

**THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO THE EVANGELICAL
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN MAKETE, TANZANIA**

BY

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**Under the supervision of
Prof. Klaus Nurnberger.**

Declaration

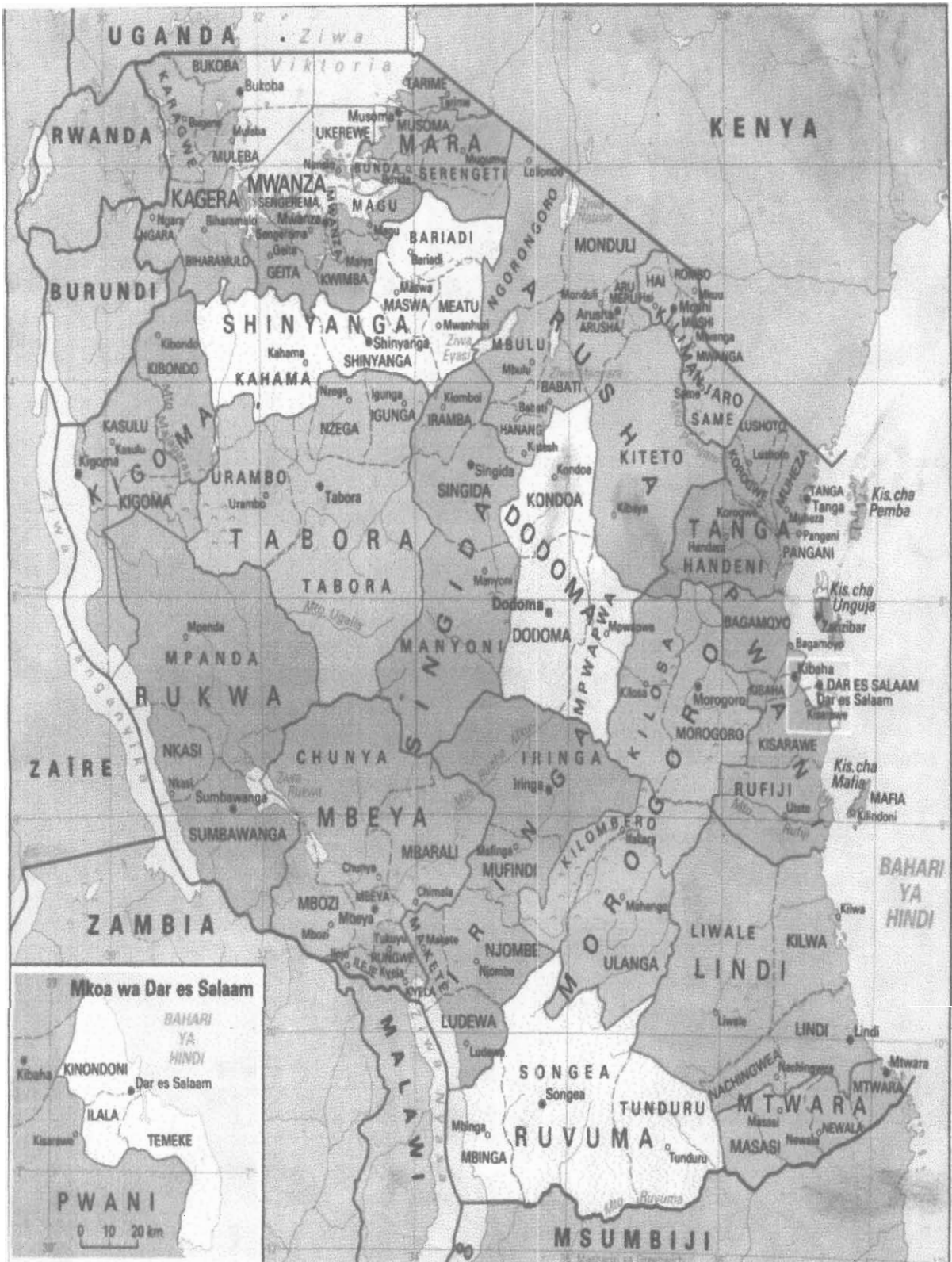
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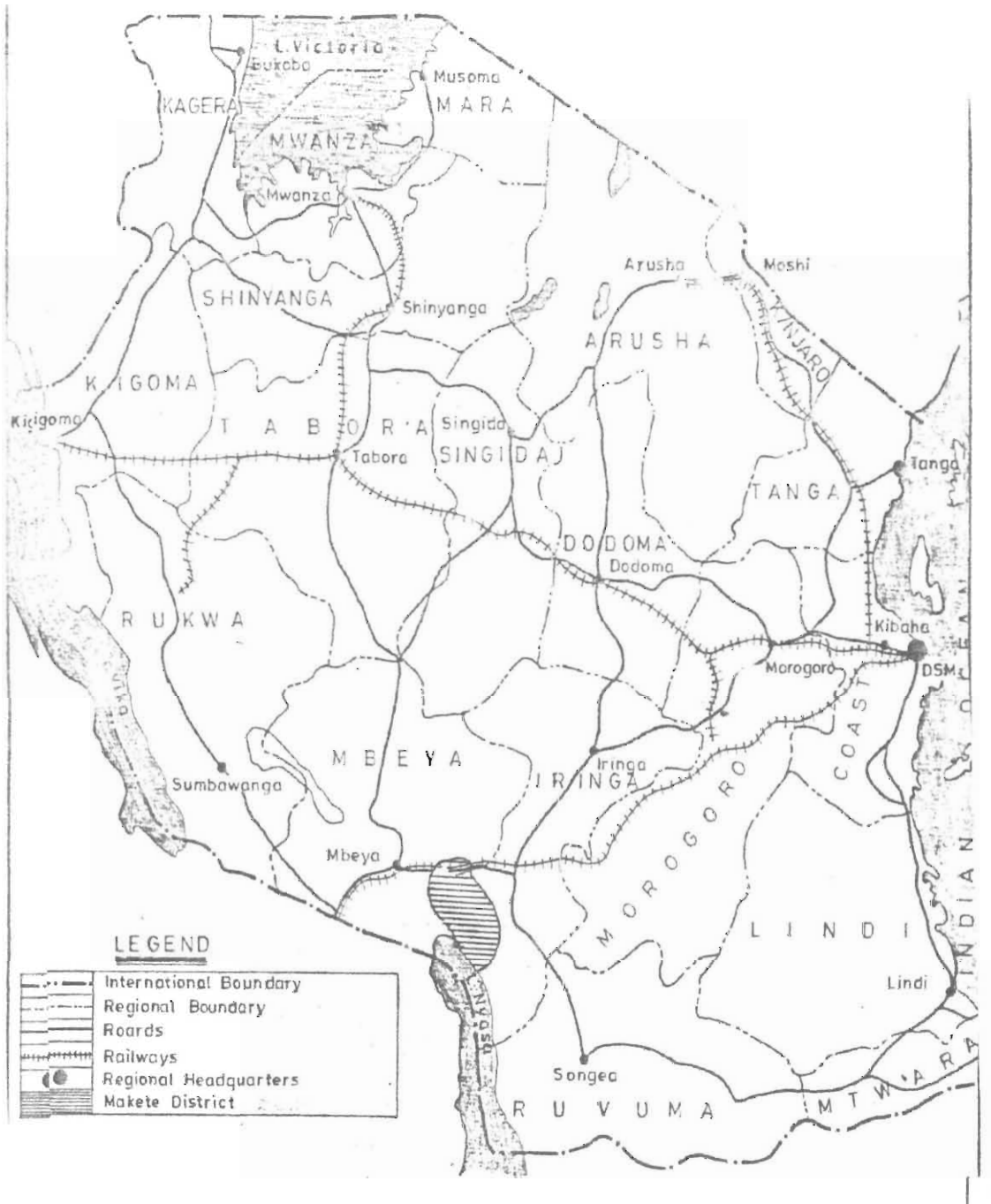
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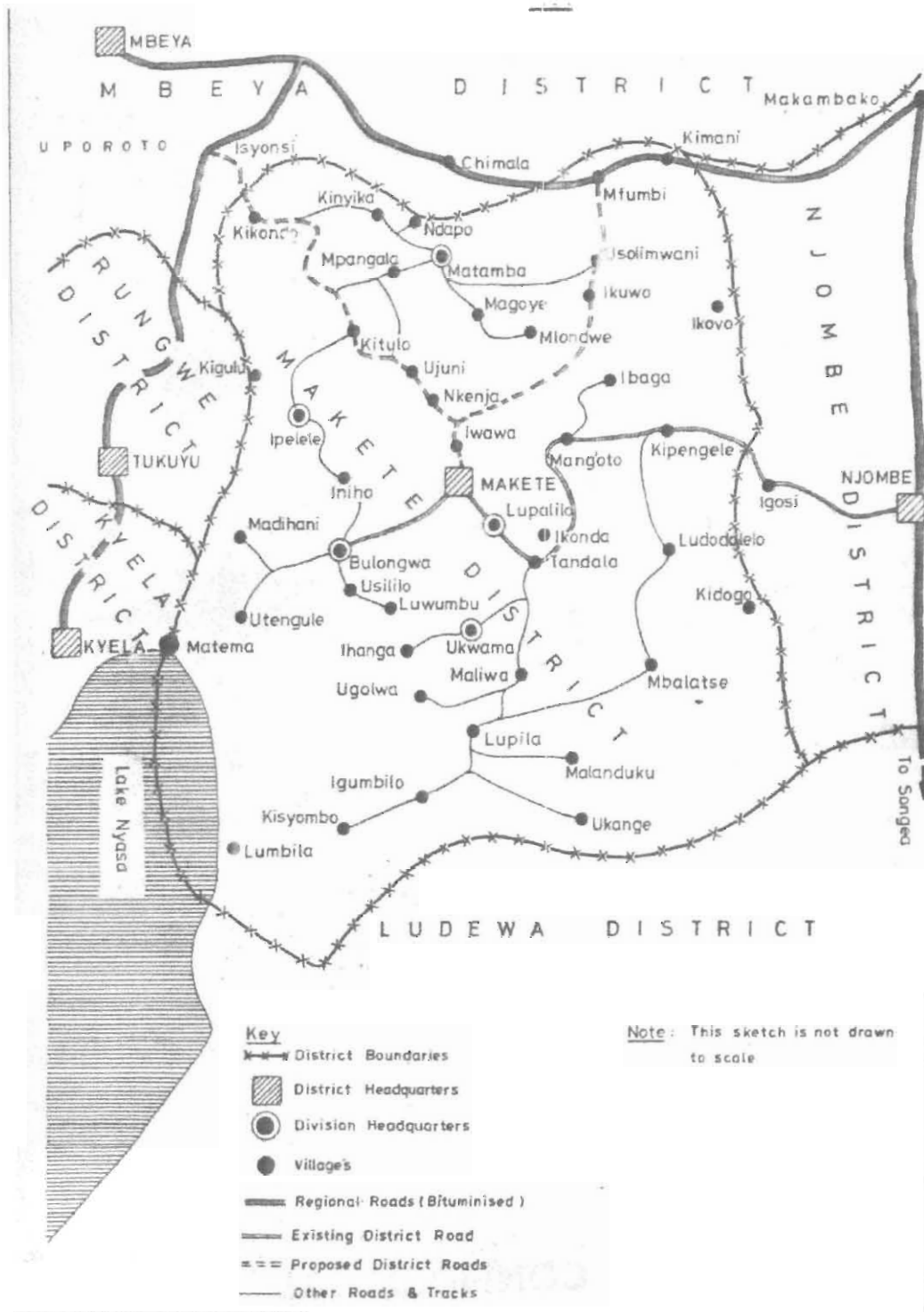
MAP OF TANZANIA



