Aid and Empowerment of Local Communities – a qualitative study of the Village Legal Workers Training in the Babati District

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Abstract

In 2003 the Swedish Land Management Program (LAMP) initiated the Village Legal Workers (VLW) Training in the Babati District aiming at empowering local communities through raising awareness of legal rights among the villagers. A VLW is trained in legal rights and will then share his/her knowledge with other villagers through meetings and seminars. The aim of this thesis is to examine the effectiveness of Swedish aid on empowerment of local communities and empowerment of women. To meet these aims of the paper three questions were formulated: to what extent have the goals (empowering local communities) of LAMPs VLWs Training been achieved in Dareda Kati and Haysam, to what extent has the project used a Bottom-up approach and has LAMPs VLWs Training contributed to empowerment of women? To answer these questions a qualitative method was used through semi-structured interviews with VLWs and participants of the education by VLWs. Bottom-up approach has been chosen to describe the methods for achieving empowerment and Gender theory has been chosen to describe the procedure of empowerment of women, which consider the social constructions of men and women. The results of this study indicate that VLWs and participants of the education thought that raising awareness of legal rights is of great importance. The expectations and the goals of the project have not quite been fulfilled due to lack of financial resources and support from the Babati District Council (BDC) and the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC).

Key Words; Gender, LAMP, Bottom-up, PRS, Tanzania
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Abbreviations

BDC – Babati District Council
GAD – Gender and Development
GoT – Government of Tanzania
IMF – International Monetary Fund
LAMP – Land Management Program
LHRC – Legal and Human Rights Centre
MDG - Millennium Development Goal
PRS – Poverty Reduction Strategies
PRSP - Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
Sida - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
WID – Women in Development
VLW – Village Legal Worker
1. Introduction

“...put the last first is the easier half. Putting the first last is harder. For it means that those who are powerful have to step down, sit, listen and learn from and empower those who are weak and last...”

Chambers argues that the extremes of poverty and wealth are results of human choices, non-actions and actions. The problem of poverty has several dimensions such as; international, national, community, individual, gender, class, social, political and economic factors. Chambers claims that the first (both from the North and the South) are mainly the problem and it is through them changes can be made. These changes are radical in disempowering the first by putting them last.

Tanzania has since independence in 1961 been one of the biggest recipients of aid in Africa, South of the Sahara. About 40% of Tanzania’s national budget is at present dependent on foreign aid. Sweden has for over three decades been among the largest bilateral donors in Tanzania. In 1996 Tanzania and the Nordic countries implemented the concept of partnership. This concept is based on common values and mutual trust with objectives such as, improved local participation, African ownership, leadership and openness.

In Tanzania the majorities of women living in rural areas are working with agriculture, but very often without the rights to access, inherit or manage land. The state has the primary responsibility for implementations of international agreements concerning human rights, when those have been ratified by the countries. People need to know their rights and how they can be demanded. Therefore education and training on human rights are very important for both lawyers and people who are not lawyers. Education in human rights is essential in upholding and protecting human rights. Everyone have the right to education, and the state has a responsibility to arrange education in human rights. There is a need for more human rights teaching materials, which should be available in both national as well as local languages.

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2 Ibid. page 3.
3 Ibid page 211.
5 Regeringen, ”Samarbetsstrategi för utvecklingssamarbetet med Tanzania, 2006-2010”, page3.
8 ILO, collected 2008-04-30.
1.1 Problem formulation

Sweden has for a long time supported Tanzania by providing aid. There has been many debates about both the effectiveness and obstacles of aid. The Top-down approach has been challenged by the Bottom-up approach as a way to improve development methods. The Bottom-up approach aims at empowering local communities, by putting the decision-making at a local level instead in the hands of donors or other agencies. The VLWs Training is aimed at solving land-related conflicts by raising awareness of legal rights, according to the new land laws. The problem is to what extent the Bottom-up approach is used and if it is empowering the people. A further dimension to the problem is to what extent women are empowered with the Bottom-up approach, due to the subordination of women in relation to men.

1.2 Purpose of study and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine the effectiveness of Swedish aid on empowerment of local communities and empowerment of women, within the Land Management Program (LAMP) VLWs Training in the Babati District. The focus of the study is on Dareda Kati and Haysam, two villages of the Babati District. To meet the aim following questions have been formulated:

• To what extent have the goals (empowering local communities) of LAMPs VLWs Training been achieved in Dareda Kati and Haysam?
• To what extent has LAMPs VLWs Training used a Bottom-up approach?
• Has LAMPs VLWs Training contributed to empowerment of women?

1.3 Effectiveness of aid - a theoretical departure

The aid relationship is shaped by an organisational system, values, attitudes, beliefs and power. An organisation is a social construction which is linked and activated through its members, therefore it consists of the relations between its actors at all levels, inside as well as outside of the organisation.\(^{10}\)

There are four factors that determine the effectiveness of the aid relationship; the conflict pattern, the mode of regulation of the interface, the representatives and the external context of the interface.\(^{11}\)


\(^{11}\) Ibid page 15.
Interface is when two or more organisations meet for cooperation, an interaction between the aid agency and the organisations of the recipient country. The interface shows different goals of the organisations as well as dependence on each other for information and resources.\textsuperscript{12}

Evaluations that have been done on the effectiveness of aid, show that in general single projects and programs accomplish their goals in the short-term. However it is difficult to make conclusions about long-term sustainability. Different researchers have different opinions on the causes for increased growth with aid as a tool. What can be concluded is that a good environment for effective aid activities is for example; political and economic stability and functioning institutions. Much research that has been done on the effectiveness of aid, has not taken into account that not all aid projects have poverty reduction as their primary goal, such as humanitarian aid.\textsuperscript{13} Since 2000 the structure of aid is based mainly on: budget support, humanitarian aid, partnership, conflict management, Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS), human rights and MDGs.\textsuperscript{14}

In the debate on the paradox of aid the critique is directed toward its lack of effectiveness “...the aid is least effective where it is most needed. It is most effective where it is least needed...”\textsuperscript{15} Since the overall goal is to reduce poverty, a big part of the aid is directed to the poorest countries. Very often these countries suffer from weak institutions which make the distribution of resources less effective than in more developed countries. In this sense it is hard to combine effectiveness with poverty reduction.\textsuperscript{16}

