chitipa</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>1,585.3</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>36.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39,273</td>
<td>4,214.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SRTCMP (2004: 2)
2.3.3 **Bio-physical Characteristics**

The area of the research project in the Songwe Basin can be divided into three major sub-basins, namely the upper, middle and lower basins respective to bio-physical criteria (see appendix III). The bio-physical characteristics of these units will be shortly described in this sub-chapter.

The *upper Basin* extends within the four districts of Mbeya, Mbozi, Ileje and Chitipa. The altitude of the Basin lies between 2,000 and 2,400 meters above sea level on the Rungwe Mountains and on about 1,300 meters above seal level in the Chitipa highlands. In the south-western and north-eastern parts of the area the annual rainfall is estimated at 1,000 to 1,400mm per year. The geology of the area consists of rocks (gneiss) and quaternary alluvium deposits in depressions. The region is covered with red and hydromorphic soil which has little fertility. The vegetation is miombo\(^\text{17}\) woodland interspaced with settlements and agricultural land (SRTCMP 2004: 3 et seq.).

The *middle Basin* covers parts of the districts of Ileje and Chitipa. The area lies on an altitude of 1,100 and 1,300 meters above seal level. In the western and lower parts of the middle Basin the annual rainfall ranges between 1,000 and 2,500mm per year. The area consists of the same geology as the upper Basin. Vegetation is miombo woodland and cultivation (SRTCMP 2004: 3 et seq.).

The *lower Basin* which is the smallest one of the three is situated within the two districts of Kyela and Karonga. The area is on an altitude of 400 and 1,100 meters above sea level. The annual rainfall varies much. In the Kuyngu catchment it is about 1,500mm, in the centre of the Songwe flood over 3,000mm per year. The geology consists of micaceous gneiss and quaternary alluvium. The soil near Malawi Lake is well fertilised. The area is heavily cultivated (tree crops and wetland cultivation). The vegetation is covered by miombo woodland and little forests (SRTCMP 2004: 3 et seq.).

For our research study only the upper and middle Basins were pertinent, because of their closer location to towns. In the upper basins most interviews were conducted. As links of the rural inhabitants to towns were questioned too, a short overview of the relevant towns in the research area is given below.

2.3.4 **Relevant towns for the inhabitants in the upper and middle Songwe Basin**

The following portrayed towns are all located close to the Songwe Basin (see map appendix II).

*Mbeya* is one of the ten biggest towns in Tanzania. The town is in the southern highlands. It is located in the valley between the mountains of Mbeya-Range in the north and the Poroto

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\(^{17}\) Miombo is classified as tropical and subtropical grassland, savannas and shrublands in East and South-East Africa. It is a kind of dry forest but without the real characteristics of a forest (Leser 2001: 516).
Mountain in the southeast at an altitude of 1,600 to 1,900 meters. The town was founded in 1927 (Fitzpatrick 2005: 265). According to a census of this year (2008) approximately 317,089 residents are living in town.\textsuperscript{18} There are more than 300,000 further inhabitants who live in the vast suburban area. The Tanzania Zambia Railways (TAZARA) and the Tanzania Zambia highway (TANZAM) which run from Dar es Salaam to Mbeya and from there to Malawi and Zambia and further south to South Africa, make the town to a major trade and transit junction.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Vwawa} is located about 60km west of Mbeya in the district of Mbozi on an altitude of 1,380 meters.\textsuperscript{20} The town lies on the highway Mbeya-Tunduma. It has a small train station. Also the train TAZARA passes by. Vwawa has about 41,700 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{21}

\textit{Tunduma} is located 113 km south west of Mbeya at a height of 1,300 meters above sea level. It is a border town of the neighbouring countries Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. The TANZAM highway and the TAZARA railway lead both to Zambia.\textsuperscript{22} The town is very dynamic and with frantic activity. The official census from 2002 counted 34,461 inhabitants in the town. The calculation of the year 2007 estimated 37,972 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{23}

\textit{Karonga} is in the north of Malawi on the border of the Malawian lake on an elevation of 538 meters.\textsuperscript{24} It is not far away from the Tanzanian border. Services and infrastructure are good. It has a port, an airport, a hospital, secondary schools, a supermarket, a weekly market, a post office and a bank. The town lies on the major road Mzuzu - Tanzania. The town is placed in a fertile area. Mainly cotton, rice banana and maize are cultivated. The town has around 35,000 inhabitants (2006).\textsuperscript{25}

\textit{Chitipa} is a small town in the farthest north-west of Malawi at an altitude of 1,278 meters.\textsuperscript{26} According to an estimating in 2006, around 9,000 people live in the town. It is the capital city of the same named district. The town lies on the gravel road Karonga to the Tanzam Highway in Zambia. There is not a single road tarred in the area. Especially in the rainy season it is utmost difficult to reach this town. The city has an airstrip, a hospital, primary and secondary schools with boarding possibilities, weekly markets, little shops, a post office and a bank.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_St%C3%A4dte_in_Tansania
\item \textsuperscript{19} http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mbeya
\item \textsuperscript{20} http://www.fallingrain.com/world/TZ/0/Vwawa.html
\item \textsuperscript{21} http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_St%C3%A4dte_in_Tansania
\item \textsuperscript{22} http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunduma
\item \textsuperscript{23} http://bevoelkerungsstatistik.de/wg.php?x=&men=gpro&lng=de&dat=32&geo=290541277&srt=npan&col=dq
\item \textsuperscript{24} http://www.azworldairports.com/airports/p2020kgj.htm
\item \textsuperscript{25} http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karonga
\item \textsuperscript{26} http://de.allmetsat.com/klima/athioiap-eritrea-djibouti.php?code=67421
\item \textsuperscript{27} http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chitipa
\end{itemize}
3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
After the introduction to the research area and the common living conditions in rural Tanzania and Malawi in the previous chapter, this chapter introduces to the theoretical background of this work, and to what has been researched so far on the different relevant topics. For this thesis, theories of three different topics are of interest: livelihoods, women and young adults. Accordingly, this chapter focuses first on the theoretical basis of the livelihood approach. The sustainable livelihoods framework used by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) is introduced. The second part of the chapter discusses the available literature and theoretical basics of research on women’s roles in Africa, while the third part presents the according information for youth research.

3.1 Livelihood approach

The livelihood approach most widely known and used is the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF) promoted by DFID. Also for this study the SLF formed the baseis for the research outline. Before the framework will be introduced, the term ‘sustainable livelihood’ has to be clarified. Drawing on Chambers and Conway (1991), Scoones defines sustainable livelihoods as follows:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Scoones 1998: 5).

According to this definition, DFID labels a livelihood sustainable when it is resilient to shocks and stresses, when it does not depend on external support, when it is able to maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources, and when it does not undermine or compromise the livelihood options of others (DFID 1999).

After this clarification of the term ‘sustainable livelihoods’, in the following section the sustainable livelihoods framework will briefly be introduced. This sub-chapter will however be kept short, as there is easily reachable literature with a more detailed description of the framework.

3.1.1 The sustainable livelihoods framework

The sustainable livelihoods framework adopted by DFID is a tool helping to better understand livelihoods of the poor (Figure 2). In the core of the framework are the livelihood assets, the strengths of a household, which are called the capitals. Five different capitals are identified: human, natural, financial, physical, and social capital. Depending on how strong these assets are, a household has different options for activities. However, the assets pentagon is placed

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28 For more information on the different parts of the framework see the Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets (DFID 1999): www.livelihoods.org
within a certain environment. On the one hand, there is the vulnerability context. Shocks, trends and seasonality critically affect the availability of assets. On the other hand, there are transforming structures and processes (including legislations and rules for example), which have major impacts on possible livelihood strategies. Within the framework of the vulnerability context and the transforming structures and processes, a household can now make use of its different capitals and develop livelihood strategies. These strategies comprise the combination of activities people undertake that lead to certain livelihood outcomes, which in turn might change the available capitals. In that case, the household can or has to change its strategies in order to achieve new livelihood outcomes (DFID 1999).

Figure 2: The Sustainable livelihoods framework

The SLF includes very different aspects of a livelihood, ranging from personal capitals, over cultural and political impacts on different levels, to the environmental context. Therefore, it is a people centred, holistic view on livelihoods. The framework aims at providing a checklist of important issues concerning livelihoods, drawing attention to core influences and processes, and emphasizing the multiple interactions between the various factors and the dynamic nature of livelihoods (DFID 1999).

3.1.2 Strengths and weaknesses of the sustainable livelihoods framework

There are so many different factors influencing people’s decisions on livelihood strategies that it is barely possible to develop a perfect and useful model on livelihoods. Accordingly, there will always be points of critique on such models. However, the positive aspects should not be forgotten. The SLF has several strengths. First of all, it puts the people and their strengths into the centre, focusing on assets, rather than on problems. This seems to be a very important point, as all too often development programmes are designed in order to solve problems, rather than identifying local capabilities and supporting them. Further, the
framework can be adapted to different local settings, thanks to its flexible design and its openness to changes. The SLF can serve as an analytical tool for the identification of development priorities, it can serve as a checklist and help to bring some structure into ideas and projects or programmes, and it can assess how development activities match with the livelihoods of the poor (Kollmair and Gamper 2002: 9 et seq.). Finally, Murray (2001) highlights that the SLF tries to understand the dynamic context, that it cuts across the boundaries between conventionally discrete sectors (urban/rural, industrial/agricultural, formal/informal, etc.), and pays attention to social relations within and outside the household.

The weaknesses of the framework partly have their roots within these strengths: the claim to be holistic makes the framework so wide that it is hardly possible to conduct a differentiated livelihood analysis without getting lost in a flood of information. This might however be not a problem of the SLF itself, but rather one of the whole concept of the livelihood. Another problem stated by Kollmair and Gamper (2002) is the economic approach of the five capitals and the difficulties of assessing them. How can for example social capital be measured and compared? Additionally, personal intrinsic motivations for decisions, which rationally seen might be not reasonable are completely factored out. Wiesmann (1998: 42) makes a similar point in stressing the central role of perception, valuation and interpretation of dynamic conditions of action for the understanding of actors’ activities. This point is addressed in the model developed by Baumgartner and Hoegger (2004), who explicitly include the „inner reality” in their ‘rural livelihood system mandala’. Murray (2001) criticizes that inequalities of power and conflicts of interest are not sufficiently acknowledged, and he raises the general question on the term ‘sustainable’ (sustainable for whom, and by what criteria?). Last, Bryceson and Bank blame the SLF for its local focus on the relation between people’s work patterns and welfare abstracts from larger contextual forces. „The fundamental question of why income diversification has become so pervasive over the past 20 years in sub-Saharan Africa is circumvented (...)” (Bryceson and Bank 2001: 12).

As stated above, it is barely possible to draw a perfect model of such a complex matter as livelihoods. In spite of all the weaknesses mentioned, the SLF can serve as a very useful tool for people dealing with livelihoods in a local setting. Together with Wiesmann’s model on smallholders’ spheres of action presented in chapter 2.2.2, the SLF served as a guideline for the preparation of our household interviews. Both tools helped us to structure our interviews and to make sure that no important issues concerning the rural livelihoods were forgotten.

3.2 Women

This master’s thesis talks about different actor groups. One actor group which is given a special focus are women. The centre of attention lies mainly on the everyday work of women and the role in their families. The first sub-chapter discusses research literature on women’s role in the societies, their education, health services, and legal rights of women in rural
Literature review and theoretical framework

Africa. The second sub-chapter talks about different kinds of research approaches on women and gender\(^{29}\) and discusses the four approaches \textit{women in development} (WID), \textit{women and development} (WAD), \textit{gender and development} (GAD), and \textit{women, the environment and sustainable development} (WED).

3.2.1 Women in rural Africa

Women represent the majority of the poor in both urban and rural areas in Africa (Kongolo, Bamgose 2002: 79). Poverty meets women hard for they bear the responsibility for the whole family (Küschner-Pelkmann 2005: 54).

3.2.1.1 Women’s role in the society

Women in Africa have particular roles in their society. They are mainly responsible for all domestic tasks. These are mainly to look after their children’s welfare and provide them daily with food, clean water, supply a certain health care and give their children a chance to go to school to get some education. Additionally, they take care of sick and elderly people. Some few women are additionally involved in social functions within their communities (Takyiwaa 1998: 3). Women have an important position in relation to economic life in rural areas. Over 80 percent of the economically active female labour force is working in agriculture (Takyiwaa 1998: 6). The women’s major task is to grow food but only a few are allowed to own the land they work on (Mitter, Rowbotham 1995). Because of that they depend on their husbands or male relatives. But where women have their own access to land they can work independently in farming and achieve a certain degree of independence. They use new opportunities to produce vegetables for urban markets (Takyiwaa 1998: 3 et seq.). According to Mitter and Rowbotham women work twice as much as men, daily between 15 and 18 hours. However, they often earn just one tenth of what men do (Mitter, Rowbotham 1995). In some regions the out-migration of male adults from rural to urban areas is very high. Women are often left behind and have to work even harder to make a living (Takyiwaa 1998: 8). More and more women are pursuing all kind of off-farm activities to get some extra income. Through these activities they earn some money and achieve some autonomy and a feeling of self-reliance. In most households women’s income is absolutely essential for the family to make a decent living (Takyiwaa 1998: 3 et seq.). In daily life women face many difficulties such as to gain access to information, technology, credit, extension services, agricultural training, and marketing know-how (Mitter et al. 1995). Many credit associations have a limited membership and thereby exclude women, married or unmarried. Banks demand collateral in the form of landed property and men’s approval before giving loans to women (Takyiwaa

\(^{29}\) Gender describes the social, psychological or cultural gender of a person as a distinction from the biological sex. Whereas the biological sex is immutable, gender as a social construction is changeable through the socially oriented roles of women and men. Gender thereof describes the roles of women and men, defined by society (Herfurth, Kohli, Zimmermann 2003).
1998: 8). That is why many rural women belong to different kinds of cooperatives than men and to particular women groups. In Tanzania, about 25 percent of economically active women in the non-agricultural informal sector access informal rotating credit associations to invest in their businesses, home and farm implements, and school fees of their children (Takyiwaa 1998: 3). Without women’s income the survival of some families would have to be questioned.

3.2.1.2 Education of girls and women

Education of the children, particularly the girls, is the beginning to obtain equal rights for men and women in the African society. There are still more boys who go to school than girls. However, there has been a significant improvement in recent years in African countries in sending women to school. The gap between female and male illiterate is getting smaller, as more and more girls attend at least primary school (Immel 2006). As the following table shows, the difference between female and male adult literacy rates and ratios has become smaller during 1990 and 2003 in Malawi and Tanzania. But in Malawi the difference between educated young women and men is much higher than in Tanzania.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Female rate 1990</th>
<th>Male rate 1990</th>
<th>Female to male rate 1990</th>
<th>Female rate 2003</th>
<th>Male rate 2003</th>
<th>Female to male rate 2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>51,2</td>
<td>75,7</td>
<td>0,68</td>
<td>63,8</td>
<td>82,3</td>
<td>0,78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>77,2</td>
<td>89,2</td>
<td>0,87</td>
<td>90,1</td>
<td>94,1</td>
<td>0,96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crown, Gupta, Kes (2005: 176 et seq.)

Parents recognize that to invest in the education of their children are investments for the future of their children but also for themselves. They expect that their children care for them when they get older (Kevane 2004: 146). However, it is still the girls, who have to drop out of school if the parents can not raise the money for the school fees or someone has to help at home or on the fields. The burden of household labour is just one big obstacle for young girls to their schooling. A lot of other factors such as adolescent pregnancy and early marriage are reasons for not attending school. The legal age to get married for girls in Tanzania is 15 while boys are allowed to get married at the age of 18. Because of the legal young age to get married, girls leave school early (IFC 2007: 6). The marriage rates for 15-19 year old girls are in Tanzania 26% and in Malawi 36% (BBC news Online 2001). The families are not willing to invest much in the education of girls as the cultural norms force girls to leave home early to get married (IFC 2007: 6). In addition, quite a lot of African children have lost their parents in recent years because of AIDS. Because of that a lot of girls have to leave school to take care of their younger brothers and sisters (Immel 2006). Unfortunately, the quality of lectures
given at schools is in many parts of Tanzania insufficient. The classes are huge (up to 200 children), the teachers have bad teaching material and receive themselves often too little money to make a living for their families (Kürschner-Pelkmann 2005: 58) In Malawi it is not much different. Many schools are in a poor condition. Particularly sanitary facilities are disastrous (Kürschner-Pelkmann 2005: 23). Due to the lower educational level and lack of training the access for women to the labour market is more difficult than for men. If women obtain formal sector jobs they often get lower respect, admiration and payment than men do (Takyiwaa 1998: 9). Women in Tanzania earn 71 per cent of what men receive (Küsschner-Pelkmann 2005: 54). Apart from all obstacles, women are today entering more and more traditionally male jobs like engineering and architecture. It can be stated that more and more girls attend higher education and technical courses. Even more women are working in higher positions since recently and becoming self employed (Mitter et al. 1995).

3.2.1.3 Health services

The health services are inadequate in many African regions. Especially in rural areas where water supply is insufficient, adequate sewage is missing and refuse disposal is not available, the population suffers from diseases such as malaria, lung, and other respiratory diseases. If people use polluted sources of water it causes diseases such as cholera, typhoid and amoebic dysentery, diarrhoea and stomach upsets (Momsen 2004: 118). Many women in rural areas do not have adequate access to medical care. Maternal and infant mortality are still high (Takyiwaa 1998: 12). In Tanzania 529 of 100,000 women die during delivery (Kürschner-Pelkmann 2005: 55). In Malawi the number of women who die during delivery has almost doubled since 1990. According to a statistic of the year 2000 1.120 women died out of 100,000. One of the main reasons is that in the year 2000 only 56 per cent of all delivery took place in a hospital like environment (Kürschner-Pelkmann 2005: 23). The child mortality rate is 14.1 per cent \(^{30}\) in Tanzania whereas in Malawi the number is much higher and runs up to 21.1 per cent.\(^ {31}\) The health of women and girls is further endangered by female genital mutilation. Thanks to various organizations, the people in Tanzania are informed about this issue and raised awareness on the negative impact on women’s life. In some areas there are no circumcisions on women done anymore.\(^ {32}\) Women are also more susceptible of HIV/AIDS infections and other sexually transmitted diseases. Besides, women and girls have to care for infected family members and for orphans and abandoned children. But also domestic violence, divorce, stress, and insecurities of daily life are sources of stress and a danger for women’s mental health (Takyiwaa 1998: 12 et seq.).


3.2.1.4 Legal rights of women

Legal rights of women, especially rights of heritage and property of land, are essential for a sustainable development. In many countries the coexistence of the statutory law system and the customary law has the tendency to discriminate against women (Rathgeber 1994: 85). The Marriage Act in Tanzania of 1971 includes discriminatory provisions in respect to women’s property and inheritance rights. The positive impact of this law is limited for the Tanzanian court system is very biased, and women lack awareness of their new rights (Creighton, Omari 1995: 59). Tanzania is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. The Tanzanian Land act of 1998 includes the principles of an unprejudiced distribution of land and access to land for all citizens. The target is to achieve equal rights for women and men. Spousal co-ownership of family land is presumed. In Tanzania 85% of women live from agriculture. The customary rights exclude women to own land. However a husband can not alienate land without permission of his wife. She has a veto right or a right to subsequent compensation (Kevane 2004: 52). New reforms of today assign women rights to own and use land, to buy and sell it, just like men do. But the new rules are often ignored by local clans and local governments. 25% of women in rural Tanzania hold land rights. Where women hold land, their plots are generally smaller and more dispersed than those hold by men. The average size of women’s landholdings in Tanzania is 0.53 hectares compared to 0.73 hectares for men.

Figure 3: The long way of equality of women in Sub – Sahara Africa

![Figure 3: The long way of equality of women in Sub – Sahara Africa](source: Adapted from Immel (2006))

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33 [http://www.fao.org/docrep/V8192e/v8192e04.htm#P60_6869](http://www.fao.org/docrep/V8192e/v8192e04.htm#P60_6869)
34 [http://fao.org/docrep/005/y431e/y4311e04.htm](http://fao.org/docrep/005/y431e/y4311e04.htm)
35 [http://www.fes.de/in_afrika/af_gend.htm](http://www.fes.de/in_afrika/af_gend.htm)
36 [http://www.fes.de/in_afrika/af_gend.htm](http://www.fes.de/in_afrika/af_gend.htm)
38 [http://fao.org/docrep/005/y431e/y4311e04.htm](http://fao.org/docrep/005/y431e/y4311e04.htm)
In Malawi the situation of the women is similar to the one in Tanzania. Women often have less access to legal and financial help, and wives are often victims of discriminatory inheritance practices in which the majority of the estate is taken unlawfully by the deceased husband’s family. The Malawian Constitution particularly states equal rights for women, but with a predominantly traditional society, enforcement of equal rights takes time.\(^{39}\)

Figure 3 shows the disparity between female and male. It illustrates that there is still a long way to go to achieve equal rights for women in Sub-Saharan Africa.

If we look at Tanzania and Malawi and how they defend equality of the sexes, the Gender – Related Development Index from the Human Development Report 2005 of UNDP shows, that Tanzania makes it to the ranking place of 127 and Malawi to place 129 of 140 valued countries (Küschner-Pelkmann 2005: 23, 54). Although the women still have to face enormous obstacles in both countries their recognition is steadily increasing. By improving their own position, women strengthen at the same time African society as a whole (Takyiwaa 1998: 1).

3.2.2 The research approaches of WID, WAD, GAD and WED

Different kind of development approaches were originally designed for men. It had been assumed, that men’s improvement would improve the life of everyone in a family and that it would cover the needs of women as well. But women often did not benefit from development discussions, analyzes, and resulting projects. It is important to know how the family system works within its cultural context. For example, it is necessary to know how money is earned and spent in a household and what kind of additional income benefits family members. In general, women and men show different expenditure samples. Women use the money for food, health care, and education. Men tend to spend the income for agricultural production inputs like fertilizer, pesticides, new machinery, and for entertainment.

It also has to be considered, that everywhere in the world family structures are changing. Because of war and out-migration for work more and more female headed households exist nowadays. Because of that it is important to go into gender issues and analyse the matter not on the family level but on the individual level to be able to say how individual family members can benefit from additional income.\(^{40}\)

Research and practice base their analyses on the concepts of women in development (WID), women and development (WAD), gender and development (GAD), and women, the environment and sustainable development (WED). The different viewpoints regarding gender and development issues influence research. Rathgeber (1994) suggests that each term is associated with a varying set of underlying assumptions and that this leads to the formulation

\(^{39}\) http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/profiles/malawi_women.htm

\(^{40}\) http://www.peacecorps.org/multimedia/pdf
of different strategies for the participation of women in a development process (Rathgeber 1994: 77).

### 3.2.2.1 Women in Development (WID)

The term Women in Development (WID) is used in a publication by Boserup „Women’s Role in economic Development” (1970). She was one of the first researchers who analysed the sexual division of labour in the agricultural sector in developing countries (Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler, Wieringa 1994: 78). She realized that in less populated areas, women do most of the farm work. In more populated areas, where carts and simple devices are used, predominantly men cultivate the land, while intensive agriculture and irrigation are equally shared between women and men (Rathgeber 1994: 78). The findings were not new, but it was the first time that they were scientifically collected and analyzed.

The politicians in the 1950s believed that modernization comes through industrialization and will improve the living conditions of the people in developing countries. They did not make any difference between the sexes and put everyone in the same pot. The politicians believed that the findings regarding the improved living of men could be transferred to women (Rathgeber 1994: 79). Research from the perspective of WID showed that women experiences in relation to development and change largely differ from those of men. The position of women in the various sectors of the economy was first investigated. The statistics revealed that women benefit less from the economic development (Rathgeber 1994: 80). Moreover, the development process had often deteriorated the role and status of women in society (Braidotti et al. 1994: 78). Boserup found out that even the introduction of new agricultural methods had a negative impact on women. With the application of modern technology men took over some traditional task of women and dispelled them from their areas of work (Braidotti et al. 1994: 79). Therefore, it was necessary to develop strategies to avoid such effects. WID accepts the existing social structures. It ignores both history and the influence of classes, races, and culture. The simple target is to integrate women into development programmes (Rathgeber 1994: 81). The major elements of the WID recommendation include:

- Making women more visible within national statistics particularly related to their labour force participation.
- Encourage women in education and trainings to reduce the productivity gap between the sexes.
- Providing policy measures for better participation of women in decision-making position in their respective governments (Annan-Yao et al. 2005: 33).

This approach sets emphasis on the equal participation of both sexes in education, employment and participation in society (Rathgeber 1994: 81). It aims to improve the accessibilities of women to technology, credits and extension services. Through that women’s productivity would increase. The WID approach has been constantly improved. Different
kinds of strategies were added. Caroline Moser (1993) distinguishes between five different approaches:

1. *Welfare approach:* Welfare is the oldest policy approach concerned with women in developing countries. It was introduced before the WID-approach in the 1950s and 1960s. The approach is based on three suppositions:
   - Women are passive recipients of development.
   - Women’s most important role in the society is motherhood, and
   - the most effective role they held in economic development is child rearing.
Through an increasing diversity of development programmes, women have been the primary goal for improving family welfare. The approaches are mainly based on food aid which is still popular today (Moser 1993: 58 et seq.).

2. *Equity approach:* This approach was created during the UN Women’s Decade 1976-1985 and is regarded as the original WID approach. The approach recognizes women as active participants in economic and social development. The approach defines for women a threefold role and seeks to meet strategic gender needs through direct state intervention. The primary goal is to give political and economic autonomy to women, and reduce inequality with men. The goals have been criticized as Western feminism. The African officials consider it as threatening. Therefore it is unpopular with governments (Moser 1993: 62 et seq.).

3. *Anti-Poverty approach:* The anti-poverty approach corresponds to the second WID which was introduced from the 1970s onwards. Its purpose is to ensure that poor women increase their productivity. Women’s poverty is seen as a problem of underdevelopment, not of subordination. It recognizes the productive role of women, and seeks to meet practical gender needs to give the women a chance to earn an income particularly through small-scale income generation projects. Moser (1993) states that economic inequality between women and men is mostly linked to poverty and not to subordination. Reduction of inequality between women and men should thus be tackled by reducing income inequality (Moser 1993: 66 et seq.).

4. *Efficiency approach:* Efficiency improvement is the predominant WID approach. Its purpose is to ensure that economic development becomes more efficient and effective through women’s economic contribution. The goal is to meet practical gender needs while relying on all of women’s triple roles and an elastic concept of women’s time. Women are seen primarily as capacity to compensate for declining social services by extending their working hours (Moser 1993: 69 et seq.).

5. *Empowerment approach:* Empowerment is the most recent approach, expressed by third World women. Its purpose is to empower women through greater self-reliance. Women’s

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41 „In most low-income Third World households women have a triple role. ‘Women’s work’ includes not only reproductive work, the childbearing and rearing responsibilities, […] It also includes productive work, often as secondary income earners. […] Also women undertake community managing work around the provision of items of collective consumption, […]’” (Moser 1993: 27 et seq.).
subordination is seen not only as the problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. The approach recognizes women’s triple role, and seeks to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilization for practical gender needs. It is unpopular for it is said to be inspired by Western feminists, except with Third world women’s NGOs and their supporters (Moser 1993: 74). In practice actually, many of the policies have appeared more or less simultaneously (Moser 1993: 58).

Critics of the approach say that women’s reproductive role is not taken into account and that it ignores the larger social processes. The WID approach is only linked to the modernisation paradigm as westernisation of economic social and political institutions and processes (Annan-Yao, et al. 2005: 33). WID was also criticised for having limited impact on the status of women within the context of issues of class, race and imperialism (SARDC 2000). An additional weak point was seen in WID superficiality in the sense that its analyses did not include the underlining reasons gender inequality and patriarchy. Finally the approach leaves men out of the analyses and thus gives an isolated view of women as a socially, economically, and politically homogenous group (Annan-Yao, et al. 2005: 33).

3.2.2.2 Women and Development (WAD)

The concept of Women and Development (WAD) appeared in the second half of the 1970s as a reaction to the limitations of the theory of modernization and the fact that women in the past were excluded from the development strategies. The approach relies solely on the claim that women are a part of the development but which did not appear in the deliberations. Women have always played an important economic role in society because their work within the house and outside is mostly crucial for the survival of the family and thus the society (Rathgeber 1994: 82). Advocates of the WAD concept state that the paid and unpaid labour of women is essential to development. On the contrary to WID the WAD approach deems that under global capitalism, the oppression of women can not end. WAD proposes a more critical perspective to women. However, it analyses the relationship between patriarchy, subordination and suppression of women, and the various types of production too little. It presumes that the participation of women in the economic life will improve if institutional structures change (Rathgeber 1994: 83). The major failure of the approach is that it does not take full scale analyses of the relationship between patriarchy and the subordination of women (Shiraz 1997). WAD has been criticized because it neglects the duty of women to give birth and educate the children as well as to keep the household under the patriarch (Joshi 2005). The development planners have the tendency to project western prejudices to other regions in the world and neglect to include households work, education and health care in the development projects (Rathgeber 1994: 83).

43 http://www.peak.sfu.ca/the-peak/97-2/issue13/femfeat.html
3.2.2.3 Gender and Development (GAD)

Gender and Development (GAD) was created in the 1980s in addition to the concept of WID which focuses on the improvement of the status of women essentially in developing countries while the new approach GAD has gained increasing influence in the field of international cooperation.\(^44\) The theory is based on socialist feminism.\(^45\) Kate Young has identified some key aspects of the approach. The totality of social organization, economic and political life comprises the various aspects of society. GAD is interested in the social structure, in the accountability and the expectations of women and men. The aim of GAD is not to show great solidarity to the women but to look at the contributions of men to society, which share the interests of equality and social justice with the other sex (Rathgeber 1994: 84). The approach tries to understand the different development priorities and needs of both sexes. The aim is to correct gender disparities by improving social relationships between men and women. The approach analyses the roles, rights and responsibilities of both women and men, fosters the empowerment of both sexes and determines how development interventions may be made most effective. The GAD approach concludes that failure of development to benefit women results mainly from gender relationships problems in society.\(^46\) There is also some criticism on GAD to be mentioned. It is argued that by focusing only on what men and women separates, the concept neglects the important social relations that connect both sexes and further how changes could be brought about in men’s and women’s roles. By leaving social relations unexamined, GAD is not able to explain how powerful gender relations can subvert the impact of resources directed at women and not able to identify women’s interests and what trade-offs they are willing to make to fulfil their ideals of motherhood and marriage.\(^47\)

3.2.2.4 Women, the environment and sustainable development (WED)

Women, the environment and sustainable development (WED) as a theme within the development debate has increasingly attracted international attention since the late 1970s and has influenced a number of different streams of thinking (Braidotti et al. 1994: 77). The WED debate encompasses several mainstreams of thoughts. One stream stresses the managerial aspects of minimizing negative impacts on development by targeting women as recipients of development assistance and simultaneously considering the effects of development on the environment. This approach is suggested by development agencies. The WED approach covers also other areas including forestry, agriculture, irrigation, and water systems (Shiraz 1997). The WED includes women’s relationship to the environment in the context of economic development as well as the many harmful effects that environmental degradation

\(^{44}\) http://www.jica.go.jp/english/global/gend/index.html

\(^{45}\) Socialist feminism does not make any difference between men and women based on the biological differences but only based on different life experience. In contrast to Marxist feminists social feminist believe that both, the social classes and the patriarchy are responsible for the repression of women. In order to establish equality between the gender capitalism and patriarchy would have to be abolished (Hedinger 2000: 20).


\(^{47}\) http://www.un.org./ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/bpaper/boxseng.htm
has on women’s lives. Women are seen to be closer to nature than men because within the sexual division of labour their work has always entailed a closer relationship with nature. Women are described as naturally privileged environmental managers who have accumulated over generation specific knowledge about natural processes that is different and more appropriate than that of men in general (Braidotti et al. 1994: 92 et seq.). But women also depend more on nature than men, particularly as they are responsible for the daily needs of the family such as wood, water and food. But due to overexploitation of natural resources women’s workload generally increases (Braidotti et al. 1994: 96). In recent WED publications women are not seen as victims of the environmental crisis anymore but rather as the answer to the crisis (Davidson, Dankelmann 1990: 5). Within the WED framework women with their knowledge on nature and natural resources are seen as the most valuable resources in the process towards archiving sustainable development (Braidotti et al. 1994: 97). This valorisation of women may seem positive, but doubtful. In the rural economies men also possess such knowledge except related more closely to their own work. NGOs assume that if women and environment are both considered in development aid, a sustainable development could be achieved (Braidotti et al. 1994: 97). In the end environmental degradation affects different groups, women as well as men, over time. The wider changes necessary to halt environmental destruction and the process of environmental recovery remains as much women’s task as it is men’s.

Figure 4: Virtuous circle – an approach to Sustainable Development in rural Africa

Source: own illustration
The target of all approaches is sustainable development. The following Figure 4 shows three objectives which mutually foster each other and aim to sustainably change the conditions of the rural women in Africa for the better. The first objective aims to reduce the workload on women such as to improve water supply and reforestation. The second goal aims to use the women’s free time for education to further improve their knowledge to better participate in society and to develop health and hygiene though medical care projects and training in hygiene improvement. Reducing women’s workload and training them in specific knowledge fosters the third aim to improve women’s social standing and living standards though active participation in society and business development. Only when the single objectives positively affect each other sustainable development is achieved.

Gender equality is a core development issue. It is important to promote this concern to enable women and men to escape poverty and to improve their standard of living. The goal of the United Nations (UN) is to reach equal rights for man and woman everywhere. Until the year 2015 the aim is to achieve equation of women and girls in education, occupation opportunities, income, health and nutrition. Momsen (2004) said about it:

„Gender equality does not necessarily mean equal numbers of men and women or girls and boys in all activities, nor does it mean treating them in the same way. It means equality of opportunity and a society in which women and men are able to lead equally fulfilling lives” (Momsen 2004: 8).

3.2.3 Implication of the theoretical background for the data collection

Women in rural areas, who are a subject of this research, have an important role within the family. In development cooperation’s, women, however, are still regarded as less important than men in society. For this reason we put women as an actor group at the centre of our attention. The content of the interviews are based on the theoretical foundations of the above-mentioned research approaches WID, WAD, GAD, and WED. The different viewpoints of gender and development influenced our research. The WID approach relates essentially to the issue of education, the WAD on the daily work, while the issues related to family are based on the GAD approach. The questions in relation to the ratio of women to the natural resources are based on the WED approach. In addition to these issues we also investigated the relationship of women to town and countryside, and their futures plans. On the basis of those five main issues we answered our research questions.