LOCATION OF MAKETE DISTRICT IN TANZANIA



LOCATION OF VILLAGES IN MAKETE DISTRICT



Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the involvement of the Lutheran Church in poverty alleviation in Makete, Tanzania. My view is that the level of poverty is escalating at an alarming rate contrary to many people's expectation that it would decrease. The causes for this poverty increase are many but the obvious ones are the imbalance between population growth and production, mismanagement of land, illiteracy, misappropriation of funds and ecological deterioration.

The study looks at what the church there ought to do as an agent for development. I believe that its mandate comes from God. It was demonstrated in the creation narratives and later in the life and work of the Jesus of history in Galilee. The mission of God aims at the comprehensive wellbeing of humanity, that is, shalom. In this light, there is no way the church in Makete can become a living church without being involved in the process of combating poverty. A number of suggestions are made in regard to this task. These suggestions range from the church taking sides with the poor and becoming their spokesperson to the state, to creating jobs and giving financial assistance to those people who do everything in their power to fight poverty.

Finally, we look at the success and failure of the Ujamaa policy implementation in Tanzania. The author is of the opinion that the Ujamaa policy was and is a useful strategy for economic development of all the people but there are many obstructions on its way to success. It was expected that the Ujamaa policy would reduce the gap between the affluent and the poor in the country.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Alvia Ilomo, my mother, who struggled under the yoke of poverty to raise eight children. The Almighty God grant her a peaceful rest.

Abbreviations

AIDS	- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BMG	- Berliner Missionsgesellschaft
GNP	- Gross National Product
HIP	- Heifer International Project
HIV	- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	- International Labour Office
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
NDC	- National Development Corporation
NGOs	- Non-Governmental Organisations
SHDDP	- Southern Highlands Dairy Development Project
TANU	- Tanganyika African National Union
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UPE	- Universal Primary Education

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1. 1 The problem and its background

This dissertation deals with poverty alleviation in Makete. This is an attempt to give answers to a series of sub-questions such as, under what circumstance one is classified poor? Who is to be blamed for creating a situation of poverty in the community? How is development theory applicable to this situation? Which factors have prevented the process of development from taking place in Makete? Are there any theological underpinnings for the Church to be involved in developmental matters? What must the Church do to combat poverty in Makete? Since this study is about the church and economic development in Makete, it is necessary to take a brief look at the history of the Lutheran Church in Makete and its contribution towards economic development in the area from the time it was introduced to the present.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Makete, Tanzania, was started by the Berlin Mission Society. The mission originated in Germany. The missionaries started working in the area in 1895 (BMG Reports of 1897 in KKKT/DKK, 1995:19). Besides evangelisation, which was the main purpose of their mission, they also became an agent for development in the area.