\section*{2. Background}

\subsection*{2.1 Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) of Tanzania}

Since 1964 poverty reduction has held a central part of the development strategies and politics of Tanzania. President Julius Nyerere was the first who identified poverty, ignorance and disease as the main obstacles to economic growth. The strategy for elimination of these obstacles was focused on central government investment programmes through a basic needs approach and inflows of aid.\textsuperscript{17} During the 1980s the economic situation in Tanzania had worsened which put the focus on poverty reduction aside. Since the 1990s Tanzania has undergone a process of political transparency with its first multi

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{12} Ibid page 8.
\bibitem{14} Ibid page 158.
\bibitem{15} Ibid page 161.
\bibitem{17} Booth David, Fighting Poverty in Africa-Are PRSPs making a difference?, 2003, London, page 247.
\end{thebibliography}
party election, which gradually led to a re-focus on poverty reduction in the country. Through institutionalisation processes for reforms leading to poverty reduction can be achieved. Institutionalisation also refers to a process for increased state capability and effectiveness of delivering public policies.\textsuperscript{18} Tanzania has pursued many reforms in different aspects of policy, such as public sector reform, anti-corruption and local government reform.\textsuperscript{19}

Consultative processes between regional and local government, donors and NGOs during the late 1990s, lay the foundation for three main strategy documents; the Development Vision 2025 (social and economic objectives to be reached by 2025), the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (objectives for poverty reduction to the end of 2010), and the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (key principles for cooperation with development partners). These documents formed the foundations for the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of Tanzania.\textsuperscript{20}

In 2001 many donors saw the PRSP as the main policy framework for cooperation with Tanzania.\textsuperscript{21} The PRSP has put pressure on the Government of Tanzania (GoT) to increase participation in policy-making. This has resulted in higher expectations from donors and international and local NGOs on the government’s engagement in open debates about policies.\textsuperscript{22} Many donors were however hesitant about the content of PRSP, for example the lack of a clear gender focus. In general donors saw the PRSP as an important effort aiming at poverty reduction and as a starting point for cooperation.\textsuperscript{23}

2.2 PRS of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

The Swedish Policy for Global Development states that the PRS is a starting point for international development cooperation.\textsuperscript{24} The policy is based on a rights-based perspective, and the perspectives of poor people. This means that poverty is seen as a cause or a consequence of insufficiencies (in respect of human rights), such as equality between men and women.\textsuperscript{25} The PRS processes are different in different countries, and have to be treated individually for cooperation. The strategies for cooperation should include a plan of the Swedish position concerning the PRS of the partner country.\textsuperscript{26} Sida’s budget support is directly aimed at the PRS.\textsuperscript{27} The main issue is whether the recipient government is

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid page 248.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid page 249.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid page 250.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid page 255.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid page 269.
\textsuperscript{24} Sida Position Paper, 2005, page 3.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid page 5.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid page 3.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid page 4.
responsible to the citizens for the PRS, and if this is the case, Sida should use PRS as a framework for Swedish development cooperation.\textsuperscript{28}

2.3 Legislation in Tanzania

In Tanzania all land is public land. This means that people need leaseholds (Title Deeds) to be able to access land.\textsuperscript{29} Since independence in 1961 a National Land Policy has been in force for managing land tenure, administration and land use management. The aim of the policy is to secure land tenure and strive for an optimal use of land resources.\textsuperscript{30} In 1999 the National Land Policy was translated into law as the Land Act and the Village Land Act.\textsuperscript{31}

The Village Land Act 1999 and the Land Act 1999 came into force in 2001. The purpose of the Village Land Act is to construct a community-based system for managing and access to rural land. One of its contents is equal rights between sexes concerning disposal, access, inheritance and distribution of land. Village governments are able to make bylaws related to land management and access to land. The Courts Act came into force in 2002, and is an addition to the Land Acts, and provides for registration and titling of land, as well as support in land disputes.\textsuperscript{32}

These Acts are particularly important concerning women’s rights, since securing land rights is fundamental for empowering women. The new land laws secure women’s rights to require registration and titling of land, promote women’s representation in decision-making concerning land issues, and addresses issues of customary land rights. In Sub-section 20(2) of the Village Land Act 1999 customary law is prohibited when deciding on rights of occupancy if it discriminates women;

\textit{. . . Any rule of customary . . . shall be void and inoperative and shall not be given effect to by any village council or village assembly or any person or body of persons exercising any authority over village land or in respect of any court or other body, to the extent to which it denies women, children or persons with disability lawful access to ownership, occupation or use of any such land . . .} \textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid page 9.
\textsuperscript{30} Tanzania National Website, collected 2008-04-30
\textsuperscript{32} Land Rights and Villagers, experiences of securing access to land, Lamp Booklet Series, page 5.
\textsuperscript{33} ILO, collected 2008-04-30.
Although Customary and Islamic laws are no longer legal, they continue to influence attitudes and practices. According to Customary law (in patrilineal communities) daughters are not entitled to inherit land, due to the assumption that they may marry outside the clan. In matrilineal communities, daughters inherit from their uncles, and sons from their maternal uncles.

2.4 Legislation on women’s rights in Tanzania

Tanzania adopted a Women and Development Policy in 2000. During the last ten years the parliament has implemented laws to support women’s economic and social well being, such as the two Land Acts of 1999.

According to the Law of Marriage Act (NO.5, 1971) married women are equally entitled to hold and dispose property. The purpose of separating property between spouses was to regulate married women’s rights. In 1985 Tanzania ratified UN’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This convention provides a guide to actions in eliminating discrimination against women, such as; directions on policy and legal measures, participation, education, equality before the law, employment.

2.5 Human Rights in context

The legitimacy of rights is not only about demanding one’s rights in accordance with the law but it is also related to the duties of other people to support those. Human rights are equal to everyone irrespective of sex, colour, ethnicity, religion or citizenship.