3.3 Young adults

Besides women, young adults are the second actor group this thesis is focusing on. Our interest for this subject originally came from reading the book *Getting ready for life: Life strategies of Town Youth in Mozambique and Tanzania*, a dissertation on livelihoods of young adults in small towns in Tanzania and Mozambique written by Linda Helgesson (2006) at the University of Umeå, Sweden. Until very recently, youth in developing countries did not receive much attention from researchers, except maybe in the health sector (reproductive health and HIV/AIDS), or in connection with conflict and armed violence. These facts are self-evident as „over the past two decades, political conflict, armed violence and the HIV/AIDS pandemic created a crisis of unprecedented proportions for younger generations of Africans” (de Boeck and Honwana 2005: 1). This focus might change now, after the World Bank focused in its 2007 *World Development Report* (World Bank 2006) on young people, stressing the necessity of addressing problems and opportunities resulting from an increasing number of young adults in the developing countries.

The two books named above are the basis for our work on the young adults. While Helgessons dissertation was guiding us when preparing and conducting the interviews, the World Development Report provided (besides much useful information) the theoretical basis for my work.

This chapter aims to answer the questions ‘What is a young adult?’ and ‘Why study young adults?’ and it gives an introduction to the World Bank’s theoretical reasoning on youths in developing countries.

3.3.1 What is a young adult?

To start, we have to specify the rather elastic terms ‘young adult’ and ‘youth’. Fussell (in World Bank 2006: 27) defines youth as follows:

„Youth is a transitional phase from childhood to adulthood when young people, through a process of intense physiological, psychological, social and economic change, gradually come to be recognized – and to recognize themselves – as adults.” (Fussell 2006)

Concerning the age range, Fussell states that perspectives on the most relevant age range vary across disciplines. The range given by the following authors supports this statement: The group of the young adults most often includes persons from 15 to either 24 (for example World Bank, UN data, Taffa et al.), or to 29 (Krishnan et al.). Sigudhla (2004) states that youth in the African context ranges between 15 and even 35 years, because

„the transition to adulthood, in terms of achieving the economic and social stability that comes with steady employment, may extend into the late twenties (...) [and for those] who have not completed secondary school, the transition to stable work could take up to around age 35.” (Sigudhla 2004)
Hall and Jefferson (in Helgesson 2006: 7) discuss that schooling and education are an important factor in prolonging youth. For example, middle-class youth often remain longer in their transitional stage towards adulthood than working class youth, due to a longer education. Helgesson (2006: 81) finds in her study a similar link between class, education and youth, in that youth is seen as a privilege by some of her young respondents. De Boeck and Honwana (2005) stress the heterogeneity of youth definitions:

"The process of transition between childhood and youth and the period when youth ends and adulthood begins are not the same everywhere; they vary across and within societies and cultures over time." (de Boeck and Honwana 2005: 4)

In the following chapters, the terms ‘young adult’ and ‘youth’ refer to men and women between 15 and 29 years of age. We chose this range because it matches well with the literature and data we found and, even more important, because it corresponds best with the definition of youth my respondents gave during the field work.

No matter where the line between youths and adults is drawn, the persons belonging to the first category are in a life phase between childhood and adulthood. As in every phase of life, people have to play their specific life phase roles. In the case of the young adults, these roles consist of finishing the education, searching for a secure livelihood, as well as looking for a partner. Marriage and household formation belong to this life phase, just as making plans or dreaming dreams for the future, and a high risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

3.3.2 Why study young adults in Africa?

The necessity of studying Africa’s young people can easily be understood when looking at the demographic developments of sub-Saharan Africa. It is widely known that the population in Africa is growing rapidly. Presently, the rate of population growth lies at about 2.5%, so that the population reached 769 million in 2007. Until 2025, the sub-Saharan population is expected to reach the number of 1.13 billion (US Census Bureau 2008). This does not mean, however, that the demographic transition is not under way in sub-Saharan Africa. Caldwell et al. (1992) observe a fertility decline in several sub-Saharan countries (Botswana, Zimbabwe, Kenya and some parts of Nigeria), and Sibanda et al. (2003) found that in Addis Ababa between 1990 and 2000 the total fertility rate declined from 3.1 to 1.9 children per woman (with a high-end estimate of 2.8 children per woman after adjustment for possible underreporting of children).

During the demographic transition changes in the age structure of the population occur over time. Four different phases can be distinguished: the child phase (first phase of demographic burden

During the child phase a big number of children depend on comparably few economically active adults. This big share of non-working dependent people forms a so-called demographic burden.

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During the child phase a big number of children depend on comparably few economically active adults. This big share of non-working dependent people forms a so-called demographic burden.
Each of these phases has its special features determined by the nature of the size and growth rate of the age group, population distribution, age dependency ratio, needs, preferences and behaviour of the population (Tegenu 2002).

While today the sub-Saharan countries are still in their child phase, they will reach the young adult phase during the coming decades. Kenya is a nice example of such a transition. While today, the country is still in its child phase (Figure 5a), the projected population pyramid for 2025 (Figure 5b) shows a typical pattern for a society in the young adult phase. As the fertility declines and the children grow up, a bulge of young adults appears. Figure 6 makes clear that sub-Saharan Africa had the highest percentages of children in 2002, and accordingly is (or will soon be) the continent with the biggest share of young adults worldwide.
Young people are in a very active phase of their life. They want to work, they need houses, they want to marry and have children. An increasing share of the young adults are educated. These young people are capable of organizing themselves, and they are aware of what happens in their country. Therefore, the young adult phase is characterized by activism. According to Tegenu (2002) the most important processes are:

- concentration and redistribution of population (migration and urbanization)
- transformation of economic patterns (reforms in the agricultural sector and industrialization)
- transformation of social institutions and government systems (revolution, new ideologies, democratization)

Probably the most important challenge for young adults is to find a secure source of income. Because in different countries good land is scarce in rural areas and the educated young people have other future ideas than doing subsistence farming, many of them migrate to urban areas, hoping to find a job. Migration therefore is a „typical phenomenon attributed to the young adults“ (ibid), and increased urbanization or even over-urbanization is the result. An increasing number of workers are employed in manufacturing industries, and infrastructure has to develop. At the same time, due to excess of labour force unemployment is a problem, leading to difficult economic situations and resource access limitations for young adults. This results in streetism, beggary and black market economy. Discontentment causes political activities, mass organizations, protest movements or even rebellion and revolution (Tegenu 2002). The recent pictures shown in the TV news from the post-election protests in Kenya, showing mostly young people protesting against the government, support Tegenu’s statements.

This scenario drawn by Tegenu is one possible outcome of the transition to the young adult phase. If future problems are recognized and addressed in time, however, the dynamics of the young adult phase might lead to very positive developments for the countries’ economies and societies. This is why it is important to study young adults now, and to suggest appropriate policies and measures to avoid future problems. The World Bank sees the situation from a more optimistic point of view:

"There has never been a better time to invest in young people in developing countries. Those who are 12-24 years of age number 1.3 billion and make up the largest youth cohort in history. They are, on average, more educated and healthier than generations before them. They represent a potentially stronger base on which to build in a world that is increasingly demanding more than basic skills. Today’s young people are the next generation of workers, entrepreneurs, parents, active citizens, and leaders who have relatively fewer dependents because of lower birth rates. Countries need to seize this window of opportunity to invest in the future before the aging process closes it” (World Bank 2006: back cover).
While the World Bank (2006) stresses opportunities of the present situation, Tegenu (2002) raises a warning finger, pointing at possible problems and dangers. Both, however, agree that it is time now to care about the young people in the developing countries, to avoid future problems on the one hand, and to profit from emerging opportunities on the other hand.

### 3.3.3 World Development Report theory

In this section, the two models, on which the World Development Report (World Bank 2006) is based on, will be presented. The first deals with the transition of a person from being a child to becoming an adult, thus with the person itself. The second model focuses on the implications this transition has for developing youth friendly policies, and thus creating an enabling environment for young people to develop themselves and the society.

For the transition from child to adult, five dimensions are relevant: learning for work and life, going to work, growing up healthy, forming families, and exercising citizenship (Figure 7). All of these five transitions are „critical for poverty reduction and growth because they relate to building, maintaining, using, and reproducing human capital” (World Bank 2006: 40).

Obviously, these transitions do not happen all at the same time. Learning is most common in the early phase of the transition, when most of the young people are still in school. Sometime in the middle phase, working becomes more prominent, and the young people start to engage in behaviour that can be risky for their health. A little bit later, often at the age of 18, when young citizens can start voting, they start to formally exercise citizenship. Still in the middle phase, the first young people start to form their own families.

Each of these five transitions is seen through three ‘youth lenses’, especially when reasoning about political implications of the youths’ present situations (Figure 8). The first lens focuses on opportunities, respectively on the gaps in opportunities for the young people for developing their own human resources. The second lens focuses on capabilities. Young adults must be able to choose among opportunities, and to make decisions on the basis of information. Finally, the third lens focuses on second chances, in the case where young people get off track. The perspective through these three lenses should make sure that newly adopted policies are ‘youth friendly’. What this could mean according to the World Bank for the five transitions is listed in Table 3.
Ideally, the five transitions do not all happen at the same time, even though they overlap. It is easiest to first finish school, then start work, and only after that form a family. But the lives of many young adults look different: they are still studying, but have to work at the same time because they have wife and children, they might be smokers, and participate in any kind of political organization. This makes a young person’s life very complicated on the one hand, and on the other hand it implies that political decisions concerning only one of the transitions have implications also for the other four, because the young person has to reorganize the allocation of his human resources.

### 3.3.4 Implications of the theoretical background for the data collection

With the demographic background presented above, the significance for the need of studying the livelihoods of African young adults is undisputable. Having the ideas of the five transitions of the World Development Report 2007 (World Bank 2006) in mind, we developed the plan for our data collection. As mentioned above, we decided to include young people between 15 and 29 years of age, and interviewed them about different issues concerning their life, following the five transitions presented above. We did not talk, however, about exercising citizenship, because it did not seem to be of great relevance to this work whether the respondents were politically active citizens or not. Also health questions were almost completely left aside, because a relationship of trust has to be achieved in order to make young people talk about very personal health issues. As we usually talked to the respondents only once, it was not possible to create this feeling of trust. Additionally to the remaining three topics of school, work, and family, the relation of the young people to urban areas and their perception of towns was an issue, and we asked the respondents about their future plans. By discussing these five issues, we hoped to be able to answer the research questions posed concerning the roles of the young adults in the rural areas, and their relations to towns.
Table 3: Youth policy seen through the three youth lenses as proposed in the World Development Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transition for work and life</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
<th>Capabilities</th>
<th>Second Chances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learning for work and life</td>
<td>Provide quality basic education for all</td>
<td>Motivating students and involving them as stakeholders in their education</td>
<td>Provide remedial education, equivalency programs, literacy programs, skills training etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improve readiness for postprimary education</td>
<td>Providing information on opportunities for learning and work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expand options and improve the relevance of postprimary education</td>
<td>Reducing financial pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provide quality basic education for all</td>
<td>Motivating students and involving them as stakeholders in their education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improve readiness for postprimary education</td>
<td>Providing information on opportunities for learning and work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expand options and improve the relevance of postprimary education</td>
<td>Reducing financial pressure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to work</td>
<td>Reforming institutions, creating employment</td>
<td>Offering skill development beyond schools: apprenticeships, practical training</td>
<td>Provide a chance for those who never had a chance (child labourers, orphans, illiterates, disabled persons, etc.) Provide second chance programs and skills training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expanding opportunities in rural areas</td>
<td>Support self-employers and young entrepreneurs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Facilitating mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing up healthy</td>
<td>Improving access to information and health services</td>
<td>Strengthening the capability to practice healthy behaviour</td>
<td>Treatment of addictions, programs to overcome addiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Changing prices and incentives</td>
<td>(information, address the formation of preferences)</td>
<td>Improving access to treatment of sexually transmitted diseases, emergency contraception and abortion services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forming families</td>
<td>Improving access to health and nutrition services</td>
<td>Providing health information and education on sex, reproductive health and nutrition</td>
<td>Support and programs for young mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preventing early marriage</td>
<td>Teaching parenting and life skills</td>
<td>Flexible school and social politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offering financial incentives for using health care</td>
<td>Offering resources for further education to delay marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercising citizenship</td>
<td>Supporting active youth participation</td>
<td>Building safe spaces and trust</td>
<td>Providing alternatives to imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giving youth choices</td>
<td>Encouraging activism</td>
<td>Providing resources for reintegration into society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 METHODOLOGY
This chapter is organized in five sections. The first section describes the methodological approach, the second the various methods which then were applied to this research project. The third section explains the implementation of the fieldwork. In section four follows how the data was analyzed. The final section includes a description of additional research experiences which emerged during the interviews.

4.1 Methodology approach

An appropriate method ensures the collection of quantifiable and qualitative data regarding the livelihood and household strategies of smallholders and to get data on the role of women and young adults in the upper Songwe Basin.

The data collection process in the field is underpinned by the principle of triangulation. Triangulation is a research approach which combines different research methods. The data is not collected in one single way by one single person but as combination of various researchers, study groups, local and temporal settings and different theoretical perspectives (Flick 2004: 330). Quantitative and qualitative approaches complete each other. Each approach provides different kinds of information, containing important details of information for a complete and comprehensive understanding of the research data (Wilson 1982, in Flick 2004: 391).

4.2 Methods applied

For the research questionnaire of the institutional and households interviews we considered the structured interview as the appropriate research method. For the women and young adult interviews we applied the semi-structured interview.

4.2.1 Structured interview

In a structured interview the researcher samples many respondents who reply to the same set of questions. The questions are always asked exactly in the same order (Stier 1999: 171). Like this the course of the interview is predefined. The interview thus remains little flexible. The advantage of this approach is that the way how the interviews are carried out remain very much the same and in very short time lots of data can be collected. Such data can be easily compared and it assures that no major points get forgotten. However through the strong structure some important additional information may be lost (Stangl 1997).

We based our research approach on the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF) and compiled a rough selection of relevant issues. The adequate and finite selection of the questions was achieved through discussion with our knowledgeable local translators and supervisors.
The institutional interviews were designed to give us a general idea and a first overview on the village. Therefore we gathered general facts on the population, on numbers of households and on the approximate wealth level of the villagers, but also the accessibility of the villages, the major economic activities and problems of the area were questioned.

The household questionnaire was our major source of information (see appendix VII). The following nine topics were part of the household interviews:

1. General information on the household: The profile of the respondent and the family tree which contain all members of the household, their sexes, age, level of education, place of living and their main activities.
2. Property: Condition of housing, size of farmland, landownership and household properties.
3. Agricultural production: Information on crop production, livestock and animal production, food security, means on how to cover months of insufficient food and the main cause of food shortage.
4. Off-farm activity: Positioning of the person who works off-farm in the HH-tree, place and type of work, casual or permanent employment, durance of employment, use of the money and priority off-/on-farm activities.
5. Natural resources: The use, the source, the distance, the access, the condition and problems of different natural resources. The main environmental problems, causes and measurements.
6. Income, expenditure and liability: Purchase and expenditure of food and non food, total income in a good and bad year, savings, access to credits and yearly expenditures. Responsibilities and control of household resources of the sexes and the importance of different activities.
7. Family and community: Type of community work, kind of family support, information about education, family size, decision making processes and the future of the children.
8. Links between rural- and urban areas: Who goes to which town, how often, for how long and why family members go to town, and means of transportation.
9. Infrastructure: Availability and use of infrastructure and services in villages and towns.

In our fieldwork 36 households in the upper and middle Songwe Basin have been interviewed. Depending on time and availability usually five to seven households were chosen as interview partners in each village.

4.2.2 Semi structured interview

It differs from quantitative interviewing in so far that it tends to be a lot less structured and more flexible. The interview situation is more open and people feel freer to speak (Flick 2004:
In this form of conversation the main subjects are defined but it is not absolutely crucial that the questions are asked in the same order. The semi-structured interview thus allows much more flexibility on both sides (Hay 2000: 61). The interviewer can change the wording of the question, asking follow-up questions or dig deeper if something has not been articulated comprehensibly. The advantage of this kind of interview is that it allows to go deeper into details of interesting aspects and to reduce others which do not seem to be that important (Stangl 1997).

We accomplished 26 interviews with women out of which 10 interviews could be used for the evaluation of young adults as well. Further we did 15 interviews with young male adults. We asked our target groups, the women and young adults about the following topics: Personal data, everyday life, work, education, family, links to towns and their future plans. Additional issues for the women on their role and responsibilities in the family, the place of birth and the right of inheritance were asked too. Also supplementary questions for the young adults group on their definition of youth, the advantage and problems of being young and the best age of marriage were touched on.

4.2.3 Observation

Another part of the research was observations. They play an important role concerning extra and specific information on details. These can include social actions, behavior, interactions, relationships, events, location and temporal dimensions (Mason 2002: 84). The observations can capture aspects that might be unmentioned in interview situations. Observations can also be compared and are often useful and helpful for interpretations. According to Flick observations can claim to know what is really happening or why something is happening that way (Flick 2004: 199 et seq.).

Observations always went on during our stay in the villages. We lived in simple conditions in the villages, slept on local mats, sometimes carried water from springs on our own and thus gathered further valuable experience. Like this our observations became more valuable and we better understood livelihoods of the rural inhabitants. Because we held almost all the interviews at the home of our respondents we used the time before and after the interview to observe the location and the surrounding. But also the time during the interview could be used to observe and explore coherence and interrelations between the answers the people gave us and their environment.

4.3 Implementation of the fieldwork, data generation

The collection of data was done by the two of us. We went to the field and handled each situation according to our present knowledge. Step by step we got to know the culture, events and behavior of the local people, how to participate in their knowledge and learned how to
carry out interviews, to deal with people and with all kind of situations. Our communicative capabilities were the central instrument and the key to our survey and our findings. It depends very much on the art and the role of the researcher what kind of information he has access to and which information will be retained (Flick 2004: 87). It was always important to us to criticize and scrutinize our own views and interpretations especially as we researchers come from a different cultural and social environment.

4.3.1 Selection of the villages

Before we started our fieldwork we had the opportunity together with our translators to explore the area. We were supported by SRTCMP which put a jeep and a driver at our disposal. After the first exploratory trip in the Songwe Basin on the Tanzanian and Malawian side of the Songwe River we chose the villages for our research according to the following considerations. The villages had to be accessible by vehicles and there had to be accommodation opportunities. During our fieldwork we introduced the interviews in six different villages. Four villages which we were chosen are located in the upper Songwe Basin, except two villages which are located in the middle basin. Four villages were chosen in Tanzania and two in Malawi. The Tanzanian villages Isongole and Mabula are located in the Ileje district and the two villages of Mpemba and Idiwili in Mbozi district. The villages in Malawi, Mbilima and Ifumbo, are both located in the Chitipa district. In some villages we interviewed also households in neighbor villages or in sub-villages of the area. To get a good overview on the area of the villages we defined the villages according to various criterions and factors.

1. The village of Isongole on the Tanzanian side and the village of Mbilima and its two neighbouring villages of Mwamkumbwa and Kameme in Malawi were chosen because of their close position to the Songwe River and because of their official border crossing between Isongole and Mbilima. We wanted to experience what kind of influence the river and the border has on the livelihood and the inhabitants.

2. In two villages where SRTCMP is active we conducted some interviews. Mabula is the one in Tanzania and Ifumbo the one in Malawi. Both villages are situated in the middle Basin as mentioned before. Mabula is only accessible during dry season by vehicles. Some of the interviews were also conducted in neighboring villages, which we could only access by foot. In Mabula the name of the sub- villages are Luli, Mbangala, and Ndima, in Ifumbo those are Ibanka, Mwakasone, Mswelo, Ichinga, and Mbula. We have chosen all these villages because of their remoteness and because of logistic reasons.

3. Idiwili and the two sub-villages Ilini and Mimbii were selected as an example of villages up in the highlands where the Songwe River comes from. An improved dirt
road connects the villages with the highway Mbeya-Tunduma. We were interested to get to know the livelihood strategies of the people and their alignment to urban areas.

4. Further we were interested in the livelihood strategies of the people who are living close to the international highway Mbeya-Tunduma which leads from Dar es Salaam to Zambia and further to southern Africa. The selected village Mpemba is located outside the boundaries of the Songwe Basin. For this reason the interviews were held some kilometres to the east of Mpemba in the direction to Isongole, in the neighbouring villages Nandanga and Katenjele, which are situated within the Songwe River Basin. Another sub-village of Ihanda is Lwiba, a few kilometers northern from Mpemba which is also situated close to the highway Mbeya – Tunduma.

4.3.2 Selection of the markets

In the household interviews always the same important market places were mentioned. To receive significant information about the flow of goods in the area we decided to do a short survey with market people at ten different markets in villages and towns. During our stay in the villages of Isongole, Idiwili and Ifumo we asked the questioning during the respective market days. The other markets in Uyole (Mbeya), Mbalizi (Mbeya), Mwanjelwa (Mbeya), Kiwira (Tukuyu), Vwawa, Tunduma and Chitipa, which are all situated nearby the towns or in the towns themselves were investigated sometimes on our journey through the villages or when we went there particular on market days.

4.3.3 Choosing the interviews partners

In the various villages the respondents of the household interviews were chosen randomly. We looked for houses and observed whether there were people around. If we saw someone we went to the house to ask if they were willing to do an approximately two and a half hour interview. Most interviews were held at home of the respondents. Because it was harvest time it was sometimes not easy to find the particular member of the households at home. Therefore we conducted also interviews on the fields.

The interviews with the women were usually held at their homes. If the husband was at home too, we split up so that one of us could talk to the wife and the other to the husband. Was the woman alone at home, we conducted the household and the woman interview together. In each village we tried to interview women of different age in order to get a comprehensive picture.

In most households there were young adults living there as well but often they were absent. However in the afternoon the young people, especially the men gathered together in groups in the centre of the villages, where they normally talked to each other and where we now could carry out the interviews.
In the Tanzanian villages Isongole, Mabula and Idiwili the institution interviews were answered by village leaders or village officials. In Malawi there were no village authorities. The administration of the villages there is in the nearby district town. Therefore it was more difficult to find a capable person in Malawi to answer our questions. In Mwamkumbwa officers at the Extension Planning Office provided us with the information we needed and in Kameme the post office clerk was able to answer our questions. In Mpemba (Tanzania) and Ifumbo (Malawi) it was not possible to interview an official person because of lack of time.

At the markets we chose the interview partners according to the products they sold so we got data to compare people selling the same but also different products and interviewed about three people per product.

4.4 Data analyses

The answers of the households and institutional interviews have been written down in English during the interview straight way in our questionnaires. The more open interviews with women and young adults and the short questionings with market people were also written down directly in our field-books. It was to ensure that the statements of the interviewed people respectively of the translator were written down literally. Over the weekends which we spent most of the time in towns where electricity was available, we transcribed the handwritten texts in our computers. The results of the questionnaires of the households were entered into designated Excel sheets after the fieldwork to get the primary data clearly arranged. Additionally we used a research diary in which we documented experiences, thoughts, problems and daily routines.

Through the regular recordings of the interviews and additional notes, the materials were gathered in a specific way. The documentation had to be accurate in order to access different possible perspectives. The recording of the data created a new reality. It is the only version of reality for the researchers which they will need for the further analysis (Flick 2004: 255 et seq.) The analysis of data was on the one hand a reductive quantitative analysis of content (household interviews) and on the other hand an explicative qualitative one (women and young adult interviews). By the explicative qualitative content analysis we as researchers had to interpret all statements. The reductive quantitative content analysis then is more a recapitulation and structuring of the data (Lamnek 1995: 191).

Some qualitative data from the women and young adults did not have enough volume to be analyzed by computer and derive any useful information. Therefore those data was coded by hand into text files and afterward compared and interpreted.

For the evaluation of quantitative measurements we had to be careful and keep in mind that due to the small number of households interviewed the survey in the end does not provide absolute occurrences but rather tendencies as results.
4.5 Experience

During our fieldwork we gathered various and valuable experiences not only by conducting personal interviews but also by living among the locals in the villages.

4.5.1 Interviews with the respondents

The respondents and other family members were always very friendly and hospitable and took all time to answer our questions as good as they could to provide us with the information we needed. In some villages people even approached us to invite us to their homes to conduct the interviews. It seemed that those people were even a bit proud of having us at their homes and being selected as interviewees. In most of the cases the head of the families who was most of the time a man answered our questions. The ambience during the interviews was always very good. However the women were sometimes very shy and it needed a lot of patience and a fine sense for the translator to ask the questions in the right way. Young adults were more open and communicative.

A few topics of our interview were according to our experience to difficult for many interviewees did not understand our questions and were not able to answer certain questions. Some interviewees did not know the expression „environmental”, they however knew the word „problem”. Therefore they gave us answers to general problems instead of environmental problems such as diseases, hunger, poverty and transportation problems. During the first four interviews we realized, that the people were not able to answer the question of yearly expenditures in percentage of ten different expenditure fields. Instead of percentages we then tried to estimate the expenditures according to a priority list. Income and expenses were sensitive topics to ask. Sometimes it was not possible to find out if the statements were correct or if the information was just provided because of kindness. When interpreting the data reliability and thus biases of this information has to be taken into consideration.

To show our gratitude to the interview partners for their time they took to answered our questions we gave them a kilo of sugar or two bars of soap and some salt. To women and young adults we gave a little perfume and a small soap or we invited them for a drink.

4.5.2 Working in the team and with translators

Besides the two of us, our team consisted of two Tanzanian nationals, a man and a woman, who worked as research assistances. They translated all our English questions into Swahili or other local languages according to the respondents, and translated the answers back into English. Moreover the assistances made us familiar with the area and the culture of the country, and they helped us organizing our field work, particularly transportation issues and getting in touch with the relevant local authorities. We were lucky that our assistances were
open and friendly people. Thanks to them we easily got access to the village people and the local authorities. The team work was excellent. We could discuss our impressions and experiences altogether and help each other with our small daily problems. Because we were four and two spoke the local languages, we normally split up for the interviews. In Malawi on the other hand, we carried out the interviews all together, for only one interpreter mastered the local languages.

One disadvantage was that sometimes the assistants gave us a shorter translation of the original statement. This way some information might have got lost. It is also possible that the interpreter sometimes made own interpretations of statements before translating the answers authentically. As we knew about such problems, we tried to avoid any bias by adding some specific questions in order to prevent any kind of ambiguity.
5 LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE UPPER AND MIDDLE SONGWE BASIN
In order to give a first general impression of the life circumstances in the upper and middle Songwe Basin, the villages where the interviews were held will be introduced. The second part of the chapter outlines the personal belongings of the different households, which aims at giving a basic idea of the circumstances, within which the people make their living.

5.1 Introduction to the villages

This chapter shall give an introduction to the villages where the interviews were held. While each village in Tanzania has its own village office ready to provide information, this is not the case in Malawi. Therefore, in most of the villages in Ileje and Mbozi District (Tanzania) village leaders or village officials were ready to answer the questions of the Institution Interview (see chapter 4), whereas in Malawi, it is more difficult to find a person responsible for such information. In Mwamkumbwa, officers at the Extension Planning Office took the time to provide this information, and in Kameme a postal clerk acting for the officer at the Kameme Area Office did his best to answer the questions posed. Unfortunately, in Ifumbo (Malawi) and in Mpemba (Tanzania) it was not possible to interview any official person. Therefore, the information on these two villages will be rather short compared with the other village descriptions.

5.1.1 Isongole (Tanzania)

Isongole is a comparatively big and developed village in Ileje District, hosting the only official border crossing to Malawi between Kyela and Tunduma. By public transport, it is a two hours drive over a gravel road to the Mbeya-Tunduma highway. Isongole has a relatively reliable electricity supply, a post office, access to mobile phone network, a petrol station, many small shops, a guest house, and several restaurants.

The following information was gathered in the Village Office in Isongole. It was not always easy to find the officers there, and several visits were necessary until our questionnaire was filled: According to the Village Executive Officer, a total of 970 households live in the village, of the majority (420 households) are headed by men, while 340 households are headed by women, and 210 households by children. Of these 970 households, 400 are considered to be poor, 370 of medium income, and 200 well off. However, the Village Executive Officer did not mention his indicators of wealth.

Means of transport in Isongole are diverse, as there is a relatively good road, where passengers as well as goods are transported by lorries, pick-up cars and buses, and where other move by bicycles, ox-carts and on foot.

There are several larger towns which are important for Isongole’s inhabitants. For industrial goods and eatables not produced in the village, Tunduma and Mbeya are the centres. Chitipa provides health services and sugar, and Itumba is the centre for the District Administration.
The main economic activities in the village are agriculture and livestock keeping. While mainly maize, beans, groundnuts and vegetables are produced, also the cash crops coffee, soy and sunflower are cultivated. Besides the agriculture, Isongole offers other economic opportunities: there are grocery stores, restaurants, a garage, bicycle rentals, manufacturers, and people with all kind of small businesses. All households questioned in Isongole have some kind of off-farm income.

Despite this diversity of income generating activities, poverty is the major problem in the village, as stated by the Village Executive Officer. Answering the question about measures being taken to improve people’s livelihoods, he proposes to provide seminars, as education is crucial for the development of the village and its inhabitants.

5.1.2 Mbilima, Mwamkumbwa and Kameme (Malawi)

On the other side of the Songwe River, maybe half an hour from Isongole (on foot) is where the village of Mbilima is located. Even though the village is next to the border crossing, it does not have any duties concerning the frontier, as the Malawian Migration Office is located in Chitipa. A few kilometres to the East of Mbilima lies Mwamkumbwa, and some kilometres to the West Kameme. All these villages are connected to Isongole and Chitipa through roads, but there is no (or only very limited) public transport. Accordingly, the most common way to move from one place to the other is either by bicycle or on foot.

Mwamkumbwa, consisting of six sub-villages, counts about 750 households, and Mbilima counts seven sub-villages with about 590 households. About one quarter of these households is considered to be poor by the officers at the Extension Planning Area Office (where this information was collected), and three quarters of medium income. The officers do not consider any of the households being well off. As indicators of wealth they name food, clothes, good houses, and the ability of a family to educate its children.

There is an Extension Planning Area Office in Mwamkumbwa, a post office, and the Tanzanian mobile phone network, but not much more in the way of infrastructure or services. The inhabitants of Mbilima profit from the same mobile phone network, but for everything else they have to go to Isongole, Kameme, Mwamkumbwa or to Chitipa. Kameme has a little bit more infrastructure. Besides having a post office, mobile phone network and village office, there is a health centre, a market, a land line for telephone, and a branch of ADMARC (Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation).

People in all three villages make their living mostly from agriculture and livestock keeping, and few persons have a small business. Like in Isongole, the main food crops are maize, beans and groundnuts, but also cassava, peas, soy beans and sweet potatoes are cultivated. Besides maize and beans, which are partly sold, sunflower, tobacco and sugarcane are the main cash crops.
The closest links to towns are to Chitipa and to Isongole. While Chitipa is mainly important for administrative matters and the regional hospital, Isongole has the closest big market and machines for processing maize and sunflower seeds. Further, Tunduma has some importance for the people in Mwambumbwa and Kameme, as well as Karonga, Mzuzu, Mbeya and Songea.

The problems in the villages are similar: poor communication network, lack of electricity, and deforestation. The officers in Mwamkumbwa additionally mention the existence of diseases, mainly Malaria and HIV/AIDS, insufficient access to safe drinking water, and social problems (including spending too much for drinking). Both, the postal clerk in Kameme and the officers in Mwamkumbwa, think that better roads, electricity, forest and land conservation measures could help the people to improve their living standards. Additionally, the respondents in Mwamkumbwa stress the need for civic education and subsidized fertilizer.

5.1.3 Mabula (Tanzania)

In a hilly area about ten kilometres from the main road, reachable by car (four wheel drive) only during the dry season, lies the village of Mabula. Besides farmers, there is not much to find in this village: a primary school with a sports ground, one or two small shops, and one particular point 15 minutes from the village centre, where one particular mobile phone network can be accessed.

There are 1871 people living in 335 households in Mabula and most of the households are headed by men. According to the village chairman, there are no households headed by children. 36% (120 households) are considered to be poor, 54% (180 households) to have a medium level of wealth, and 10% (35 households) to be well off. The village chairman classifies people into livestock owners, those owning a business, and chicken owners. A rich person has „many“ cows (more than ten), in combination with an own business.

As stated above, there is very limited access to the village of Mabula, and most transport happens on foot. Only down at the main road, after a three hours walk, can public transport be joined. This is why production is low, as it is difficult to take crops to the market.

The most important towns for the people of Mabula are Isongole, Itumba and Tunduma for all kind of goods. For health matters, people go to the dispensary in Kalembo or to the hospital in Isoko. There is no health service at all in Mabula.

The main economic activity in Mabula is obviously agriculture, with again the same main food crops: maize, beans and groundnuts. Additionally, banana, sweet potatoes, finger millet and round potatoes are cultivated. Some groundnuts and beans are sold on the market, as well as little amounts of coffee, cardamom and sunflower.

The major problem in the village is food shortage, and according to the Village Chairman there are different reasons for this. First, the soil is „tired”. Indeed, problems with soil erosion
are apparent, as the bare red slopes and emerging gullies can not be overlooked. Second, farmers are forced to use fertilizer, which is difficult to get because it is expensive, and has to be transported from Tunduma or Vwawa to the village. Third, the quality of the maize seeds is not good. The Village Chairman explains that seeds from Malawi would be better, but they are more expensive and again transport is a problem. All in all, he stresses that the bad conditions in terms of transport contribute much to the problem of food shortage. The officer from Ileje District, responsible for the SRTCMP, underlines this last point and describes the vicious circle of Mabula: If there is no production in the village, which could be sold in the markets, there is no interest in constructing a road; but as long as there is no road, farmers have no incentive to produce more, as they can not bring their products to the market.

The most important step to improve the livelihoods in Mabula would therefore be the construction of a road. But the Village Chairman also calls for health infrastructure, and he stresses that much is done now by SRTCMP to improve the soil and to educate the people.

5.1.4 Ifumbo (Malawi)

In Ifumbo, it was not possible to conduct an institution interview due to limited time because of transportation difficulties. Additionally, one day was lost waiting for the District Commissioner in Chitipa in order to report the planned survey.

Ifumbo lies about 20 kilometres from Chitipa, close to the border to Tanzania. From Chitipa, the village is easily accessible by car, but there is no public transport. Some of the interviews for this thesis were however not conducted in Ifumbo itself, but in neighbouring villages, of which some do not have any road access. In all these villages, there is no electricity, only two of them, Ifumbo and Ichinga, have a small market once a week, and only in Ifumbo, there is a health centre and a police station. For accessing a mobile phone network, a mountain has to be climbed, and a land line for telephone is only available in the health centre.