The reports written by the first missionaries and sent to Germany show that, right from the start of their work, they fought poverty in the society. People were taught how to raise new crops like wheat, round potatoes, coffee, etc. Also, they were given directions on how to plant trees for fruits and for other uses such as firewood and timber. Most of these crops and trees were brought to the area by the missionaries. The reason for introducing new crops and trees was that these yielded better crops than the indigenous ones (BMG Reports, 1899 in KKKT/DKK, 1995: 67).

Madihani, which is one of the popular areas in the District, was used as a centre for training skills.

Groups with the same interests, e.g. people who wanted to become carpenters, could go there and spend some time learning how to become useful in the society besides doing cultivation, which is the common task for everybody in the area. Different short courses were offered. Madihani later became a training centre for the entire area. The courses which were offered ranged from brick making, carpentry, farming and animal rearing, brick-house building to lumbering.

Moreover, an education programme was launched in the area. A number of learning centres, which were also used for religious instruction classes, were put up in the area. By and large, people came to know how to read, write, and do some basic arithmetic. A book called *Teti vana va Vakinga* was written and used as a text book for learning. It is said that up to the end of 1909, there were 261 persons coming to attend classes in 18 learning centres (KKKT/DKK, 1995:61-63). This was the beginning of literacy in the area. Later on those centres were changed to elementary schools, called bush schools. As the children showed progress in learning and the attendance kept growing, the missionaries were obliged to start primary schools at Bulongwa and Tandala (BMG Report, 1910 in KKKT/DKK, 1995:60). Later on more primary schools were built all over the area. The preachers were also teachers at those schools. Both preaching the gospel and teaching in primary schools was taken to be one package.

In addition to the missionaries' efforts to combat poverty and illiteracy, they were involved in promoting community health care, land use and management, and charity services to the disadvantaged group.

As time passed by, the Church started to take less and less interest in developmental issues. Instead it started focussing on spiritual matters. Referring to the present situation of Church involvement in economic development, Meeks comments that, "Theologians, moreover, seem assiduously trained not to see critically the connection between God and the economy"(1989:19). Presently, it is widely considered by Christians that it is not part of the prime task of their Church to become an agent of economic development in the community. Its task is said to be preaching the gospel, gathering up converts and leading them to eternity. But the reality is that the church is working among poor

people who need to be helped to overcome poverty. Its members are, by and large, peasants. Many young people join gangsters and other criminals in the community, not because they like such activities but because that is the only way to survive. According to Boikanyo and Donnell, the same thing has been experienced in South Africa. "The young people should be laying the foundations of their careers, but are faced with a frustrating search for work instead. Many have given up and found other sources of income. The unemployed are young, not only young, but young and armed" (Boikanyo & Donnell, 1997:26). As we enter a new millennium, the church in Makete is challenged by the fact that its clergy is ill informed about the role of the church in development. The dissertation aims, therefore, to identify ways to strengthen, promote, encourage and catalyse the church to get involved in addressing the needs of the community.

Thirty-two years have passed since the former president of Tanzania, J.K.Nyerere, said they expected great change to take place in the sector of agriculture in the country. He pointed out that,

... our major tool, the jembe, is too primitive for our present-day needs. We must now abandon it and replace it with the oxen-plough. ... We have to modernize our farming if we are to improve our standard of living. ... We have to modernize by utilizing to the full the tools which are within our capacity to buy and to make; which are sufficiently simple for us to use without trouble and break-downs; and which are appropriate to our present and near future social and economic organization (Nyerere, 1968:389).

This idea seems to have had little impact in Makete. The majority are still using a hand hoe to till the ground. Ben Amulike Sanga, an agriculture extension adviser who works at district level as Subject Matter Specialist, has recently confirmed that the idea of the ox-plough has not been adopted among small farm holders (Ben, 1999). There are a handful of people in the district who use the ox-plough for cultivation. These farmers can be found at Ikuo, Matamba and Lupila (see map - location of villages in Makete District). He added that, among the people who are spearheading this idea is Klaus Bitter, a Lutheran missionary from Germany stationed at Lupila. It seems many people are still living in the past. It has also been pointed out by Havnevik that during the colonial period, Makete was among those areas in the country which were earmarked

as labour generating zones. This implies that usually men from those areas were impelled to go and work in plantations and on other projects which needed cheap labour in order to get money to pay poll tax and to buy other essentials such as clothes. Only women, children, and old people were left at home to continue cultivating the land (Havnevik, 1993:31).

Before 1984 there was no secondary school in Makete. In 1984 parents started to build one through pooling their resources. Their determination to have a secondary school was widely supported by other people who lived outside Makete but who originally come from there. Before 1984, those who wanted to get a Western education had to move from Makete to places like Mbeya or Morogoro. The standard of education was low. For example, "By 1956 only 20 students in the entire country were studying for a degree and another 59 were in different non-degree courses at universities or professional institutions" (Havnevik, 1993:31).

Makete District came into existence in July 1979 after a parliamentary resolution to divide Njombe District into two in order to accelerate development in the area. The Eastern part is now called Njombe District and the Western part is called Makete District.

The newly formed District, like most new districts, is confronted with a number of economic constraints. Generally speaking, this District is lagging behind in economic development. Not only is the District deprived of essential social and economic infrastructure such as roads, telephones and electricity, but the basic needs of its people such as balanced diet, clothing, education, medication and proper housing are not fulfilled.

The District has five administrative divisions called *Tarafa*, namely Ukwama, Lupalilo, Bulongwa, Magoma and Matamba. The 1978 census which was carried out before the division of the District gave the larger Njombe District population as 326,189. Since the formation of Makete District no census has been carried out. Estimates undertaken by the Regional and District Authorities put the District population as 120,000 at the end of 1983. With an estimated growth rate of 3.2% per annum, there would have been 160,000 people at the end of 1997. Most of the population is

concentrated in Bulongwa, Lupalilo and Matamba (Sanga, 1984:6).

Migration of Makete dwellers to plantations and business centres elsewhere in the country has been taking place for a long time, although it is not possible to quantify. Had it not been for this migration, the District population should have been more than 200,000.

1.2 Motivation

The motivation to deal with this topic came out of a historical event which occurred in 1991. In that year I moved from Bukavu, Congo, or the old Zaire, where I had worked as a missionary pastor, to Idunda, Tanzania. I was posted at Idunda parish as parish pastor. There were some inconveniences in travelling from Bukavu to our new place. Eventually, we arrived at Idunda in April. Among the things which I had to start immediately when I arrived was a confirmation class. Through experience I knew that confirmation classes had to run up to October, before Reformation Day, that is, the last Sunday of October. Traditionally, this day is respected and set aside by the Church for confirmands to be confirmed as full Church members.

For about five months I tried to cover the syllabus. Finally I realised that even though I was pushing hard to make the group understand the things they were expected to know before their confirmation, there was little response from the group. They needed more time to learn those things. So I decided to bring this issue to the Council of Elders to see if we could prolong the programme. I did all I could on the day of the meeting to convince the house to accept my proposal. I took time to explain to them how important the confirmation class was for the youth if we wanted them to be committed Christians for their entire lives.