The concept of empowerment has since a few years become an important goal for organizations such as the United Nations Development Program. Gender equality has developed as one of the equality strategies aiming at considering the needs, priorities and interests of both men and women. It should engage both men and women, and should not be seen as a women’s issue. The UN Office of the

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Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women has defined gender equality as; “. . . the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men . . .”

The UN conference in Beijing (1995) laid the foundation for a gender mainstreaming strategy by treating women’s rights as human rights, in contrast to the Vienna Conference that separated women’s rights from human rights. In this way the gender mainstreaming can coexist with mainstreaming of human rights. A problem arises when the concept gender is used as a synonym to sex, which have occurred in different UN human rights institutions such as in the Beijing Platform. This results in a reinforcement of the idea of men and women’s identities as natural and fixed. Gender mainstreaming sees unequal and oppressive gender relations as the problem, not women as the problem. In this sense, the strategies for gender mainstreaming in human rights have become the very same goal as of achieving equality.

2.6 The Babati District

The Babati District is divided into four divisions; Gorowa, Bashnet, Mbugwe and Babati, where there are 21 wards and 81 villages.

41 Ibid page 149.
42 Ibid page 312-313.
43 Ibid page 333.
2.7 Land Management Programme

Tanzania signed agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 1986 aiming at deepening its economic reforms with a focus on developing rural areas and natural resources. In 1989 Swedish support to natural resource management was initiated through LAMP to the Babati District and Arusha Region. A few years later LAMP was extended to Singida Rural District, Kiteto and Simanjiro. The strategic priorities of LAMP in all districts were to support a shift from central to district and village level. This shift encompassed development responsibilities, assistance to rural household in attaining ownership of common resources, support to sustainable resource use in households and organisations, and support to institutions in promoting self-reliance at village and district levels. LAMP was focusing on four main components; land security (village land mapping, education in land rights, village land titling and land registration), community empowerment, farmers extension services and village and district capacity building. The goals of LAMP were to improve village land security, to assist villagers in forest management, to assist individual households in sustainable management and to strengthen village organisations in delivering services in a sustainable way. LAMP promotes empowerment at village level and sustainable natural resource management.

The second phase of LAMP was initially planned for 2002-2005, but was later extended to 2007, and covered the districts of Babati, Kiteto, Simanjiro and Singida. The main goal of LAMP II was:

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\text{. . . improved socio-economic situation of the people (poverty reduction) and the immediate objective is Community organizations and individuals within each district undertake equitable and environmentally sustainable resource management and utilization . . .}^{48}
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Two of the seven key areas in the programme activities were gender mainstreaming and mobilization and empowerment of communities. Resources for programme implementation were managed by the District Councils, which gave them responsibilities for planning, implementing and reporting activities funded by Sida. Since 2004/05 LAMP has had a Bottom-up planning approach, starting at the village level for preparation of the yearly Village Development Plan. The investment in community

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49 Ibid page 1.
empowerment aimed at participatory village-based planning. These plans consisted of, for example village planning teams, VLWs and village land registry. In agreement with Sida, funds were provided directly to the four districts.

The support of LAMP for gender equality has had two main focuses: integration of gender aspects in the programme and in the activities of the district councils. For example genders balance concerning the number of VLWs and training on women’s rights.

2.8 LAMPs Village Legal Workers (VLW) Training in the Babati District

In rural Tanzania the majority of villagers are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. The purpose of the new land laws (The Village Land Act 1999 and the Land Act 1999) is to secure land through sustainable and equal land tenure. LAMP supports the Babat District Council (BDC) in empowering local communities through management of land. One major obstacle in securing land is lack of awareness among politicians and villagers of their legal rights and obligations. When the new land laws came into force, management of land and handling conflict was now the responsibility of the local villages. One of LAMP’s tasks was to support local communities. LAMP initiated training of VLWs in 1996 in Simanjir o and Kiteto Ditsricts, and continued to the Babati District in 2000. Through training on land rights the VLWs can share their knowledge with other villagers. By creating a greater awareness of land rights VLWs can help decrease the number of land-related conflicts. LAMP cooperated with Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), which conducted seminars, meetings and provided materials. The purpose of the cooperation was to increase the awareness of the new land laws, since there are many rural communities that are unaware of those laws.

50 Ibid page 27.
51 Ibid page 31.
58 Lamp Booklet Series, Land Rights and Villagers, ”experiences of securing access to land”, page 8.
2.9 Evaluations of LAMP by Sida (2000 and 2008)

The activities of LAMP phase I concerning land security, included promoting knowledge of rights and capacity building to the villagers, village government leaders, district officials and councillors. The training of VLWs was facilitated by the Legal and Human Rights Centre for example by distributing a manual in Swahili. The impacts of the VLWs Training were most visible in Simanjiro District where villagers had taken actions against their leaders by citing the manual.59 The relevance of the Land Security component was different in Babati, Kiteto, Singida and Simanjiro due to the different socio-economic processes existing there. In Babati and Singida Districts land security was ranked as the least relevant due to a minimum of conflicts.60 The evaluation of 2000 gave recommendations such as, emphasizing the rights elements in the training of VLWs, promotion of by-laws and gender mainstreaming.61

LAMP phase II has facilitated the capacity building and has enhanced the empowerment of local communities. The population of the four districts has achieved improved standards of living. Implementation through the District Councils has put a focus on a politically dominated planning process rather than concerns of socio-economic factors. Several studies were done during LAMP II with recommendations for improved strategies, but:

“... implementation through local government structures appears to have benefited the slightly better of most, rather than the poorest ...”62 LAMP has therefore in this sense not been successful regarding service delivery through the districts departments.63

The investments in community empowerment such as VLWs have engaged many villagers and been very relevant, but the coverage has been quite low.64 A more focussed integrated approach would have reduced the implementation costs, and would have been required to reach the poorest. This approach involves addressing development issues through for example, interventions.65 An enhancement of LAMP II would have been given through pro-poor and gender sensitive approaches concerning the selection of village and district development issues, and an increased focus on gender and poverty reduction in the implementations of intervention. The sustainability of the results of LAMP phase II is

59 Ibid page 19.
60 Ibid page 21-22.
63 Ibid page 2.
64 Ibid page 27.
65 Ibid page 2.
generally regarded as high, but concerning for example VLWs the outcome is not as sustainable. More could have been achieved during LAMP phase II if capacity building at the district level had included impact monitoring with an increased effectiveness of the communities. By clear identification and understanding of the causes of poverty, a closer reaching to the poorest can be achieved.