As stated above, Chitipa is not so far away. The road enables the farmers to bring their products to town by bicycle or on foot, and to bring other goods back to the village. Many mostly young people try to do some business that way.

5.1.5 Mpemba area and Ihanda (Tanzania)

Like in Ifumbo, there was no institution interview held in Mpemba. The village is located along the Mbeya-Tunduma highway, not far from the latter town, but outside the boundaries of the Songwe River Basin. Therefore, the interviews were conducted some kilometres to the East of Mpemba, in the neighbouring villages Nandanga and Katenjele, which are found just within the Songwe River Basin.

While Mpemba has electricity, guest houses and restaurants, Nandanga and Katenjele have nothing of this kind. As Mpemba and also Tunduma are easily reachable either by public
transport or by bicycle (Mpemba even on foot), people in the villages are strongly orientated towards visiting these places.

Ihanda is located some kilometres North of Mpemba, as well along the Mbeya-Tunduma highway. While the main village is connected to the electricity network, the houses of the sub-village where the interviews were conducted are without electrical power. It is easy to reach Mbeya and Tunduma, either by bicycle or by public transport. In all the villages in this area, mobile phone network is available.

5.1.6 Idiwili (Tanzania)

Idiwili lies up in the mountains of Mbozi District, where Songwe River has its source. The village counts 938 households, of which 60% are considered as female headed, because the husband has several wives and accordingly is often not around. Of all the households, 738 (79%) are seen as poor households by the Village Executive Officer. The other 200 households seem to have a medium level of wealth, while no households are considered to be well off. According to the respondent, a rich household is one who can cover all its needs, while poor people can only afford to cover 25%, and people of medium wealth standard only 75% of their needs.

A relatively good road connects Idiwili with the Mbeya-Tunduma highway, but the distance is quite far. Therefore, for transports to town motorized vehicles are used (which is rather expensive and reliable only on market days), whereas for local traffic the bicycle is an alternative.

The most important towns for the people in Idiwili are Mbeya, Vwawa and Tunduma, where goods for home uses can be bought. Mlowo, the closest small town along the Mbeya-Tunduma highway is the centre where village people can sell their agricultural goods. However, Idiwili has quite a big market once a week, where most items are available, and where crops are traded.

Like in the other villages, the main economic activities are farming and small business. The main food crops are again maize and beans, and additionally green peas, sweet and round potatoes, vegetables and banana are grown. The only cash crop mentioned is coffee.

Infrastructure and services are rather poor in Idiwili. There is a small health centre, some places to eat and drink (of which many are only open on market days), and in some specific places mobile phone network can be accessed.

There are different problems in the village named by the Village Executive Officer. Most important is the transport problem, as already mentioned above. Second, he complains about low prices of the crops. The village people are far away from the town markets and do not have information about prices, so that the price is determined by the buyer. Third, infrastructure and services are not sufficient. The dispensary is too small and the next health
centre too far away, and some children have to go very far to reach primary school. The water supply is not good, so the people do not know if their drinking water is safe, and finally, there is no electricity. Accordingly, the necessary measures to improve the livelihoods in the village are quite obvious: improvement of transport facilities, crop prices, health services and water supply, as well as provision of electricity and schools in the different sub-villages.

5.1.7 Comparison of the villages

Different types of villages were chosen for this study in order to get a better idea of the livelihoods under diverse situations in terms of accessibility and infrastructure. Despite these differences, there are many features the villages have in common. In all places,

- the main economic activity is farming,
- the two most important crops are maize and beans,
- transportation seems to be a problem,
- poverty is an issue.

Figure 9 shows the places, which were named as ‘important town’ in the different villages. Tunduma was mentioned in all villages, Chitipa, Mbeya and Isongole three times each, while all the other places were named just once or twice. Of course, the choice of the villages has a crucial impact on the outcome of this chart. For example, it is not surprising that Isongole has three mentions, given the fact that the villages Kameme, Mwamkumbwa and Mabula are all not far away.

Figure 9: Towns considered ‘important’ in the different villages

![Bar chart showing the number of mentions of different towns in the Songwe Basin.]

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

The important point here is that Isongole is seen as a town at all. There are few more people living in Isongole than in the other places, but Isongole has still less than 1000 households. What makes it be considered as a town must be the services and the infrastructure available. It is the only village with electrical power, there are machines for processing maize and
sunflower seeds, people can watch TV and movies, and all the shops, the filling station, the restaurants and the guest house give a feel of urban life.

The fact that many rather small places are named as important towns (Isongole, Itumba, Isoko, Kalembo Vwawa, Mlowo) suggests that for the daily life of the people in rural areas small and local centres are of great importance. The bigger towns (Tunduma, Chitipa, Mbeya, Karonga, Mzuzu) have less meaning directly for the people. They are suppliers for industrial items and customers buying the agricultural production from the village, and therefore most important for shop owners, traders or those who need cement or corrugated iron sheets for their houses.

Figure 10: Wealth levels in the different villages

[Graph showing wealth levels in different villages]

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

In all villages, poverty is an issue. Figure 10 shows the numbers (%) of households considered to be poor, of medium wealth, or well off for the different villages. The numbers are drawn from the institution interviews and have to be read with caution, as the indicators and measurements of wealth are uneven. However, it seems that in a place like Isongole, where there are alternatives besides agriculture, the numbers of households belonging to the different wealth levels are more evenly distributed than in the smaller and less developed villages.

5.2 Property: What the households live of and with

A family’s property in such a poor environment as the Songwe Basin is most often very limited. There is a house, most often some chairs, maybe, but not necessarily, some other furniture, some pots and plates for cooking, and there is the land, of which the family is living off. Outside the house somewhere is a pit latrine, and next to the house is the kitchen hut.
Often this is all a family can call its property. Naturally, there are some exceptions: households having big sofas, a TV, mobile phones and more, but these are rare.

In this chapter, the data collected on property issues will be presented and discussed. The building material and the size of the houses, the farm land, and other property will be subjects to discuss.

5.2.1 Condition of housings

Already at the first glance, a family’s house gives some information about the living standard and the wealth of the owners. How is the floor made, what material was used to build the walls, how is the roof covered, and how many rooms has the house? These are the questions posed in this section.

33 of 35 houses (data of the 36th household is lacking) are built with fired bricks. Only for 2 houses unfired clay bricks were used. The roof material consists either of grass or of corrugated iron sheets. In the following numbers only the residential houses are considered, but not the kitchen huts. Of the 36 households interviewed, 23 have their house covered with corrugated iron, while 13 roofs are thatched with grass. Figure 11 shows the numbers for the different villages. In four of the six villages, the shares of grass and corrugated iron are about half-and-half. Mabula is the only village where grass roofs make up the majority. Isongole and Idiwili have clearly more houses with corrugated iron than with grass. The numbers are 7:1 and 4:1 respectively.

Figure 11: Material used to cover the roof

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
Given the fact that corrugated iron sheets are rather expensive, it might be surprising that so many houses are covered with them. This is however a clear indication of the importance it has for the interviewed families, even though this study can not explain whether this is for practical or social reasons.

For the floor of the houses, either cement or soil is used. Of the 36 sample households, 14 have a cement floor, 21 have a floor made from soil, and from one household in Ifumbo, data is lacking. Figure 10 shows again the responses by village. Isongole is the only village where the majority of the households have cement floors. In Mpemba and Mabula, about half of the houses use cement. In the other villages, Ifumbo, Mbilima and Idiwili, four out of five houses have a floor made from soil.

![Figure 12: Material used for the floor](image)

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

If the figures 11 and 12 are compared, different patterns can be observed. While in Figure 12 the left column is mostly higher than the one on the right, this is the other way around in Figure 11. Isongole is the only village, where both industrial materials (cement and corrugated iron) are more often named than the natural ones (grass and soil). Mabula, on the other hand, is the only village, where more often the natural materials are used (even though the difference there is minimal). For the other four villages, roofs are often covered with corrugated iron, while the floor is made from soil. Both, corrugated iron and cement cost money, unlike soil and grass. If households have some extra money, they would first invest in corrugated iron, rather than cement.

Concerning the number of rooms (always including the kitchen), the numbers given differ a great deal. While the smallest houses count only 2 rooms, the biggest one includes 13 rooms. There is not much interrelation between the size of the family and the number of rooms. The
number of persons per room ranges from 0.25 up to 2.25. Houses with 10 rooms or more are all but one owned by men having 2 or more wives.

5.2.2 The farm land

For most families in the villages considered in this study, their farming land is their basis of existence. Therefore, the size of a family’s plot plays a decisive role, as well as the availability of land itself.

Asked about ownership of their land, 33 of 34 respondents say that they own the land themselves. Only one respondent specifies that the land he uses is considered as his land, but he does not own it by law. The fact that most of the farmers are not aware of this leads to the conclusion that this land policy does not cause many problems, unlike in other countries, where farmers would not invest much effort in their land, because they never know how long they can keep it.\textsuperscript{50}

The amount of acres owned by a family varies considerably. One family in Isongole has no farm land at all, while one family in Nandanga (close to Mpemba) owns 15 acres. The mean amount of acres per household in this sample is 4.46 (1.7ha).

While no connectivity between the number of acres and family size or income can be observed, Figure 13 proposes an interrelation between the size of the house and the amount of acres owned.

\textbf{Figure 13: Relation between number of acres and number of rooms}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure13.png}
\end{center}

\textit{Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007}

\textsuperscript{50} Information drawn from an informal talk with Ethiopian peasants during a study trip organized by the Institute of Geography, University of Berne, in September 2006.
Except for the first 7 households, the line representing the number of acres corresponds quite well with the columns representing the number of rooms per household. The first seven households all are in Isongole, where off-farm activities are common and residents are not only dependent on farming. The same is true for respondent 17 who own a shop in Mabula, where he gets some cash income. Respondent 20 is a 70 years old man who used to have 9 children at home. This might explain the comparably big house. For respondent 25 it is difficult to find an explanation for the high number of rooms compared to the acres available. Fact is that his house is not only big, but also has a cement floor and the roof covered with corrugated iron sheets, which might indicate a high personal valuation of the home.

5.2.3 Additional property owned by the households

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, most households included in this study do not own much besides their house and their farm land. Some of the houses are virtually empty, only with some straw mat rolls in one corner, on which guests can sit and the family can sleep. Most of the families have some folding chairs, but only few have big furniture. When asked ‘What kind of property do you own?’, most respondents just named what came first to their mind. Accordingly, the responses are not to be regarded final. As Figure 14 shows, however, they give a good impression of what is an important property. The most often named items were the radio, furniture and the bicycle. The radio was mentioned 20 times. In an area without electrical power and only limited access, the radio is the only source of information. The only land lines for telephone are available in the health centre in Ifumbo, and at the village office in Kameme. Access to mobile phone networks is available in many places, but most people do not have a mobile phone, only one respondent from Isongole owns one. Not much different is the situation for TVs. Three families have one, two of them for private use, and the third uses it in the restaurant. Interestingly, the owner of one of the private TVs lives in Mabula, a village without electrical power. Therefore, he must have a generator as well. Considering the lack of other sources of information, it is understandable that a radio is an important item to own.

Furniture/chairs were mentioned 19 times. As stated above, most families have some folding chairs. Many have simple tables, but only few own a sofa or an armchair. As well 19 mentioned having a bicycle. Where no or only costly motorized transport is available, the bicycle is a cheap alternative. Many farmers (mostly men, sometimes women) walk to the market, pushing the bicycle, which is loaded with their production. On the way back, they can ride the bicycle. In most of the villages considered in this study the bicycle is the most important means of transport for the farmers. Only for Mabula this is not true, simply because of the steep topography and the lacking roads.
Besides the items already mentioned, some other properties were named: additional houses or plots of land, sewing machines, ploughs, carts, shops and guest houses, and carpentry tools. All these items are either liked directly to farm work, or to some form of off-farm income generation.

5.2.4 Conclusion

When looking at a household’s property in the upper and middle Songwe Basin, poverty most often becomes apparent, even though the houses are usually well constructed with burned bricks. However, the floor made from soil, or the roof covered with grass show that there is often not enough capital to invest in cement and corrugated iron sheets. Inside, most houses are more or less empty.

The farmers have on average 4.46 acres (1.7 ha) of land allocated. This number lies almost in the middle of the usual range of farm sizes given by Ellis et al. (2003: 1497) for Malawian farms (0.2 to 3 ha) and therefore can be considered as trustworthy. However, the plots are not big enough to offer a secure food supply during the whole year (see chapter 6.2).

Besides the house and the land, the most important properties are radios, furniture and bicycles. Furniture often only consists of a couple of folding chairs, which allow offering a seat to guests. More important are the other two goods, which gain their importance from being the only goods offering a connection to ‘the world’. The bicycle allows to make longer trips to other villages and maybe even to town, and the radio opens the door to the rest of the world, as it is the only medium offering information from other places to the villagers in remote areas.
6 THE LIVELIHOODS IN THE UPPER AND MIDDLE SONGWE BASIN
In this chapter we present the analysed interview-data of the livelihood issues in the upper and middle Songwe Basin. First we give an overview on the natural resources on which people particularly rely and then discuss natural resources- and environmental problems. Second we discuss their agricultural production as well as their ownership of livestock and animals. Further we present the months of food insecurity of the households, the main causes of food shortage and discuss how the families handle the difficult times. Third we give an overview on the off-farm activities of the sample households. In the last section of this chapter we analyse the on-farm and off-farm incomes, the family expenses, how much the households are able to save within a year and touch on the question if the families have access to credits and whether they use this opportunity or not.

6.1 Natural resources as basis for rural livelihoods

Like for all subsistence farmers, the livelihoods of the Songwe Basin’s inhabitants strongly rely on natural resources. Therefore, this chapter shall give an overview of the resources used by the people, and the problems they see in connection with natural resources. Distances to sources of resources will also be discussed. As most of the respondents have no clue about distances they travel, kilometres are not used as measurement, but time is. But even this measurement has to be treated with care, as people do not wear watches and therefore do not know exactly how much time they spend for which activity. After talking about resources, environmental problems will be discussed.

6.1.1 Resources used

The most important resources used by the families in the Songwe Basin are water for drinking, other home use and irrigation, wood for firing, as charcoal, and as construction material, and the land as the basis for the agricultural production, ground for animal grazing and provider of clay.

Figure 15: Different water sources (from left: Mpemba area, Mabula, Ifumbo)
6.1.1.1 Water

Figure 15 shows different water sources used by the people in the Songwe Basin, and Figure 16 gives an overview over the origin of the water used by the families questioned for this study. Depending on the use of the water, people get it from different sources. Drinking water is drawn from springs in 47% of the cases, 31% of the families get their drinking water from bore holes, and 22% have access to a water tap. Ifumbo is the only village where all three sources are used. In Mbilima, all the drinking water comes from bore holes, while people in Isongole mostly use taps. In Mpemba, springs and bore holes are used, while in Idiwili and Mabula all the drinking water is fetched at springs.

Figure 16: Sources for water depend on what the water is used for

Water for other use (washing, bathing amongst others) is fetched from wells in 36% of the families. 19% get it from bore holes, 17% from a tap, and 28% from rivers. Irrigation water comes from springs (32%) or from taps (4%, or 1 household), but most often from rivers (64%).

Taps and bore holes need some initial investment, which is most often too costly for farmers. Therefore, these water sources are only available if the local authority provides them. Springs and rivers offer water for free, but especially river water is often dirty and not safe to drink. This explains the pattern in figure 22. No family would drink river water. They instead rely on taps, bore holes or wells. If necessary, they walk long distances in order to get safe drinking water. Water for other use is less sensitive, therefore it does not matter so much where it is.
The livelihoods in the upper and middle Songwe Basin

coming from. For the irrigation, the water is mostly drawn from rivers, as the irrigated gardens are most often close by the banks.

Figure 17 shows the distances (one way) women have to go to fetch drinking water in the different villages. While in Ifumbo only one family has its source of drinking water close by, one family has to go 10 minutes, one family about 15 minutes, and two families more than half an hour (40 and 60 minutes respectively). The other extreme is Isongole, where 6 out of 8 families have their source of drinking water at home or in a distance of less than 5 minutes.

![Figure 17: Distance (in minutes) to the drinking water source in the different villages](image)

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

### 6.1.1.2 Wood

Wood is another important resource for the people in the Songwe Basin. It is the only energy resource available and affordable for the poor people. Additionally, it is needed for construction of houses and huts.

Most firewood is coming from the forests on the hills in the area. In Idiwili and in Ihanda, some of the people plant trees in order to get enough wood. Figure 18 shows how long the women have to walk to reach their source of fire wood. 6 families, all from Isongole, get their fire wood on the village market. Some have their forests quite close, so that they do not have to walk more than 10 minutes to reach it. These include the two families from Ihanda, which use their own plantation, and one family in Mswelo (Ifumbo). It can be seen very clearly in the graph that most households, 21 out of 32, collect their fire wood more than half an hour away from their home. 11 households go 60 minutes, 5 households even 90 minutes, and the women of one household walks 2 hours in order to reach the forest. Looking at the average...
distances for each village, people from Ifumbo and Mpemba have the longest ways, walking about 1 hour. Mbilima follows with 52 minutes, and Mabula with 45 minutes. In Idiwili, the distance is about 30 minutes, and in Isongole, as mentioned before, most families buy their wood on the market.

**Figure 18: Distance (in minutes) to the source for fire wood**

![Bar chart showing distance to firewood](source: Field survey, Songwe 2007)

When asked about charcoal, most families explain that they do not use it. Only 4 families in Isongole and one in Ihanda state that they buy it on the market, and 3 other families get it from the hills. Charcoal burning does not seem to be a business for the families interviewed for this study. When talking about natural resources, however, some respondents mention charcoal burning as a problem, causing deforestation. Building poles are either bought on the market (9 households), gained from own plantation (13 households), or collected in the forests (15).

### 6.1.1.3 Land

Grazing land is most often not clearly defined. Therefore, livestock just grazes on open land, on grass strips along roads, or on hillsides which are not cultivated. Only in Mbilima and Idiwili some community grazing land is available.

The distance to the agricultural land differs considerably (Figure 19). 14 of 32 households state that they have a maximum of 10 minutes to reach their fields. It is not uncommon, however to walk half an hour, an hour or even more. One respondent in Isongole drives 2 hours by bus to reach his field. He uses to stay there for a week or two, when there is a lot of work to do. Otherwise, he employs some labourers who take care of the cultivation.
6.1.2 Problems with natural resources

The families in the Songwe Basin are dependent on untreated natural resources. Accordingly, there are different problems with quality, accessibility, and availability of the different resources.

Concerning water, the main problem is water shortage during the dry season (Figure 20). Of the 28 households mentioning problems with water, 21 stated that they have difficulty finding enough useable water during the dry period of the year. For the different villages, the numbers look as follows: Ifumbo 4 households out of 6; Isongole 7 families out of 8; Mpemba 4 families out of 7; Idiwili 4 households out of 5. Only in Mbilima and in Mabula, does water availability not seem to be a major problem even during the dry season. In both villages, only 1 household out of 5 named this problem.

While in the dry season there is not enough water, it is often dirty during the rainy season. The rivers are full of eroded soil material, and even the water of some wells becomes dirty. Problems with water quality are mentioned six times in different villages. Besides the dirt, families state that water is hard and salty. One farmer says that he never knows whether the water his family drinks is safe or not.
4 of the respondents complain that the water sources are far away, so that the women have to carry the water a long way. 3 households, all from Mbilima, mention that the maintenance of the water pumps is a problem, and 3 respondents state that their canals or wells are sometimes damaged by heavy rainfall.

There were fewer problems mentioned concerning the wood than concerning water. Effectively, 20 household did not mention any problems with wood. The main concern (mentioned 7 times) is deforestation or the lack of wood. Women say that it is sometimes difficult to find firewood. 6 respondents talk about the problem that cutting trees is not allowed. This statement comes from every village except Ifumbo. Again, for some families (3 mentions) it is a problem that the sources for wood are far away. Additionally to the long way
women have to go, they are exposed to different dangers like insect and animal bites (2 mentions), accidents and robbery or kidnapping (2 mentions). Mentioned one time each are the lack of transport facilities, high prices for wood, and the lack of bamboo (as building poles).

Concerning the land, the main problem stated by half of the respondents (18 mentions) is the low fertility of the land, or that the soil is tired (Figure 22). 2 farmers more agree with the fact that the soil is not very fertile, but they see the problem not in the soil itself, but in the lack of fertilizer.

The second problem concerning the land is the lack of fodder and the limited grazing areas for the livestock. As stated above, only two villages have community grazing land. For the other villages, the livestock has to be fed on uncultivated, open areas.

4 households mentioned erosion as a problem, and for 3 households the transport of the products from the fields to the village is a concern. 1 respondent fears that his land will not be enough to be divided between his children, 1 complains about weeds, and 1 respondent stated the problem is that his fields are far away from his house.

![Figure 22: Problems with the land](source: Field survey, Songwe 2007)

### 6.1.3 Environmental problems

The awareness of environmental problems is quite unequal between the different households. 7 respondents are not aware of any environmental problem. 4 of them live in the region around Mpemba and Ihanda, the villages close to the highway Mbeya-Tunduma. The only problems these 7 households are aware of (stated when talking about problems with their natural resources) include the water shortage in the dry season, the low soil fertility, the
The livelihoods in the upper and middle Songwe Basin

illegality of cutting trees, and the lack of available firewood. When asked about environmental problems, the 7 respondents do not see any.

As Figure 23 shows, the major environmental problems with 13 mentions each are soil degradation and overuse of the land. Soil degradation here includes the responses ‘soil erosion’ and ‘development of gullies’ (11 mentions), landslides (1), and soil exhaustion (1). Overuse of the land includes land shortage (2), overpopulation (1), overuse of grass (1), shortage of grazing land (2), and most of all deforestation and shortage of firewood (7).

Problems with water are third with 10 mentions. They include water shortage (6) and lack of water services (4). When talking about water as a resource, however, water shortage is mentioned 21 times (see above).

![Figure 23: Environmental problems](image)

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Following with 6 mentions are problems with the infrastructure, including lack of roads, bridges, transport and markets. Named 5 times each are problems concerning society and politics, health issues, and soil fertility. The latter was already mentioned above, where 18 households complained about limited soil fertility. Health issues include the threat of mosquito bites (malaria) and typhoid, and the lack of health services. Under society and politics, statements concerning poverty, poor education, lack of technical officers, lack of land use planning, and conflicts on farms are consolidated. Problems with the climate and the need of modern breeds of livestock and seeds were mentioned once each.
6.1.4 Conclusion

Water, one of the three main resources, is drawn from different sources, depending on what it is going to be used for. In all villages, people either have a tap, a borehole or a spring providing fairly clean water for drinking. However, some of the sources for drinking water are far from the people’s home, so that women spend much time and energy for fetching the water. In all villages, water shortage occurs during dry season. This means for the women that they have to walk even longer distances to find drinkable water. Concerning the firewood, the situation is even worse. Forests are most often far from the villages, and some women stated that it is difficult to find firewood because it is illegal to cut trees.

In Isongole, most households do not have to search for water and firewood any more. There are water taps in the village (or even at home), and firewood can be bought on the market. This opens ways for new activities. How could a woman have a shop, if she had to spend so many hours a week looking for water and wood? All the time previously spent for fetching water and collecting wood is now used for income generating activities.

Charcoal is only used by few households. 5 households buy it on the market, 3 get it from the hills. For the families interviewed for this study, charcoal burning does not seem to play any big role. However, some families state that it is a problem causing deforestation in the area. Concerning the land, the main problems are the low soil fertility and the lack of grazing land, and in some places, soil erosion is an additional problem.

While the people are much aware of problems with natural resources, many of them don’t know what environmental problems are. Either they respond that there are no environmental problems at all, or a variety of problems are mentioned beyond the environment, including social problems. This can either be a problem of perception, resulting from different understandings (or non-understanding) of the word ‘environmental’, or it could result from translation difficulties from English to KiSwahili and back. The major environmental problems named, however, really concern the environment: 1) soil degradation, 2) overuse of the land (including forests), and 3) problems with water. This should be a major concern, as these three points include everything the people in the Songwe Basin live on. They depend on the soil for cultivating, on the grass for feeding their livestock, on the forests as source of energy, and the water for themselves and their animals. Addressing these problems is therefore crucial. SRTCMP is working on such issues in its project villages. However, information on how to cultivate in a sustainable manner should be spread within the entire basin.
6.2 Farm production system and food security

Rural areas are the basis of farming and their development is important for sustainable economic development. Food is indispensable in maintaining human life and a basic for healthy living. Almost every inhabitant in the Songwe Basin cultivates land. The people depend on agriculture for food and livelihood. Crop production is the basis of their existence.

This chapter analyses agricultural productivity and shows the staple and amount of food crops in the area. It also provides an overview of livestock ownership and the keeping of animals. Additionally, it discusses the months of food insecurity in the households, the main causes of food shortage, and the solutions the families have for dealing with the situation, and how to bridge times of food shortage.

6.2.1 Agricultural production in the upper and middle Songwe Basin

In the upper and middle Songwe Basin the small-scale farmers grow different kinds of food crops, as well as other agricultural products, such as beans, soya beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, pumpkins, rice, groundnuts, sugarcane, bananas, and fruit. Some farmers even grow cash crops like coffee, tobacco, and sunflowers.

Figure 24 illustrates the percentage of different agricultural product groups that make up the total agricultural production, divided into cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits, and cash crops. The majority of production is pulses, followed by cereals, and vegetables.

Table 4 lists the single growing products. It shows that 35 households out of 36 cultivate maize which makes up 22% of total agricultural production. Maize is the most important produce, followed by beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, and cassava. The order shows that agricultural production serves primarily to assure a livelihood, and then for selected production to earn some extra money for the family.

If we study the households we see that they all grow maize except one household in Isongole which does not farm at all. 33 of the 36 household sampled grow beans. Only two households in Ifumbo and again the household in Isongole do not grow any beans at all. 23 households cultivate groundnuts. It is remarkable that in Idiwili no households grow any groundnuts.
Table 4: Number of HHs producing single products measured against total production of the 36 HH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product groups</th>
<th>List of each single product</th>
<th>Percentage of product measured against total production</th>
<th>Number of HH (n=36) producing the respective product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cereals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pulses</strong></td>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soya Beans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground Beans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vegetables</strong></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweet potatoes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pumpkin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fruits</strong></td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cash crops</strong></td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Idiwili is a village which lies much higher above sea level than most other villages. The average temperature is lower than the other sample villages due to the increased elevation. Groundnut plants need an average temperature of 18 to 21 degrees and sandy, humid, and calcium rich soil to grow well. This is the same for sweet potatoes. The plants need a warm climate with 20 to 25 degrees and are not frost resistant (Jaksch 2007). In all the other villages there are households that grow sweet potatoes. Most sunflowers are cultivated in Mbilima and Isongole. Only one household in Ifumbo and another in Mpemba have a few sunflower fields too. Cassava is grown in the four villages of Ifumbo, Mbilima, Isongole, and Mabula. Ifumbo stands out because it is the only village in which all households grow cassava. It is noticeable that all households in Idiwili have coffee-trees. Only two households in Mabula and one in Mpemba also grow coffee. Earlier Mabula had more coffee trees but later the traders stopped buying from them, for this reason more and more households changed to growing sunflowers. Rice is grown particularly in Mpemba by almost all households, and in one household in

51 http://www.qualinut.ch/Pressemeldung/pressemeldung.html
Isongole. There are just two households, one in Mbilima, and the other in Ifumbo that cultivate tobacco as a cash crop.

Five out of six surveyed villages grow between eight to eleven different kinds of agricultural products. An exception is Idiwili where people only grow maize, beans, pulses, and coffee.

6.2.1.1 Amount of maize, beans and groundnuts produced by the sample households

The main staple in the Songwe Basin is maize, cultivated by smallholders mostly at or little bit above subsistence level. Other staples of importance are beans, and groundnuts.

Most respondents have a precise idea of the amount of harvest they make per year concerning their main agricultural products. For other products like sweet potatoes or cassava they could not tell the exact amounts, as most of these products are consumed during the year by the families and they do not keep books. Therefore, only maize, beans and groundnuts could be evaluated. The amount is quoted in bags and buckets. One bag equals ten buckets.\(^{52}\) The scale depends on the bag’s size and the type of crops.

![Figure 25: Amount of maize bags harvested per year](image)

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Maize is the most important product grown and accounts for the highest proportion of the cultivated area in the whole region, as mentioned above. The quantity produced per household per year, varies very much. Most households produce between 11 and 15 bags per year. Figure 25 however, shows that there are two households that harvested between 26 and 30 bags, one household produced even more than 30 bags, but there are some also who harvested far below the average of 14.6 bags a year.

If one compares the amount of maize harvested from all six villages, one finds that Isongole is the most competitive in maize production. The average amount per household there is 27.2 bags. But the average result is misleading because there is one single household in Isongole

\(^{52}\) 1 bag maize = 80-95 kg; 1 bag beans = 100-150 kg; 1 bag groundnuts = 35-45 kg (unpeeled) 80 -95kg (peeled)
which mentioned to produce around 120 bags per year. If this single household is excluded from the statistic, the average amount of maize produced in Isongole drops to 11.7 bags per household per year, only slightly above the average of 11.2 bags per year. The conclusion from this is that Isongole and Mpemba (average 12.7 bags) produce about the same amount of maize per household per year, while Ifumbo (average 17.9 bags) and Mbilima (average 14.4 bags) lie far above, Idiwili (average 9.7 bags) slightly less, and Mabula (average 4.9 bags) far below average.

Beans as staple are used in the households for several types of dish and are also sold. From the 33 households which produce beans, there are ten households which harvest between 0.1 and 0.4 bags of beans per year. Eight households produce between 0.9 and 1.2, and only two households produce more than two bags (Figure 26).

![Figure 26: Amount of beans bags harvested per year](image)

Looking at the bags of beans per household in the different villages, one can see that Isongole with 1.38 bags per household and year produces the biggest quantity of beans, followed by Idiwili with 1.12 bags, Mbilima with 0.88 bags, and Mpemba with 0.72 bags. Mabula with 0.53 bags produces the smallest amount of beans per household and year. For the village of Ifumbo the exact amount of bags is missing.

Groundnuts are also a favourable source of nutrition and a valuable cash crop for small-scale farmers. It is also difficult here to get clear statements about the quantities of groundnuts produced per household per year. Figure 27 shows that most families produce between 0.1 and 3.9 bags. There is only one household that produced six bags of groundnuts in the year 2006/2007.

The distribution of groundnuts produced per household in the villages per year is as follows: Isongole (2.88 bags) produced the biggest number of bags of groundnuts, followed by Mabula (2.83 bags), Mbilima (1.47 bags), and Ifumbo (1.2 bags). Mpemba (0.98 bags) produces fewest of all. In Idiwili, as mentioned earlier, people do not grow any groundnuts at all.
Comparing the different households in the villages shows that Isongole and Mbilima are most competitive for maize, beans and groundnuts. Reasons for this are most likely the relatively flat land, the good location close to the Songwe River which provides enough water for irrigation, and the fairly good connection to town to buy seeds, fertilizer or hericides. A correlation to the size of cultivated fields could not be made. Mabula comes off worst, but with an exception for groundnuts. Reasons for lack of agricultural productivity could be the high location above sea level, the hilly landcape, poor soil quality due to soil erosion and the limited access of the village to other places to buy fertilizer and other products. Idiwili is in a similar situation. Its location is also in hills and the average temperature is lower than in flat regions, therefore the harvest of food in comparison to the other villages is lower, except for beans. However, the households grow coffee tree, to compensate their income.

6.2.2 Livestock

70% of rural poor Africa keeps livestock and about 200 million people on this continent rely on livestock for their livelihoods (Seré 2005). The number of livestock in Tanzania has been increasing permanently in recent decades (SADC 2007). The annual growth rate of numbers of total livestock was approximately 2.5% between 1990 and 2000. In Malawi the annual growth rate was roughly 1.8% in the same period. In Tanzania livestock contributes around 12% to GDP while in Malawi livestock accounts for around 7% of GDP (FAO 2005).

In the Songwe Basin most of the livestock belongs to traditional small-scale farmers. All 36 sample households have some kind of animals like cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, rabbits, and guinea fowls. Chicken are the most commonly owned (94.4% of all households), followed by goats (63.8%), pigs (55.5%) and cattle (50%). There are only a few households who keep sheep (13.8%). One household in Ifumbo has three rabbits and another household in Mpemba two guinea fowls. Table 5 gives an overview on livestock per village in percentage. Almost all households raise chickens. There are only two households which do not keep chickens at all. One family in Mpemba complained that all their chickens had died recently.
Table 5: Percentage of households keeping livestock in a village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock type owned</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ifumbo (n=6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea fowl</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

In Ifumbo and Mbilima the share of livestock is almost the same. In Isongole the main livestock are chickens and pigs. It is remarkable that in comparison to the other villages the smallholders in Isongole own the least cattle and goats. It seems that they invest more in agriculture production. In Mpemba, Idiwili and Mabula the most common livestock are chickens and goats.

6.2.2.1 Number of cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens by the sample households

Keeping livestock is very important for rural households. It provides security with regard to food and income. The amount of livestock a farmer owns reflects his status of wealth. Below is an analysis of the number of animals kept:

16.6% of the households own one or two cattle. Four households (11.1%) keep between three and four, and another four households (11.1%) have between five and six cattle. Only two households (5.5%) have eight cows and one household in Ifumbo keeps 18 cattle (Figure 29). Households in Ifumbo own most cattle on average (9.6 per household). In Idiwili the average number of cattle per household is 6, followed by Mpemba with 4.2 cattle. Isongole and Mabula have 3.5, followed by Mbilima with 3 cattle per household.

The number of goats per households gives an unambiguous picture. More than half the owners of goats (53%) own one or two goats. Five households have between three and four, and three households between five and six goats. There is one household in Idiwili that has eight, another household in Mabula that keeps ten and again one household in Idiwili that owns 13 goats (Figure 28).

If we compare the villages with each other, we find that the households in Idiwili and Mabula own on average most goats (Idiwili 5.75, and in Mabula 5.4 goats per household). In Ifumbo the average number is 3, in Mbilima and Mpemba 2.6 and 2.5 goats per household respectively.
50% of the households keep usually one pig. There are only few households who keep more than one pig. Only six households have two pigs, two households keep three pigs, and another two households have four pigs (Figure 28). In Isongole and Mbilima the smallholders own 2.3 pigs on average per household. In Mpemba the number is 1.75, in Mabula 1.5, and in Idiwili and Ifumbo 1.0.

Figure 28: Amount of cattle, goats and pigs owned per household

![Graph of animals owned per household](source: Field survey, Songwe 2007)

The ownership of *chickens* is very different within the single villages. 13 households have between one and five chickens a group of 14 households keep between six and ten chicken. Five households have between 11 and 15 chickens, and only two households own more than twenty chickens. Both of these households are in Isongole.