After this brief introduction to the subject, the response of the Council was not against what I said, but they raised the question as to where the youth could be found after they had finished standard seven. I was told that almost none of the school leavers stay at home after their final examination. Some follow their relatives who have migrated to other districts, which seem to have greener

pastures than Makete District. Others go to seek jobs in offices and in plantations located in Njombe, Mufindi and Iringa. There is also a large group of them who go and live in towns and cities with the hope of getting employment.

I started thinking why young people had to move from this area so early in life. Later I came to learn that poverty was the main cause of this movement. Every youth grew up with the idea that after school one had to go and find a job somewhere away from Makete. So to contain them after finishing school could only make them feel uncomfortable because they would feel that their quest for a better life was being delayed.

At this stage, I started looking at the causes of poverty in Makete in the hope of reaching a break through to this problem. There might be many causes of poverty but in this paper only five will be discussed. There is no specific reason for choosing them other than these being the main causes of poverty in the community. The first area to be considered is the economic infrastructure in Makete. Is the area commercially viable in the sense that there are adequate natural resources and business oriented fields, which can support the lives of its inhabitants? Also, what about environmental sustainability? Are there any measures being taken to raise the awareness of environmental deterioration in the area?

The second field of study would be the availability of chances for Makete youth to study. Do young people have access to education? And for those who do study, do they come and plough back what they have learnt over the years so that others can benefit from their achievements? I have the feeling that the educated, or the best trained brains, become useful at places other than Makete. Factors of production are taken away from the poor area as it has been said that,

To satisfy at least some of the needs, whether basic essentials such as food or new needs spilling over from the centre such as radios, the periphery population has to raise an income. To raise an income, the periphery sells the factors of production it still possesses to the centre: educated brains, raw materials, capital, labour, land. It even sells ecological absorption capacity when it agrees to the establishment of

pollution industries or the dumping of toxic waste on its territory (Nurnberger, 1999:313).

Instead, by and large, those educated people are needed at Makete.

Thirdly, we need to set up our priorities. Economic development, to put it in figurative language, is a strange animal. People believe that to attain certain material things like a TV- set, or a luxury car, or entertaining a wonderful party where people can eat and drink a lot, makes that person to be more important than before. It has been pointed out that through advertisements, "people are made to feel that they are missing out on life, if they do not own a television set, drink a certain beverage, or wear the latest fashion. Things which people in traditional cultures never dreamt of gradually become 'necessities' and people suffer wants if they have to go without them" (Nurnberger, 1999:310). People in Makete must learn to use the meagre resources found at their disposal to do things which are worthwhile for themselves and for the generations to come. Usually, wrong choices lead to bad ends. In this case failure in setting right priorities leads to the misuse of limited resources in the area, which again leads to excessive poverty.

Fourthly, some of the traditions of the Kinga people, that is, Makete dwellers may have played a great part in slowing down the process of development in the area. This society is a male dominated community. On one hand, women and children, by and large, have little say in decision making and leadership. On the other, women are at the cutting edge of development. Nyerere has said,

The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men in the villages and thousands of women in the towns which are at present wasted in gossip, dancing and drinking, are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations (1968:245).

Finally, we need to deal with matters related to population growth in the area. In the process of

development one has to accept that production and population must either be in balance or production growth must be higher than population growth. "Economic growth thus takes place when the volume of production is greater than the volume of consumption and the surplus is used to build up productive capacity. The greater the proportion of production and earnings channelled into capacity building, the greater the rate of growth" (Nurnberger, 1999:301). If it happens that the population growth rate is higher than growth of production, it is obvious there will be a lot of people whose essential needs are not fulfilled. Many people will go to bed with their stomachs half filled. Unemployment, in the sense of limited potential land for peasants, by and large, leads to poverty because purchasing power of these people comes from farm production.

One has to relate all these factors to the Church and its activities in the community in Makete. Is there any way the Church can be involved in fighting poverty over and above what it is doing or has been doing in the past? What kind of Christianity or which Christ should be preached to the Kinga people? To be more specific, which gospel is relevant to them? The aim of this study is to propose a more holistic theology and to identify areas where the Church can be involved in the entire process of eliminating poverty in Makete.

1.3 Methodology

The method adopted for this dissertation is sociological, descriptive and interpretive analysis. It is to be based primarily on library literature. However, I will use some examples from field work as evidence for what is discussed. The purpose of this material is to relate development theory to the experience of poverty among the Kinga people.

1.4 Outline

This dissertation comprises six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. Besides locating the Makete District in Tanzania, it states the problem which the people in there are facing at the moment. The problem is growing poverty. There are clear indications that in a few years to come

many people in this area will be experiencing absolute poverty. At the same time the gap between the poor and the affluent, which keeps growing, will reach alarming proportions. In order to prevent such an occurrence from happening proper measures should be taken. Transformation is required in the areas of population, education, resource management, traditionalism and modernity interaction, and ecological sustainability.

Chapters two, three, four and five are the body of the dissertation. Chapters two and three define the meaning of poverty and development respectively. Chapter four deals with what has caused poverty in Makete. Chapter five is a theological reflection on economic development. The concept of poverty is very wide. It needs to be explained in relation to the poor in Makete. Therefore, I will begin in chapter two with a general understanding of poverty. Thereafter, I will establish possible general causes of poverty. This is going to be more theoretical than practical.

Then I will discuss individual poverty, mainly focusing on the poor in Makete. I intend to do it in this way because some of the problems which poor people in Makete experience are community originated, while others are personal or individually originated problems. I need to take this difference into account to avoid the danger of speaking about the poor without first-hand information about their lives. It should be remembered that not every person who appears in shabby clothes, for instance, is poor as many people seem to take for granted. In the third place I will look at possible means of overcoming poverty. Again, I will follow a theoretical approach.

In chapter three I will start by defining the meaning of development. Development and poverty relate to each other in the sense that wherever there is development, obviously, poverty is eliminated or is in the process of being eliminated and vice versa. Thereafter, I will deal with development theory. The aim here is to show how development can take place at a given place and time.

In the fourth chapter, I am going to identify and discuss the possible causes of poverty in Makete. Even though the Kinga people are hailed and respected as hard working people, there are factors

which militate against economic development. One of these factors is related to the way the society is organised. It is a patriarchal society. What is the effect of male domination on development? Who still wants such systems to exist in this age of gender equality and human rights?

Section two deals with land management as another cause of poverty in Makete. The way the land is being used hinders the process of development. This will become clear through examining the methods which are being used in cultivation and the chemicals applied on the farms to maximise production.

Section three is about population. When the population outstrips food production, which is the case in Makete, one can speak of overpopulation. Here overpopulation does not refer to land in general but to arable land. That is, one can say, the productive land for agriculture where farmers get their income. Population growth seems to be higher than growth of food production.