3. Theory

3.1 Empowerment through a Bottom-up approach

This approach aims to mobilize and empower people towards self-reliant actions. Empowerment aims at increasing the possibilities for poor people to participate in decisions that affect them, and eliminating discrimination based on social status, gender, ethnicity and race. The main constraints are lack of leadership and lack of rights. The government should be decentralized and decision-making should be at local level through local capacity building and protection of rights. The local government should be accountable through its leadership of the people. Empowerment gives people control over their own lives, socially, politically and economically. It is a dynamic and an ongoing process, which is context specific and often focused on marginalized groups. Through participation, empowerment and respect poor people are able to express their shared and individual realities. Empowering the last require changes of attitudes and behaviors of the first. Empowerment constitutes human development together, with sustainability, productivity and equality. Empowerment consists of different processes that occur from within a group or an individual and from below in the civil society. In this sense the processes can only be created by people involved in it. The empowerment processes are not predetermined since they are about both practical and strategically interests.

Empowerment is divided into three categories; material, structural and internal. These categories occur in the personal life, in relations and within different groups where core-values are the center of the

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66 Ibid page 3-4.
67 Ibid page 5.
68 The Hunger Project, “Empowering Women and Men to end their Own Hunger, collected 2008-02-25, page 1-2.
70 The Hunger Project, “Empowering Women and Men to end their Own Hunger, collected 2008-02-25, page 1-2.
processes. To strive for these core-values lead to social change. The values that can be identified are for example self esteem, action and group identity.\(^{74}\)

Power is the core of the concept of empowerment, and involves a process of change. The core of power lies in the capacity of making choices, and therefore disempowerment is when one has been denied the possibility of making choices.\(^{75}\) These choices are related to for example resources and action. To achieve empowerment, resources such as social and material are necessary. These resources are spread in the society, such as institutions, the state, families and the civil society. Social norms and rules shape the institutions and the division of resources. These social norms and relations are affected by for example gender and ethnicity. Action is about defining goals and to act by them. A sense of agency or power within is given by motivation and purpose. Action is the most important dimension of empowerment and is also dependent on decision-making. In this sense empowerment is related to power.\(^{76}\) Power can be explained in four ways. Power over implies a relation where one individual or group is dominating, while the other one is inferior. Power to is the possibility to, for example solve problems. Power within implies awareness and self-confidence in individuals, and power with implies a collective purpose for people to organize themselves to achieve their goals.\(^{77}\)

3.2 Gender theory

Gender theory is the notion of masculine and feminine as socio-cultural categories.\(^{78}\)

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\ldots \text{gender is the structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes.} \ldots
\]

Gender patterns can vary between different societies and different cultures. These patterns are produced by the power of structures which restrain the actions of individuals, but these patterns are changing

\(^{74}\) Ibid page 245-246.  
\(^{75}\) Ibid page 247.  
\(^{76}\) Ibid page 248.  
\(^{77}\) Ibid page 249.  
\(^{78}\) Nationalencyklopedin collected 2008-05-13.  
continuously, when new structures develops.  

These patterns are a set of relationships which constitutes different ways that organizations, groups and people are connected and stratified. Possibilities and consequences are defined by the structure of relations. There are four dimensions of gender: socialization, sexuality, reproduction and production. The core of the structure of power relations in gender is the state. For example through laws the state constitutes gender relations and forms gender identities. When analyzing issues from a gender perspective it is necessary to avoid the assumption that both men and women share the same needs, and seek directions for an equal access to opportunities and benefits. Gender equality means equal opportunities for men and women. Promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women is the third of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Gender inequalities are usually described as women’s lack of resources compared to men’s, and power relation is one of the inequalities. Gender politics is about the struggle over inequalities at both an institutional level and an individual level. It can take the form of, for example, social movements. The social struggle against inequalities can take place in global institutions aiming at equal representation of women and men in international forums and agencies.

Women play an important role in the Bottom-up approach and should have a share in the decision-making. Empowerment approach is one of many approaches involving a focus on women, aiming at grass root level with participatory activities. Development is gained by involving both men and women at the community level in decision-making.

According to the Gender theory empowerment is about changing norms and rules that subordinate women. These norms and rules are created in the political system and the socio-economical structures (the bias of the system), where institutions shape groups and individuals. Power is best exercised when conflicts are hidden and not open, this can create a lack of alternatives for the dominated group. This also means that many political issues relevant for women have not been prioritized. Power is connected to the structures and actions of choices. To empower women time and possibilities to structure choices is necessary. The inequalities between sexes lie in the constraints for individuals to make choices.

Ibid page 10.
Ibid page 54-55.
Ibid page 103.
Ibid page 146.
The Hunger Project, Empowering Women and Men to end their Own Hunger, collected 2008-02-25, page 1-2.

In 1975 women were for the first time included in development planning, at the UN’s international conference for women, which later became a debate called *Women in Development* (WID). There were five focus areas in WID’s approach: equality, welfare, effectiveness, anti-poverty and empowerment.\(^{90}\) WID emphasizes empowerment as a tool for increasing the *access* to the decision-making in political contexts, which give possibilities to make choices, though that is already determined and defined. The empowerment concept is also used in the *Gender and Development* (GAD) debate that arose during the nineties but it refers to a change in the political contexts for women to gain control through an *involvement* in determining which choices should be defined. It is not only about increasing the number of women in political contexts, as stated in the WID debate, it is also about changes in the political contexts.\(^{91}\) GAD and empowerment has today become the more dominated discourse.\(^{92}\)

During the nineties it was established that the UN should integrate women’s rights in the human rights by using a gender perspective. The social and economic status of women is today in many countries shaped by their relation to men, not to the state, and therefore protection of violations against women’s rights is being left out. Human rights that are formulated with the purpose to include both sexes is performed in a cultural and social paradigm; the patriarchy. This constrains women in exercising their rights on the same conditions as men. Human rights are affected by the patriarchy making implementation and interpretation unequal between sexes.\(^{93}\)

### 4. Method

#### 4.1 Scope

The field study focus on Dareda Kati and Haysam, two villages in the Babati District. They constitute an example of the effectiveness of LAMPs initiative to empower local communities and empower women, through the VLWs Training.