Isongole is the village where on average the households own most chickens (15 per household). In Mbilima the average is 8.8 chickens per household, followed by Idiwili with 7.4. Mpemba has an average of 6.6, Ifumbo 6.1, and Mabula 6.0 chickens per household.

The average number of animal groups per village does not give a very clear picture on animal keeping in general. It is only clear that the two villages Idiwili and Mabula that do not have the best conditions for aarable crops keep the biggest number of goats per household.

### 6.2.3 Livestock produce

Livestock produce in Tanzania makes up to 30% of GDP (SADC 2007). It is an important source to make a living for the rural inhabitants. Livestock produce provides foodstuff for the farmers and raises their income level.

The sample households in the Songwe Basin produce three different kinds of animal product namely eggs, milk and meat. The main products are eggs, followed by milk, and meat (Figure
There is only one household in Isongole that produces meat. The smallholder runs a little butcher-shop together with his wife, where people can buy fried pork on market days.

The 25 households are heavily dependent on the hens’ seasonal egg laying. 13 households sell their eggs to get some extra income. 12 households use the eggs for themselves. It is quite similar with milk production. Seven households sell their milk and six households use the milk just for their family.

Figure 29: Number of households producing eggs, milk and meat

6.2.4 Food shortage in a good, normal, and poor year

Africa has more countries with food shortages than any other region in the world. Two-thirds of all countries suffering from food insecurity are in Africa. The most frequent cause of chronic famine is poverty. Food insecurity is the most severe in rural Africa, where farming and herding are still the main means of livelihood (FAO 1995). Tanzania had been facing a worsening food problem due to poor harvest in 2002 and 2003 as a result of little rainfall. This has led to a national food deficit. The country had an acute food shortage in 52 districts (Information Bulletin 2004). Malawi also had a food shortage in 2004 due to low crop production (Kanyama-Phiri 2004: 3).

All sampled households analyzed in the Songwe Basin, except one in Isongole are households that do farm. The agricultural activities are very important for the families. The bigger their own production is, the more food security they have. All respondents said that they experienced months in which they did not produce enough food for their own consumption. These months vary in a good, normal and a poor year of harvesting as shown in Figure 30.

In a good year, more than half of the sample households have enough to eat during the whole year. 16 households stated that they do not have enough food despite a good harvest, and this is in February. Five households usually experience a food shortage for a period of almost 5 months, starting in December and ending in April. Between May and November all households said they have enough food for their families and face no food problem.
A normal year of harvesting means that there are more months during the year when families do not have enough to eat. February is again the month, when most households (28) do not have sufficient food. January is also a bad month for 21 households, followed by March for 15 households. Two households in Isongole stated that they do not have enough food from July to February. One household in Mbilima and another in Idiwili have too little food from February until April. During the two months of May and June all households usually have sufficient food.

During a poor year of harvesting almost every month families experience food shortage. May is the only month where all households can feed their families sufficiently. The months where they have the main problems are January and February for 29 households, followed by the month of December for 26 households. There is one household in Mabula that experiences food shortage in bad years already from June until February. One household in Isongole and two households in Ifumbo have food problems from July until February. One household in Mbilima, one in Mpemba, and three households in Idiwili have food shortages until April. Two households in Malawi, in the villages of Kameme and Mwamkumbwa do have enough food for the whole year.

6.2.5 Main causes of food shortage

From our respondents we wanted to know the main causes of food shortage for the households according to their opinion. They gave us 17 different reasons (Figure 31). The main cause which was mentioned by 25 households (69.4%) was climate conditions. In some years there is too much rain and in other years the rain stays away. The weather is the main reason for crop failure which leads to food shortage. More than half of the households (58.3%) complained that the availability of fertilizer is insufficient. If the crop price is low, the families have to spend all their money to buy a single bag of fertilizer. That is why most households have a lack of fertilizer because it is too expensive. Some others declared that
another reason for food shortage is the sale of their harvest without any planning (27.7%). It can occur that the families sell too much of their produce leaving too little for their own consumption. Another cause for food shortage is laziness of the farmers (16.6%). For five households the shortage of land is a serious problem. They cannot grow enough food crops for their family. For a few households bad storage is a problem where insects destroy the crops or when insects invade whole fields (11.1%). The farmers also have to buy other products for farming which are too expensive (8.3%). One respondent said that there is a lack of production skills which influences production. Another respondent mentioned health problems. If a family member has for example. Malaria, which is a common disease in this area, the person can not do work on the farm and the family has to sell stock to buy medicine. This can lead to food shortage even when production was good.

Figure 31: Main causes of food shortage

![Graph showing main causes of food shortage](image)

During the months where the households do not have sufficient food from their own production, the households have different ways to manage this time. In the following subchapter a variety of solutions will be described.
6.2.6 Managing months with insufficient food

All households in Ifumbo and almost every household in Mpemba and Idiwili offer occasional labour (47.2%) during the time of food shortage. Several households (36.1%) sell their livestock to get some money. One household in Mbangala (Mbilima) goes to Katengere or to Chitipa to sell some items for money. With the money earned by selling their livestock or personal items the families buy food (36.1%). Most people buy their food at the market from local people or from the ADMARC as one respondent from Ifumbo mentioned. During times of food shortage maize prices increase and livestock prices fall due to over supply, as everyone wants to sell their animals and due to poor livestock condition. Quite a lot of families change their eating habits in difficult times. 13 households eat more cassava in the time of food shortage (36.1%), other households switch to bananas (25%), finger millet (5.5%), yam (2.7%) Irish- (2.7%), and sweet potatoes (5.5%). They cultivate more products such as cassava and bananas, because they are always cultivable even if there is not much rain. From dried bananas they get a type of flour with which they cook banana ugali (porridge). A few households cultivate more excessively their gardens (8.3%), others ask their neighbours for help (8.3%). One household reduced their consumption of milk, another meat. In Mbilima two households mentioned that during the difficult months the government sometimes provides help and gives out food (Figure 32).

![Figure 32: Methods of smallholders to cover months of insufficient food](image)

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
When a period of food shortage lasts, the poor inhabitants become poorer and poorer. Livestock wanes, personal goods are sold, the basis to make a living is gone. If health problems also occur then it is very difficult to improve the situation.

6.2.7 Conclusion

The analysis of agricultural production shows that the people in the upper Songwe Basin depend heavily on very few cultivation products. They eat what they produce and what they do not need for themselves, they sell to other people. Agricultural production is very unstable. The production per family is so low in general, that households do not have enough to eat during the whole year, even in good years. This makes it very difficult for the families to progress towards a better living as they are hardly able to save anything for coming years. This means they are never able to invest in their future. People in the rural areas are not very diversified with regards to generating their income. If weather or other circumstances are bad and agricultural production falls short, the smallholders literally do not have anything to make a living except by keeping animals. Animals can relieve food shortages with eggs, milk and meat but not effectively after a long period of time. Food and water shortages for people are often correlated with food and water shortages for animals. If animals cannot be fed, the households have to sell them and because everyone is in a difficult situation, prices fall, and the security fades. With a better understanding of market mechanisms and the possibility to save at least a little each year, people would be able to proceed to a better future. There are other factors which could make life better, for example: Isongole is a village with basic infrastructure such as roads, electricity. Therefore people have better opportunities to pursue off-farm work (see following chapter 6.3). Through the off-farm income people can finance farm activities as well as agricultural production. As the survey shows the production of the village inhabitants in Isongole is higher and families seem less desperate than in more remote areas. If local government or other institutions are able to provide these basics, then life could become better for the whole region. This will be analysed later on.

6.3 Off-farm activities

Employment in the Songwe Basin is limited. It corresponds to an agricultural society on a subsistence level which only covers the basic needs of its inhabitants. The off-farm activities in this area are mainly craft, trade and services. The off-farm activities in rural areas are often one of the strategies to make a living among poor households.

The analysed data in this chapter show where off-farm activities are strongly represented besides farming. Furthermore it is discussed which of the family members are doing the off-farm activities, what kind of work they do, and where they carry out the activity.
6.3.1 Off-farm and no off-farm activities

Quite a lot of people in the Songwe Basin pursue some form of off-farm activities besides farming in order to get some extra income. From the 36 households sampled, 22 do some off-farm activities (61%), the remaining 14 households pursue no off-farm activities at all (39%) (Figure 33).

In all six villages, there are some families who pursue at least one off-farm activity besides farming. In Isongole, Mpemba and Idiwili, more households are involved in off-farm activities besides farming than in Ifumbo, Mbilima and Mabula. Figure 34 shows that in Isongole all eight households do some kind of off-farm activities. There is even one female headed household that does off-farming activities only. The woman has a restaurant and runs a grocery shop.

6.3.2 Family members involved in off-farm activities and the type of work

Almost all the sampled families are smallholders. That is why in most households (68.2%), there is just one member of the family who can pursue an off-farm activity besides farming. Out of the the 22 households which do some type of off-farm activity there are 26 people in total who are regularly involved in off-farm work. If we look at the individual person the following picture appears (Figure 35).

In most households only the father (38%) does off-farm work. In eight households only the woman (31%) does some kind of off-farm activity. On closer analyses, five of these
households are female headed households, where the husband has died or where wife and husband live separately. In a few households (12%) both parents follow a sideline. In five households (19%) the children also have an extra income through off-farm activities.

The members of the households, who work off-farm, pursue different kinds of jobs. 10 people work in some kind of service, 12 people do craftwork and 12 other pursue their own businesses.

The following Figure 36 gives an overview of the different kind of off-farm work in the upper Songwe Basin and shows the number of people who pursue the respective activity.

The main off-farm activity of the rural population is handicraft, the second most named occupation besides farming is carpentering. Other sidelines, which were mentioned, are shop keeping, crop trading, and brewing. Two people are employed, one by the council, and the other as staff member at ADMARC. Two households are doing business with their livestock and another two households run a restaurant. Other occupations such as pastor, house constructor, money exchanger, clothes rental and running a guest house were activities mentioned by individual households. It is possible that some people have more than one off-farm activity, for example running a restaurant and a shop. 32 out of 34 activities are self-employment. There are just two cases where the people are employed by someone else. The inhabitants in rural areas have almost no opportunities to find a job as employee.
Most off-farm activities e.g. pastor, money exchanger, milk business, running a shop, a restaurant or a guest house are long-term (59%). Most of these permanent activities are done in Isongole. 41% of the off-farm works are occasional activities e.g. house constructor, making brew, and trading. However, there is some work such as carpenter and making handicrafts which can be occasional and long term.

### 6.3.3 Location of off-farm activities and the duration of work

The locations of the off-farm activities are in the villages, towns or in other places. 79% of the off-farm activities were done in the villages and only 15% in towns (Figure 37). One person from Idiwili goes to Mbeya or Tuduma to trade crops in an urban area and another person from the village Nandanga (Mpemba) conducts his milk business. Two people in Mabula go to town too to earn money. One of them goes to Chitipa to sell avocados on the market and the other person goes to Bupigu to work as a council.

One person from Ihanda goes to Lusaka or Mbeya for business reasons. Two people do their off-farm activities in other places, one works as a house constructor and the other as a carpenter. They work where work has to be done.

Figure 38 shows that most people started their off-farm activities during the last five years. There are only seven people who have pursued their activity for more than 16 years. One of them is a tailor who is over 70 years old. For this reason he is probably not working regularly anymore.
6.3.4 Priority of off-farm or on-farm activities

A large number of people pursue off-farm activities besides farming, although most respondents said that they prefer farming to all other activities. The priority of the households clearly lies therefore with farming than with off-farm activities. These statements demonstrated that for most inhabitants farming gives a certain basis of their livelihoods (Figure 39). There are only 30 % out of the 22 families who prefer off-farm activities. These households are all located in Isongole, except one who is in the village of Ihanda.

6.3.5 Conclusion

The previous chapter shows how important off-farm activities have become in recent years. Because farming and keeping livestock do not provide a stable income, the rural households depend more and more on off-farm work. The non-farm work brings additional income to the households that can be used to purchase farm implements. Off-farm work is mostly individual initiative and employment is hard to find for most people living at subsistence level and demand for off-farm activities is usually seasonal. According to our analysis Isongole as a small regional centre offers better possibilities for business than other villages because it has basic infrastructure and services (see chapter 7.2). The other two villages, Mpemba and Idiwili are relatively well connected to urban areas and also offer better business opportunities. In the three remote villages Ifumbo, Mbilima and Mabula most households only pursue simple farming. This is not only because of their remoteness but also because seed capital to start off-farm activities is rare. The whole situation was well summarised by two people: One person said that if climate change did not happen and prices for agricultural products were higher, he would only do farming. The other said that she also preferred farming to all other activities but as rain stays away more often and harvesting is only once a year she cannot give up off-farm activities. Changing circumstances are forcing people to change their way of making a living. This shows that change happens everywhere and unfortunately not always in a pleasant way.
6.4 Finances and expenses

Most smallholders in rural areas rely on agriculture for their income, however, off-farm revenue is becoming more and more important to make a living and for economic growth.

This chapter analyses the income of farm and off-farm activities and compares the importance of these two different income categories to the households. Furthermore it discusses the expenses of the families, how much they save and if they rely on credit or not. The numbers are not very accurate as the smallholders often have no precise idea of their income and expenses.

6.4.1 Income and expenditure of farming

For most households in the Songwe Basin the main source of income is agriculture. The families make their earnings by selling crops, trading livestock, and selling animal products such as eggs, milk, and meat. Crop sales are the main source of income for the smallholders. Out of the 36 sample households interviewed, there are 33 households that sell crops. One of the three households that do not sell crops does not farm at all, and the other two use all the crops for themselves. 27 households sell livestock and 17 households sell animal products. If we consider crop sales, livestock and animal production separately, it can be seen that the highest income for the 33 households comes from crop sales (Figure 40). If we look at the income per household from selling crops, livestock or animal production, it appears that selling livestock makes more money per household than crops (Figure 41).

Figure 40: Total income of crops, livestock and animal production

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Figure 41: Income per households of crops, livestock and animal production

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Figure 42 gives an overview of the different incomes generated from crop, livestock and animal production per household. Household numbers six and 21 do not have any income from farming. The figure shows that in the villages of Isongole and Mbilima the main source of income comes from selling livestock. The income structure for each family is very
different. Nine households made between zero and 30,000 TZS. There are four households that earned between 900,000 and 1,400,000 TZS. Each of these households sold a considerable number of animals in 2006. Table 6 shows how many animals were sold by a single household (i.e. HH 3) and how much money they made from them. The average price per cattle was approximately 94,000 TZS, per goat 18,000 TZS, per pig between 12,000 TZS and 100,000 TZS (depending on their size), and per chicken around 3,000 TZS.

Table 6: Animals sold in 2006 by four households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HH No.</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Chicken</th>
<th>Total income from selling livestock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH 3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1,132,000 TZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH 7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,347,000 TZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,012,000 TZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH 12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>970,000 TZS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

The respondent from household number three told us that she had 60 chickens, she sold 58 chickens and kept two for herself. In the meantime new chickens were born and the number of chickens went up to 12 again.

In the other four villages the earnings from livestock is small. In Idiwili and Mpemba livestock sales are almost insignificant.

Figure 42: Different incomes from crop, livestock and animal produce for each household

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

53 1 Euro = 1.730 TZS; 1 USD = 1.285 TZS (exchange rate, June 2007) (Bfai, 2008)
The main source of income in Mabula, Ifumbo, Idiwili and Mpemba comes from selling crops. This is especially true for Idiwili and Mpemba. Most households earn between 100,000 TZS and 400,000 TZS. Five households have a bigger income. Household number 12 has the highest income because they also cultivate tobacco. This family is the only one out of all the families interviewed that grow tobacco. The remaining four households analysed are located in Idiwili and Mpemba. Two in Idiwili grow maize, beans, and coffee and have an income between 400,000 TZS and 800,000 TZS (HH 25, HH 28). Both households in Mpemba grow maize and rice, their income is approximately 400,000 TZS and 450,000 TZS (HH 32, HH 33).

Income from animal production is small compared to the other possibilities mentioned above. Only household number seven increases their income significantly through selling animal production, this household sells pork. Three households in Isongole (HH 1, HH 3, HH 5) and one household in Mpemba (HH 32) make money by selling eggs and milk. Their income is between 150,000 TZS and 250,000 TZS. For all other families selling animal production does not contribute significantly to an increase in their income.

The total income from farm production per households varies significantly (Figure 43). The yearly income ranges between 13,000 TZS and 2,500,000 TZS of the 36 households sampled. Three households have a much higher income than all others, two are located in Isongole (HH 3, HH 7) and one in Mbilima (HH 12). In addition there is one household in Mbilima (HH 10) and another in Idiwili (HH 28) that have also in comparison to the other households in the village a much higher income (around 1,000,000 TZS). A group of six households has an income between 400,000 TZS and 750,000 TZS. Eleven households have an income between 200,000 TZS and 400,000 TZS. The remaining group, which includes 12 households only makes between 13,000 TZS and 200,000 TZS per household per year. Seven of these
households earn less than 100,000 TZS. Four of the households have different reasons for their low income. Three of them need almost all of what they produce to feed their families. They only sell things if they desperately need some money. One is a household with ten family members. In the other two households the head of family is more than 50 years old. They do not grow more than what they really need for themselves. Household number 15 that has a very low income consists of a young married couple. From the other three households (HH 9, HH 13, and HH 24) exact data is missing, but it can be assumed that the income from farming only is very low. As stated before household 6 and household 21 do not have any income through farming.

If we look at Figure 44 which shows the average income per household in the six different villages, it appears that always two villages have a similar income per household. Isongole has the highest income on average with about 850,000 TZS, followed by Mbilima with about 750,000 TZS per household. Idiwili and Mpemba have a comparable income of around 350,000 TZS. The lowest incomes per household are found in Mabula and Ifumbo with around 160,000 TZS per year.

Some of the reasons that people in Isongole and Mbilima have a higher incomes than in the other villages of the region, are due to better conditions for farming and thus higher yields (see chapter 6.2.1) and also the possibility to trade their products directly in Isongole.

6.4.1.1 Expenditures of farming incomes

The expenditures of the income from farming are as follows: Families use their income mostly to cover household needs (58.8%), another large amount of the income goes into education for the children (38.2%), and another part is spent on clothes. Six households used part of their income for house construction and five households to buy fertilizer. All other expenditures mentioned between one and four times was to buy furniture, iron sheets, farm...
implements, casual labour, livestock, and food. Some used the income to buy personal belongings e.g. a bicycle, radio or a sewing machine. Two households invest their money in their business. One household supports its grandparents. The answers above reflect the expenses in a good year. In a bad year expenditures can totally change.

6.4.2 Income and expenditure of off-farm activities

As mentioned in chapter 6.3, 22 households pursue some kind of off-farm activities. Out of these 22 households only 17 were able to give details of their off-farm incomes (Figure 45). Seven of these 17 households made between 13,000 TZS and 200,000 TZS per year from off-farm activities. There are three households who earned between 200,001 TZS and 400,000 TZS and another three households made between 800,000 TZS and 1,000,000 TZS. One household had an income which was far above the income of all other households. The total off-farm income of this household number two exceeds 48,048,000 TZS. The off-farm income is that huge, because the family manages a guest house, grocery, bar, and a meeting hall where people can hold seminars.

![Figure 45: Total income from off-farm activities](image)

We do not have a lot of data for incomes from off-farm activities per household in the six villages to give a clear picture on the income situation. In Mbilima and Ifumbo there was just one household each and in Mabula two households which provided accurate data on their off-farm activities (Figure 46). Therefore the concluding statement is not very reliable.

Income in Isongole and Mpemba are highest, even if we exclude the two highest incomes in the village. As already described in sub-chapter 6.3.1 all households in Isongole pursue off-farm activities and it seems that they really make a better living due to this. The village in this region provides the best basic conditions for off-farm activities because it is a regional centre.
The livelihoods in the upper and middle Songwe Basin for neighbouring villages. Mpemba lies along the road to the highway Mbeya-Tunduma. Thanks to the relatively close distance and the good connection to Tunduma it is easy to do business successfully. The more remote the area is, the more difficult it is to do business and thus the lower the income from off-farm activities becomes.

**Figure 46: Average income from off-farm activities per household in the sample villages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Average Income (TZS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isongole (n=4)</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbilima (n=1)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabula (n=2)</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifumbo (n=1)</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiwili (n=3)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpemba (n=4)</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Field survey, Songwe 2007

### 6.4.2.1 Expenditures of off-farm incomes

About the expenditures of earnings from off-farm activities, the interviewees gave following information: The families use their income from off-farm activities most of the time for home necessities (70.5%). Another large part of the money goes to pay school fees (41.1%), some households spend their income for farm implements, fertilizer (29.4%), investment in their business (29.4%), and house repair and construction (29.4%). Two households use the money to buy food. There is only one household who uses the income to pay for labour and another household to increase their savings. All these statements correspond more or less with the expenditures of income from framing. Both incomes are used first for home needs and second for school education. Out of 14 households there are only three that are happy with their off-farm income, the 11 other households could not cover their expenditures with off-farm activities only.

### 6.4.3 On-farm and off-farm income

This section compares of the contribution of on-farm and off-farm incomes to the net income of the rural households in the Songwe Basin. As mentioned before, 35 households are dependent on agriculture, and 22 of these households have extra income from off-farm activities, out of which only 17 households provided specifications of their off-farm income. If the income from off-farm activities is compared with that from farming generated income for these 17 households (Figure 47) it appears that for nine households the majority of their income comes from farming rather than off-farming activities while eight households earn
more money from off-farm activities. For these eight families off-farm activities play a significant role in their livelihood strategy.

If we add on- and off-farming it appears that the total incomes of the households vary as much as the single incomes (Figure 48). The two households with the highest income are both located in Isongole. Their total incomes run up to 48,270,000 TZS and 3,954,000 TZS. Four households have a total income over 1,000,000 TZS. Three of them earn their money through farming and off-farm activities. Seven further households have an income between 500,000 TZS and 1,000,000 TZS. Five of them pursue off-farm activities. The biggest group of 24 households have a total income each which is lower than 500,000 TZS per year. This shows how low income for most people in the rural area is. If we look closer at this group it appears that four households with higher incomes (350,000- 450,000 TZS) sell only farm products.
The livelihoods in the upper and middle Songwe Basin

The following eight households have a total income each between 200,000 and 350,000 TZS. Five of these households do off-farm activities as well. Ten households earn less than 20,000 TZS. Two of them have a small extra income from off-farm activities. The remaining eight households get their income only through farming. Deduced from the data, it can be said that households with extra off-farm activities make in general a better living than those who only concentrate on farming.

![Figure 49: Total average income per household in each sample household](image)

The total income per household on average in Figure 49 shows that Isongole, even without adding the income of household number two, has the highest income per household (1,366,214 TZS). This is not surprising, because as illustrated in Figure 44 and Figure 46 the households in Isongole had in on-farm and off-farm activities always the highest income on average. Mbilima is the second village with an average income of 803,920 TZS, per household, followed by Mpemba with 520,285 TZS. Idiwili with 475,865 TZS has almost the same income per household as Mpemba. Mabula and Ifumbo are the two villages with the lowest income per household. The amount in Mabula is 311,820 TZS on average whereas in Ifumbo it is 222,740 TZS. The two villages with the lowest income are both located in remote areas. Because of that it is much more difficult to do trading with agricultural products and also to develop off-farm activities.

Each family has its own income strategy. The different activities are given different importance on a scale from one to five. The respondents marked the importance of the following activities: crop, vegetables, fruit, milk, and egg production, as well as keeping animals and doing off-farm work. The grading of the activities shows where the families put their priorities. In Figure 50, the grading of each activity is summarized. The emerging picture shows that crop production is the most important activity for households, followed by keeping animals, and then off-farm work. The information on the households’ priorities corresponds more or less with the income distribution of their different activities.

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6.4.4 Income in a good and bad year

From our respondents we wanted to know how much income their households make in both a good and bad year. Meaning the income income they expect to have in a year were the harvest is good and when their business is prosperous, and vice versa, how much they expect to earn if the crop harvest is low and the economy is in a recession. The respondents were often uncertain about a precise number. Eight respondents even had no idea at all and did not give us any reference point. That is why the data is incomplete.

In a **good year**, six households expect to have an income of 1,500,000 TZS or more. Subsequently follows a group of nine households which suppose to earn between 500,000 TZS and 1,500,000 TZS in a good year. 13 households presume to have less than 500,000 TZS of income in a prosperous year. In a **bad year** there is only one household which expects to have an income of more than 1,500,000 TZS. Nine households think to make between 500,000 TZS and 1,000,000 TZS. The biggest group of 18 households assumes to have an income of less than 500,000 TZS. If we compare these statements of the respondents with the total incomes of the households from last year, where 24 families earned less than 500,000 TZS, we would have to conclude that the incomes from 2006/2007 were of a really bad year.

If we compare the good and bad year income with the total incomes the families earned last year (2006) it appears that the incomes of ten households was bigger than expected. The total incomes of three households just matched the expectations of a good year. Five households had an income corresponding to a bad year. Furthermore, there were four households whose incomes were just between a good and a bad year’s earning. Six households had incomes even lower than what they had expected for a bad year (Figure 51). All the statements imply that people do not have any idea how much income they really have, whether in a good nor in a bad year.

An interviewee told us that a good and bad year of harvesting does not change their income significantly. In a good year, where the farmers have a lot of crops, the selling price is low. In
a bad year, where they cannot harvest a lot, the selling price is high. In this way, good and bad years do not make any difference concerning the level of income.

**Figure 51: Expectations of income in good and bad year and total calculated income**

![Image of a chart showing income expectations]

*Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007*

### 6.4.5 Food and non-food expenditure

After we got an idea of the incomes of the households, we wanted to know about the expenses they have for food and non-food articles, like clothes, shoes, household commodities and other articles. From two households (HH 20, HH 29) data are missing and five households could not tell us anything about how much money they spent yearly on food. Several households, however, were very uncertain of how much they spend yearly on food and non-food items. They approximately guessed of their expenditures.

Looking at the yearly expenses for non-food articles, the following particularities come up. Four households spent more than 500,000 TZS, a group of nine households needed between 200,000 TZS and 400,000 TZS, followed by the last and biggest group of 19 households which spent between 20,000 TZS and 200,000 TZS. Furthermore, we wanted to get some data on the expenditure for food. There were only three households who needed more than 500,000 TZS, a group of six households which spent between 20,000 TZS and 30,000 TZS and another 19 households which needed less than 200,000 TZS for foodstuff.

When we compare the expenditure of food and non-food items, we recognize that more households (20 HH) needed more money to buy non-food items than food. There were just ten households which spent more money on food than on non-food items. Four households said that they had about the same expenditures for food and non-food items. In general, it can
be said that small-scale farmers produce their food themselves and only need money to buy rice, fish, sugar, and salt.

Figure 52: Food and non-food expenditure

If we compare the households’ expenditure per year with the total amount of income per year we see that 22 households generate more income than what they effectively spend. Still, 12 households spent more money than what they earned, whereas one household had exactly the same income as expenditure (HH 31). To all intents and purposes it is clear that most people are not informed and do not have any idea about their expenditures compared with their total income per year.

Figure 53: Food and non-food expenditure in comparison with the total income
In our questionnaire the expenditures of the households were categorized into ten ranges. The first question was on what percentage of the families’ budget went on which expenditure. The question could not be answered by the interviewees. Therefore the question was changed. The interviewees instead named their expenses, starting from the biggest one. According to the single statements, the following ranking resulted. The biggest expenses of the smallholders are for farm inputs. Most of their budget they spend goes for fertilizers. Second in the ranking are non-food articles. These are all items which are used in the household. Third is food, followed by education. Health and labor are on the same position. What follows is transportation, farm implements, energy, and housing. Most families do not have to pay for housing because they normally own the land and the house built on it. The only expenses for housing concern renovation such as changing grass roofs into sheet iron roofs.

### Table 7: Ranking of expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Expenditures in …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Farm inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>Farm labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Farm implements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Housing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

6.4.6 Saving

From our 36 sample households there are 23 households who are able to save some money. Six of these households (HH 2, HH 8, HH 15, HH 17, HH 26, HH 29) did not let us know how much. Figure 54 reveals that three of the households save 500,000 TZS or more. One of these households (HH 28) saves more than they earn in a year. The person explained that he expects to send 1,000,000 TZS to the bank. That is probably his savings over a longer period of time. The other households save 200,000 TZS or less in a year.

Figure 54: Total income and savings

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

54 If counted separately, health expenses would rank higher in Tanzania and lower in Malawi for there health care is free of charge.
Eight households are saving money for bad times. If any problem should arise they have at least a little money aside. Six households use the surplus income for extra home needs. Five further households put the money aside for education purposes. Some households need the money for their business and to buy farm items. Two of the people who save money need it for the construction of their home, and another two to buy fertilizer. One respondent needs the savings to pay back his loan.

6.4.7 Credits

Only seven households obtain credits. Four households are located in Isongole, one in Mbilima and two in Mabula. Three households got credit from a bank, two credits are from the government, one person got credit a private credit, and another respondent told us that she got her credit form a local institution. Four interviewees know that they have access to credit, but they do not want to ask for it. Two of them are afraid that they would not be able to pay the credit back. A group of eight households did not know how to get credit.

They complained that they have a lack of information, no support, and also no education about how to deal with credit. Five of them are living around Mpemba. Another group of eight households think that the government will not give them any credit and that they are too far away from town. The access to credit remains mainly in towns and does not reach the rural area. Four respondents with this opinion live in Ifumbo, two of them in Mbilima, and two in Idiwili.

6.4.8 Conclusion

The households in the Songwe Basin get their income from farming by selling crops, livestock, and animal products such as eggs, milk and meat, but also from off-farm activities. The incomes of the five rural villages, Mbilima, Mabula, Ifumbo, Idiwili and Mpemba are mainly based on agricultural products, while the more developed village, Isongole, makes a bigger share out of off-farm activities. The difference in income between the households is huge. Higher income per household like in Isongole is deduced from better infrastructure and access to services which are not available in remote areas (see chapter 7.2). In the two villages with the lowest average income per household there is no public transport which connects the village to the outer world. This makes it particularly difficult to buy farm implements (fertilizer), to trade agricultural products and to pursue off-farm activities, for there is little demand. Mountainous areas have further problems with erosion and degradation which make
the agricultural production even more difficult (see chapter 6.2). Worth mentioning is that families usually use their on-farm and off-farm incomes to buy durables, for the education of their children, and also for farm implements, like fertilizer, and less for house construction, business, livestock, and food. The comparison between the expenditure for food and non-food items shows that the households spend more money on non-food goods than on food. It is very positive that almost two third of the sample households are able to save some money, if not to put in a bank account at least to invest in their homes and businesses. This gives them a chance to invest in their future and to bridge difficult times. The use of credit is not very common, but there is potential.
7 RURAL-URBAN INTERACTION AND COMPARISON
The Songwe Basin is a rural area. Just Chitipa, one town in Malawi, is located inside the basin of the research area. Our aim was to find out how strong the connections between the rural and urban area is. We further analysed the difference in infrastructure and services between the areas, where the important markets and good flows are, and what impact the border between Tanzania and Malawi has on the people.

7.1 Links to towns

This chapter analyses the relationship between the villages and the towns. It shows which towns are important for which rural households. The collected data gives information on who of the village people goes to town, why they go to town, how often they go there and for how long they stay in an urban area. The chapter also covers aspects of transportation of the different villages to town and the mutual economic help of the rural and urban people.

7.1.1 Connections of the rural households to the urban areas

In our survey we first wanted to know how people define urban areas. As we had assumed, the respondents had different associations of what the word “town” means to them. For most people, the definition of a town is „many people“ living close to each other in the same area (38.8%). The second association was that in towns there are a lot of commodities available (36.1%), followed by business (19.4%), and many buildings (19.4%). Services and infrastructure such as education, markets, and government offices were hardly mentioned. But rather other associations were listed, such as perceptions that towns are a completely different world to the rural area, that in town there are rich people with a high living standard and in towns there are relatives to visit. But all stated that the connection of the rural area to the urban area is of importance to almost all of the village people.

Figure 56: Number of households which are going to town or not

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
Rural-urban interaction and comparison

From our 36 sample households, which are all located in rural areas, 30 households (83.3%) have someone in the family who goes regularly to town. Only six households (16.6%) do not have anyone in their family who goes to town.

As Figure 56 shows, all villages have more than one household where one of the family members goes to town at least once a year. In Isongole and Mpemba all interviewed households (100%) go to town. About 80% of the households in Ifumbo, Mbilima and Idiwili leave for town. In those villages, there is just one household where someone from the family goes to any town at all. Because of age, two respondents in Ifumbo and Idiwili do not make the effort to travel anymore. When they were younger they used to go to town as well. One couple in Mbilima just goes to Isongole, as everything they need, can be found there. In Mabula, there are just two of five households which go to town occasionally.

But who exactly of the family members is regularly going to town? Is it just one person or several from a household? The analysed data gave us following picture (Figure 57). In most households the father and mother (43%) go to town. In 23% of the cases only the fathers go to town. In 17% of the households they said that only the mothers go to town, but those households are all female-headed households. Among them, there are two widows. In a few households (10%) the whole family leaves for town sometimes. In two of the households only the sons or daughters go to town. In both families the parents are over 55 years old.

7.1.2 Visiting towns

The interviewees named 23 towns and cities to which they go and where they have connections to. 17 towns are located in Tanzania in the regions of Mbeya, Iringa, Rukwa, Morogoro, and Dar es Salaam. Most towns are located in the district of Mbeya. Five towns are located in Malawi, namely Chitipa, Karonga, Mzuzu, Lilongwe, and Blantyre. One city, Lusaka which was named in the interview, is located in Zambia. Places such as Isongole and Mpemba are according to their inhabitants not considered as towns. But as it was mentioned before the people in the smaller villages define these villages as towns because everything they need for living they can normally find there. Most of the 36 households go to Mbeya and Tunduma if they go to town. These are the two towns which were mostly mentioned. Also Vwawa, Chitipa, and Sumbawanga are three important towns where village people go. The
other two towns, which five households named, were Dar es Salaam and Isongole. Other towns where some of the households go are Mzuzu, Lusaka, Iringa, Mlowo, Karonga, Lilongwe, Isoko, and Blantyre. All other towns like Mpemba, Tukuyu, Chunya, Itaka, Chimala, Ludewa, Morogoro, and Itumba were all mentioned only once.