Section four will discuss the effects of the illiteracy in the area. One can learn from the people that presently a large number of children in the area have no access to further education. Their parents are unable to pay for their schools. This situation has led many young people to be out of work. There is no future for them. In order to face the challenge of living, these young people are lured into robbery, theft, corruption, crime, etc. It is possible that in a few years there will be two classes of people in the area i.e. the educated, mostly from the affluent families, and the semi-literate and illiterate from the poor families. This is against our previous policy of *Ujamaa* because we wanted to have a classless society. The question is how can we prevent this situation.

Finally, I will deal with consumerism and the challenge of modernity as obstructions for development in Makete. One has to accept the truth that in this modern society, individualism makes life become more difficult particularly for the poor. Although the *Ujamaa* policy has failed to take off, it was and still is the road to the economic development of the poor. These few years of the transition from the *Ujamaa* model of development to the capitalist model have shown how the gap between the poor and the rich is quickly widening. Capitalist development is another

setback to the development of the poor. Under capitalism many poor people are pushed to change their ways of living to conform to what the business advertisements say what one ought to possess. In this way many poor people have set up wrong priorities. We need a new mindset in order to face the challenges of development.

The fifth chapter is about the theology of development. Is the Bible and the entire Christian heritage in favour of doing economic development or not? In other words, is there any backup in the Bible for doing development in the community? This discussion will be more historical than practical focusing on the response of God to his creation as far as economic development is concerned. Then, I will reflect on the historical Jesus and his contribution towards economic development in the Galilean society. I will take his approach to development issues as a vivid example of looking at the Church's involvement in doing development today. The last sub-section is about the Church, which is also called the community of believers, and development. Here I will try to see how it handles matters of development as a community in the society. The guiding question will be what the Church has been doing over the years to promote development among the Kinga people.

Finally, in chapter six I am going to discuss two concepts, that is, God's concern for his people and his total creation and the Ujamaa policy as an alternative to capitalism in achieving the comprehensive wellbeing of humans. Essentially, God wants the comprehensive wellbeing of humanity. Therefore, the first question will be how to create a redemptive community among the Kinga people. I intend to discuss the way the Lutheran Church in Makete can become an agent of development. It is my wish that those parishes which are scattered all over the District can become local communities equipped to promote development among the poor, a process which was already started as *Ujamaa*. It is possible that the poor in those communities will be able to pool their resources and work together to fight poverty. It is possible that many of the problems which disturb the poor can be solved, not by getting financial assistance from abroad but by the poor themselves. They need to be organised and to act as a community. Any financial support received from outside should be regarded as a backup leading to self-reliance. I will discuss the successes and failures of Ujamaa policy in Tanzania. The aim of doing that is to make sure that the Church in Makete does

not repeat the same mistakes which were done by the state in the process of implementing Ujamaa policy in the country.

The idea of pooling resources brings us to the last point, the relation between the poor and the affluent. By and large, the affluent have a tendency of blaming the poor for not doing enough to overcome poverty. They say the poor have either jeopardised their chances of education or they have misused their resources. Some even dare to think that the question of poverty is irresolvable because, as Jesus saw, the poor will always be with us. It is true that the poor misuse their funds. But it is not only the poor who do that. The rich also misuse their money. Sometimes they are much worse than the poor.

Therefore we should not be blaming one another and looking at the past. We need to overcome this problem of poverty in our communities. We should learn how to face this situation of poverty collectively because the rich are also not safe. The outcome of poverty, in one way or another, is going to spill over to them. Also, poverty affects the whole of humanity. When my neighbour's child is expelled from school, for instance, for failing to meet the material requirements of the school, this is a challenge to the entire community because our community may lose a person who may become a key figure in the community, one whose service to the community is badly needed, like a teacher or a doctor. We may also enhance crime in the area since, if this child fails to get the means of earning an income, he/she may opt for crime.

CHAPTER TWO

2. WHAT IS POVERTY?

This chapter deals with the concept of poverty. We will start by looking at definitions given to explain the meaning of poverty in different contexts. This exercise is aimed at uncovering the context of poverty found in Makete. In so doing we will be answering the questions who are the poor and why they are poor. This is our main theme in this chapter. Finally we will try to highlight the weak and strong points for development which people have in Makete. Three areas will be dealt with, that is, the significance of progeny in African life and thought in conjunction with the unmanageable population growth in the area, untapped resources found in the area and the effects of belief in witchcraft in people's economic development.

2.1 The concept of poverty

What is poverty? This question has led to much debate within the academic community. For instance, Jones writes,

Modern poverty research begins with the work of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree who, at the end of the 19th century, provided the first systematic discussion of poverty founded on modern, empirical, scientific analysis. Both men developed subsistence definitions of poverty, they viewed the poor primarily as those who were just able or even unable to provide for their physical subsistence (1990:94).

Studies of the poor diverge as far as the measurement of poverty is concerned. So, one can even dare to say, it is difficult to have a consensus definition of poverty which will apply across the board. This is because "poverty may be understood as applying not just to those who are victims of a maldistribution of resources but, more exactly, to those whose resources do not allow them to fulfil the elaborate social demands and customs which are placed upon citizens of the society in the first place" (Outhwaite & Bottomore, 1993:503). To complicate the matter, Iliffe states that, "...

the poor are diverse, poverty has many facets, and African people had their own varied and changing notion of it. A precise and consistent definition is not feasible. Nevertheless, poverty has an inescapable connotation of physical want, especially in the poor countries" (1988:2).

Although many years have passed since Lewis wrote his two books on poverty, *Five Families*, and *The Children of Sanchez*, published in 1959 and 1963 respectively, his findings are still relevant to this day. His work is a result of long field work which he did for many years in Mexico (Lewis, 1959: viii). Many authors are still acknowledging the interesting piece of work he did. These include people such as Beals & Hoijer, 1971, Borgatta, 1992; Seymour-Smith, 1986; etc, who have found satisfying material for explaining the meaning of poverty in different contexts.

In those books Lewis pointed out that poverty creates its own culture. He says, "Poverty becomes a dynamic fact which affects participation in the large natural culture and creates a subculture of its own. One can speak of the culture of the poor, for it has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members" (1959:16). He continues to say this culture is self-generating, that is, its characteristics are transmitted down to subsequent generations (1959:38). Beals & Hoijer's contribution to this point is that this subculture is a separate way of life with common characteristics whenever found (1971:651).

Through research Lewis has discovered that the culture of poverty includes people with relatively high death rates and low life expectancy; low level of education; low participation in organization, for instance, unions or political parties; no participation in medical care or other health programmes; little utilization of city facilities, such as stores, museums or libraries; low wages and little employment security; low skill levels; lack of savings or access to credit; and no food reserves in their homes (1959: 43).

As additional information to what Lewis has said, Pedro, quoted in Lewis, maintains that the life of the poor has no privacy (1959:36), violence is frequent, including wife and child beating, the marriage is often at risk of disintegration, child and wife abandonment is also frequent, many

families are mother centred, and authoritarianism in the family is marked. "Exacerbating the problem, the poor were divorced from participation in, and integration into, the major institutions of society, leading to constant hostility, suspicion, and apathy" (Borgatta, 1992:1526).

Still, this definition of poverty needs to be elaborated. So far, three different historical and scientific approaches may be distinguished in the contemporary debate about poverty. These are absolute poverty, basic needs, and relative deprivation.