#### 4.2 Field work

To meet the aim of this study semi-structured interviews were used in Babati during the field study. This technique is based on predetermined questions prepared for the interview, but new questions arise

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\(^{90}\) Ibid page 238-239.

\(^{91}\) Ibid page 241.

\(^{92}\) Ibid page 242.

during the interview in response to the answers from the informants. Semi-structured interviews are suited for different types of groups such as village leaders, individual farmers or development officials.\(^{94}\)

The qualitative method seeks an understanding from within, in other words the perspective of the respondents. At the same time it is important that one should not only seek understanding, but also seek explanations originated from external factors.\(^{95}\) In Babati nine interviews were conducted and one discussion made that are useful for the study. Five were individual interviews, and four were group interviews. The outline of the interviews based on a dividing of men and women to support the gender perspective in the essay. The aim was to examine if there was equal possibilities between the sexes to be elected as a VLW or attending meetings held by VLW. The purpose was also to discern patterns of neglecting legal rights, through examining whether there were any differences in the perception between men and women in ranking of problems.

In the fifth chapter (the result) of the study, the interviews are presented as a narrative summary of the respondents answers to the semi-structured questions. The first interview and the discussion presented are with authorities at the BDC. Then follows narrative summaries of the interviews which are separated between male and female VLW, as well male and female participants of the education of VLW. The interviews are also presented separately between the two villages.

4.3 Secondary sources

The qualitative method is used for both the field work and the secondary sources considering the semi-structured interviews that are characteristic of a qualitative method. Thus the holistic perspective is also a characteristic of the qualitative method. By using this method a holistic picture of aid and poverty reduction in Babati can be achieved, by studying the new land laws, women’s rights, and the PRS of Tanzania. Sida’s PRS and theory on effectiveness of aid as well the evaluations of LAMP have been presented in the background to give a picture of the structures and effects of aid in Babati.\(^ {96}\) Another characteristic of the qualitative method is the flexibility, such as the research questions can be re-phrased during the data collection and the examination phases.\(^ {97}\) This was done considering the semi-structured interviews, and the research questions were also re-shaped during the data collection in Sweden.

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\(^{95}\) Holme Idar Magne, Solvang Krohn Bernt, "Forskningsmetodik, om kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder" 1997, page 91-93.

\(^{96}\) Ibid page 78-79.

\(^{97}\) Ibid page 80.
4.4 Theories

The goals of the VLWs Training was to empower local communities, and empower women by educating people of their rights and responsibilities as well as to assist them in solving conflicts and sometimes fight cases in court.\textsuperscript{98} Since 2004/05 LAMP has had a Bottom-up planning approach.\textsuperscript{99} This implies that the villagers should, according to the goals of this project, be able to influence the structure of the project, to meet their expectations and needs, hence be actively participating.

Bottom-up approach and Gender theory has been chosen for this study to illustrate the effectiveness of aid in empowering local communities and empowering women in the Babati District. The chosen theories for this study complement each other, by considering both the importance in local level empowerment and empowerment of women. The Bottom-up approach describes this procedure of empowerment of local communities. The Gender theory emphasizes the relation between men and women. The Gender theory is relevant in the sense that it adds a further dimension to the procedure of empowerment of local communities, by considering the methods for empowerment of women. These methods recognize the subordination of women in relation to men. The departure point of the project is to support the new land laws. The land laws not only aim at equal access of land in general, they also emphasize women’s rights to equal access of land. This implies that there are attitudes that need to be changed for achieving equal possibilities between men and women. In this sense the Gender theory contributes with support to discern those different patterns that exist between men and women.

4.5 Validity and Reliability

Validity is dependent on to what extent the research question is being measured and explained and to what extent the data are relevant to the problem formulation of the research.\textsuperscript{100,101} Reliability is dependent on how the measurements are being performed, and how careful the data is analyzed.\textsuperscript{102} The challenge with a qualitative method is to get hold of valid information, as the researcher’s interpretation of a situation can be misunderstood.\textsuperscript{103}

When performing interviews, there are always many uncertainties that could make the result less reliable. As all of the interviews with local villagers (who were involved in the VLWs Training, either

\textsuperscript{98} Lamp Booklet Series, “Winning democracy through local empowerment, experiences of good governance”, page 19.
\textsuperscript{100} Holme Idar Magne, Solvang Krohn Bernt, “\textit{forskningsmetodik, om kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder}” 1997, page 163.
\textsuperscript{101} Hellevik Otta, “\textit{Forskningsmetoder i sociologi och statsvetenskap}”, 1984, s 137.
\textsuperscript{102} Holme Idar Magne, Solvang Krohn Bernt, “\textit{forskningsmetodik, om kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder}” 1997, page 163.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid page 94.
as participants or as VLWs) needed to be translated into Kiswahili or Iraqw by a field assistant, there was a risk of misunderstanding between the translator and the researcher, as well between the respondent and the field assistant and the questions may not have been properly answered. Another risk is that when doing semi-structured interviews there are opportunities for discussion, which gives the researcher a chance to find out information that was not expected. With a translator this information can be lost if the translator choose not to translate this.

The field study was performed during a three week excursion in Babati, where nine days where scheduled for field work. Due to the restrictions in time, there are a small number of interviews made with respondents of the VLWs Training.