Table 8 analyzes the locations where the households travel to. The following facts are worth mentioning: Most of the households in Ifumbo go to Chitipa and some leave for Karonga. The households in Mbilima go mainly to Isongole, which is the closest town over the border to Tanzania. Other towns where more than one household goes are Tunduma and Chitipa. Most households in Isongole go to Mbeya and Tunduma. Some go to Iringa, Sumbawanga, Chitipa, and Lusaka. The households in Mpemba mostly leave for Tunduma, Mbeya, and Vwawa. All households of Idiwili go to Mbeya and Vwawa. A few leave for Tunduma and Mlowo. Two households in Mabula go to Isongole. Mbeya is the only town which was mentioned as destination in each village.

According to the named towns the people in the Songwe Basin not only travel within the area but also to other regions outside the basin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Number of households visiting to certain towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Towns</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifumbo (n= 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbilima (n= 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunduma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chunya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vwawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chunya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morogoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7.1.3 Reasons to go to town

The interviewees mentioned nine different reasons why they go to town (Table 9). The main reason is to visit relatives and friends (59.3%). This reason was mentioned in all six villages. From our 36 surveyed households, 31 have family or friends in town. Only five households do not know anybody in town. The second reason to go to town is to pursue some kind of business (40.6%). This is mentioned in all villages except in Mbilima. A further main motive is to buy goods (28.1%) for the household, which are not available in the villages. Four households mentioned the hospital (12.5%) as a reason to go to town and further four households go to town to mill their crops (12.5%). Reasons for a few households are further education (6.25%), for community work (6.25%), and to experience town life (6.25%). One interviewee is a pastor (3.1%) and therefore goes to town for church matters.

Table 9: Distribution sequences of reasons of the household members to go to town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons to go to town</th>
<th>Villages (n= 32)</th>
<th>Total HH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ifumbo (n= 5)</td>
<td>Mbilima (n= 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To see town life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

In the part above we got to know about the reasons for the rural inhabitants of going to town. Additionally, we wanted to find out if there are reasons for the rural people to leave the village and move to town permanently.
7.1.3.1 *Reasons to migrate to town*

The following Figure 58 gives an impression of the reasons why rural people could consider migrating to urban areas. The interviewees told us their views on their reasons but did not only focus on why they personally could imagine moving to town but more in general, why people, especially young men from rural areas move to town to stay there permanently.

![Figure 58: Different reasons to move to town](source: Field survey, Songwe 2007)

The main reason to move to town is to pursue some kind of business. To set up a business is much easier in town than in remote areas. Another important reason why most of the time young people move to towns is to find a job. The chance to find employment in the villages is poor. In urban areas people believe they have more opportunities. The main income source in villages is through agriculture. Some people run away from the hard work in the village. They hope to find an easier life in town. Other reasons are the availability of infrastructure and services which exist only in towns like good roads, transportation, electricity, and secondary education.

Migration to urban areas is often seen as an increasing insecurity in the villages and therefore a strategy to search for more security in an urban area (Benda-Beckmann, Franz, Keebet 1994). The process of migration from rural to urban areas weakens the family structure and lead to more individualism of the society for mostly of the time not whole families move to town but single family members (Elwert, Evers, Wikens 1982: 21). But migration to town creates also new connections between rural and urban areas and fosters exchange of
information and resources. Urban life particularly offers to women new opportunities to liberate themselves from obligations and from subordination in families and gives them a perspective to decide on their own lives (Creighton, Omari 1995).

### 7.1.4 How often villagers go to town per year and the duration of stay

The numbers of days people go to town varies a lot. Some people go almost every day to town and others go just a few days per year. The average time of the households which is spend in town is 58.1 days per year.

If we compare the villages among each other like in Table 10 we see that on average each household in Mpemba spends 141 days per year in town, followed by Mbilima with 128 days, Isongole with 40 days, Idiwili with 14 days, Ifumbo with 11 days, and Mabula with only two days per year. The reason of the unexpectedly huge range of days villagers in Mpemba and Mbilima spend in town is because of two people in Mpemba who go daily to Tunduma, and one person in Mbilima who go each day and another person three times a week to Isongole. From towns which are far away from villages, people only go once or twice a year. To Mbeya people in the Songwe Basin go quite often, but still differing very much from family to family. Two households in Isongole and one in Ihanda village go to Mbeya once or twice a month, others just between once and three times a year. The same goes for Chitipa. Some inhabitants go there twice or three times a month others just three or four times a year.

The number of the days village people stay in town varies a lot depending on the person. This is because each family is unique and has its own reasons to go to town. From our interviewed respondents (n= 29), 41.4% stayed only one day in town. That means that they go to town in the morning and return back home in the evening. Still a lot of the rural people stay between two and five days in town (27.6%), some others even between two and six weeks per year (31.0%). The length of stay depends also very much on how far away the town is. For example, the people in Ifumbo stay in Chitipa usually between one or two days, in Karonga about one week and in more distant towns like Mbeya, Mzuzu, Lilongwe or Blantyre between one or two months. The same applies for the other villages. Another reason is the availability of transportation. Isongole has relatively good public transport. Because of that, villagers usually stay for business just one day and only stay longer to visit relatives or friends. People from Idiwili and Mabula which are far away from the next town and transportation is poor, have to go to town at least for two days.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Days per year in town per HH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ifumbo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbilima</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isongole</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpemba</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiwili</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabula</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 10: Amount of average days each household per village spend in town per year*

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
### 7.1.5 Transportation to urban areas

The inhabitants in the Songwe Basin do not have a lot of means of transport to go to towns. 62% of the time people from the villages use public transport like buses or pick-up vehicles. 21% are going by bicycle and 17% of the people are going on foot to the urban areas.

A better dirt road leads through Isongole and connects the people to the highway Mbeya-Tunduma. Under normal circumstances buses and pick ups drive along this road daily. Figure 59 illustrates that all households in Isongole use public transport to reach towns. In Mpemba, which is located along the highway Mbeya-Tunduma, people use public transport and bicycles. Idiwili has a good dirt road as well which connects the village to the highway. Because of the long distance, three of four households in Idiwili use public transport and one respondent rides his bicycle to town. However, the public transport does not leave daily. Mbilima is located near the Tanzanian borderer. There is just a dirt road which leads to Isongole and to the near-by villages in the West and in the East. The road is safe but there is no public transport. That is why the families go on foot to Isongole or if they have a bike they cycle there. Close to the near by village of Mwamkumbwa there is an improved dirt road to Chitipa. Through Kameme, which is located south-west of Mbilima leads a better dirt road which passes near the border to Tanzania. But public transport is rare on this improved road. Because of that people go on foot (six hours) or by bicycle to Chitipa and from there they can get a ride to towns further away. From Chitipa leads a travelable road to Ifumbo, but there is no public transport available. If there are occasionally pick ups which drive along this way, people try to ride with them. But most of them go on foot or by bicycle to Chitipa and then with pick-ups to further away towns. Compared to the other villages, Mabula is by far the most remote village. A caravan route leads over hills to the village. During the dry season the way is travel-able with a four wheel drive car. The inhabitants of the village leave the village on foot to travel to other locations such as Ibaba or Ibungo and take public transport from there to other towns.

**Figure 59: Means of transportation in the sample villages**

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
7.1.6 Assistance between villages and towns and the other way around

As mentioned in sub-chapter 7.1.1 most people have relatives or friends in town. But how strong is their relationship among family members and friends? Do they really help each other? The survey shows that most sample households (79%) get or give help to villages and towns or vice versa. Only 21% of the households in the villages do not get and give any assistance.

The main help villages get from town is monetary (53%), followed by commodities (17%) like clothes and bed sheets. Some households get food (7%) from town like salt, sugar, rice, and fish. Just single households get assistance concerning funeral matters, in case of sickness or accommodation during their stay in town (Figure 60). In return, some of the village people in the Songwe Basin give agricultural products (83%) like crops to families or friends who live in towns. Two households (11%) gave monetary help to people in town and one household (6%) gave some clothes. How important the mutual aid for the families finally is remains unanswered.

Typically for the connection between urban and rural areas is that economic and financial resources are exchanged and thereof economic zones get trans-locally organised (Lachenmann 2001). Within the families occur such trans-local connections which can be temporarily but also permanently. If there is a drastic imbalance of assistance from rural to town family members without any perspective of the latter to get anything back, their willingness to give aid to the villages decreases (Neubert 1986).

7.1.7 Conclusion

Connections from the most rural households to urban areas exist. The reasons to go to town are manifold. Many go there to visit relatives and friends but also to do business and not primarily to have access to infrastructure and services as we expected. Where there is public transport, people more often undertake a journey to town. The more remote the area is, the less villagers travel to town. But when they decide to travel far, they normally stay in town longer than villagers who live close to urban areas. Neighbouring aid is quite common, not only between close neighbours but also between villagers and town people. Villagers usually get monetary aid while people from towns provide usually food assistance. The connection of towns and villages is generally mutually beneficial. Towns are the connections to the world were the villagers have a market to sell their agricultural products and the people in town get access to the rural resources. Less remote villages benefit from the connection and have a
chance to participate in an economic development while less accessible villages are somehow excluded from any development. Differences between rural and urban areas are much bigger than at our degree of latitude where structural policy assures that remote areas do not get forgotten. Such measures would also be necessary in the remote areas of the Songwe Basin to have all the people participating in the economic development.

7.2 Infrastructure and services in rural and urban areas

Life styles in rural areas are different from those in urban areas. Mainly the services are limited in rural areas, especially public transport, hospitals, and secondary education. Utilities like internet, sewage- and waste disposal are normally only present in the urban areas.

In this chapter, infrastructure and services of the different villages in the Songwe Basin will be compared, how often they are used and what kind of infrastructure and services are missing.

7.2.1 Infrastructure and services in the villages

Infrastructure and services are not all the same in the sample villages. In the following Table 11 infrastructure and services in the villages are marked out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infrastructure and Services</th>
<th>Ifumbo</th>
<th>Mbilima</th>
<th>Isongole</th>
<th>Mpemba</th>
<th>Idiwili</th>
<th>Mabula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x\textsuperscript{57}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phone</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital/health centre</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage disposal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste disposal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport grounds</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post office</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x\textsuperscript{58}</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{56} Neighbouring villages Katenjele, Nandanga
\textsuperscript{57} Only in dry season with four wheel drive car passable
\textsuperscript{58} In Kameme
Ifumbo has some basic infrastructure and services, which people from the neighbourhoods use. In addition to a health centre and a post office, there is even a police station there. A mobile phone network is available too, but only on the close nearby hills, half an hour by foot from the village. The health centre is connected with a telephone line. In the nearby villages of Ifumbo (Mswelo, Mbula), there is hardly any infrastructure except a church and a sports ground. The infrastructure in the village of Mbilima is just a dirt road, a mobile phone network, a church, and a sports ground. The near by villages like Mwamkumbwa and Kameme have a better dirt road, some public transport, and a village office. Kameme has even a post office, a market, a hospital, and a phone-line. Isongole has the best infrastructure and provides the best services in the area. Everything which is important is available. Because of that, people in the area consider it as a town. In Idiwili, only the basic infrastructure and services are available. Nearby living villagers come to Idiwili to the small health centre. Each Thursday is market day. There is a huge market and many people come to Idiwili from villages from far away. Mpemba has electricity, restaurants and two guest houses, the neighbouring villages of Katenjele and Nandanga have just a village office, a church, a sports ground, public transport, mobile phone connection, and a small bar where men can drink local beer. Mabula is only reachable in the dry season by four wheel drive cars. They is only a very rudimentary infrastructure and services like a primary school with a sports ground, a small shop, a village office, a church, and a specific place few minutes up the mountain where a mobile phone connection is available.

### 7.2.2 Use of infrastructure and services in the villages and towns

Infrastructure like roads, churches and sports grounds are available in all villages. Because of that, this kind of infrastructure is intense used. 97.2% of the households are churchgoers. 86% of the families are using the roads. The remaining households (14%) live in sub-villages like Ndima, Mbangala of Mabula, and Mswelo, Mbula of Ifumbo which do not have a passable road. Their houses are only reachable by foot. Families with children use the sport grounds
most frequently. Further infrastructure and services are not available. Between 17 and 22 households of our survey use village offices, public transport, markets, and mobile phone connections from time to time. A village office is not available in Ifumbo, public transport is missing in Mabula and Ifumbo, and markets do not exist in Katenjele, Nandanga (Mpemba), and Mabula. The respondents in Mabula and Ifumbo do not use mobile phones even there is a specific point up the hill where a network is available. Infrastructure and services like electricity, banks, petrol stations, phones, guesthouses, social halls, insurance, and waste disposal are only available in Isongole.

Figure 61: Use of infrastructure and services in villages and towns

There are a lot of infrastructure and services which are missing in the villages. That is also one of the reasons why people from rural areas go to town to have access to infrastructure and services at least there. From our 36 households, four respondents said that they do not go to towns anymore because they are old. Therefore only 32 interviewees remain who use infrastructure and services in towns.
The respondents use mainly the following infrastructure and services in town: Roads, public transport, electricity, restaurants, markets, hospitals, doctors, village offices, mobile phones access, and churches. Between ten and twenty households use bank services, petrol stations, phones, guest houses, sports grounds, and post offices. Five people also make use of sewage and waste disposal in town. One young respondent from Isongole uses the internet in town, and one interviewee from Ihanda used the airport.

Figure 61 shows how many of the 32 respondents use different infrastructure and services in urban areas. The figure compares also the use of infrastructure and services in villages and towns. It is obvious that roads and offices are used in urban and rural areas almost as often. Churches and sports grounds are used more in the villages.

7.2.3 Missing infrastructure and services in the villages

The people in rural areas especially miss electricity and good health services like a health centre or a hospital in their areas.
In addition, many wish to have paved roads, good public transportation, and a market nearby. Seven respondents would appreciate having a restaurant, a bank, and better water supply in their village. Other missing infrastructure and services are social halls, shops, schools, and a post office. People sometimes simply hope that infrastructure and services will expand one day (Figure 62).

7.2.4 Conclusion

Infrastructure and services in the villages are rare and if they exist they are very basic. Isongole is the only place where a complete basic infrastructure is available. Even for rural people, basic infrastructure is an absolute must for their daily life. It not only makes life easier, but is also a key to a better life. According to Sida (1996) access to a range of basic infrastructure and services like clean water and sanitation is often regarded as an indicator of well-being (Sida 1996). Sida further states that „The way in which infrastructure is financed influences the distribution of income in society” (Sida 1996). „Infrastructure provision such as better transportation and water services can be very effective in raising incomes of some people” (Fox 1994). We also found out that in the village with the best infrastructure and services live the people with the highest incomes as mentioned in chapters 6.4. Improvement in infrastructure and services should not be neglected to give women and men in remote areas a chance for a better quality life for it is one but an important component for economic, social and cultural activities and towards a sustainable rural development (NDP 2002: 2).

7.3 Markets

As described in chapter 4, a small investigation markets was made in order to get an impression of the flow of capital and goods within the area and in the long-distance trade. This investigation was not planned at the beginning of the field work, but it was a spontaneous idea to add it when we were already in the field. Accordingly, the questioning was only realized if we had some extra time in a village or town, and if it was possible to be there on a market day without our making bigger investments. The data collected are therefore incomplete, but still they allow gaining an overview over trading patterns in the area.
There are mainly three categories of markets. First, there are the small and local trading places, where farmers bring their goods to and mostly local people come and buy the products. Except of the non-food items sold by some single business men, all other goods sold are produced by the farmers: agricultural production, animal production, or handicrafts. Figure 63 shows the trading links of Ifumbo. The biggest share of agricultural products (tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, beans) sold in Ifumbo comes from Misuku, a place reachable in about 3 hours on foot, and bananas, some sweet potatoes and onions are brought to the market by Tanzanian women. There is a relatively strong link to Chitipa. Villagers go there and buy industrial goods, which they sell on the market in Ifumbo, and whole-sale buyers come to the village and collect farm products in order to sell it in town.

Second, there are the medium-size markets in local rural centres. These markets tend to be bigger and to have good road access, which brings large scale traders to the market. Additionally to the local people selling and buying small amounts of their goods, traders buy agricultural products on a bigger scale, and they bring all sorts of industrial goods (clothes, shoes, household items, booklets, writing utensils etc.) to the rural area. Figure 64 describes the trading pattern for Isongolec’s market. Most important still is the local trade. Most products are grown in the area and sold to local people. The international border between Tanzania and Malawi does not seem to form a barrier for the local trade, as a big share of the customers...
comes from the nearby Malawian villages. Unlike in Ifumbo, there are business people in Isongole, who directly import goods from cities like Tunduma, Mbeya and even Dar es Salaam. The strongest link for this supra-local trade is to Tunduma, where most of the goods not produced in the villages are bought from, and where most of the externally sold farm products are sold to.

Third, there are the big markets in the towns, where in one way the products from the villages are collected and sold to other urban centres, and in the other way the imported goods are distributed to the rural areas. Figure 64 mapping the trading links for two markets in Mbeya (Mbalizi and Uyole), shows a very different pattern from the first to markets discussed above. Of course, the local trade still has some significance. Much more important, however, seems the long distance trade (in the South with Tunduma, Tukuyu, Kyela, in the East with Iringa, Morogoro and Dar es Salaam, and in the North with Chunya, Lake Rukwa and Mwanza). Also international trade is important for the markets. Mbeya deals with Zambia and Malawi, in Tunduma also business people dealing with the Democratic Republic of the Congo were interviewed.
From the three figures the importance of a good traffic infrastructure becomes evident. Ifumbo, without good access to a bigger market, does barely have the chance to engage in bigger scale business, simply because the transportation of the goods is too difficult and too expensive. Markets like Isongole and Idiwili, which have a proper road access (even if unpaved) have the chance to develop into important rural market places, attracting goods and traders from bigger distances. This in turn is an incentive for the local farmers to produce more, as they have the possibility to sell their goods. Long-distance trade only takes place, where major roads lead through. One such road is the highway starting in Dar es Salaam, leading through Morogoro, Iringa, Mbeya and Tunduma, before crossing the border and going on to Southern Africa. This highway forms a major trading route, also allowing farmers in small villages along the road to sell their surplus production.

Even though the roads and the bigger centres are crucial for a working trading network, for the local population in the upper and middle Songwe Basin rather the small local centres are of importance. This is where they buy most of their goods, and where they sell their products.
7.4 Border issues

As described earlier, the Songwe River forms the boundary between Tanzania and Malawi. In the previous sub-chapters, the movements of goods and people through the basin, and also across the border, are analysed. This section will explore the influence of this demarcation on people’s everyday life.

One interview with a young man at the crossroads in Isongole developed into a group discussion among several young men. We took the opportunity to talk about the importance of the border and the relations between Malawians and Tanzanians. The young men stated that the relations between the people of both sides of the borders are good. There is a lot of business going on. Malawians come to the shops in Tanzania to buy industrial goods (e.g. clothes, cosmetics, salt, petrol, pens, and exercise books). Malawians, on the other hand, provide agricultural goods, such as maize, sunflower, rice and sugar. In short, the people from Malawi come to Tanzania, because the Tanzanian border region has a better supply of goods than the region on the Malawian side of the border.

Tanzanians, on the other hand, use services in Malawi. For example, Tanzanians go to Malawi for primary education, because it is in English there. In Tanzania, primary education is in Kiswahili, so that the step to secondary education, which is in English, is hard. To make this step easier, some children are sent to Malawian primary schools. Additionally, Tanzanians go to hospital in Malawi, because the treatment there is free of charge. There is a health centre in Kameme, and a regional hospital in Chitipa, which are often used by the inhabitants of Isongole. Malawians even repatriate death bodies to their families in Tanzania.

The young men conclude that the Tanzanians have greater benefits than the Malawians. Tanzania has shops, where Malawians can come and buy goods, which increases business for the shop owners. Malawi provides services (school and hospital) for Tanzanians. According to the young men participating in the discussion, the border does not build any barrier for the local people.

As soon as a business man or woman wants to carry goods for sale across the border, the situation seems to be a little bit more difficult, however, as the following example illustrates. On the road between Mbilima and Mwankumbwa, we met Robert, a young man from Isongole who was just coming from Chitipa. When asked about the importance of the border he started to complain about the institutional difficulties, which traders encounter. Robert explains that because of the difficulties at the border crossing, most of the goods go through Zambia to Tunduma, instead of being transported through Isongole, like they used to be previously. Due to these institutional problems, Robert explains, Isongole loses market access because the traders prefer to pay for the longer distance through Zambia, rather than being bothered at the border crossing.
All in all, the international border seems to be a barrier for larger scale trade, but not for the peasants. For the population the frontier rather provides opportunities to profit from advantages of both states, Tanzania and Malawia.
8  POSITIONING OF THE ROLES OF WOMEN AND YOUNG ADULTS
After the exploration of the households’ livelihood strategies, this chapter will focus on the roles of the two actor groups of women and young adults. Besides other issues, their daily routines, tasks and responsibilities were explored, as well as their ideas of family life, education, and their views on villages and towns.

8.1 Women

The target of this chapter is to show the role of rural women in the Songwe Basin. Most women, regardless of their age, are busy all day long. They work in the household, on the fields or are on their way to get water or to pick up firewood. Most interviews were held at the women’s home, because it was the best place to meet them. Quite often we had to wait a certain time until they had finished their work and they could take time for the interview. Sometimes the women even worked while giving us answers to our questions.

The first sub-chapter gives a short introduction on the women in the upper Songwe Basin. The following sub-chapter 8.1.2 analyzes the women’s level of education, the importance of education and their future plans in education. Subsequently the role of women in rural areas, their daily work, their responsibilities and duties, and also who of the sexes is responsible what for will be described. Sub-chapter 8.1.4 gives an overview on different subjects like support and help women can get, place of birth, health problems, importance of traditions and religion, and the women’s rights of inheritance. Further we will talk about the connection of rural women to urban areas, touch on the advantages and disadvantages of towns and villages, the reasons of the women going to town, and where they want their children to grow up. The last sub-chapter 8.1.6 talks about future plans, goals and wishes.

8.1.1 General information

During the fieldwork in the Songwe Basin 26 women from the area were interviewed. The interviews with women took place in the same villages where we conducted the household interviews. The age of the respondents ranges between 14 and 70. Three women are under twenty. The biggest group of interviewees, 12 women, is aged between 20 and 30 years. 11 women are over 30 years old. We always ensured that in each village different age groups were interviewed. 69% of the interviewed women are married. Five of these marriages are polygammies. The husbands have two or three wives. Four respondents are single. Three of them are under the age of 20 and one is slightly above. This is an exception, because women in rural areas usually get married very young. One woman is separated from her husband and from another woman the status of marriage is unknown. 59

59 See basic information on women in appendix V
8.1.2 Education

Before presenting the data collected, the schooling system of Tanzania and Malawi will be briefly introduced.

In Tanzania the structure of the formal education system is based on three levels, namely basic, secondary, and tertiary levels. The basic school level is two years of pre-primary and seven years of primary education (standard 1-7). The secondary level includes four years of junior secondary and two years of senior secondary (form 1-6), the tertiary level of three or more years of higher education. Primary school education is provided by the state, secondary school education operates on a public cost-sharing system (S4Si 2004). In Malawi primary school comprises eight years of education (standard 1-8) and starts at the age of five. Secondary school lasts four years. Two years of junior secondary school, called form I and II and further two years of secondary school, form III and IV. For tertiary education there are Teacher Training Colleges, Government Training Colleges, and Universities. The government of Malawi has gradually ended the duty to wear uniforms and to pay school fees for elementary school in the early 1990s. This has led to a sharp increase in primary school participation because the costs of basic education drastically dropped. For secondary school parents still have to pay school fees today (Kürschner-Pelkmann 2005: 23).

8.1.2.1 The level of education

Four women out of the 26 have absolutely no education. Three of them are over 50 years old. An exception is one woman who is 23 only. She explained that she did not want to go to school even her brothers and sisters attended school. Two of the women who are 50 and 53 years old explained as following, why they were not allowed to take school lessons. They said:

„My mother did not allow me to go to school. My father wanted that I go to school, but my mother refused. She wanted me to help her to do housework” (Neva, 53, Idiwili).

„My parents didn’t want to send me to school. They were afraid, that if I went to school I would become a prostitute. Also most of my sisters and brothers didn’t attend school because of this attitude. Their approach to this subject was for girls and boys the same, because they made no difference. We were all treated equally” (Lucy, 50, Ihanda).

The woman who had to help at home as a child underwent later in her life some informal adult educational program. She attended some seminars from local government. One of it was an agricultural seminar. The other women who did not get any education as a child have never made up for their lost education later in their lives. In Africa it is quite common that girls do not attend school because their parents are afraid that they are thought subjects which

60 http://www.britishcouncil.org/tanzania-education-links-education-in-tanzania.htm
61 http://www.bibl.u-szeged.hu/oseas_adssec/malawi.htm
62 All names of respondents were changed by the authors.
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bring them away from their tradition (BBC news Online 2001). One woman dropped out of school after one year because of mental disease. Another case is a 14 year old girl who discontinued school when she was in standard five. She is the first born of five children of her family. At the moment she is helping her mother out in the household. The following year she will hopefully continue school. Fortunately she knows how important a good education is. As Figure 66 shows, most women completed primary school standard seven.

Figure 66: Different levels of education of the women

![Graph showing the different levels of education of the women]

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

They did not continue school afterwards because of different reasons. Four women failed their examination so that they could not continue the program. Five women wanted to leave school for personal reasons. Two of them did not like the lessons, one quit school because of laziness, another thought that she is not smart enough to continue, and one woman explained that she did not know how important education was. Three women mentioned that during their school days (about 25 years ago) there was no secondary school in the district. That is why they had no opportunity to go for further education. For many people education was also not that important those days. The pupils were not really supported and motivated by their parents to follow up secondary school. Five interviewees could not afford any further education because of poverty. Three of them were orphans. Families are usually responsible for the payment of school fees, books, transportation, and school uniforms. A huge number of Tanzanians can not afford to send their children to secondary school because of these high expenses compared to their low income (S4Si 2004). Three women said that because they were girls their parents did not want to pay further school fees. One of these women did not pass primary school standard seven. She told us:

„My father refused to send me to another private school. I was begging my father to send me to an alternative school. But my father moralized me that I am only a girl” (Ruth, 39, Isongole).
She was so sure of the wide benefit of education and regrets that she did not get the chance to do any further education. Quite often the parents prefer to give a chance for higher education to a male child, for they believe that a man is a better asset in terms of financial returns (ISIS 1983: 7).

Only one of the respondents went to secondary school Form IV in Malawi. But she had to quit school in the end because she failed her exams. Personal circumstances (she was pregnant) influenced her performance. Today she would like to do any kind of further education but because she is a single mother she can not afford it. According to the report of UNESCO 2003 the girls’ participation in secondary education has increased in Malawi over the 1990s drastically (Colclough 2003: 7). In Tanzania half of the school dropouts each year are girls between 12 and 14 who have to leave school because of pregnancy. Such early pregnancies are often blamed on the lack of family life education and the imitation of foreign life styles. Very few schools allow pregnant girls or young mothers to complete their education. The other half of the Tanzanian pupils who drop out do so for a variety of reasons, such as poverty, traditional norms, increases in school fees, and laziness (Mitter et al. 1995).

Only two of the 26 women had vocational training. One of the respondents who is 53 years old today was trained in nursing in Isoko and worked after finishing her education for four years in her field until she got married. Later she attended some seminars to continue her studies. Another woman followed after she had finished primary school standard seven, a two year professional training as a car mechanic. Today she is employed in a garage. This example backs up, that even in Africa more and more women enter male dominated professions.

8.1.2.2 The importance of education

Colclough (2003) says that women with a good education are much more productive than others and help their families to make much more money and to reduce poverty (Colclough 2003: 4). All 26 women shared the same opinion that education is very important today. A woman said that education is the key to a good life. It provides knowledge and makes it easier to cover hard times. A few women believe that with a good education one can get a better job. Three women gave following statements:

„When you know how to write and to read, then you can find your way on your own” (Tabu, 30, Mabula).

„Education is important because it gives you some benefit. If you have success in your education, you can get a good job. It improves your standard of living” (Mirari, 39, Mabula).

„Education is important. You know many things. Example: You can reach somewhere by using a map, even you don’t know the way” (Safiya, 29, Idiwili).
A lot of the respondents think that if you have a good education, life will become easier. Most women, who are mothers or grand-mothers, wish that their children/grandchildren go to school as often and as long as they can. One mother added that she hopes that with a good education her children will be able to support her when she will be old. With a better education the chance to get a better job rises dramatically. Children who will earn better money will be more likely to help their parents in need.

If you ask wives about the education level of their husbands and what kind of education they wish their husbands have, you get a whole range of different answers. For example, four women shared the option, that their husbands should have the same education level as their wives. One woman said that if a partner in a family has a better education standard than the other, problems very easily could rise. She thought that it would be difficult to understand each other, particularly if one spoke English and the other not. Therefore she pleads for an equal level of education. Other women said, that it does not matter what kind of education their husband has, but they prefer their husbands to be educated, because then he can share knowledge among his family members and he might also get a better job than others. Safiya, 29 years old from Idiwili meant:

„An educated man is better. He should have at least form 6. Because then he knows many things and he can make the life of his wife better” (Safiya, 29, Idiwili).

One other woman explained:

„Men have to be more educated. If the man has not a good mind, life can be very hard. If the man is educated, life is easier and better” (Nevia, 30, Mpemba).

Three women on the other hand said that women should have a better education than men. Two wives who are both living in Idiwili declared:

„It (education) is more important for the wife, because she keeps the family together” (Neva, 53, Idiwili).

„Education is more important for women. Women are responsible for a lot of work on the farm” (Dayo, 30, Idiwili).

The government should definitely invest in the education of girls and women for they play a very important role in their family and the society and their education translates into reduction of poverty, improves farm outputs and livelihoods. It also ensures better health and nutrition, reduces fertility and improves prospects for future generation (Colclough 2003: 32).

8.1.2.3 Future plans for education

14 of the 26 women do not have any plans for future education. Four of them mentioned that because of their children they believe that it is not possible to do any future education. They do not have time because of the responsibilities and duties they have for their family. Nine women told us, that they have further future plans for education for themselves but only two
of them will probably be able to fulfilled their dreams. The 14 year old girl will probably go back to school. Her plan is to study until secondary form IV so that she can at least get a job. Another woman in Isongole will take seminars. The plans of the other women will probably never come true. Three women who are all 30 said:

„If I had the opportunity I would study something. The school should be not too far away. If I had money and if I had the chance I would like to go to school again” (Dayo, 30, Idiwili).

„I have plans to be educated. I would like to join evening classes or if someone could come here and teach me, I would like to go and learn. Now it is not possible because of the children” (Nevia, 30, Mpemba).

„Yes, I have plans. I would like to go to college. But it is very far away. So it is not possible at the moment. If there was something here around like vocational training, I would go” (Tabu, 30, Mabula).

With these statements it comes to light that women are very open and willing to get further and better education. But personal circumstances and also limited regional resources (lack of seminars, courses) impede the implementation. A young woman in Idiwili plans to go to nursing College in Mbeya (Isengo) next November but she did not have the money for the school fees yet at the time of the interview. Fees are a main problem for women. They do normally not have enough money to pay for any school fees or teaching materials.

Education is a human right and all children should have equal access to a good-quality education says Colcough (2003). There should indeed be gender equality that each individual gets a chance to develop its talents without any discrimination. It should be ensured that girls and boys are offered the same chance to attend school, to enjoy the same learning opportunities and to get the same knowledge. Education is not only essential for personal development but particularly also for a sustainable economic development as mentioned above (Colcough 2003: 1).

8.1.3 The role of women in rural areas

In developing countries people in rural areas depend on natural resources. Women live very close to nature as they collect wood and other essential items for their everyday lives and cultivate land (Rodda 1991: 47). Life is very basic and the tasks and roles of each individual remain basic too.

8.1.3.1 Everyday life and work

Most women in this study have a similar daily routine. 24 of the 26 respondents are farming and managing their households. Their livelihood strategies are not differing much from each other. Safiya, a mother with three children described her daily activities as following:
"I wake up in the morning at 5:00am. Then I go straight to the farm. At 11:00 I come back with firewood and vegetables. I start to clean the house, the ground and I wash dishes. After that I cook vegetables for lunch. At 1:00pm the whole family is eating lunch. Then I cook vegetables for the evening. If I have some dirty clothes I wash them. Then I go to collect firewood and to get water. I warm up the water for the children so that they can take a bath. I wash the children. Afterwards I go to make supper. After dinner the children go to bed. I wash dishes for tomorrow. I take a bath myself and I go to sleep" (Safiya, 29, Idiwili).

This example of daily routine is a typical example of a woman in rural areas. There are hardly any differences between older and younger women. At each age level they are responsible for the same tasks. Older women often care for nieces, nephews or grandchildren, who are orphans as five women from the study showed. Even among married and unmarried women, there is almost any difference. The unmarried women are helping in the household of their parents and pursue the same work as a housewife. Five women described their different daily activities during dry and rain season. The following example from a housewife in Mabula illustrates:

"During dry season I awake early in the morning at 6:00am. While I am cooking tea for drinking I do some cleanliness. Then I go to fetch water. After that I wash dishes, clothes, prepare and cook lunch. After lunch I collect firewood [on the mountain]. Then I continue to cook dinner. At 9:00pm we eat. Between 9:30 and 10:00pm I go to sleep.

During rain season I get up at 5:30 or 6:00am. First I cook tea for drinking. At 7:00 I leave the house to go to the farm. At 7:30 or 8:00 I reach the farm. I am cultivating until 12:00. Back at home I cook lunch. After eating I wash dishes. Then I rest a bit. At 4:00pm I start to cook supper. At 9:00 we eat and at 9:30pm I go to bed" (Tabu, 30, Mabula).

This statement shows that during dry season the duties of the woman are mostly at home, doing housework, clean the house, wash dishes and clothes, cook, feed the animals, get water, collect firewood, and take care of the children. During the rainy season all woman are working on the fields, some just in the morning others in the afternoon, and a few the whole day long.

During the day 12 women have some free time, as they said. Most of them have a rest at home if they do not have anything to do. Two women in Idiwli go in their free time to the village club to drink local brew. Other two young women in Malawi stated that they use this time to meet friends to chat and to play ball. 14 women do off-farming besides their duties at home to get an extra income. Five of them make mats and sell them on the market such as Dayo. She said:

"I am making mats. Some are for home use and some for selling. I sell 2-3 mats per month for 1000-2000 TZS [small mats] on the market in Idiwili" (Dayo, 30, Idiwili).

Figure 67 shows two women who knot straw together to sell the finished mats on the markets. There are other examples of women who sell agricultural products and fish in the
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neighborhood or on the market. One woman cuts big grass which is used to cover roofs and sells it, another woman makes four times per month five buckets of local brew and sells it in the club. Like that she makes an extra income per month of 40,000 TZS.