2.1.1 Absolute poverty.

Absolute poverty implies that there is a relatively determinable minimum income below which physiological efficiency cannot be maintained. This includes things like food, shelter, clothing, fuel, charcoal and some household needs required to maintain physical efficiency. This fixed minimum income is called the poverty line. Poverty line theory "is used by those who tend to view poverty in terms of low absolute income" (Suchard, 1984:410). The policy implications of this approach are that if the society can provide an income sufficient to meet subsistence needs, then poverty can be eliminated. It is merely for this reason that the subsistence approach has found favour with policy makers in industrial countries such as Britain and the USA (1984:411) and in some of the third world countries such as India (Townsend, 1993:52).

2.1.2 Basic needs

The concept of basic needs encompasses the idea of subsistence needs and has been used, primarily, in discussions about poverty in Third World countries. Proponents of this approach have argued that it should be placed within the context of a nation's economic and social development (International Labour Office, 1977).

The basic needs approach comprises two key elements, insufficient income to maintain subsistence requirements for food, shelter, housing, and certain household goods, and insufficient essential

social services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health services and education (Nurnberger, 1995:15). The concept of basic needs has been applied by a number of international organizations such as the International Labour Office (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in their efforts to eliminate poverty.

2.1.3 Relative deprivation

The third approach is relative deprivation. It is said that any measure of poverty and, therefore, the number of people regarded as being in poverty, can be determined only by reference to the standard of living of members of a particular society.

In much of the contemporary world poverty is thought of in relative terms - as deprivation in relation to some culturally defined standard of needs. That need is not limited to basic material resources but may include social factors of life such as status and self-esteem, as well as access to education, jobs, credit, political power, or certain level of income (Collins, 1996:32).

This measurement is based on the level of income necessary for individuals to participate in the wide range of roles, relationships and consumption that constitutes full membership of the society in which they live. Income is defined in the widest sense to include resources such as assets, housing, company fringe benefits, education, health and other social services. In this way of understanding poverty, individuals and families are in a poverty situation when their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities (Townsend, 1979:1). One can say that this is the general understanding of poverty.

Since this study is focussed on the development of Makete District, there is a need to define poverty in the context of Makete. Of course, I do not mean to say that the poor found in Makete have characteristics of poverty which are totally different from other poor in the country and elsewhere in the world. But it will also be wrong to take for granted and generalise about poverty

in Makete. As we shall see later, there are possibilities for the poor to work towards eliminating poverty in their community if certain things, such as unmanageable population growth, which hinders the process of development, are identified and corrected.

The majority of the people in Makete can be classified under the category of subsistence farmers. They are engaged in the so-called hand to mouth type of agriculture. The annual yields harvested on farms hardly cover their living costs. In other words, they struggle to obtain the necessities of life (Atkinson, 1995:677). This fact, for instance, can easily be verified during market days. On such days, usually taking place once or twice per week, very few people show up at the market with their produce to sell. The majority go there with bags and empty containers such as baskets expecting to fill them with maize, beans, rice, and fruits such as bananas, mangoes, avocados, etc. These foodstuffs do not come from within the district of Makete but are brought from other districts such as Njombe and Tukuyu. In this case, it becomes self-evident that "in Tanzania the poor produce 50 percent of what they consume. Subsistence farmers, of course, sell in the market virtually nothing of what they produce" (World Bank, 1997:31).

No one knows where the money comes from for purchasing those foodstuffs mentioned above. It is a mysterious issue. But one can argue that some people get money from their relatives who work and live in other places in the country such as Mbeya and Dar es Salaam. Possibly, they do this because of the extended family concept which allows to share resources among family members. For instance, Omath Sanga says that, although he is currently studying at the University of Dar es Salaam, he still has to provide financial support for his two younger brothers who are schooling at Mwakavuta Secondary School (O. Sanga, 1998). Also, it is possible that these people are involved in unlawful activities in the community which give them income. I will come back to this point in chapter four.

Besides the low production found in the area, the children from poor families hardly acquire higher education and skills. Through no fault of their own, their home environment is in many instances an inadequate preparation for public schools. Equally discouraging is the fact that schools attended

by children from the poor families have incompetent teachers, poor buildings, and very limited learning material, such as text books, desks and stationery (Dorit Becker, 1999). Under these circumstances, it is possible to locate poor families where illiteracy continues from one generation to another. None of the family members can be found among academics. This is happening not because all the people there are not intelligent. The problem which faces them is accessibility to education. For instance, the latest news which has appeared in the newspaper, reveals that by the end of 1998, the level of education in the country had declined tremendously. Out of the children who reach the age of going to school, i.e. nine years old, only 56.7% are in schools. In the 1980s the figure was 98%. Out of all the pupils who finish Universal Primary Education (UPE), only 5% join secondary education and out of this 5% only 0.3% go into higher learning institutions such as universities (Sawala, 1999:4). This is the situation in which many youths are finding themselves.

2.2 Different thoughts on the causes of poverty

Let us begin this section by asking this simple question: Why are the poor poor? Bosch has given us an answer that the poor are poor because the circumstances have treated them unkindly (1991:27). But, one can still ask how do the circumstances make a person poor? Nurnberger gives an answer to this question by saying that in most cases the poor are found in areas which have a low productivity. He calls those areas peripheries (1999:40). Yet, one could think that the people in peripheries can migrate to areas which have a viable economy. Still, we are informed that even there the poor come into conflict with another group of poor which has been there for decades. Usually, "the established city dwellers will not be eager to help them get onto their feet because they are potential rivals on the labour market" (1999:118). In this way poverty has a vicious circle. By and large, there are four ways of looking at poverty, namely, conservative, liberal, blame the poor, and the liberation view.

2.2.1 The conservative view

One way of understanding poverty is to approach it with the conservative view. It is taken for

granted by conservative proponents as well as the poor that poverty is regrettable but unavoidable. It is something to be accepted because the poor will always be with us (Mark 14:7). In this context God is seen to have created some poor and others rich, some to lead and others to follow. The society is based on reciprocal rights and responsibilities between people of different status. It is suggested that people should accept the differences in terms of levels of income. For example, it came to light during conducting interviews that on the one hand a large number of poor people in Makete think that they cannot change their situation of poverty because they can do nothing to make it change. But on the other hand statistics show that the same people have diluted their economic resources due to large families. In most cases the poor have more children than the affluent. To some extent the Church is in support of this idea. It does not condemn poverty and all activities leading to poverty, such as unmanageable population growth.

We are not doing politics against the Church, as many preachers may think, but one has to accept that poverty is a disease which kills not only the body but also faith. A hungry person cannot enjoy the worship of God in the same way others do who are not hungry. The same applies to other essentials. One cannot distinguish between the secular and religious spheres in this question of poverty.