5. Result

5.1 Interview with Mr. Mrutu, authorized land officer for the Babati District

Due to the lack of resources and shortages of staff at the District Council, VLWs were needed for raising awareness of legal rights among the villagers in the Babati District. The new land laws needed to be disseminated. There is today limited resources for VLW and meetings for villagers, because LAMP is finalized in Babati, and this is not one of LAMPs post projects. There is no support from LHRC either.104

5.2 Discussion with Calyste Kavishe, technical advisor of LAMP in the Babati District

Villagers in Dareda Kati were asked to elect VLW, and training was undertaken by LHRC .The project was successful in some areas of Babati, though it was more successful in Simanjiro and Kiteto due to the bad land conflicts that were there, and there was a bigger need of VLW. The purpose of the VLW was to support villagers in getting hold of certificates (leaseholds) of land rights. Women’s rights were taken into account through meetings and dissemination of awareness.105

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104 Mr. Mrutu Authorized Land Officer for the Babati District, 2008-03-05, and 2008-03-10.

105 Calyste Kavishe, Technical Advisor of LAMP in the Babati District 2008-03-09.
5.3 Male VLWs

**Dareda Kati:** The respondent wanted to educate people about legal rights, because few people in the village know their rights. The respondent was elected in 2002, by villagers in the Village Assembly as a VLW. The Village Assembly sorted out name applications, and showed a list for election to the villagers. The respondent received training two times, on legal rights by LHRC. Before the training by LAMP the respondent was working with legal rights as a Chairman. When the respondent became a VLW there was positive reactions from people, due to the experience of legal rights as a Chairman.

Villagers’ expectations have been fulfilled due to the reduction of conflicts. Challenges that remain today are finance and transport. The respondent believes that support will be given by the BDC, Babati Town Council and the government, but has not yet received any since the ending of LAMP in Babati. In October 2007 there was training in solving land conflicts and in women’s rights for the VLW. Women’s rights have been taken into account when it comes to equal division of land. Land conflicts concerning boundaries are solved through negotiation, and education for villagers about their legal rights and responsibilities.

The respondent felt that the biggest priority for the villagers was possibilities to demand their rights to access land. The villagers were also disseminating their education to others. This led to decreasing of conflicts due to raised awareness. Nowadays there are few land conflicts.106

**Haysam:** The government requested people as a VLW team from the ward. The respondents were proposed by the Village Council and approved by the Village Assembly. They attended three seminars, and where educated in land rights and general human rights, according to the land acts. The respondents’ impression of how the project was received was positive reactions from villagers and the BDC.

The respondents claimed that there was a lack of resources, transport and support from the BDC. The invitation for the education of the villagers was not organized to reach out to everyone. The goals of the project were not entirely fulfilled. More education is needed for both villagers and VLW and a need of transparency and education in women’s rights. The positive outcome of the project is that the wife has to sign when the land is on sale; otherwise it is illegal for the husband to sell their land. Village government cannot sell land without the wife’s signature.107

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107 Male VLWs in Haysam, 2008-03-15.
5.4 Female VLWs

_Dareda Kati_: The respondent wanted to help people to demand their rights, especially women’s rights. There were positive reactions from villagers to this project, but at first there was no response given from the government to villagers demanding their rights.

The way villagers can use their education in practice is by solving conflicts by educating their family and people around them to spread the knowledge. When discussions are not working for solving conflicts, religious leaders can be consulted. The respondent explains that people prefer solving conflicts at a village level since it is only God who can judge them, and therefore they cannot be judged in court: “people fear court; it is only God who can judge”.

The main priorities of the villagers have been the rights to access land, and women want an equal share of the land. According to the respondent there are much inequalities between men and women, where most men have access to land today. The respondent was trained to educate men in different forums of their rights and responsibilities as a way of solving conflicts between men and women concerning land leaseholds. Reactions from men on their wife’s attending meetings were positive at first, since they are not yet aware of the content in the meetings. It has happened that husbands don’t allow women to continue attending those meetings when they discover that they are educated on their rights. Since the BDC is not supporting villagers and VLW there should be increased education for villagers, and local leaders should invite villagers to join the education and spread the word. Also there should be an emphasis on getting women to attend meetings even when they are not allowed by husband. The respondent’s impression of this project is that it has reduced conflicts between men and women. The challenges remaining and obstacles are transport, failure of villagers to attend meetings, lack of finance.¹⁰⁸

_Haysam_: The respondent was trained to advice people during two years on how to obtain certificates for leasing land. The respondent perceives unawareness of rights among people as a big problem. The main obstacles in the project where lack of resources, transport and allowances.

Another problem was that women were sometimes not allowed to attend the education by their husbands. The positive side of the project is increased influence on decision making in the Village Council through the VLW, but there should be a greater emphasis on communication between ward and the BDC.¹⁰⁹

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¹⁰⁸ Female VLW in Dareda Kati, 2008-03-13.
¹⁰⁹ Female VLWs in Haysam, 2008-03-15.
5.5 Male participants of education by VLWs

_Haysam:_ The respondents perceived the idea of VLW as positive and were satisfied with the choice of VLW since they were voted by the villagers (through the Village assembly). The respondents went to two meetings, and learned that achievement of leaseholds is a way of solving conflicts, which was helpful to them. They learnt that VLW could assist in writing letters to court and function as witnesses for solving conflicts peacefully. For example inheritance rights, especially for women who can show certificates that verify she has the right to access the property if the husband dies. The respondents see unclear boundaries as a problem, and the slow implementation of the new land laws.\textsuperscript{110}

5.6 Female participants of education by VLWs

_Dareda Kati:_ The respondents perceived the idea of VLW as positive, because it could lead to an involvement of family members, neighbours and a dissemination of legal rights. The VLW was chosen by the Village Assembly and the respondents were satisfied with them.

One of the respondents was informed about rights concerning access to property and was told that to solve conflicts that arise one should go to court. In this way the respondent felt that LAMPs purpose was not entirely fulfilled since conflicts should be solved on a village-level. Most villagers prefer solving conflicts with witnesses, and then apply for signature on documents from the Village Council. Although the respondent felt that the education has helped people knowing their land borders.

The other respondent thinks that the project has not fulfilled the expectations, due to lack of education. The respondent was invited only twice for meetings, and conflicts have not decreased since the project started. Both respondents see border conflicts as the biggest problem, followed by women’s rights, such as inheritance rights.