**Figure 67: Women who are making mats**

Photo by Born Manuela & Kästli Hannah 2007

The main activities of the last five women are off-farm work. A young woman in Idiwili works in a local dispensary. She is still living with her parents and helps them in her free time. She described her daily routine as following:

„I awake a few minutes to 5:00am. I go to the farm up to 8:00am. Then I go back home, I fetch water, I take a bath and then I go to work as an assistant at the village dispensary house (Mother and Child Health, MCH). I work until 1:00-2:00pm. I go home, I eat and do afterwards again some farm activities until 7:00-8:00pm. Then I cook. If I don’t have to cook I weave. I eat supper at 10:00. At 11:00 I go to sleep” (Talisha, 21, Idiwili).

The other four women doing extra activities in their free time are all living in Isongole. Two women are running a shop and one of them even a guest house. They still do farming besides. Just one household is depending only on off-farm work. She is a widow in Isongole who is having a restaurant. She recently opened a grocery store as well. Her daughter is working as a car mechanic and helps her in the morning and evening in the restaurant. One housewife in Mabula is a member of the village health office called Wahrdumu wa Afya Vijijni (WAV). Twice a month she works for the office in the village Mabula and Bangala. WAV was started in 1995. At the same time the villages supported them financially until 1998. Since then WAV does not get any support anymore. All members are working for free.
8.1.3.2 Responsibilities and duties

The respondents of the 36 household interviewed gave statements concerning which person in the households is responsible for which activities. The details in Figure 68 below show in which part of life women carry the responsibility and duties. Concerning farming issues such as preparation of the land for seeding, weeding, fertilizing, harvesting, and shelling most households declare that both sexes carry the responsibility. 13 respondents said that land preparation is normally the duty of men and 15 interviewees think that seeding is a women’s job. Crop spraying however is mostly carried out by men. The distribution of the responsibilities of keeping livestock gives quite a clear picture. Men or male children are responsible for cows including milking. The same applies for goat and sheep. Only a few households state that both sexes are responsible the same for it. Most women are mainly responsible of poultry breeding.

![Figure 68: Different kind of responsibilities in agriculture of the sexes](source)

The responsibilities in the households are occasionally unequally distributed (Figure 69). Purchasing farm inputs and the finances are mainly under the responsibility of the husband. Other household tasks such as transportation and shopping of non-food items men and women share equally. 17 respondents think that shopping of food is the duty of both sexes and other 17 respondents think that it is only a women’s duty. Some of the responsibilities in the households are clearly divided among the sexes. Housekeeping, cooking, collecting firewood, getting water and handicraft is work women have to do. Only a few mentioned that both sexes could accomplish those tasks. Four of them are families which are very open minded and do not depend on tradition that much (HH 7, HH 13, HH 19, HH 36).

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63 See basic information on households in appendix IV
Positioning of the roles of women and young adults

The daily sourcing of water and the search for firewood are traditional tasks of women. The children, especially the girls, have to help their mothers in their daily activities. The women described their access to important natural resources. Water, wood and the farm land lie at the centre of their attention. The women carry most of the water in a plastic bucket on their head from the water source to their homes. The firewood which the women collect several times a week is laced up and also carried on the head long distances to their homes.

**Figure 69: Different kind of responsibilities in the households of the sexes**

The transport of goods on the heads is exclusively female duty. Women and girls accomplish the task of transporting goods without any help of technology whereas the men often use bicycles or other means of transportation as following Figure 70 shows (Agarwald, Attah, Apt, Grieco, Kwakye, Turner 1994). According to Calvo (1994) women account in total for 65 percent of all transport activities in the rural households measured in time (Calvo 1994: 7 et seq.).

**Figure 70: Transportations of goods on the road between the two villages Isongole and Itumba**

Photo by Born Manuela & Kästli Hannah 2007

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
In developing countries women play a vital role as both water suppliers and water managers. It is the women who have the knowledge of the location, reliability and quality of the local water source. Water is needed by the family for drinking, personal hygiene and sanitation, as well as to water plants on the farm and to processes food production and craftwork (Rodda 1991: 51). 49% of the Tanzanians population in rural areas has access to secure drinking water (WHO 2006a). The water sources in the Songwe Basin are mainly springs. 62.3% of the women get water from those sources. Six women who all live in Isongole have access to tap water. Four women take drinkable water from bore holes. Two of them live in Ifumbo and two in Katate (Mpemba). Six women mentioned that they get water from the river to wash clothes or to irrigate the garden. 57.6% of the women have less than 10 minutes to reach the source of drinking water. Five women have about 15 minutes and three women who stay in Katete (Mpemba) have about 30 minutes to reach the place to get drinkable water (Figure 71). Some women added that during dry season, especially between August and November some springs dry out. Because of that they have to go further to find water or they have to queue long hours. Fetching water can be a tiring and arduous task that usually needs to be often done several times a day.

16 of the 26 respondents are collecting firewood on the hills respectively on mountains. Three women from Idiwili explained that they have to collect dry branches in governmental forests and that this area is far away from their home and not easy accessible. Eleven of these women have to go further than one hour walking distance to reach the place where they find firewood. The respondents from Idiwili told us that they take all in all (way and collecting) between six and eight hours. They collect firewood between one an three times a week. Eight women buy firewood on the market and two women plant and cut their own trees. The distances to the fields are quite different from family to family. Nine women have 15 minutes or less to reach their land, seven respondent have about 40 minutes and ten women have one hour or more. The women however stated that the main problems of cultivating are not the distance to the fields but the lack of fertilizer.
8.1.3.3 Control over household resources

The control over households resources are particularly in men’s hand. Most respondent of the 36 households’ interviewed said that men are responsible for the land and control the land, even women carry out a big part of the field work. Also over livestock, and the income of the households men have the responsibility. The women need and use the income mainly to buy daily household items, whereas men tend to be responsible for larger investments. Both sexes have control over the food crops and cash crops but 16 respondents believe that still the wives have control over the food crops. The women have mainly control over the household properties (Figure 72).

Figure 72: The distribution of the control over household resources between the sexes

![Graph showing control over household resources]

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

General decisions are mainly taken by men only, respectively by the husband. Only three women said that in their families both spouses take decisions. Households, in which only women take decisions, are all female headed (widows or divorced women).

Although the men have the main control over the household, the women have more obligations and responsibilities then their husbands. They are responsible for the whole family and still have to help out in agriculture.

8.1.4 Challenges of women and their families

Rural African life is a daily challenge. Water does not run out of the tap like at ours, people do not have social insurance in case of illness and basics such as education can not be taken as granted. Life remains therefore a daily challenge, a challenge which needs different considerations than those we know. This is what I am going to explain below.
8.1.4.1 Social network and their implication of problem solving

If the women themselves or their families have any kind of problems they can only expect help from their own family members or from close relatives, stated 13 respondents. Six women mentioned that they can go to the neighbours to get some help. Three other women go to church to get some support. Four women described different social groups in the village which help people out in difficult situations. One organization in Idiwili is for orphans under 18 or for children which live in unbearable situations. Another woman in Idiwili described a women group as following:

“We have a group of women who is brewing and selling beer. We are 12 members who contribute 12,000 TZS each year. Aim of the group is to give small loans among ourselves.
If someone is in a plight we go to visit and help her” (Dayo, 30, Idiwili).

Two housewives in Isongole mentioned two different social fair groups. One of them has 50 members. Each woman contributes something to the group monthly. The group helps people with problem particularly how to handle them. If someone of the group gets married the group members give 1,500 TZS for the ceremony and for a gift to the groom and bride each. The other group is a group of business-class women with eight members. Their contribution is 10,000 TZS weekly. They help to buy household appliances.

This exposition of social network shows that women cooperate with each others to have better security. Most families however depend primarily on their family members and relatives which usually can only help in limited ways. To help each other is mutually and is often based on a mutual exchange, such as financial help to rural areas and food for the towns.

8.1.4.2 Place of birth and number of children

Only ten out of the 23 women who have children gave birth in the hospital. It is remarkable that all women in Isongole gave birth in a hospital and all women in Mabula at home. In the other villages some wives gave birth in hospital, some at home. A mother explained that she had to give birth at home because it was during the night at two o’clock and there were no opportunities to go to the hospital. She gave birth to her child alone without any help. If women give birth at home they are normally assisted only by their mother or mother-in-law.

The main reason why the women give birth at home is because the hospital is too far away and they have no chance to reach the hospital in time. There was only one woman who said that she wanted to give birth at home. One woman gave birth to her first born child on a field because she did not know that she was at delivery stage. This statement shows that not all women are well-informed about the maternity process. According to Kürschner-Pelkmann (2005) it is alarming that in Tanzania the share of pregnant women who have access to a health institution dropped from 44% in the year 1990 to 36% until the turn of the millennium.

The number of children each woman gives birth to varies a lot. The three young single women do not have any children yet. There is a group of ten women which have between one
and three children. Another group of nine women have between four and six children. Two women have eight and another two respondents have nine children. This gives an average of 3.9 children per woman. It is however remarkable that 14 out of 25 women wish to have more children than they have yet. Women in Tanzania on average give birth to 5.51 children\(^{64}\) and in Malawi 5.3 children\(^{65}\), which is quite far above the average we found out in our survey.

When asking about a good number of children the answers varied a lot. The interviewed women said that they wished to have between two to eight children, which results in an average of 4.2 children per woman. A mother explained that years ago women had more children than today. It was no problem to have a big family, because there was enough land to cultivate and therefore also enough food. Some meant that today it is more difficult to raise children. One woman added that today one has also more and more to take care of orphans. Like this the family gets bigger as well. A mother explained her view as following:

„Today it is better to have fewer children because of hardship. You have to give your children a good education (secondary school). This needs lots of money” (Mirari, 39, Mabula).

The decision to have fewer children today is prevalent. Parents want to be capable to take care of all children and to be able to give them a good education. Still, in polygamy families the number of children is still huge.

8.1.4.3 Health problems

Women often work longer hours than men. Additionally they are less well-nourished and in poorer health. Women in Africa have few choices about their lifestyle and fewer opportunities to change unsatisfactory conditions and to improve their own situation and that of their families (Rodda 1991: 87). Women’s health and well-being affects the entire family as the woman is mainly responsibility for the daily provision and preparation of food, for child care and the water management. Women’s health therefore becomes a huge issue. The following Figure 74 shows different kind of health problems families suffer. Unfortunately it was not possible to select from the diseases only those women suffer from.

54\% of the interviewed women declared that their families do have some health problems. One woman out of three complained about malaria, stomach pains, headache, and synovitis problems. A grandmother enumerated the health problem of her family:

„The health of my older daughter is not good. The older grandson gives much trouble. He has always a headache. My little grandson has skin rash and diarrhoea. I had an accident this February on the road. I still feel it like dizziness” (Neva, 53, Idiwili).

\(^{64}\) http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/profiles/tanzania_women.htm
\(^{65}\) http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/profiles/malawi_women.htm
Another mother with two little children explained, that she has a tumor in her breast. Last year (2006) she went to the hospital in Vwawa twice. She can not afford to go there again because the medicines cost too much. One woman has got diabetes but she knows how to deal with it. A few people mentioned that the main problems in the area are Malaria fever and AIDS. Literature confirms that malaria\textsuperscript{66} and HIV/AIDS are the major causes of death for all ages in Malawi (34\%) and the United Republic of Tanzania (29\%) (WHO 2006b). Inequity in access to social services is mainly due to unequal income distribution, high levels of income poverty and a non-functional social protection for the poor. The low income of the majority of the population does not allow them to access health services such as medicine and other medical services. At the national level, low financial capacity limits the government to allocate adequate resource to the health service sector (WHO 2008). There is a need to improve health services. This is not only crucial for the people to improve their living standard but also for the development of the economy. Sick people carry a social risk particularly also for their families.

8.1.4.4 Importance of traditions and religion

Mostly rural people in Africa are still very much bound to traditions, which appear in the role of sexes in daily life. Women have very different opinions on traditions and on their importance. 10 out of 25 women believe that traditions are no longer important in today’s world. Other women however explained the importance of certain traditions. They elaborated that traditions can give peace and that it is a part of their identity and their culture and thus a part of their education. Tradition can teach someone to be obedient, to respect other people, and it can help to solve problems like environmental pollution and fighting diseases. A housewife said:

\textsuperscript{66} http://rbm.who.int/wmr2005/profiles/tanzania.pdf
“Traditions have an importance. They teach you for example how to entertain your husband, and how to behave in the community” (Jane, 19, Isongole).

A further aspect of the local tradition which was specially mentioned and which is seen as positive is to slaughter a chicken to honour someone. Another traditional aspect includes the act of giving cows to the future parents-in-law. This is not only positive for it can happen that parents do not have enough livestock to get all of their sons married (Hakannsson 2003: 34).

A few women explained why some traditions are bad. One woman said that traditions are not important to her because she believes that they mislead people. She added:

“Bad traditions are witch doctors and local healers. If someone dies you bury him/her together with a living chicken” (Safiya, 29, Idiwili).

Other negative traditions which were mentioned a few times are segregation of food according to the sex. Women and children are not allowed to eat all kind of food. Some food is particularly reserved for men. Another woman mentioned the unfair tradition of inheritance for women.

When talking about religion all women in this study except one stated that religion is important. Religion is also present in daily life. There is at least one church in each village (see chapter 7.2). In buses and in public places Christian music is often played. People believe that the Christian religion helps to accept, respect, and forgive each other. Religion further leads to humbleness, leads people’s behavior and brings people together. Someone meant:

“It restricts to do evil things. It gives faith and hope to someone. It teaches obedience, restricts thieves and prevents prostitution” (Mirari, 39, Mabula).

Another woman explained that the belief helps not to do cruel things. She said that she thinks that it provides wisdom and it teaches someone to live an exemplary life. Although for almost all women religion plays and important role, this seems not to play a big role for marriage. 46% of the women do not care about religion when they get married. Remarkable is that the tribe where their husband comes from plays even a smaller role. For 75% of the women it does not matter at all from which tribe their husband is. Most believe simply in love which they consider to be most important as the following example shows:

“I don’t care about church or tribe. It needs really love. I didn’t want to marry my husband. I had to go to a witch that I am going to accept my husband” (Neva, 53, Idiwili).

But life is often different. During most interviews with women we felt how happy married women really were. Two examples in polygamy families showed that the woman suffered under dominance and jealousy of the first and elder wife. Tradition and culture gives rural women almost no other choice than to get married and does not give them to chance to choose with whom to spend their lives.
8.1.4.5 The rules and rights of inheritances

Women in traditional societies usually own personal items such as clothing and certain household items. It is relatively rare that they own land, cattle or other forms of capital goods. Even when women hold titles to such property, their control over its remains limited and must always be shared with male relatives (Hammond, Jablo 1976: 101). From the legal point of view as written before in chapter 3.2, women and men in Tanzania have equal rights such as rights to access land, to possess livestock and productive assets. In practice however, such access is often limited to males. Patriarchal structure in the families leads to an exploitation of women and to a perpetuation of their control of land. Men mostly inherit the land and further control the critical inputs for agricultural production as well as sale even others were mainly responsible for the production (Wagao 1991). Although married women can own land though husbands, their possibility to do with the land what ever they like is limited as women have always to justify themselves to their husbands. For example, they have no power to sell the land (Annan-Yao 2005: 55). Further women face discriminatory inheritance practices and restricted ownership of property because the government and courts of Tanzania still make concessions to customary law. And this will only hardly change in the near future.

Ten out of the 26 women know about their right for inheritance. A widow in Ihanda said:

„I have the right to inherit. If my father dies I can inherit. I had also no problem to inherit my husband’s properties. I inherit it together with my children” (Lucy, 50, Ihanda).

One wife mentioned however that previously it was not allowed for females to inherit any property. Things are changing nowadays slowly and female and children can inherit cows. But they still depend very much on the government’s goodwill. A woman who is married the second time explained the situation according to her experience. If a husband dies and he had more than one wife all of them can remain at their husband’s house. The land is shared but the items which were shared before will be divided fairly. Even many women know, that they have the right to inherit they normally do not inherit anything at all. Their parents normally favor their sons and the daughters do not fight for what would belong to them.

Only two women think that they have no right to inherit anything from their fathers. They believe that they can only inherit from their husband but still then the father and brother in law will get a part of the inheritance. One woman thinks about inheritance as following:

„My eldest son is going to inherit all properties of my husband, not any of the wives. Female can only inherit if there are no male relatives around” (Junis, 28, Mabula).

This fact has been stated by other women as well. 14 women of our study share the opinion that they do not have any right to inherit. A mother said that if she had a little son he would inherit everything even the mother has to take care of him. Another mother told us, that her daughters are not allowed to inherit but only their sons. The first born of the sons is going to

inherit most. But he will be the one who has the obligation to look after the family. Two women mentioned that females have no rights to inherit land, but if they want they could at least buy it.

All these statements show that people are not that sure about their rights and the claims remain vague. This is very understandable as the government itself does not always enforce law correctly.68

8.1.5 Connection of women to urban areas

Towns are the gateway for the people to the world. In towns village people do not only find infrastructure they do not have in villages but also big markets, people who buy their products, and they can buy goods which they can not produce themselves or can not purchase in their area. Towns therefore have a particular meaning for rural people. In this chapter the relevance of towns for women will be analyzed.

8.1.5.1 Meaning of town and villages

From the women we wanted to know what kind of picture they have of a town and a village, and wanted to find out with what women associate the two terms and how they define it for themselves.

The most stated association of a town was the many people one finds there. Second followed the many buildings and that those are built very close to each other. Further they mentioned big markets, the existence of shops where one can buy all kind of things and the business opportunities in town. Further associations are infrastructure and services like offices, hospitals, electricity, good roads, public transportation, factories where people can find work, institutes for higher education and a higher living standard which one only finds in towns. The women had no difficulty to describe their meaning of a town. They had much more problem to say something about villages even all women grew up in rural areas. They mostly mentioned one or two criteria to describe a village and that was all. The description therefore falls a bit short. What defines best the characteristics of a village is according to women the availability of land for cultivation. What followed is the existence of few and small houses, the lack of infrastructure and services such as roads, public transport, medical services, schools and big trading markets. Villages are also associated with a place where there are few vehicles, a lot of hard work and where people only eat crops. The description of a village is not only negative. Positive aspects which were mentioned are the availability of cheap land, the possibility to cultivate land and to have livestock. One woman even believes that rural areas are the source of everything.

68 http://www.fes.de/in_afrika/af_gend.htm
8.1.5.2 Advantages and disadvantages of towns and villages

In a further question the women explained the advantages and disadvantages of towns and villages. Some statements are conterminous with the explanations above.

The main advantages of towns are clearly the opportunity to do business. 80.7% of the women mentioned that. Through business more money circulates in the area which makes trading much easier. Second ranked advantages are good services and infrastructure (65.3%). Those are good roads, public transport, electricity, different kind of schools, shops, and markets. Because of the many shops and markets an enormous choice of goods (19.2%) are available which can not be found in rural areas. Five women mentioned the good opportunity to get a job. A few stated that some commodities have more value and therefore achieve a better price for sale than in villages. Some believe that the people in towns have a better living standard and that life is generally easier. Few also thought of better availability of medicine for livestock, lower prices for electronics, a better network among people and less jealousy because of the anonymity in town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages of town</th>
<th>Number of mentions (n=26)</th>
<th>Disadvantages of town</th>
<th>Number of mentions (n=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job opportunities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lack of land</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Everything for cash</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructures and services</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Life expensive</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Available of goods</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hunger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodities has value</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Need to be educated</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better life</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine for livestock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower electronic prices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better network</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Accident on road</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Water problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Polluted air</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

Six women stated that they do not see any disadvantages in towns. Others found just one and only few interviewees several disadvantages (Table 12). The main disadvantage mentioned by ten women is that in town you can only purchase things by cash. If you do not have money you simply can not survive. Other disadvantages in this context mentioned are that life in town is expensive and that people need seed capital to start a good life. If this is not the case people go hungry. Further there are many crimes happening in towns such as thefts and
Positioning of the roles of women and young adults

murder. In towns there is also a lack of free land and there is no space to move. One woman explicated that to live in a town you need to be calm, you need to have good nerves and you need to be clever to do business. Additional in towns there are prostitution, diseases, road accidents, water problem, and air pollution which heavily affect the health of people, of which women are afraid.

The advantages of villages are much simpler than those of towns and they are most of the time related to the availability of land. Most women mentioned that in rural areas all people have the opportunity to cultivate land (57.7%) and therefore produce their own food (53.8%). Other advantages which were mentioned between five to six times are the availability of grazing land for livestock, and natural resources like water and firewood. A few women stated that there a lot of cheap plots available to buy. Following advantages were mentioned only once or twice. These are free accommodation in villages and cheap construction of the houses. Life must be cheaper some women therefore believe. Few also mean that villages have better social communities, and that government-help better reaches people. A woman also said that in rural areas there is less crime and therefore better to raise children there instead of raising them in towns (Table 13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages of village</th>
<th>Number of mentions (n= 26)</th>
<th>Disadvantages of village</th>
<th>Number of mentions (n= 26)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grazing land for livestock</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lack of infrastructure/services</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Commodities have no value</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own food</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>No money circulation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of plots</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dependence on harvest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheaper life</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Heavy work</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government helps</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thieves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free natural resources</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free accommodation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bad traditions</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Many taxes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007

The enumerated disadvantages of the villages are manifold (Table 13). Almost each woman talked about some aspects of infrastructure and services which are missing in villages. All together they mentioned 35 times the lack of infrastructure and services such as electricity, transportation, markets and education which are all missing in rural areas. One woman particularly underlined that due to the lack of transportation means people never reach the hospital in time in case of emergency and often therefore die. Further disadvantages
mentioned are the lack of adequate roads, the lack of water, communication, livestock medication, that there are no mills and there are no industrial goods available to buy. A few women complained about commodities which have low prices and no value in the villages, the many taxes they have to pay, the lack of circulating money which makes it difficult to do business, hard work and the health problems and diseases due to the lack of medical care. Jane, a young woman said:

„People from town come to the village and transmit diseases. Young men go to town and come back sick, then other people have to take care of them and their children. This is a burden for the villagers.” [Mother’s brother died because of AIDS, now the family cares for their children] (Jane, 19, Isongole).

Two women mentioned that it is also bad in villages that girls get married very early, far too early. And this is a bad tradition. Like this they also leave school early which is bad for their life in the end. Other negative points which were mentioned are that farmers very much depend on a good harvest, for only if they have something to sell they can get some income and buy the fertilizer they need for the next season even it is mostly far too expensive.

8.1.5.3 Reasons for women to go to town and their length of stay

The reasons to go to town are for most women the same. The main reason which was mentioned 12 times is to visit relatives and friends in urban areas. This was also the major reason which was mentioned by the respondents of the household interviews. The second reason ten women talked about is to buy goods in shops and big markets which are not available in the villages. One woman goes to Mbeya three times a year to buy items she afterwards sells in the village. Other important reasons to go to town are services as medical care in hospitals, educations (seminars) and business.

Based on their needs, women travel quite differently to towns. Some go there every day, others not more than once a year. Three women even do not go to town at all. The reason of one of theses women is her age (she is 70 years old), the reason for the other one is their close living to Isongole. There she can find anything she needs for her life and thus does not need to go to big towns. The same reason mentioned Dayo from Idiwili. Ten years ago a market was established in Idiwili. Since then she does not need to go to the market in Vwawa anymore. Another group of seven women go to town between one and seven days a year. Five of them go there to visit relatives one to attend seminars and the last one to sell fruits on the market in Chitipa. Six women who regularly go to town such as more than 30 times a year go there to mainly sell their agricultural products on the big markets or to buy household needs. They all live in Isongole or in neighboring villages of Mpemba which have each day public transport to towns.

The towns where the women mostly go are also considered to be the most important destinations for them. Tunduma is the most visited town, followed by Vwawa, Mbeya and
Chitipa which were also named mostly in the household interviews. Towns which were mentioned as travel destinations more then twice are Isoko, Mzuzu, Mlowo and Isongole.

The most important big markets are Tunduma and Vwawa for the woman in the Songwe Basin. But fact is that the biggest part of the women does not go to the big markets regularly but rather to the small markets nearby their villages.

8.1.5.4 Growing up of the children

All women grew up in rural areas. Most of them even today life still at the same place. Because they are married now and have family they are happy to stay in the rural area. There are only a few women who wish to live in town. Jane explained this as following:

„I would go to town because of the good life you can have there, and because of employment. One reason to stay in the village is the economic situation. Further, maybe one is born in the village and grew up there, so if he does not have contacts in town he is likely to stay in the village” (Jane, 19, Isongole).

When asked about their children, half of the women would like that their children grow up in rural areas. The main reason is that most children are born there and that their mothers wish that they learn the traditions and family activities from their mothers such as farming and livestock rising. Few mentioned that they would not like their children to be exposed to the bad influences of urban areas. Only eight women would like to see their children grow up in town. One of these women explained:

„I would like that my children could live in town, because the schools are near by the people. The children can learn comfortably. They can learn many skills (different languages). In town there is transport available. In the village the children have to go by foot very far. They come back home very tired and because of that they fail to do self studies” (Nami, 21, Idiwili).

The better possibilities to get a good education are one of the main reasons to raise children in town. But some also found that life in town is generally easier and better. Five women are actually indifferent whether their children grow up in rural or urban areas. They only find important that they finally find a work to do one day and that does not matter too much where that actually is.

8.1.6 The future

The future plans of the women vary strongly. Three women do not have any future plans or wishes. They are planning for today and tomorrow. One woman stated that she usually plans all matters concerning cultivating normally one year in advance. Some women have current wishes such as getting married for an unmarried young woman, for another to find a job and then get married, to have her own family and to live in town. Other women have more
specific future plans. Some of them are achievable others are likely to remain wishes or dreams.

Seven women mentioned that their main wish for the future is to give their children the chance for a good education. A mother in Mabula said:

„I have only one plan concerning to my children. I wish that all my children go to higher education“ (Mirari, 39, Mabula).

The mothers hope that with a good education their children will have an easier and better life than they had. One mother with five children affirmed that she owns already for each of her children a plot as an investment in their future.

42.3% of the women are planning to build a better and bigger house in the near future or to improve at least the house they are living in such as to get electricity. Neva, one of these women said:

„During the next five years I want to improve the second house. I will change the grass roof with iron sheets. In twenty years I want to make cement on the bricks“ (Neva, 53, Idiwili).

Two of the women are planning to build a house in town. One woman from Isongole has already started constructing a house in Mbeya and would like to finish it in the next five years. Another woman wishes to own her own house within 20 years with her family in Tunduma or Ihanda.

Four of the interviewed women wish to live in town in the future. They are all under 30 years old. Jane, the young woman who is a car mechanic said:

„I will have a different job. I want to be a driver, get a good job and take my parents to town. I don’t want to marry and have a family; I prefer to live for myself. If I can not take my family to town, I would go there myself, and support them from there“ (Jane, 19, Isongole).

Her mother is having a restaurant since 1994 and recently opened a small grocery store in Isongole. When her mother will be older, she would like to move to town, because her business is giving her too much trouble. She then plans to live on taxes from her property in the rural area. Through that she can receive a regularly income. But she is still undecided if she will really leave her village, for she said that the village really needs her and that she plays an important role there.

Five women are planning to invest more in their farming. One of those women will use more fertilizer to improve the farm production. During the next five years one woman will cultivate tea, another will start cultivating coffee, particularly for trading. Three women are planning to increase their livestock, to keep more chicken, goats and pigs. One woman in Idwili is planning to buy two cows. These plans can just be realized if the husbands agree on them.
A few women are planning to do some kind of little business to get some extra income. It was not always clear if all those plans were just wishes or if they would become true one day. A woman who is lives in Mabula would like to become a dressmaker and to sell dresses in Isongo to earn money to send her children to a good school. Another woman has explained her future plans as following:

„In the next five years I will have a big business. I want to expand my fish and table cloths business. In twenty years I would like to be a big boss with lot of things. I want to have a lot of money. I would like to live in town“ (Nevia, 30, Mpemba).

A young woman who is married the second time and is now the third wife of her husband expressed her plans like this:

„I can have a kiosk here in the village. I would like to sell salt, soap and also meat (goats and pigs). It is only my plan, not together with my husband. In twenty years, I would like to belong to the medium size (middle class) people and to have many projects“ (Nami, 23, Mpemba).

These examples show that some women have an idea of how to improve their living. Even for married women it is possible to fulfill their plans and to achieve a certain independence also from their husbands. The implementation is mostly difficult for money and know-how often lack.

8.1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter follows a short summary and a conclusion of the described data above. This will be done in the same order as the sub-chapters with some links to the theory chapter 3.2.

8.1.7.1 Implication of education possibilities of the women

Most women (65.3%) in our sample survey completed primary school standard seven. This shows that girls in Tanzania and Malawi today obtain a basic training. About fifty years ago this was not taken for granted. Three elderly women which could not go to school as a child, support this statement. Only three out of 26 women have a higher education (secondary school, vocational training as a nurse, and a car mechanic). Thereof the girl in the secondary school dropped out because of pregnancy and could not complete her schooling. Especially pregnant women and also young women with little children should have the possibility to graduate school. It is unfavorable that society does not give them the chance to complete their education just because of pregnancy. The survey attests very clearly, that only very few women have a higher education. Varies reasons were decisive for the interviewed women not to have further education. These are failures in examination so that they could not continue governmental schools, lack of schools in their district, poverty of their families, no tendency to continue school, and no support of their families because of their gender. Because girls often have to help their mothers in domestic work and the way to school is often long, there
remains little time to do homework and average performance therefore is low. As a result of no further education the girls get marriage relatively early. Without higher education they have almost no other possibilities than to become a housewife. It should be avouched, that women get the chance to receive further trainings. This is also one of the major elements of the WID recommendation to encourage women in education and trainings so that they are able to participate actively in society (compare also virtuous circle figure 4, p. 32). When women attend higher education and find work afterwards they reduce their dependency on men, so that they can find their own way and do not necessarily have to get married very young. Further women with a good education can better help their families to get a higher income and to reduce poverty. According to Colclough investing more in the education of girls considerably increases personal and social well-being and should be the end objective of all development activities to fight poverty (Colclough 2003: 4).

Even tough most women in our sample survey just have a basic education, 34.6% of them would like to further educate themselves. They have plans for future training but most of those plans are only wishes and not achievable, for women have too many responsibilities and duties to fulfill in their daily life. Married women have rarely the possibility to go to town to attend an adult training because of time and work. It would be a huge advantage if woman could attend some adult trainings or seminars. Therefore it is necessary to build training facilities for girls and women in the villages. In the village they could participate in a course, learn and implement the new knowledge in their daily life, and thus improve the livelihood of their own and their family members.

8.1.7.2 Work and responsibilities of women

Most women have to work more in a day than men. They contribute a large amount to the welfare of their family. Women have to clean the house, wash dishes and clothes, get water, gather firewood, cook food, and look after their children. Depending on the season they also have to do work on the farm. All in all women are the managers of the households. They have a huge influence on the entire family, especially the children with their values, attitudes to and use of natural resources. Some working tasks and responsibilities in the households are clearly divided into the sexes. The main duties in the households are done by the women (housekeeping, handicrafts, cooking, collecting firewood, and fetching water). Through these responsibilities women depend on natural resources. If water sources are contaminated, women and girls have to walk longer distances to find pure drinking water. The same concerns deforestation. When women have to walk long distances to get to natural resources it increases their daily burden. Because women have more knowledge about natural resources and as written before, dependent on them, it is a visible advantage to improve directly the knowledge and understanding of women in sustainable environmental development (WED approach). Infrastructure investments like water supply (deep well) or reforestation to have enough firewood nearby would have a dramatic impact on women’s daily life. The time
women need to access resources could be used for more productive work, also for education and vocational training to provide them with new skills (compare virtuous circle, figure 4, p. 32). Infrastructure services such as clean water and sanitation can also be regarded as reducer of poverty. It reduces the risk of diseases and through health improvement women would be able to fulfill their daily tasks. Good water supply would also improve the health of the whole family and benefit the community as a whole.

For poultry women and girls carry the responsibility. For other animals (cows, sheep, goats), which are more valuable, men and boys are mainly responsible for. Furthermore, they are in charge of purchasing farm inputs and the finances. Other task like shopping, transportation of goods, and work concerning field cultivation are declared by most households to be done together. This shows that more and more couples share their responsibilities in the household despite the fact that the husbands still have the final word. It is important to know the responsibilities and duties of both sexes to be able to empower both in their work. Thereby it is easier to give specifically support to the needs of men and women, to give the whole family a better existence. This is also an aim of the GAD approach to look at the role of the sexes and to know how interventions can be made most effectively.

53.8% of the interviewed women do some off-farm activities to get an extra income besides their daily work. These incomes are mostly used to buying household goods. Women can hardly find a job in rural areas. Reasons are their limited education, their restricted availability due to family, domestic responsibilities, and missing job opportunities. Their limited possibilities mostly are just to make some mats or local brew and to sell it in the village or to try little business with agricultural products. Most of these activities are self-employment and just occasionally. Just one woman in Idiwilli can work in a local dispensary and only in the more development village Isongole women have more opportunities to do off-farm work (running a grocery, a restaurant, a guest house, working in a garage). Thereby they have a higher income, better living conditions, and the better capability to give their children a good education.

Women contribute a lion’s share to agricultural activities but also in other ways to family incomes, a contribution which is in most cases a crucial part for the family living. According to the WAD approach it is necessary to develop the paid and unpaid labor of women. Creation of job opportunities as well as access to training, financial services, timely information and many other resources would prominent women’s role in economic life. But also cultural constrains and social positions in the communities have to alter to improve women’s position to work, to improve the live and opportunities of women and girls in the region.
8.1.7.3 Different challenges in women’s lives

In difficult situations most women receive support and help from their family or from relatives. Some, however, ask their neighbors for help, others go to church. There are also few social fair groups in the villages which support people in case of need. But only few women are members of those organizations, because of lack of money. If government or NGOs could support women in getting better organized for example in self help groups or cooperatives, women could easier get help such as micro credits and would not have to dependent that much on the good-will of other people.

Hospital or health centres are not from each sample village easily accessible. Therefore women gave birth depending on their location. 47.8% of the women gave birth to their children in the hospital and 52.2% at home. All women in Mabula gave birth at home. The main reason is probably the distance to town. The village is difficult to reach and there are no hospitals or health centers nearby. The inadequate road in Mabula and in other rural areas constrains access to social services, also to markets, and other development opportunities. This partly affects the income and health of the village inhabitants. Because of relatively high medication costs most women in Tanzania can not afford to go to the doctor. There is a huge need of health services in rural areas. Women and children are more affected by diseases than men due to e.g. longer hours of exposure to smoke though cooking (Mishra, Retherford, Smith 2002: 2). Therefore more health centers and better roads to make the health centre reachable should be provided.