The conservative group of people view poverty as a natural event. They argue that personalities are important, but there is relatively little scope for change in the overall scheme of things. The stress is on social stability, adjustment to circumstances, respect for tradition and behaving properly according to one's station in life. The responsibility of the rich towards the poor is to behave with fairness, tolerance and compassion. In return, the poor have to accept their place in life humbly, being hardworking, law abiding, and grateful for the charity of the rich. This view paints a picture that men and women, rich and poor, slaves and slave-masters (Exodus 21:2-11, Deuteronomy 7:1-5, Psalm 2:4-9), all have their proper place in the society. Many years ago Plato and Aristotle pointed out that "slavery was natural, was the only possible system, and would exist forever; they argued that some men and women were born to be slaves and were inherently inferior, while others were born superior and were meant to be slave owners" (Hunt & Sherman, 1981:3). In other words, the

conservative approach tends to say that the social world is built on a natural order, in which every person has his or her own rightful place. For example it has been argued that,

Men who are neither rich nor have any claim to virtue should certainly not have any share in the highest office, since they are bound to commit wrongs and make mistakes, but it is dangerous not to give them any share in things, since the presence in the city of a large group who are poor and without rights means that the city is full of enemies; so they should be allowed to participate in deliberation and judgement (Loizou & Lesser, 1990:30).

It is regrettable that even the religious texts, as indicated above, are continuously interpreted in this conservative approach. Also, there are people who think that any effort done to try to restructure the present systems of economy and market in order to reduce the gap between the affluent and the poor is trying to create a system which cannot work because competition is the engine of economic development.

The existence of traditional rights and obligations between rich and poor should not be over-romanticised. It does not mean that there were simple, egalitarian communities in which everyone fitted to make up a harmonious whole. There have always been tensions and strikes between personal and community interests, and people who refused to honour the responsibilities allocated to them. The modern trade union movement is a result of such tensions. In this regard it has been pointed out that:

The fundamental importance of trade-union movements, whether in Charles Dickens' England or in Lech Walesa's Poland, is that workers, backed by real power, are able to challenge the economic and political establishment. Trade-unions have proved to be the workers' most effective weapon against dehumanisation and exploitation at the work place (Wilson & Ramphele, 1989:276).

The core of a moral economy is not the sense that it is wrong for some to have more and others less. Rather, it is the view that everyone should have a minimum, none should be left to go destitute. Translated into social policy, the Government of Tanzania, for instance, in the 1970s and 1980s

decided to subsidize education and health care by 100 percent. The reason for doing this was to try to revive the old ways of being in a legitimate community. It is said "In our traditional African society, we were individuals within the community. We took care of the community and the community took care of us. We never needed or wished to exploit our fellow men" (Nyerere, 1968:6-7). Also, "Every man has an equal right to a decent life before any individual has a surplus" (1968:103). This does not imply that property was owned by the community rather than by individuals. The point made here is that there was a strong sense toward caring for one another in a community.

After having said that, let us see the response from the poor themselves. To them, is poverty something given, unchangeable, something which is an integral part of their social and moral order? My experience, which is the outcome of living and working amongst them as a Church minister informs me that many of them would reply with an affirmative answer. Poverty seems to be part of them. They are born with it. They live with it and they will die poor. Poverty, like death, is part of life and one cannot escape from it (Bonino, 1979:13). Even worse, they have reached a point where they think that even natural disasters, such as floods and droughts, do not hit everyone equally. They hit hardest those who are weak, unwell, have no alternative sources of support, are homeless, etc. It is difficult to understand here what the poor are saying. But one can learn from the results of a disaster such as an earthquake. When it strikes, the first thing to happen will be the destruction of houses which have been poorly built, constructed without using well-prepared bricks and cement, put together by using things such as mud and wood. In South Africa such houses are called shacks. The same houses are called *vibanda* in Makete. By and large, those houses belong to the poor.

Also, one can see that there is sense in what they say when you think about the market and the poor. The price for their produce is determined by other people, usually the buyers. The poor have no control over the price for their crops and other commodities they bring to the market. Also, on the question of epidemic diseases like cholera, the people who suffer most are the poor because of their poor and unhygienic environment. More than that, in most cases, they feed on meagre, unbalanced

and unsafe meals.

2.2.2 The liberal view

The second way of looking at the causes of poverty is the liberal approach. In this view, the poor are poor because they have been left out of development. They are underdeveloped. In the modernisation view, development is understood as a matter of traditional societies moving towards modernity. Societies are all travelling along a single path called progress, but some are further behind. The main obstacles to development are lack of capital, skills, technology and modern institutions. These were made worse by a traditional orientation in which people worked to cover their needs, rather than to produce a surplus which builds up productive capacity (Nurnberger, 1999:301).

In contrast to the conservative approach, where the emphasis is on continuity and stability, the liberal approach emphasises development and diversity. Development is measured in terms of growth, thus the importance of GNP, per capita income, rate of return of investments and savings. The liberal approach believes that progress is linear and limitless. It hails the experience of the developed world as the model to be adopted by the Third World countries.

2.2.3 Blame the poor

The third approach is blaming the poor. Here the poor are blamed for being the cause of their poverty. The poor are blamed not only for what they do not do, such as work hard enough and educate themselves, but also for what they do. Instead of making the most economical use of the little they possess, they drink, smoke or gamble it away. They are extravagant. "Those who have been amply rewarded by the reigning system of the city and country like to suggest that the poor are lazy, lack education, lack personal initiative, have too many babies, etc. In other words, they suggest that it is their own fault that the poor are so poor; they are simply inferior people" (Linthicum, 1991:9).

It is believed by proponents of this approach that everyone gets what he or she deserves. Things may not be absolutely equal, but if you work hard, for instance, you can get on. But the people who stay poor are too lazy, self-indulgent, or simply too stupid to better themselves. In this way life is seen to be about choices and opportunities, and wealth or poverty reflects individual merit and effort. The world is, or should be, an arena of perfect competition. "In liberal societies the development of initiative and potential for private gain is not only allowed, but strongly encouraged. It is assumed that if you cannot compete you have only yourself to blame" (Nurnberger, 1998:13). So, one could think blaming the poor for their poverty seems to be reasonable.

It is true that some people have started from scratch and have managed to shake off poverty through their hard work. Also, it is true that some poor people drink, smoke and gamble. Many of them have less education than those who are better off. Yet are these the reasons for poverty? Do not rich people do the same, that is drinking, smoking, or gambling? Are all the rich intelligent, hardworking, and full of ambitions? Do not the affluent also exaggerate when they claim expenses and evade tax by not declaring all their income, paying accountants to find the best way to exploit all the legal loopholes?

When it comes to reasons for poverty and wealth, one has to find the core cause. For example, Wilson and Ramphela have discovered that the poor are compelled to indulge in awful activities such as robbery, prostitution and excessive drinking, not as part of their enjoyment, but because they do that to survive and sometimes to put themselves in a mood which can allow them to live in such situations. It is a way of coping with the situation of poverty surrounding them (1989:158). What becomes clear when we try to understand wealth and poverty from the perspective of the poor is that it is the context, not their character, which is mainly responsible for what people get in life. This context covers aspects such as home environment, level of education, means of income etc. In the case of Latin America Gutierrez says, "It is becoming ever more clear that underdevelopment, in a total sense, is primarily due to economic, political, and cultural dependence on power centres that lie outside Latin America" (1983:28). Through economic power which they possess, the rich

have dominated the markets. The poor are compelled to do as they are told to do by the rich people or nations. In this case dependency theory is updated. "Dependent centres without an economic power base of their own are very vulnerable. When they are no longer useful for the dominant centre, their economic viability may deteriorate" (Numberger, 1999:45). In this way poverty is a dynamic process. Different aspects of poverty are connected to one another and one kind of disadvantage can easily lead into another. Individual success stories of escape from poverty are the exception, not the rule.