They felt that they could influence the structure of the project on the election of VLW, and through them raise issues of their concern.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{110} Male participants of the VLWs education in Haysam, 2008-03-15.

\textsuperscript{111} Female participants of the VLWs education in Dareda Kati, 2008-03-14.
Haysam: The respondents were positive to the initiative of the project and were satisfied with the VLW. The problem was lack of people attending, especially women due to their responsibilities at home which gave them no time for meetings. The participants agreed on that men would not like the idea of having separate meetings for men and women. The respondents felt that there were too few female VLW, represented. Each sub village should have one VLW who can influence through meetings. Both respondents felt that they needed more education on legal rights than they have received. The project met some of their expectations considering awareness of that women needs to agree and sign paper for selling of shared land.112

6. Analysis

- To what extent have the goals (empowering local communities) of LAMPs VLWs Training been achieved in Dareda Kati and Haysam?

The overall impression of the fieldwork is that both VLWs and participants of the education were positive to the initiative of the project, and thought that raising awareness of legal rights is of great importance. The expectations of the project have not quite been fulfilled due to lack of resources and the ending of LAMP. There were slow implementations, slow procedures for conducting meetings, poor information to the villagers about the project and the meetings. There is a mutual wish of both VLW and villagers in Dareda Kati and Haysam of more education in legal rights. This was also agreed upon by the Land officer at the District Council, although the difference was that he saw the causes of this only as a lack of funding, not in deficiencies of implementation or procedures. It seems that there have been the same procedures and obstacles in both Dareda Kati and Haysam concerning the implementation of the project. One of the differences is that the male VLW in Dareda Kati seemed more satisfied with the outcome of the project compared to the female VLW in Haysam. The female VLW in Dareda Kati explained although that the project has reduced conflicts between men and women, and that the challenges remaining are such as transport to the meetings and a small number if villagers that are able to attend meetings.

The female VLW in Haysam saw the lack of financial support to the projects as the main obstacle, but felt that the possibilities for villagers’ to influence decision-making in the Village Council has increased since they can raise issues of their concern through the VLW.

112 Female participants of the VLWs education in Haysam, 2008-03-15.
The male participants of the education in Haysam saw the support of VLW in achieving leaseholds as helpful to them. One of the female participants in Dareda Kati felt that the project has not entirely fulfilled its goals due to advice of VLW to solve conflicts in court instead on a village-level, which was one of the goals of the project. The other respondent felt that the project has not decreased conflicts in land, and also sees land borders as the main problem. Considering the evaluations of Sida there are both similarities and differences compared to the results given from the fieldwork in this study. In the evaluations it is stated that the VLWs Training was a relevant initiative for empowering local communities, but there was lack of finance and support. In the case of Babati, there was also insufficient support, and less need of VLW as compared to Kiteto and Simanjiro, where the project was more successful. The result given from the fieldwork of this study indicates that the respondents were positive to the initiative of the project, and saw this as a relevant and an important contribution with the VLW for raising awareness of legal rights. Therefore the results of the fieldwork indicate that there was a bigger need of awareness raising in Dareda Kati and Haysam, than what was indicated in the evaluations. The final evaluation by Sida, gives more critique to the implementation of the project, compared to the first evaluation in 2000. . . . implementation through local government structures appears to have benefited the slightly better of most, rather than the poorest . . ."¹¹³ LAMP has therefore in this sense not been very successful regarding service delivery through the districts departments, as also concluded in the findings of the fieldwork in this study.

Considering the project description of the VLWs Training in the Lamp Booklets (as presented in the background), they describe a more successful picture of the project than compared to the evaluations and the findings of the fieldwork in this study.

-To what extent has LAMPs VLWs Training used a Bottom-up approach?

The Bottom-up approach is aiming at putting development in the hands of people. In the case of Dareda Kati and Haysam, the fieldwork has showed that there has been a lack of possibilities for both villagers and VLW to influence the structure of the project. In Dareda Kati it appears as one of the VLW had some possibilities to influence authorities such as the Village Assembly (since the respondent was a Village Chairman before he was elected as a VLW). Except for this respondent it seems like there was a general discontent in the outcome of the project. There were difficulties in influencing the structure of the project because it was provided through the BDC (with LAMP as a financer), which left the VLW

and the villagers dependent on support from the BDC and LHRC. The support from the BDC is not only about finance, it is also about possibilities for villagers to influence the project. In this sense the bottom-up approach has not been quite successful in this project. The Bottom-up approach is a tool for empowering people through capacity building at a village level, for increased influence and participation. The first interview with Mr. Mrutu at the BDC gave a similar picture of the project as described in the project descriptions of the Lamp Booklets. The last interviews gave a different picture of the project, where there was a clear discontent regarding insufficient education, poor information and lack of possibilities to influence the project.

-Has LAMPS VLWs Training contributed to empowerment of women?

The project was also aiming to empower women through awareness raising of women’s rights to equal access, disposing and inheritance of land. The new land laws have empowered women by giving them equal rights to access land. In this sense the results indicates that the project has raised awareness of the obligation that both partners needs to sign papers when their common land is sold, and that the of land leaseholds verifies women’s rights to access property if their husband dies.

According to the Gender theory, gender is constructed by social relations, and is related to access to power. In this sense the state is the core, where men are outnumbering women in the positions for decision-making where the formulation and implementation of law occur. This results in less possibilities for women to influence and claim their rights and needs. Despite the new land laws, more men has access to land today, and attitudes take time to change. The empowerment strategy is also connected to gender issues in that sense it could effectively empower women through increased awareness of gender mainstreaming. Most important is to emphasize everyone’s rights to education in human rights, to know ones rights and responsibilities.

The results indicate that in Dareda Kati there was a difference between the male and the female VLW concerning attitudes of gender issues, where the female VLW saw neglecting of women’s rights as the biggest problem, and the male VLW saw securing land for villagers (through certificates) and raising awareness of legal rights. The same pattern existed concerning attitudes among the interviewed participants, where the female participants ranked women’s rights as their main priority and male participants saw land security as their main priority.
7. Discussion

The effectiveness of aid is complicated to measure, and so is also finding solutions that satisfy both parties in collaboration between donors and recipients. Things that have proven to be good presumptions in a country for effective aid are functioning institutions and a stable political and economic environment. This leads to the conclusion that aid is less effective in countries where these presumptions does not exist, but probably where aid is most needed. *The question to this is what extent the goal with the aid project is fulfilled*, not a question of comparing between countries, just due to these different circumstances in the country.