It is an unfortunate fact that women are deprived of rights and mistreated in many ways. Cultural traditions often hold women back from playing a more active role in society. If women can or do not inherit, they stay dependent on male persons and remain precluded and deprived from business opportunities. Only ten of the 26 women know about their rights to inherit. Two women think that they are not allowed to inherit from their fathers but only from their husbands. The remaining 14 women believe that they do not have any rights to inherit. This shows that more than half of all the interviewed women are not informed about their rights and they do not assert their rights. Information is power and because of insufficient exposure women can hardly enforce their rights. With more advocacies, gender sensitization of law and more and more reliable information, culture and religion customs against women’s right could be probably slowly changed. This would give women more self-confidence and a clear position in the society.

8.1.7.4 Women and urban areas

The main advantages women see in towns are the opportunities to do business and the availability of infrastructure and services. Towns are associated in the broader sense to rise from poverty to affluence, because everything which is missing in rural areas exists there. In rural areas there is hardly any opportunity for women to get employed as mentioned before
and therefore they have no chance to get a regular income. The main reasons women go to
town are to visit relatives and friends and only afterwards to buy goods, use services
(hospital, seminars) and do business. Because of the long and in the remote areas arduous
ways and the transportation fees women do not go often to town. If each remote village would
have a connecting road and therefore to public transport it would make it much easier for
them to reach urban areas. This is shown by six women who go regularly and more than 30
times a year to town. They all stay in the villages Isongole and Mpemba, where daily public
transport is available. The more remote a village is located and the poorer the access to towns
is, the less important become towns for women. New road networks to urban areas would
create opportunities for rural women to take advantage of new markets, increasing their
trades, and income.

The women mentioned as main disadvantages of a town the facts that anything there can only
be purchased in cash and that many crimes happening there. As most women live in poverty
and do not have any redundant money it does not make sense for them to go to town as long
as they find whatever they need in regional centers such as Isongole.

Only eight mothers of all women interviews would like to see their children growing up in
towns for better opportunities of education. For five mothers it does not really matter whether
they live with their children in town or in a village. The other half of the women (13) insisted
to have their children grow up in a village because in a village there is land available to
cultivate and the family can grow its own food. Food security in villages is better. Therefore
mothers prefer the rural area and thus see the future of their children in the village too.
Another reason could be the anxiety of changing social norms in the process of urbanization
and modernization. Women are afraid that they could loose children as their life-insurance if
they move to town and forget about their rural roots and duties.

8.1.7.5  Aims for the future

Most future plans of the women concern mainly efforts to improve their living standard. 11
women plan to build a new house or to invest in their present house (cement on bricks;
change to iron sheet roof; electricity). Other wives would like to extend the farm (cultivate
more cash crops such as tea and coffee and increase their livestock). A few like to do more
business (becoming a dressmaker; expand their fish & table cloth business; open a kiosk). For
all their future plans at least a small investment is necessary. But as most live on a subsistence
level, most plans remain wishes. Therefore, three women probably do not have any plan for
their future for poverty even does not allow them to dream. They plan just for today and
tomorrow. Because some women believe, that their live will not chance, their plans concern
only their children. They wish to give them a good education so that they will have at least
more security in their lives and a better life as a whole.
8.2 Young adults

This section of the thesis aims to give an impression of the roles young adults play in the Songwe Basin. It is not difficult to find young men in the villages. While they are working on the fields early in the morning, in the afternoon they can usually be found in the village, playing and chatting with friends. Finding young women is more difficult because they are less visible, except when they are on the way for work (collecting firewood, fetching water, going to the market). Therefore, most interviews with young women were conducted at their homes, while those with young men were usually held anywhere in the village, where often friends of the respondent were listening and giving their comments. Sometimes, single questions caused real group discussions. All in all, 25 young people between 14 and 28 years of age were interviewed; 11 women and 14 men. A list of the participants can be found in the annex.

This section of the thesis is organized as follows: First, the respondents’ concept of youth is discussed. The second part gives an impression of how young people in our study area try to make their living. The respondents describe their daily routine and talk about their economic activities. Third, the roles of the young people within their family will be outlined, and the fourth part discusses the importance and the respondents’ levels of education. In the fifth part, the young adults’ perception of villages and towns are discussed, as well as their preferred place for living. Finally, we talked with the young people about their future aspirations.

8.2.1 What is youth?

While many respondents stated that they are young, the questions about what is youth, and who is a young adult caused much confusion and many discussions. Most respondents tried to give an age range for youth and for young adults. In Figure 75, these two ranges are both included, giving a picture of the age range the respondents consider as ‘young’.

For 7 respondents out of 23 (respondents 8 and 22 gave no age ranges and are therefore excluded from the graph), youth starts already with 10 years. 9 respondents say that youth starts at the age between 12 and 15 years. All respondents agree that a person who is between 20 and 26 years old belongs to the category of the youths, and for all but one respondents youth goes up to at least 30 years. For 5 respondents the upper limit is 35 years, and 9 respondents even state that one is a youth or a young adult up to 45 years. Fikiri, 28 years old from Isongole, has a simple definition of youth:

„I am a young. Youth is from 20 to 40, after you are a mzee. Young adults are 35 to 45. The difference is the ability to work. Youths are more active than young adults.” (Fikiri, 28, Isongole)
As Fikiri’s statement shows there are different other characteristics of youth besides the age named by the young people. One characteristic of youths stated several times is that youths want to get married. Francisco, 28 years old, describes youth like this:

„I’m a youth, and they (pointing to some boys in their late teens or early twenties) are youths as well. From 18 up to 40 or 45, one can be a youth. Characteristic for them is that they want to get married.” (Francisco, 28, Isongole)

Besides the power described by Fikiri and the willingness to get married, other characteristics of youths are named: The faces of youths look different from that of old people, physical attributes of adolescence show, when a child becomes a youth, and youths have a grown up mind thinking like adults.

Elizabeth, 23, does not feel like a youth any more:

„I’m not a youth. After having a child you are not a youth any more. Before giving birth to a child you are still a youth. After giving birth you are an adult.” (Elizabeth, 23, Mpemba)

She is not the only woman speaking about the change, which happens after giving birth. Also Reheona, 25, explains that her thinking changed much after she had her first child. It made her become an adult.

8.2.1.1 Important issues and concerns for young people

Young people have to think about different issues concerning their future. Talking about important issues for young people, and about what is nice or difficult for youths, single
important outcomes emerged. The most frequently named issues mentioned 15 times each are education (see chapter 8.2.4) and power. Ossea from Mabula is one example:

„Young people have lots of power and more thinking capacity than older people. It is easier for them to learn. There are many different opportunities for them to work. An employer looking for someone might choose a young and strong person rather than an old one.” (Ossea, 20, Mabula)

This statement is quite typical for the young respondents’ answers. They feel strong, and they are also proud of their power and their ability to do hard work. The ‘thinking capacity’ means on the one hand, that young people learn more easily than old ones, but it also has to do with the ability of making plans for the future.

A very important question connected to the future planning is how to find a partner and get married. 13 of the 25 young respondents stated this point either just as an issue young adults have to think of, or even as a problem with being young.

Many statements on important issues have to do with income generation. According to 10 respondents, agriculture and livestock keeping is a major issue for young people. This is not surprising, as most of the respondents depend mainly on cultivation. Even more mentions, however, concern off-farm income opportunities. Finding a job, or developing a small business is a concern for 14 young people. This now in turn is interesting. These statements lead to the assumption that the traditional farming either does not offer a secured livelihood any longer, or that the young people prefer to engage in other activities than farming for other reasons.

When asked about problems for young adults, 11 respondents talk about the risk of involvement in ‘bad things’ like drinking, drug abuse, prostitution and criminal actions. These concerns are mainly stated in connection with poverty and lack of sufficient income (mostly in urban areas), but also with a lack of respect for other (especially elder) persons, and the curiosity of young people to try new things. Interlinked with the latter is the fear of HIV/AIDS, which is the main health problem named by the young respondents. When asked about health concerns mostly HIV/AIDS and malaria were mentioned.

8.2.2 Making a living

Most of the young people who participated in this study have very traditional rural livelihood strategies. Out of the 14 male respondents, 11 are mainly farmers, or sons working on their fathers’ farms. 8 of the 11 females are housewives, and additional 2 young women are still living with their parents, helping in the households and on the fields.
8.2.2.1 Male and female farmers

Emanuel is married and has his own farm. He describes his daily activities as follows:

„I wake up at 6, and I go to work. Around 11 o’clock, I return home and have some resting time. At 1, I take lunch. Sometimes in the afternoon I go to the field, and come back at 6. Otherwise I come here for meeting friends, playing and chatting. At 7.30 I return home, chat with my family, have dinner, and go to bed at 9.” (Emanuel, 21, Mpemba)

Emanuel’s example of a daily routine is typical for young farmers in the villages considered in this study. In the morning, the farmers are working on the fields. At noon, they return home and wait until their wives prepared the lunch. In the afternoon, different activities are done. Often, the respondents ‘go and meet friends for playing and chatting’ (mentioned by 8 respondents). Some do their business in the afternoon, or they do other work at home or on the fields.

For the women, the traditional roles look different (see also chapter 8.1). Most housewives are not only responsible for cooking, caring for the children, and keeping the house, but also to help on the fields, to fetch water and to collect firewood. If the women have some spare time, they seem to rest at home. Only two women state that they have time to meet friends for chatting and playing.

8.2.2.2 Farmers doing business

Of the 11 young men whose main activity is farming, only 6 depend completely on agriculture and livestock. The other 5 have different kinds of small businesses. These include brick burning and trade, the latter with livestock, milk, and industrial goods (soaps, sugar, exercise books, pens, tea leaves etc.). One example is Raphael from Nandanga (Mpemba), who describes his daily routine as follows:

„I get up at 7 and go to the field until 12 o’clock. I return home and have a rest, take a shower and wait for the food. In the afternoon, I collect milk at different farms and bring it to Tunduma. Around 6, I am back home. I have a rest and wait for supper. Between 7 and 8, we eat, and between 9.30 and 10, I go to bed.” (Raphael, 26, Mpemba)

This kind of business is only possible because of the village’s closeness to Tunduma, which allows Raphael to move to and fro by bicycle in half a day.

A similar situation is true for one young man in Ifumbo, who deals with industrial goods from Chitipa and Ilondo. As the distance to town is longer, however, he cycles there just from time to time and buys as many goods as his capital allows.

The livestock business of a young man in Mabula, on the other hand, is very different. For him, making business means to leave his village for several days, and to walk long distances together with his animals:
"I’m a farmer here in Mabula. During dry season, I do some livestock business. I buy cows and goats from Chabu, Isongole and Malawi, and sell them in Katengele to buyers coming from Tukuyu, or sometimes even up to Kyela.” (Watson, 28, Mabula)

The housewives most often do not have any additional income generating activities. 3 of them state that they make some mats sometimes and sell them, and one woman collects grass to thatch roofs, which she can sell.

8.2.2.3 Students, business men and employees

There were 5 young adults, whose main activities are not farming or keeping the house. In Isongole, we interviewed one 28 years old male student, one young man who runs an informal money exchange business, and one young woman who is employed as a car mechanic. In Mwamkumbwa, Malawi, we talked to one young man who is employed by the Agricultural Development and Marketing Agency (ADMCAR). Additionally, there was one young woman in Idiwili who works as an assistant for mother and child care in the local dispensary. As all the activities are either informal self employment, or employments without any contracts, these young people have a second strategy as a security. The student and the dispensary assistant are still living and working at their parents’ homes during their spare time. Both, the money exchanger and the ADMARC employee have their own farms, and the car mechanic lives with her mother and works in her mother’s restaurant in the morning and the evening.

These 5 examples of young people who are not primarily farming show that either some governmental institutions, or a certain size and location of a village is needed in order to provide livelihood opportunities apart from farming for young people. However, in case that these income generating activities fail, farming is still the only alternative to have a secured income.

The earnings gained with the different activities are mostly used for their own family and the business. Only 3 respondents, all females, state that they use their income for themselves. One of them is the car mechanic, who is single and lives with her mother, the second is the dispensary assistant, who is single and staying with her parents as well, and the third is the money exchanger’s wife, who is making some extra money by selling handicrafts from time to time.

8.2.3 Family

Concerning the family, we asked questions about different issues. The young adults’ roles and responsibilities were the subject of one part of the interviews. We asked about the responsibilities they have in their own family (if they already had a husband/wife and children), as well as about those they have in their parents’ family. Further, we explored the division of decision-making within the families, as well as the respondents’ views on marriage and family forming.
8.2.3.1 Responsibilities

The ties to the parents and the level of support between parents and children naturally depend on the life stage and on the activities of the young people. Those who are still in school depend completely on their parents, while those who are already married and have their own family do their best to become unaffiliated. 17 of the 25 young adults interviewed are married and have their own household and family. Accordingly, their main duty is to care for their own family.

"My responsibilities are house construction, organizing food, and taking care of my family. Sometimes, I support my parents if there is something to do, but I don’t give them money." (Mashaka, 22, Mwankumbwa)

"I have to develop my family." (Emanuel, 21, Mpemba)

These statements make clear what the main responsibility of the young married people are. They have to make sure that their family has enough income to survive and to guarantee the best possible future for the children. Emanuel put it aptly for most of the young fathers and mothers when he says he has to develop his family. Most of the young people do not support their parents with money, as already Mashaka’s statement implies. Other respondents said similar things. Most young adults state that they support their parent by doing some work for them, or by providing some soap or some food, but they rarely give money to their parents.

In the case of Elizabeth, this is different. When asked about her responsibilities she explained as follows:

"I have to take care of all people who are living here, to give food to the children and to look that they are happy. I also have some responsibilities for my parents: I give them money for laborers and clothes. I buy clothes for my children and I give money to my parents so that they can look after my children and that they can buy fertilizer.” (Elizabeth, 23, Mpemba)

Elizabeth left her first husband because he did not treat her well. One month before we talked to her, she married again. Now, her parents are taking care for her children, as she was not able to take them to her new home. Therefore, she tries to give some money to her parents in order to support her children that way.

Those young adults who are not married yet are supposed to help their families as long as they are at home. Jeriko, who is student at a teachers’ college, sees his responsibilities at home as follows:

"I’m establishing new ideas in my family. I’m educating my family, for example about fertilizer use. Besides that, I look after the cattle and teach my younger siblings.” (Jeriko, 28, Isongole)

Through passing secondary school and going on to college Jeriko had the chance to gain much knowledge and to get ideas of how to improve his family’s life. Now, he sees his
responsibility in passing this knowledge on to his family, and to support his younger brothers and sisters with their education. During the school holidays, when Jeriko is at home, he helps on the farm with the livestock.

8.2.3.2 **Deciding on important matters**

When asked about who takes important decisions in the family, 18 of the 25 respondents answered that it is either themselves (for those who have their own household) or their father (for those who still live with the parents). Two girls live in a female-headed household and do not have any brothers. Accordingly, the mothers make the decisions. Ossea lost his father when he was 18 years old, so as he is the first born son, he had to take at least a part of the responsibility for the family.

„Normally, it is my mother and me who take decisions. For critical questions, however, it is my mother’s uncle.” (Ossea, 20, Mabula)

His statement shows that he discusses family issues with his mother, but they both seem not to be in the position to decide on important matters. In such a case, it is an older male relative who takes the matters into his own hands.

Four young adults explained that they discuss important issues with their husbands/wives. Two of them were in Ifumbo. To the question ‘Who takes important decisions in your family?’ they answered:

„Both of us because of that gender thing. Before the idea of gender equity was propagated the man was supposed to take decisions. Now, we sit down and discuss matters to find decisions together. If we don’t agree, however, it is still the man who decides.” (Mashaka, 26, and David, 25, Ifumbo)

Obviously, the Malawi Government had some projects to improve gender equity. We do not know where the two young men heard about these new ideas empowering women. Either it could have been in school (both have some secondary education), or they saw some advertisements. In many places (like government offices, migration offices for example) posters aiming at increasing social awareness (stopping violence against women, stopping child abuse for example) can be seen. Even though the two young men heard and understood the message, the hierarchy in the family is still clear. If the wife’s idea is a different one and she does not succeed in convincing her husband, he will make the final decision.

8.2.3.3 **Age of marriage and number of children**

As mentioned above, 17 of the 25 young adults we interviewed are married. The singles are all younger than 21 years but two. We asked the young people, as well as the household respondents, about which is the right age for getting married, both for men and for women (Figure 71).
Generally, women are supposed to marry earlier than men. For the men, the young adults (ya) and the household respondents (hh) gave nearly the same answers. 8% think it is good to marry before reaching 20 years. About half of the respondents state that 20 to 24 years is a right age for getting married. Nearly 35% prefer the age range between 25 and 29 years, and about 8% think it is fine to wait even longer.

For the women, the picture looks very different. Of the young adults, 56% say that for women a right age for getting married is before she reaches 20 years. 7 men and 6 women gave an age range from 14 to 19 years as a right age for getting married for girls. 35% think that 20 to 24 years is good to marry, and the statement of 9% of the young adults lies between 25 and 29 years. The household interviews give slightly different results, with fewer responses under 20 years (less than 20: 44%; 20-24: 41%; 25-29: 6%). However, still the biggest part of the respondents think that women should get married with less than 20 years of age. Interestingly, 3 respondents (8%) gave an age range for girls between 18 and 30 years.

There were different explanations given why women can marry earlier than men:

„For men starting from 25. Before that age, their mind is not grown and they can not take care for a family. For women starting from 20, because this is a good time for delivering. ”
(Mashaka, 26, Ifiumbo)

„Women can get married earlier than men because they grow faster than men.”
(Mkamanga, 28, Ifiumbo)

„The man has to be older because he has the responsibility for his family, and the woman depends on him. I was too young when I married. I just married without knowing what I was doing.” (Anania, 21, Idiwili)
These three young men make clear that a woman primarily has to be ready for marriage biologically, while the responsibility for the family is on the husband. She has to be ‘grown’, he needs to have a ‘grown up mind’. Additionally, a woman needs to have ‘good behaviour’. Several men state that the level of education does not matter (as long as the woman is not more educated than the man), but that the behaviour needs to be good.

Some of the women see the matter a little bit different:

„I got married when I was 19, but I think this is too early. The mind at that age is not ready yet. You have the thinking of a youth. A good age could be starting from 25. By then one knows how to plan for a family. The man has to be 3-4 years older than the woman.” (Tabu, 25, Isongole)

Tabu agrees that the man should be older than the woman. In contrast to the men cited above, for her it is important to be ready for marriage and for starting a family not only biologically, but also mentally. She felt overstrained when she married at the age of 19 and soon thereafter delivered her first child.

Another interesting statement is the following one:

„20 for males, 18 for females. That is how the plan is in this village.” (Francisco, 18, Idiwilli)

Francisco points on social norms in his village. He does not tell us what he thinks personally, but rather what the community he lives in thinks. The community decides for the young people when they should get married.

Several young adults mentioned education as a reason to delay marriage:

„20 for men, 15 for women. One who is in school, however, can be married late.” (Mashaka, 22, Mwamkumbwa)

Of the 8 young people who participated in this study and who are not married, 6 are either in school, or have detailed plans (or wishes) for further education. Education seems to be the main reason to postpone marriage. This finding is also supported by Helgesson (2006) and the World Development Report (World Bank 2006).

When talking about children, it became quickly clear that the era where having a big family should be the goal of young people is over. Most commonly, the respondents say that a good number of children is 4 or less (72% of the young adults, 64% of the households). 5 to 6 children is a good number according to 24% of the young adults and 18% of the households. One young adult wants to have 8 children, and two households think that this is a good number. The biggest number is stated by an old man who thinks that having 12 children is good. One respondent talks about 5 children, but when we ask further he specifies: 5 children per wife. The man has three wives, so this makes 15 children. The comparison of young adults with the households does not show any clear pattern. The only difference is that young
people do not want to have more than 8 children, while two of the household respondents consider this a good number.

The reason why most people do not want to have more than 4 children is very simple: the economic situation is too difficult.

"4 children. If you have more it becomes difficult to support them. Look at my parents. They had 9 children, of which 2 died, and they could not support me.” (Mkamanga, 28, Ifumbo)

Like Mkamanga, nearly all young adults are afraid of not being able to support their children according to their needs. The first concern is how to feed them, and the second one is how to pay for their education. Mkamanga experienced how it is if a child can not make the best of its possibilities, simply because the parents do not have the money to support all their children. Like him, many young parents want to offer their children a better life and therefore decide to have fewer children.

8.2.4 Education

Education is widely recognized as an important tool to combat poverty. As seen in chapter 8.1, also the people in the Songwe Basin are aware of the importance of formal education. The same comes out of the interviews with the young adults.

8.2.4.1 Levels of education and reasons to quit school

The education levels of the respondents differ considerably. All but one (who does not know) agree that it is important to be educated. One 24 years old woman never went to school, without knowing why. 5 youths started school, but did not complete primary education for different reasons. 19 of the 25 respondents completed primary school. One of them went on to a vocational training, and five started secondary education, of which only one was able to complete secondary school and to reach a college.

The reasons not to finish primary school are manifold. One of the two girls explained that she became mentally sick after her first year of school, and after she recovered she did not start school again. The second girl is only 14 years old now and planning to go back to school. One young man stopped after standard 5 because he thought that his „mind was not good enough” (Mashaka). A second man did not manage to organize the money needed for school, so he dropped out after standard 7 (in Malawi one year before completing primary school). The third young man who did not manage to complete primary education had to leave school after completing standard 6:

"I don’t go to school any more. My father was sick for more than ten years. That is why I stopped school. In 2005, he passed away. As I am the first born son, I had to take care for the family.” (Ossea, 20, Mabula)
Ossea had to take over the responsibility for his father’s family when he was 18 years old and still in school. As he had to do all the work his father used to do previously, he had to quit school and concentrate on his task as head of the family.

13 young adults completed primary education, but did not go on with school. 5 of them say that they did not have the money to pay for secondary schools. In most cases this means that the results in the final exam were not good enough to be able to join a governmental secondary school. The alternative would be a private school, which costs much more and most often is too expensive for the peasants. Other reasons to stop was the lack of secondary schools in the village, the lack of awareness of parents and students about the importance of a higher education, or that there were no parents at all, who could have taken care of their children’s education. One Tanzanian woman did not proceed because she did not feel prepared for secondary school in terms of language skills. She does not understand any English, which is the teaching language in secondary schools. Another woman did not join secondary education because she got married after finishing primary school.

Of the 13 students who completed primary school, only 5 joined secondary education, and out of these only one managed to complete it. This seems to be a typical pattern especially for poor countries, which is also described in the World Development Report 2007 (World Bank 2006: 3).

![Figure 77: Reasons for quitting school mentioned by the respondents](source)

Three of the other four had to stop because of financial reasons, and the only woman who joined secondary school did not pass the final exam. Raphael from Idiwili completed form 4,
but his results were not very good. He complains about the small chances students from rural areas have:

„The problem why I failed was that in the village schools have no materials and no extra classes. So it is very difficult to achieve good results. I failed despite being a very serious student” (Raphael, 20, Idiwili).

Also from other young respondents we heard that there is a lack of learning materials, and in some cases there is simply no teacher for a specific subject.

Figure 72 gives an overview over the reasons why young people quit school. The main causes obviously are financial problems, even though at least primary education should be free of charge. The second problem, named by 5 respondents, is failing exams.

8.2.4.2 Plans for future education

When asked about plans for future education, the young adults gave answers, which can be categorized in four categories (Figure 73): 4 respondents have concrete education plans for the near future, 8 respondents would like to do some further education, but it is difficult, if not impossible to realize this wish. 8 respondents state that they are not interested or have no plans for future education, and 5 respondents, like David, have plans for their children’s education only:

„My education plans are for my children only, not for myself. My parents failed to pay for my school fees, and I don’t want that the same happens to my children. Therefore, now I am working hard, so that they can go to school” (David, 25, Ifumbo).

Like in the past, also for the future education the main obstacles are financial problems. 13 respondents talked about problems to set their plans for future education into practice. Of these, 8 mentioned financial problems and the lack of money as the main challenge.

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
For 3 young adults, their responsibility to care for their family is the reason not to join school again. One woman, as described above, does not start secondary education because of her lacking English knowledge, and one woman would like to do any kind of courses or training, which is not possible due to the lack of institutions offering such kind of education.

8.2.4.3 Importance of education

Most people in the Songwe Basin state that education is very important. One of the young men, however, doubts whether people really understand the value of education:

"The problem with education is that many families can not support their children to get much education. They don’t understand the meaning of education and how to support their children, they rather pay for a marriage than for school." (Jeriko, 28, Isongole)

With this statement, Jeriko touches an important point in the discussion concerning education. People are well aware that education is important, but if there are short-term needs, the money is likely to be spent on these, rather than for school. This probably is also in connection with Mashaka’s statement:

"Very few think about education here in the village, because most only think about cultivation. Further, young people think about jobs. But the problem here in the village is that even if you are educated, you don’t find a job, just because there are no jobs available here. So many people think it is not worth it to invest in education” (Mashaka, 26, Ifumbo).

Both statements question whether the long term investment in education actually will pay off, or if it is better to spend the money on short term needs. Why should a family pay for its children’s education, if there will probably be low or zero returns, simply because there are no jobs available in the village? Naturally, the young and educated people could move to towns, where they are more likely to find work. However, even in towns it is not easy to find employment, as the unemployment rates of youths aged 15-24 in urban areas are 21% in Malawi and 10.9% in Tanzania (World Bank 2006: 273). A study on the urban labour market in Ethiopia showed that investment in education started to pay only when young employees had at least some years of secondary education. While a good education can help young Ethiopians to find work in the public sector, also a big share of the unemployed are relatively highly educated (Krishnan et al. 1998). Looking at these facts, it is somehow understandable that people are questioning the value and the rewards of education.

8.2.5 Between village and town

Most of the young respondents have been in town and have at least some idea of town life, and can describe, what meaning the words ‘town’ and ‘village’ bear for them. Only two respondents have never been in town:

"I have never been in town, so I don’t know it. Village is where people live, cultivate and keep their animals.” (Tabu, 25, Isongole)
"I never have been in town. I just know that it is a good place for business and good education." (Francisco, 18, Idiwili)

Unlike Tabu, who does not seem to have much of an idea what a town looks like, Francisco has heard about towns and has an idea of it despite he never has been there. His information, however, concerns not the appearance of the town, but more its functions, which are relevant for the villagers (good place for business and good education).

Of those who have been in town, different definitions of a town and village are given:

"Town means population, networks, exchange, development, offices, high life expectancy. In the village, land for cultivation and livestock is available. [The village] can not meet the requirements of a town, because there are not enough people and services. It has less development, poor infrastructure and schools, no lodging, and no social centers." (Jeriko, 28, Isongole)

"Town is where many people are, and where you can find many opportunities to work. In the village, there are few people, low money circulation, and no cars. You rarely see a car passing here." (Ossea, 20, Mabula)

"In town, there are many things: electricity, business, many people, markets with plenty of goods, TV and video shows... All in all very good information. In the village, people cultivate crops, which are collected by ADMARC and brought to town to feed the people in town. The village is the production area for crops." (Mashaka, 26, Ifumbo)

The statements of these three youths give a good general sum of what also the other respondents stated. Compared to the village, where according to the interviewees most inhabitants are farming and keeping some livestock, infrastructure and services are missing, schools are poor, and only little money is circulating, the towns are well developed, goods, electricity, jobs, and information are available, transport is easy, and business opportunities are manifold.

8.2.5.1 Advantages and disadvantages of villages and towns

After giving their definition of town and village, the respondents were asked about advantages and disadvantages of urban and rural areas. The answers are not much different from those given by the women (see chapter 8.1). Nevertheless, we will provide a short overview summarized in Table 14.

The main advantages of the town are the availability of infrastructure, services and goods, the money circulation allowing business activities, and the availability of employment. Additionally, an important point seems to be the anonymity, which reduces the social control, and the cultural mix, allowing new thoughts and ideas. This lower amount of social control, and the fact that it is not easy to succeed economically in town lead to the main disadvantages of the urban areas: life is expensive, and everything depends on money. If one does not manage to earn some cash, he or she is likely to engage in criminal activities or prostitution.
Further, the high population density leads to unhealthy and dangerous living conditions (accidents, diseases, air pollution).

Table 14: Advantages and disadvantages of village and town according to young adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good infrastructure</td>
<td>Expensive life, all depends on money</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good road network and transport</td>
<td>No place for cultivation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Availability of services</td>
<td>Risk of loosing all, being without help</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good education</td>
<td>Bad cultures, easy to adopt bad habits</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good communication and information</td>
<td>Prostitution</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business opportunities</td>
<td>Criminals</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>Diseases (including AIDS)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Easy work, using the brain instead of the muscles</td>
<td>Overcrowd</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good markets</td>
<td>Road accidents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Availability of goods</td>
<td>Air pollution</td>
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<td></td>
<td>High money circulation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cultural exchange, discovering new perspectives</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No jealousy, witch craft</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balanced diet, plenty of food available</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Access to land for cultivation and livestock</td>
<td>Low living standards</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheap life</td>
<td>Lack of development</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Natural resources (water, firewood) and food are for free</td>
<td>Lack of money</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Customs and culture are kept</td>
<td>Lack of employment</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Live with family, helping each other</td>
<td>Lack of markets</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children obey their parents</td>
<td>Lack of transport, roads and bridges</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A person can have much influence</td>
<td>Lack of electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of schools and trainings, poor education</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of hospitals</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of information and knowledge</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of construction materials</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of processing machines</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Lack of hybrid cattle</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soil exhaustion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Difficult to find farm inputs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No access to credits and loans</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Risk of crop failure</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Villagers have to care for sick family members coming home from town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High social control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jealousy, witch craft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
In the village, there is one main advantage: life is cheap. Land for cultivation and for grazing the livestock is available, food, water and fuel is for free. The second issue pointed out by the young adults concerns social matters: Customs and cultures are kept, family ties are strong, and the community network is good. The disadvantages of the village listed by the respondents, however, are manifold. Most often the lack of things was identified: Except of land, water, firewood, food and the social network, everything seems to be missing or poor.

8.2.5.2 Preferences and reasons to live in the village

Despite the fact that so many things are missing in the rural areas, 11 respondents out of 24 who answered the question prefer to stay in the village. Two of them are Mashaka and David:

„People go to town because of business. I do not go to town myself. I want to cultivate, that is why I live in the village.” (Mashaka, 22, Mwamkumbwa)

„I live in the village because I was born here, my parents are here, here we have food and no problems. There is no reason for me to go to town now.” (David, 25, Ifumbo)

These two statements give the main reasons for the young adults to stay in town. The village life is the life they know, they have their family there, and they like to cultivate. When talking about his children, however, David states that he wants them to grow up in town.

„I want them to grow in town because of education. Here in the village there are many activities to do for children, like feeding livestock, weeding, fetching water, or collecting firewood. They don’t have time for studying.” (David, 25, Ifumbo)

Other respondents share David’s concern: 4 out of the 11 young people who want to stay in the village state, that they want their children to grow up in town.

The other 14 young adults would prefer to live in town. They have different reasons to stay in the village anyways:

„I stay in the village because I don’t have capital. If I get capital, I will move to town. Many young people move to town because of the low income in the village. Land would be enough.” (Watson, 28, Mabula)

„The social services, business and job opportunities are reasons to go to town. An additional reason is the hardship in the village. People hope to find another life in town. Reasons to be in the village for me are simply because I live with my parents and am not able to live independently yet. Later, I want to stay in town because of the better social services.” (Raphael, 20, Idiwili)

„I live in the village because there are many problems in town. You have to buy everything there. (...) If I find a job myself, I would go to town immediately and let my children grow there.” (Mkamanga, 28, Ifumbo)

These three statements are typical for all the 14 young respondents who would prefer to live in town. They stay in the village because they know that without capital it is very difficult to
Positioning of the roles of women and young adults

start a good life in town. Some statements show frustration about the present situation. In town, a life with less hardship would be possible, with many opportunities for business and jobs. But how should the village youths manage to start a business without capital, or how should they find a job without proper education? Helgesson (2006: 215) makes the same observation. One of her respondents asks rhetorically: „Can I wish to work in an office without studying? And work? Can I wish to work in the tribunal without studying?” (ibid.). All these examples show that most of the young adults in our study area do not have a real choice between village and town life. They stay in their village because they know that they can at least produce their own aliments. If they had a choice, however, more than half of our respondents would be ready to leave their village and start a life in town.

8.2.6 The future

The last questions in the interview with the young adults concerned the respondents’ aspirations for their future. First, we wanted to know what their plans for the next five years look like, and second, how they expect their life to be in 20 years.

For the coming couple of years, most respondents had some plans for their personal development. Only one of 24 respondents answering the question does not have any plans for the closer future:

„I don’t have a future plan. I only plan for today and tomorrow. I don’t have a wish for the future.” (Holin, 23)

Holin is a 23 years old mother of 2 children who never went to school. She seems to be fully occupied by coping with her daily life, which leaves no room for reasoning, planning or dreaming.

Of the 23 respondents who have some idea about their future, 9 stated that they plan to construct a house (of which 4 want to rent it out in order to earn some income), 8 have some plans for education (of which 3 plan for their children or relatives only), 7 plan to move to town, 7 want to start or increase their business, 6 hope to find employment either in town or in the village, and 5 want to increase their farming and/or livestock activities. Several respondents have plans for more than just one of the categories named above.

„I will grow onions on 1.5 acres of my land. Next year after the harvest, I want to build a house near the secondary school and rent it out. Otherwise, if this does not work out, I go to town for business. I would do fish business with Lake Rukwa. Marriage depends on my economic situation, and on finding the right person.” (Ossea, 20)

Many of the young people have precise ideas of how they want to realize their plans, like Ossea in the example above. If one strategy does not bring the expected success, Ossea even has an alternative plan (unlike others who follow just one idea). When asked about his life in
20 years, Ossea was not able to give an answer. He makes realistic plans, which he might be able to realize, but he is not able to visualize a long-term dream.

Just like Ossea, many others have difficulties with describing how their life will be in 20 years. Fikiri aptly sums it up:

„I have no plans for what will be in twenty years. All depends on money.” (Fikiri, 28, Isongole)

The young people have many ideas of what they could do, but usually they lack the capital for the necessary inputs. If they somehow manage to get a stock of starting capital, their present possibilities and consequently also their future options change dramatically.

Only 9 of 24 respondents gave some kind of description of their life in 20 years. 5 of them expect to live in town, like the following two examples:

„In twenty years, I will be a lawyer in Mbeya, with a good house and one child.” (Raphael, 20, Idiwili)

„I want to be rich, a big boss, living with 3 kids in Tunduma.” (Emanuel, 20, Mpemba)

The other four have different visions. One young man wants to become a teacher, one woman will earn money by burning bricks or growing sun flowers, one women simply wants to build a house and have a farm, and one woman dreams of belonging to the middle class and having many projects.