One reason for the Babati District not having the same success as Simanjiro and Kiteto could be that the project started earlier in those two districts, which gave them more time to implement and get support in the project. Also as Calyst Kavishe explained there were worse conflicts concerning land issues in Kiteto and Simanjiro which made the project more needed there. This fact was also concluded in the evaluation of LAMP 2000 by Sida. But one thing that should have made the project successful in Babati is that it was not a pilot project anymore, now it was well tested.

Considering the interviews some of the answers given by the respondents have appeared to be contradictory. On the one hand they sensed they could influence the structure of the project through the VLWs, but on the other hand they felt discontent with the outcome of the project for example due to lack of education. In the analysis the different opinions of the respondents are summarized. In the conclusions these different opinions are outlined that indicate both positive and negative sides of the project.

Empowerment is divided into three categories, where material is one of them. This is contradictory in the sense that it requires resources for achieving empowerment. At the same time empowerment approach is directed at marginalized groups that lack possibilities to access those resources that are necessary for this. This fact is also correlated to the effectiveness of aid in that sense it needs certain presumptions to be most effective. This conclusion also confirms the findings of the field study, that there were insufficient resources in the project, which constrained it from achieving its goals.

Chambers claims that empowerment of the last is achieved by a consiously choice of the first to disempower themselves in order to empower the last. The Bottom-up approach describes disempowerment as when one has been denied the possibility to make choices. However, disempowerment is about not making choices, either it is consiously chosen or if it is about being denied the possibility to make choicess.

Regarding the Gender theory, a consideration to the “debate” on the effect of patriarchal system, or the state itself can be added here. It is important to note that it is not only one factor to the structure that
subordinates women. Gender is based on social relations who are socially and culturally constructed. In this sense the patriarchy has the power to affect different gender patterns. Due to the subordination and in general fewer possibilities for women to access choices, the decision-making positions are in favour of men who have a greater access to them. This greater access and possibilities to make choices, also gives the state the power to affect gender patterns. The Gender theory aims at explaining that gender relations should be changed where there are inequalities, but gender as a concept is not a result from a patriarchal order, it is a result from social interactions and structures between women and men. Therefore the Gender theory criticizes feminists who believe that gender is only about inequality, which would lead to a need of eliminating gender in order to bring justice.

The study has shown that gender itself is not about inequality, it is about the social relation between women and men, which can create certain patterns that subordinates women, and therefore leads to inequality. The elimination of inequality lies in changing those patterns, not the interaction itself.

An additional dimension to this study could have been issues concerning corruption in aid effectiveness, which may have given relevant answers to the research questions.
8. Conclusions

The VLWs Training was a successful project in Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts, and was therefore introduced in the Babati District. The respondents were positive to the initiative of the project, and saw it as highly relevant and important. This shows also that there seems to be a greater need of VLWs in the Babati District than what is stated in the evaluations of Sida, and as well of the technical advisor at LAMP (Kavishe).

The project has not entirely fulfilled its goals in Babati, but has met some of them. One the one hand the results indicate a lack of finance and resources due to the reduction of LAMP in the project, which lead to slow procedures for implementations. On the other hand some of the VLW felt that the project has raised awareness of legal rights according to the new land laws, and more people know their rights and responsibilities which has led to a decrease of land conflicts. All respondent agreed on that a continuation of the project is necessary for support to the VLW and education for participants.

The results indicate that the project has not entirely used a Bottom-up approach in Dareda Kati and Haysam. This is due to the lack of possibilities to influence the structure of the project for the VLWs and the villagers in Dareda Kati and Haysam. This result is also stated in the final evaluation of LAMP by Sida, where it is concluded that the project has rather benefited the slightly better of than the poorest. On the other hand the project has used a Bottom-up approach in the sense that some of the villagers felt that they could raise issues of their concern through the VLW.

The results indicate that the project has contributed to empowerment of women considering the raised awareness of the obligation that both partners needs to sign when their common land is sold, and wifes have access to the property if their husband dies.

The results also indicate that there was not a gender balance in the number of VLW, where there were few female VLW. Some of the respondents also explained that there were a small number of women attending the meetings for education in legal rights due to their responsibilities at home, as well due to their husband’s unwillingness to let them attend those meetings. In this sense the project has failed to empower women trough raising awareness of legal rights, when there were constraints for women to attend the meetings.
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Interview with a female VLW in Haysam, 2008-03-15.


Mr. Mrutu Authorized Land Officer for the Babati District, 2008-03-05, and 2008-03-10.


Two individual interviews with a male and a female VLW in Dareda Kati, 2008-03-13.

10. Appendix

10.1 Interview questions to VLWs

• Why did you become a VLW?
• How and when were you elected?
• What is your impression of how the idea of VLWs was perceived by villagers and the officials at the District Councils?
• What education did you receive, and how often?
• How did you inform villagers about their legal rights (how often, and in which language)?
• What have been the priorities of the villagers?
• How do you handle conflicts that arise?
• Has gender issues been taken into consideration?
• How can the villagers use their education in practise?
• How do you work with changing attitudes?
• What obstacles have you met, and how were they being handled?
• Do you think that the project has met its goals?
• What challenges remain when the support of LAMP has ended?

10.2 Interview questions to participants of the VLWs education

• How did you perceive the idea of VLWs?
• How were the VLWs elected? Were you satisfied with that result?
• What education did you receive?
• How often were the meetings and how often did you attend them?
• Has the education helped you?
• Were your priorities being taken into consideration? Did you have any possibilities to influence the structure of the project?
• Did the project fulfil your expectations?
• Were the VLWs helpful in solving conflicts?
• Has gender issues been taken into consideration?
• What obstacles have you met, and what challenges remain?