8.2.7 Conclusions

In the sections above the information gained from the interviews with young adults was described. Now, the most important messages shall be summarized and some conclusions drawn from them. This shall be done according to the model of the five transitions described in chapter 3.3.3, of which three were discussed during the interviews (learning for work and life, going to work, forming families). The three youth lenses show what should be done in the single transitions in order to improve opportunities, support capabilities and offer second chances. Additionally to the three transitions mentioned, the young people’s view on villages and towns, as well as their aspirations for their future will be discussed.

8.2.7.1 Learning for work and life

The young respondents in the upper Songwe Basin all agree that education is important. Most of them completed primary education. Those who did not reach this level of education did either not start school at all, had to stop school because of illness or a family member’s death, or quit primary school because of personal preferences or lacking financial support. All in all, primary education seems to be feasible for most healthy, well supported and motivated children.
In the case of secondary education, the picture looks different. If the results in the primary school’s final exam are not good enough to pass into a governmental secondary school, the children can not continue their education because their parents are usually not able to pay the fees for a private school. An additional obstacle is that in many villages there simply are no secondary schools. The only alternative is to send the children to a boarding school, which again costs too much for a peasant family. Further, some families do not understand the importance of higher education, which to some extent is understandable given the fact that in many villages there simply are no jobs available, no matter how well educated a person is. In Tanzania, the fact that English is the school language starting from secondary school additionally can discourage students.

Five respondents managed to start secondary school despite all these obstacles. Of these, only one was able to complete it and go on to college. Two had to stop school because of financial reasons, and two failed exams. Generally, the quality of tuition in the Songwe Basin seems to be bad due to overcrowded classes, shortage of qualified teachers, and lacking learning materials.

About half of the interviewed young adults would like to attend some more education. Many of them will however not achieve it, because either financial capital is lacking, or they are occupied with their responsibilities within their family, or there is no adequate course offer available.

Opportunities needed (compare Table 3) include the improvement of the readiness for postprimary education. More and better equipped primary schools are needed. Additionally, options for postprimary education have to be expanded and its relevance needs to be improved. Concerning the capabilities, the point ‘reduce financial pressure’ seems to be of major importance. Students and parents have to be motivated for attending and supporting higher education. A crucial point is also the better preparation for secondary education. Many young adults need second chances in order to re-join education, either to get back into formal secondary education, or to develop other knowledge in different kind of courses and trainings.

8.2.7.2 Going to work

The most common work for young adults in the upper Songwe Basin is farming. With one exception (the car mechanic in Isongole), all respondents do cultivate. Of the 11 women participating in this study, 9 are housewives and farmers (or working on their parents’ farm). Of the 14 men, however, only 6 depend completely on farming. Most of the others try to do any kind of small business. This probably happens for different reasons. First of all, agriculture does not seem to fully cover a family’s needs any more (see chapter 6), either because of decreasing yields resulting from a decreasing soil fertility or other environmental impacts, or because of increasing cash needs. The first point is supported by the statements on problems with the natural resources made by the households, whereas the second point is
supported by the observation of other researchers concerning the change in livelihood strategies going on since the market was liberalised (compare chapter 2.2.3). A further reason might simply be that young adults got to know a new lifestyle with less hardship, which they would like to achieve.

Depending on the location and the size of the village, as well as the presence of organisations and institutions, business and employment opportunities differ. Isongole, a bigger village next to the international border with good road access and electricity network, offers more business opportunities than Mabula, a remote village where only peasants live. In Isongole different trading businesses are possible, as well as offering services (money exchange, transport, restaurant, or garage) or finding employment at the migration office. In Mabula, this is much more difficult. As long as the SRTCMP is active, some women might get the opportunity to cook for the project staff. Otherwise, there is not much money to earn in this village. All in all, only 3 respondents (one man and two women) managed to find an employment: the car mechanic in Isongole, the ADMARC employee in Mwamkumbwa, and the assistant in the health centre in Idiwili. None of them has a working contract. The car mechanic’s job depends on the road access and the fact that Isongole is a local centre with a filling station and a garage, the two other jobs are due to governmental activities in the village.

Working opportunities besides farming are rare in the upper Songwe Basin (see chapter 6.3.2 and Figure 36). The creation of employment and the facilitation of self-employment opportunities are crucial for the rural areas if the young people are meant to stay in the village. Capabilities could be enhanced by helping the young adults in developing ideas and setting them into practise, and this includes offering skills development and practical training. With some further support, young people might get a better chance to start their own income generating activity. Additionally, such trainings would prepare the youths to profit from newly created opportunities. The point second chances does not really make sense in places where most people did not even have a real first chance. Therefore, creating opportunities is the place to start.

8.2.7.3 Forming families

As long as young persons live with their parents they are supposed to help at home and on the fields, which can be a problem for students because they barely have time to sit and study. As soon as young people got married, they start their own household and try to become independent from their parents. Further on, the young people might help their parents by doing work for them or helping out with goods if needed, but they usually do not support them with money.

In the upper Songwe Basin, young people marry rather early. More than 80% of all household respondents and young adults stated that for a girl the right age for getting married is with less than 25 years. More than half of them even think a girl should get married before reaching 20.
For the boys, less than 10% favour to marry before reaching 20 years, but the majority thinks that young men should marry when between 20 and 25. Several young respondents who married early (before 20) stated that it was too early, that they were not ready for it yet, and that today they would marry later. The most widely accepted reason to delay marriage is education. Supporting young people to continue school after finishing primary education could therefore help to prevent early marriages.

Most of the young respondents want to have less than 4 children. The reasons for that relatively low number of children are the difficult economical circumstances. The young parents want to be able to offer their children a good childhood and the best possible education. Many of them know from own experience that it is difficult to support many children: they suffered from their parents’ inability to support them according to their personal potentials. The shift towards smaller families therefore does not come from a change in the culture, social norms or personal preferences, but simply from economical pressure.

Decision power is clearly with the male household head. Most young husbands state with a proud smile that they themselves take important decisions in their family. Some couples discuss important questions, but in the end the man is the one who has the power to decide.

All in all, the young people have a very traditional family life, with clear roles for men and women. Modern ideas like gender equity are strange to most of the young respondents. Concerning the formation of families the main opportunity needed in the upper Songwe Basin is the prevention of early marriage. In order to achieve this capabilities have to be developed: information and education on sex and reproductive health has to be provided, and resources for further education to delay marriage have to be offered. Second chances might include support for young mothers (and especially single mothers), and programmes for young parents to continue their personal education and development even after having a child.

8.2.7.4 Views on village and town

The village is the home for the young respondents. It is the place where they were born and where most of them spent their whole life. But many respondents have a very critical view on the living situation in the village. They appreciate that life is very cheap because food, water and wood is available for free, and they mention the importance of the community life and the mutual support of the villagers. On the other hand, the young people give a long list of things which are lacking or poor in the village: no good roads, poor education, insufficient health care, lack of business and employment opportunities, and a generally low living standard.

The towns, on the other hand, are seen as the places where more opportunities are offered, more of the things lacking in the village are available, and where life could be easier. At the same time, the young people are also much aware of possible problems and dangers in the towns. They know that everything costs money in town, and that therefore one can only go there if he or she is able to earn this money. More than half of the young adults would like to
move to town. The most important cause holding them back in the village is the lacking capital, which is needed to start a better life in town.

This outcome is a little bit worrying as it most often is the role of the young people to try new things, to be innovative, and to make changes. It is the young adults’ energy that could advance development in the rural areas. If half of these young people move to town (or stay in the village, frustrated about their inability to change their situation) a huge potential for the rural areas gets lost, and sooner or later the older generation realises that there is nobody there to support them when they get old. Therefore, it is crucial to better support the rural areas, to create employment and business opportunities, and to make sure that also in rural areas higher education pays off. This is the only alternative to prevent educated and innovative young adults from leaving the villages in the long term.

8.2.7.5 Aspirations for the future

Developing visions for the future seems to be very difficult for our young respondents. They have some plans for the next couple of years: they plan to improve their house, to start a new income generating activity, or to increase their business. Some of these short-term plans are even very detailed. A very different issue, however, is to talk about long-term visions. Most of the young people have no clue about how they would like their life to be in ten or twenty years. Maybe they know what they would like to do, but as they know that they will not have the finances to set their ideas into practice, they do not even start dreaming. The future prospects for these young people are very much constricted: all depends on money, which is very difficult to earn in the village.
9 CONCLUSIONS AND KEY FINDINGS
In this last chapter we relate the research questions stated in chapter 1.2 and will highlight the outcomes of this study. We will end the research paper finally with a short discussion on improvement possibilities of the livelihood of the inhabitants in the upper and middle Songwe Basin.

9.1 Answers to the research questions

What are the livelihood strategies of the people in the upper and middle Songwe Basin?

The livelihood strategies of most inhabitants in the upper and middle Songwe Basins are very traditional. Almost all respondents of our survey cultivate land. The people depend strongly on agriculture for it is their basis of existence and gives them food security. The peasants depend just on a few agricultural products which are maize, beans, and groundnuts. Depending on the location and the altitude above sea level other products such as sweet potatoes, cassava, rice, millet, and vegetables are also cultivated. What is not used for personal needs is sold on the markets. There are relatively few households (but still at least one in each sample village), that grows specific cash crops like sunflowers, coffee or tobacco. Alarming is the fact that even in a good year of harvest nearly half of the households do not have enough food for the whole year and suffer from food shortage particularly in the month of February. After a poor harvest more than 25 out of 36 households go hungry even between December and February. Only in the month of May all households have enough food from thier own production. Apart from agricultural production all respondents keep animals like cattle, goats, pigs, sheep, rabbits, chicken, and guinea fowls. Chicken and goats are most commonly owned. Both are easy to raise and people can keep them even at subsistence level. Keeping animals is in general an important wealth step for the households for it provides not only a source of food (milk, eggs, and meat) but also income. However the main source of income of the sample households is agricultural production. The expansion of the main source of income is particularly challenging for bigger production needs sales at bigger markets. These are remote and public transport is inadequate and prices of implements are steadily increasing.\footnote{Implement prices in Africa are steadily increasing and world commodity prices too but as crops of the farmers in the Songwe Basin is not traded globally, they can not really benefit from the increasing prices.} Because of these reasons off-farm activities become more and more important for the rural inhabitants. This is confirmed by authors like Orr and Mwale (2001) or Bryceson and Bank (2001). Almost 2/3 of our sample households pursue some kind of off-farm activities which substantially contribute to the household earnings. For eight households it has become even the main source of income. The better the infrastructure of the villages, the better opportunities people have to do any off-farm activity. Poverty in the region is omnipresent. About two thirds of the surveyed households are living on only little more than
Conclusions and key findings

one US-Dollar per day. Still, more than half of the households can save little money during the year. The village Isongole, which has some basic infrastructure and relatively good access to urban areas, has a far higher income per household than the other five villages. This shows that the more developed a location is, the more occasions to earn money exist. This finding is also supported by Ellis and Mdoe (2003), who state that better off-groups combine agriculture, livestock keeping and non-farm activities; thus, non-farm activities become more and more important as also our survey shows. Incomes are mainly used for farm inputs, household needs and education purposes of the children. Most respondents however did not know their yearly budget very well and could not name the amount of expenditures they have per year. This shows that they do not know how to do budgeting, or that they simply can not budget their expenditure because they live from hand to mouth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is the meaning of the near-by towns and their infrastructure and services for the livelihoods of the rural population?</th>
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</table>
| Most respondents in our survey have connections to urban areas. 30 of the 36 sample households have at least one member of their family who leaves for town some days in a year. The frequency of villagers going to town mostly depends on the location and thus the accessibility of the urban area. In very remote villages like Mabula in our survey, where there is no transportation available to towns, people are particularly poor and less than half of the households go to town. Where they go also depends on transportation possibilities. Villagers living in locations with regular public transport from rural to urban areas and vice versa go much more often to towns than villagers who have no access to transportation. The better the accessibility of a village is, the higher income the households usually have. This is particularly due to the enhanced chance to do business between rural and urban areas. In general, the public transport in the upper and middle Songwe Basin is bad especially on the Malawian side. Most people stay normally just one or two days in the nearby towns (Tunduma, Vwawa, Chitipa). In more distant towns the lengths of stays vary strongly and last up to two months. Towns have always infrastructure which is mostly missing in rural areas. For this reason villagers have to go to towns to use certain kinds of services. More than half of the respondents declared that they use particularly services in hospitals or health centres, markets, restaurants, churches, offices, public transport, mobile phones, and electricity in towns. Because of the much better infrastructures towns have compared to the rural areas, and therefore better opportunities to offer any kind of business, we assumed that this was the prime reason for people to travel to towns. But this expectation was wrong. The main cause to go to the urban area is to visit relatives and friends. On the second place is business, followed by good purchasing, and services such as medicine help and education. Most of the young
Conclusions and key findings

adult interviewees see business and job opportunities as reasons to go to town. More than half of them (especially men) would prefer to live in town and dream to improve their standard of living. But because of lack of investment capital it is not possible for them to migrate to urban areas to start a better life. Women see the same advantages in rural living as men do. But because of the daily work they normally do not have time for a journey to town. Effectively, towns do not have a big significance for most women. Therefore the bigger villages with functioning basic infrastructure like Isongole, where daily goods for living are available, are much more important for them, particularly as they are easier to reach than the bigger towns in the region.

What are the roles of women and young adults in the rural areas?

The main roles of women in the Songwe Basin are simple to describe. Based on cultural norms, tradition and stated terms women get married quite early. Because of that, most women in our sample survey obtained just a basic school education. Only 3 out of 26 had the chance for further education. Married women and young women who are still living at their parents home have to fulfil the same obligations, and their daily life is very similar. They are primarily responsible for all domestic work, mainly cleaning, washing, cooking, collecting firewood, and getting water. They also work on the fields and have to feed their children and look after sick family members. Women bear the main burdens of the family. They are also very much dependant on natural resources. In order to get an extra income, more than half of the women do some off-farm work besides their daily tasks such as to braid mats, to brew local brewage or to trade with agricultural products. In the more developed village Isongole, which is a small regional centre, some women even run shops or restaurants. But in general it is very difficult for women in rural areas to find a job. Most women use the earnings for household needs and for the education of their children. They try to give them the best possible education so that they will have a chance for a better and easier life. In brief, women are mostly the manager of their family and keep them together even through their position in the society is lower than those of men.

The young adults most often share the traditional livelihoods of their parents’ generation. As long as they are not married, they are supposed to either be at school, or to help at their parents’ farm. Accordingly, the most important reason to delay marriage is education. After finishing school, young adults marry relatively soon and then usually develop their own farm and family. Still, the young people and their parents support each other with work or some goods needed, but usually they do not give financial support. The power and the ‘thinking capacity’ of the youth are seen as driving forces for innovations and future changes. As the income generated through farming often is not sufficient for the needs of the family, young adults (especially men) put some considerable effort into non-farm activities, wherever they
are able to find a possibility to earn some additional money. Opportunities are rare and depend much on the size, the location and the accessibility of the village. Because of this lack of working opportunities, secondary education does not necessarily pay off. Accordingly, and because of other constraints (i.e. financial problems and low standard of primary education), only one of 25 young adults interviewed was able to complete secondary education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are there differences in livelihood strategies and rural-urban relations between Tanzania and Malawi?</th>
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</table>

We did not find any major differences between the livelihood strategies of Tanzanians and Malawians in the upper and middle Songwe Basin. Most households on either side of the border depend mainly on farming, the crops grown by the farmers are the same in both countries, and also questions concerning the family and rural-urban linkages were responded likewise.

While the peoples’ options for livelihood activities are similar on the Tanzanian and the Malawian side of the basin, the livelihood context varies in certain aspects.

- **While in Malawi the farmers can bring their crops to ADMARC, where they get fixed prices for their products, Tanzanian farmers have to organize themselves how they can sell their products. They are therefore more exposed to price fluctuations and business people making advantage of the farmers being dependent on them.**

- **Tanzania has a relatively reliable system for public transport which provides the possibility to move from one place to the other. However, not all villages are connected to this system. From Mabula for example, people first have to walk about three hours in order to reach the road where they can get transport. On the Malawian side of the upper and middle Songwe Basin there is no such public transport. If people are lucky, they can get a ride from Chitipa in one or the other direction, but otherwise they are only able to move on foot or by bicycle.**

- **Unlike Tanzania, Malawi has free health care, and we got the impression that hospitals and dispensaries are better distributed in the Malawian part of the basin. Also the provision of clean drinking water seems to be better in Malawi. Most households interviewed in Malawi get their drinking water from a tap or a borehole, while in Tanzania a big share of the households still get their drinking water from springs (e.g. all households in Idiwili and Mabula). These findings suggest that Malawi is generally making bigger efforts concerning the population’s health than Tanzania. We are however not able to assess whether this actually is the case in the whole upper and middle Songwe Basin, or whether we simply got this impression because of the selection of the interview villages.**
These three points show that the context within which people have to develop their livelihood strategies vary a little bit from one side of the border to the other. Certainly, there are many more political, institutional or social differences, which were not subject of discussion in our interviews. However, there are advantages and disadvantages on both sides of the border. On both sides, there are advantages and disadvantages. The point we consider as most important, especially concerning business opportunities, is the mobility, which is very much limited in the Malawian part of the basin, but also in certain areas on the Tanzanian side.

It is possible to draw a „Transboundary map of livelihood strategies”, showing the net of rural-urban relations, as well as relations between the different districts and the two countries?

It is very challenging to draw such kind of a map. The reason, however, is not because relations are not there. It is simply complicated to put the information we collected into a two-dimensional picture because there are so many different kinds of relations on very diverse scales (personal contacts (family, friends), economic relations (business, trade), and institutional links (governmental offices, schools, hospitals), on the scales long-distance/short-distance, close contact/loose contact, small-scale/large-scale etc.). Furthermore our sample survey is too small to derive a valid map on the respective connections. Despite these difficulties and limitations we drew a schematical map showing the net of relations described during the different interviews with our respondents (Figure 79). The market relations were not included in this map to make it not more intricate than it is anyway. For the market relations see chapter 7.3.

The map reveals that rural-urban relations are definitely there. Each yellow arrow stands for at least 40% of respondents in a village. Towns named by less than 40% are not shown in the map. Therefore, most of the long-distance relations (to cities like Dar es Salaam, Mzuzu, Blantyre, Lusaka etc.) do not appear. There are different kind of relations crossing district and even international borders. For the local people borders seem to be of little importance. The district borders were never even subject of discussion. Farmers from Mabula (Ileje), whose fields are destroyed by erosion, move to Mbozi where the slopes are less steep, in order to find a new plot of land for cultivation. The international border Tanzania-Malawi has a little bit more importance. It marks the delimitation between areas with different advantages and disadvantages. While the Tanzanian side of the Songwe Basin has a better supply of commercial goods and transportation facilities, Malawi offers free health care and English school teaching. For the local people the border does not build a barrier. They can more or less freely move from one side to the other and pick what they like best from both states.
Figure 79: Schematical map of rural-urban relations

Legend:
- Village with interviewed households
- Other village
- Principal town
- Improved highway; road
- International boundary
- Economic relations within the country
- International economic relations
- Schools, medical treatment
- Most visited towns in % of sample households

Source: Field survey, Songwe 2007
Informal small-scale trade uses local footbridges where traders can move freely. Only for larger scale trade, the official border crossing marks a limitation.

The fact that the borders within the Songwe Basin bear so little meaning for the local people reveals the necessity of a cooperation of the different districts and the two countries involved. If Ileje District does not arrive to solve the environmental problems in villages like Mabula, Mbozi District will suffer from an increased in-migration of impoverished farmers from such villages. The appearance of an Agricultural Land Use Planner from Mbozi District in the team implementing the activities of SRTCMP in Mabula seems to be a promising beginning of such an increased cooperation. The same kind of efforts should also be made between the other districts and the two countries involved. The Songwe Basin is one single river basin, and only if all parties work together the situation of people, animals and plants living within and of the basin can be improved.

9.2 Towards an improved living standard in the upper and middle Songwe Basin: Key findings

In our thesis we described and analysed the living situation and livelihood strategies of the people in the upper and middle Songwe Basin on the Tanzanian and the Malawian side of the border. In form of some key findings, we would like to express what is mostly needed in our view to improve and facilitate the daily life of the people and to reduce poverty, based on our empirical findings and our personal experiences gained during our stay in the region.

Key findings:

- **Protect natural resources.** Most families depend on natural resources. Information on how to use the land in a sustainable manner is crucial and should be shared with the villagers. Additionally, villagers should get professional support when first signs of degradation appear. Sustainable environmental development (supply of safe water, reforestation, protection of soil erosion, etc.) should target especially women because they are mostly dependent on natural resources, and any improvement and long term bioavailability would ease their daily burdens.

- **Develop human resources.** Formal education for children and young people needs to be improved to give the young the chance to reach a governmental secondary school. Additionally, workshops and seminars for persons who already left school could be provided. Especially for women such courses would be a big chance for their future perspectives. To learn more about childcare, hygiene, growing plants, and many more aspects of the daily life can help to improve the living standard of the women and their families. Farmers should be provided with essential farming skills (e.g. new growing techniques) to increase production and thus their families’ incomes. The second important point in developing human resources is the health care. People should get the possibility
to learn more on how to protect themselves and their children from diseases. Further, easier access to dispensaries and hospitals is needed, also for pregnant women and persons who can not walk long distances any more.

- **Support off-farm income generating activities.** Farming often does not fully cover a family’s needs any more. Starting off-farm activities is however not so simple. Therefore, farmers need some support to develop innovative ideas and set them into practise. Information and knowledge is needed, as well as some starting capital. Additionally, people need to have access to markets and credits to start their own business. The creation of employment opportunities in rural areas is crucial to prevent migration of the young adults to urban areas. Additionally, the proof that higher education pays off could increase the readiness to invest in children’s education.

- **Improve infrastructure and services.** Many of the points stated above depend on infrastructure and services. This implies that only if they are improved, the situation of the villagers in the upper and middle Songwe Basin can become better. Roads, public transport, electricity supply, telephone and Internet connectivity, nearby schools, health care etc.; all this can help to improve the living standards of the people. Restricted availability of general information and specific knowledge, as well as constrained mobility, are two of the most critical elements to enhance development and reduce poverty in the upper and middle Songwe Basin.
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Appendices

Appendix I: Map overview south-east Africa
Appendix II: Map border area Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia
Appendix III: Map Songwe Basin (research area)

[Map of the Songwe Basin, showing settlements, infrastructural features, and boundaries.]
### Appendix IV: Basic information on the respondents: Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HH no.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Gender of the interviewee</th>
<th>Position within the HH</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>HH size</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>Main activity</th>
<th>No. of children in town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Isongole</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Secondary school Form IV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pastor</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Business, farming</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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<td>Primary school Standard 8</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Isongole</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>School/Student</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Isongole</td>
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<td>Head (widow)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Isongole</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Business, farming</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Isongole</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mbilima</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>No education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Farming</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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<td>Secondary school Form II</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Kameme</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Secondary school form 2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Head</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>No education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mabula (Luli)</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mabula (Mbanganala)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3. wife</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5 (23)</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mabula (Ndima)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Primary school standard 7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ifumbo (Ibanka)</td>
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<td>Head</td>
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### Appendix V: Basic information on the respondents: Women

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Appendix VI: Basic information on the respondents: Young adults

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Appendix VII: Questionnaire for Households

1. General Information

1.1 Name of the respondent: ____________________________________
1.5 Name of the household head: ________________________________
1.2 Sex: ___________________________
1.6 Number of the sampled HH: ________
1.3 Age: ___________________________
1.7 Date: __________________________
1.4: Position within the HH: ___________
1.8 Location: _______________________

Family tree

Male ☐ Female ☐

1. Alphanumeric code: A,B,C…adults ≥ 30 / a,b,c…adults < 30 / X1,X2…children < 16 /
y1,y2…children < 6
2. Place of living if not on the plot. C = countryside, T = town
3. Main activity: 1 = farming, 2 = business, 3 = non-farm related employment, 4 = no
   occupation, 5 = school, 6 = others (specify)
4. Level of education: 0 = no formal, Primary, Secondary, High School, College, University

2. Property

2.1 Condition of the dwelling
   Type of wall ________________________________________________
   Type of roof ______________________________________________
   Type of floor ______________________________________________
   Number of rooms __________________________________________
   Toilet/Type ________________________________________________

2.2 How many acres are currently allocated to the HH? ________________
2.3 How many acres are currently cultivated? ______________________
2.4 What is the not cultivated land for? __________________________
2.5 Do you own this land? ______________________________________
   If no, who owns the land? __________________________________
2.6 Can women own land as well? ________________________________
2.7 Other Properties ____________________________________________
2.8 Do you have any property in town? List it ______________________
3. Production

3.1 How much of the different crops do you produce per year? How big is the share sold? Where do you sell it? What is the income you generate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Share sold</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Income</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

3.2 How is the income used? _____________________________________________

3.3 What is your livestock production per year?

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<th>Amount</th>
<th>Sold</th>
<th>Bought</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Income</th>
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</table>

3.4 What kind of animal products do you produce (e.g. eggs, milk)?

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<th>Amount</th>
<th>Share sold</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Income</th>
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<td></td>
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3.5 Where do you get market information? ______________________________________

3.6 Which are the months in which you risk not to have enough food from own production?

Good year:

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

Normal year:

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

Bad year:

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12

3.7 How do you cover months with insufficient food? ____________________________
3.8 What are the main causes for food shortages for the household? _____________________
___________________________________________________________________________

4. Type of off-farm income

4.1 What are the off-farm activities your household performs (including handicrafts)?

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<th>Who</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>What type</th>
<th>Casual/Permanent</th>
<th>Since when</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.2 How much cash income do you get from off-farm activities? _____________________
What do you use that money for? ________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________

4.4 Who of the persons working off-farm makes the highest remittances? ______________
4.5 Do the off-farm remittances (income) cover the cash needs of the household? _________
4.6 Priority of off-farm activities compared to on-farm activities (opinion)
___________________________________________________________________________

5. Natural resources

5.1 What kind of natural resources do you use?

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<th>Condition</th>
<th>Problem</th>
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5.2 What are the main environmental problems, causes and measures taken in your village?

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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Income, expenditure and liability

6.1 Where do you purchase food/non-food?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Non-Food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What</td>
<td>Where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 How much money do you spend yearly on non-food (clothes, shoes, household commodities)?

6.3 How much money do you spend yearly on food?

6.4 Who is responsible for which activities of the household?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Responsible for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land preparation</td>
<td>Firewood collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeding/Planting</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>Cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizer application</td>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spraying</td>
<td>Purchasing of farm inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting</td>
<td>Marketing of cash crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelling/Grading</td>
<td>Transportation of products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow feeding</td>
<td>Shopping (food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>Shopping (non-food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep and goats</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milking</td>
<td>Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Fishing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5 Give the importance of the different activities (1-5, 1 = not important, 5 = very important):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crop production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-farm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6 Who controls which household resources?

- Land _______________________________
- Food crops _______________________________
- Cash crops _______________________________
- Livestock _______________________________
- Household property _______________________________
- Income _______________________________
- Credit/Loan _______________________________

6.7 How much income does your household get in a good year and bad year/season?

- Good year _______________________________
- Bad year _______________________________

6.8 How much do you save? _______________________________

6.9 How are the savings invested? _______________________________

6.10 Do you have access to credit? _______________________________

6.11 If yes, what type of credit? _______________________________

6.12 What do you use this credit for? _______________________________

6.13 If no, why not? _______________________________

6.14 Yearly expenditures in per cent of the yearly income:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm implements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm labour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm inputs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Family and community

7.1 Is any household member officially involved in community work/associations? ________
What kind? _________________________________________________________________

7.2 Is there any kind of social insurance giving support if necessary (family network, community, national/international organisations)? Who helps when problems occur?
___________________________________________________________________________

7.3 Where do the children go to school? Primary__________ Secondary ______________
Where is higher education possible? _____________________________________________

7.4 How much does the school cost? _____________________________________________

7.5 How important is school education? ___________________________________________

7.6 How long do you want your children to go to school? __________________________________________________________________

7.7 Does the education influence the chance of getting a good job? _________________

7.8 Does the education influence the position in the society? __________________________________________________________________

7.9 How many children should a family have? __________________________________________________________________

7.10 Who takes important decisions in the household? _____________________________

7.11 At which age is a child grown up, an adult? _________________________________

7.12 At which age should young people marry? Male____________ female___________

7.13 Do you want your children to live in rural areas or in town? __________________ Why?
___________________________________________________________________________

7.14 What are the wishes you have for your children’s future?
___________________________________________________________________________

8. Connection between rural- and urban areas

8.1 Is someone who permanently lives in the rural areas going to the town? Who?
___________________________________________________________________________

8.2 To which town do you go? _________________________________________________

8.3 How often does he/she go to town per month/year? ___________________________

8.4 How do you go to town (on foot, with public transport)? __________________________________________________________________

8.5 How much does the journey cost? __________________________________________

8.6 Why are you going to the town? What do you do there? _________________________

8.7 How long do you stay there? _______________________________________________

8.8 What is the meaning the town bears for you? ________________________________

8.9 Do you have family or friends permanently living in a town? __________________
8.10 Do you give assistance to each other? What kind of assistance? ____________________
8.11 Did your ties to the town change during the last years? If yes, why? _________________
___________________________________________________________________________
8.12 What are the goods and products exchanged?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From village to town</th>
<th>From town to village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.13 What are the advantages/disadvantages of the town/the village?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advantages</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disadvantages</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.14 What are possible reasons to permanently move to the town? ________________
_____________________________________________________________________

9. Infrastructure

9.1 What kind of infrastructure and services do you have / use in rural areas?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road</th>
<th>Petrol station</th>
<th>Public transport</th>
<th>Airport</th>
<th>Sport grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>Mobile phone</td>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Village offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Sewage disposal</td>
<td>Waste disposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Social Hall</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 What kind of infrastructure and services do you use in the town?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road</th>
<th>Petrol station</th>
<th>Public transport</th>
<th>Airport</th>
<th>Sport grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>Mobile phone</td>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Sewage disposal</td>
<td>Waste disposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Social Hall</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3 What kind of infrastructure or services, which are available in the town, would be important to have in the village as well? ________________________________
Appendix VIII: Institution interview

Name of institution/ village _________________________________________________

Name of respondent ______________________ Position _________________________

Sex _______________ Age _________________ Education level __________________

1. Population of the village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-15</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women 15-60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men 15-60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Number of households:     _______

Average number of individuals per household:     _______

Number of households headed by men:     _______

women:       _______

children:     _______

Why are households headed by women? ______________________________

children?  ______________________________

3. Share (%) of households considered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-off</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indicators of wealth: __________________________________________________________

Who are the poorest between men, women and young adults? Why?

4. Accessibility of the village: Types and means of transport:

for passengers _______________________________________________________________
for goods _______________________________________________________________

Which towns are important to you? What other towns do you have access to? List according to their importance. Why are they important?

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. ...
5. ...

5. What are the goods and products exchanged?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From village to town</th>
<th>From town to village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. What are the main economic activities in the village? ______________________________

What are the main agricultural products in the village? List according to its importance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food crops</th>
<th>Cash crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. What are the major problems in your village?

8. What do you think can be done to improve people’s livelihoods in the village?

Place and date: ____________________________
Signature: ____________________________
Appendix IX: Interview with women

1. General information

1.1 Number of the interview: __________  1.5 Age: __________________________
1.2 Date: __________________________  1.6 Marital status: ________________
1.3 Location: _______________________  1.7 No. of children: ________________
1.4 Name: _________________________

2. Education

2.1 Did you go to school? What kind of school? Why did you stop?
2.2 How many years did you go to school?
2.3 How important is education for you?
2.4 Do you have any plans for future education?
2.5 How much education should your husband have?
2.6 For whom is education more important (man/woman)?

3. Work

3.1 What kind of daily work do you do? (Housewife)
3.2 Other work:
3.3 What do you use your earnings for?

4. Family

4.1 Who takes decisions in your family?
4.2 What kind of responsibility do you have in your family?
4.3 How do you support your family?
4.4 Who helps you with problems? (Social network)
4.5 Where do you give birth to your children?
4.6 What is a good family size?
4.7 Where do you want your children to grow up? Why?
4.8 Are health problems an issue for you? Which ones?
4.9 How important are traditions? Religion?
4.10 It is important that your husband belongs to the same church?

4.11 Does it matter whether your husband belongs to the same tribe as you?

4.12 What kind of rights do you have? (Right of heritage)

4.13 What do you think about the role between man and women?

4.14 Do you have access to land, water, fuel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural resources</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Access/condition</th>
<th>Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Town and countryside

5.1 Which meaning does the town/the countryside bear for you?

5.2 What are the reasons for you to go to town?

5.3 What are advantages/disadvantages of the town/the village?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Disadvantage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4 Which are important markets for you?

5.5 Which are important towns for you?

6. Future

6.1 What do you plan to do in 5 years?

6.2 What do you plan to do in 20 years?
Appendix X: Interview with young adults

1. Personal data:
1.1 Interview number: _________________________ 1.6 Age: _______________________
1.2 Alphanumeric code: ________________________ 1.7 Sex: ________________________
1.3 Date: ____________________________________ 1.8 Marital Status: _______________
1.4 Location: _________________________________ 1.9 Children: ___________________
1.5 Name:____________________________________

2. Everyday life
2.1 What does a normal day in your life look like?

3. Work
3.1 What, where, for whom, do you work? Contract?
3.2 What do you use your earnings for? Family support?

4. Education
4.1 Do you go to school? What kind of school? Why did you stop?
4.2 How many years did you go to school till now?
4.3 What do you think about the school? Problems? Is education important?
4.4 Plans for future education?

5. Family
5.1 Who takes decisions in your family?
5.2 What responsibilities do you have in your family? Support of/from family?
5.3 What is a good age to get married
5.4 What is a good family size? How many children?
5.5 Where do you want your children to grow up? Why?
5.6 When is a child considered grown up/adult?
5.7 How important are traditions? Religion?
6. **Youth**

6.1 Who is a youth? Who is a young adult?

6.2 What is nice with being young?

6.3 What are problems with being young?

6.4 Are health problems an issue for you? Which ones?

7. **Town and countryside**

7.1 Which meaning does the town/the countryside bear for you?

7.2 What are the reasons for you to go to/to live in town/the rural areas?

7.3 What are advantages/disadvantages of the town/the rural areas?

8. **The future**

8.1 What do you plan to do in 5 years? Where will you live?

8.2 In 20 years?