Poverty, to take it more seriously, is not only about being poor in income, but poor in power too. These two are very closely related. In practice, the freedom of choice is a freedom only for those with money in their pockets. In a free market economy, the freedom to choose between purchases, school or college, careers or form of medical treatment, depends critically on the ability to pay. One is free to do anything legal and go anywhere as long as one has the money to finance the choice. To give an example, the author of this paper had to choose to travel by bus for five days from South Africa to Tanzania rather than going by plane which costs four times more than going by bus. Of course, going by plane is convenient because it takes only four hours to fly from South Africa to Tanzania.

2.2.4 The liberation view

Finally, we have the liberation approach. The followers of this group have the feeling that poverty is not just part of the natural order of things (Azevedo, 1997:182), but poverty is created by human beings. Also, the root cause of poverty is not due to personal characteristics of the poor or their backwardness. Poverty is the result of unjust structures and relationships. "It is the result of egotism, which translates into active, effective injustice. As such, it is not only the unbalancing of due equity but also the unequivocal negation of love and truth" (Azevedo, 1997:182). The poor cannot develop unless they first free themselves from all the forces that keep them poor.

Unlike the other three approaches mentioned above, the liberationist approach points to the

necessity for group action to transform the socio-economic, political and cultural structures. It looks at unjust structures as the seed-bed for the germination of poverty in the community. In these structures the poor are exploited to the extreme. Peter Abrahams in his novel called *Mine Boy* (1963) has shown how poor people were treated when working in the South African mines. He says in the mines a man's value was judged according to the service he could give for production. After that man had exhausted his potential, he was left to go home being weak and sick. The mine owners used the poor to get profit as the German proverb says "poverty is the rich man's cow and poverty is the hand and foot of wealth" (Sills, 1968:399).

The recognition of the structural causes of poverty has been a big help in the formation of strategies of change. Community based projects in Latin America (Azevedo, 1997), the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania (Nyerere, 1968), resistance politics against apartheid in South Africa (Wilson & Ramphela, 1989), and many similar policies followed in many parts of the world were or are alternatives to the capitalist model of development. But on the other hand there is a danger of focussing only on economic and political structures and failing to spot the internalisation of the dominant values by the poor. This leads to their identification with the external enemy. As we shall see later, this point is one of the motives which inspired the author to deal with this topic.

Generally speaking, overemphasising external causes of poverty can make us blind and not see issues which obstruct the development of the poor. The poor need to identify the potential dynamic interaction going on between the increase of poverty and the way they utilize those little resources found at their disposal. They should know that empowerment of the poor must start at home. The poor must become committed to change which starts where the causes are found. The author, for instance, was shocked when he read in a paper the problems facing a family in Imbali. Imbali is one of the townships in Pietermaritzburg. This family had to defend itself in court so that the constructor could not remove the tombstone which he built for it. This story appeared in *The Natal Witness* under the heading, '*Battle over tombstones hurts the family*' (Zondi, 1999:3). The family, which seems to be relatively poor, did not comply with the constructor's agreement. It did not pay in time the R12,000.00 it had agreed upon. My question here is whether it was necessary for this family to

indulge in such a luxury while its financial position was unstable. There are many things like this happening among the poor which drain away their resources for development. I will deal with this point when I come to discuss about making priorities in one's life.

Let us summarise what we have mentioned in this section. Those who are poor manifest a number of characteristics that are both a result of their poverty and a cause of continued poverty (Eggers, 1965:27). These characteristics create a number of vicious circles in the life of the poor. For instance, since they are poor, their nutrition and health are poor; because of this they are less productive, because they are less productive they are poor. Because they are poor, they can afford less time for education; because they are less educated, they earn less and remain poor. It is a complex phenomenon with various dimensions such as social, economic, cultural, psychological, etc. It is at once a cause and a consequence of various shortcomings of rural life like illiteracy and ill-health. In the next section we are going to look at those things which one can avoid as a way of fighting poverty.

2.3 Causes of individual poverty in Makete

We have just looked at the general understanding of poverty. In this section we shall not deal with those aspects again but narrow it down by looking at those things that are crucial for the process of development to take place. Some of them are within the Makete dwellers' reach and control, but they are, by and large, overlooked. We need to look at the causes of poverty from the people's perspectives in the hope of discovering an economic system that can work to bring development in Makete.

2.3.1 Human fertility and development

Makete is one of those areas in the country which have a very poor economy. In regard to that, Collier has pointed out,

Tanzania possesses a very thin, undiversified rural economy. Subsistence production remains a large share of total activity, there is only a narrow range of skills available, and employment is dominated by peasant crop production. There are few non labour assets and hardly any people are educated beyond the primary level. ... Rural isolation is compounded by a poor transport system and limited availability of the even most basic goods (1986:128).

There is a need for the people there to look at the patterns of life which they follow and which may contribute to their poverty. Traditionally, for instance, each family is expected by the society to have many children. A childless marriage is considered to be an unsuccessful family. What is hailed, and therefore respected, in marriage is not love which binds and keeps the two together in the marriage but progeny, the ability to bear children.

There are countless references to this issue. For example, it is believed by many Africans that:

Through children a man builds up a family, acquires labour - the basis of prosperity in the society - and finally becomes the head of a village community (Richards: 1969:17).

The bride remains in her father's home till after the birth of her first child and only then does she form a common household with her husband, and only from there the union is reckoned complete (Evans-Pritchard, 1945:1).

It is his (the husband's) duty to protect her (the wife) and to treat her kindly and considerately. ... It is her duty in return to work for him and be faithful to him, to bear and nourish children for him (Schapera, 1966:181).

Here (in traditional rural and patriarchal societies) marriage is meant to secure not procreation as such, but the self-generation and self-perpetuation of a patrilineal family. A man wants to have an heir, because somehow he feels that he continues to live in his progeny (Numberger,[198-?]:35).

But the time for change has come. One has to decide what is good for the community and the family as far as development is concerned. Most young people are unemployed and without professions, yet they have a number of kids. Some of them, particularly girls, have stopped schooling because they got pregnant while studying. At the end of the day the mothers and children are going to join

the poor. It is easier for an unemployed couple to meet their immediate needs while they are two - a husband and a wife - than when they have children to look after. It is time for parents in Makete to accept the fact that they can live without seeing as many grandchildren moving around them as they would like. They should know that the situation we are going through at the moment raises a number of challenges to the youth. Generally, it does not give them an opportunity to develop their potentiality in the community. Their future is very undetermined. They need to sort out how they are going to live rather than have children.

2.3.2 Untapped natural resources

Secondly, many people in Makete believe that they are poor because the land they occupy is unfit for development. It does not have the necessary resources. Therefore, they believe that a possible solution for the problem is to leave this area and find another place in or outside the country where the economy is booming. For that reason many can be found living in places such as Mbeya, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Lusaka, Lilongwe, etc. The question one can raise is, is it true that there are no economic resources in Makete as people have thought?

The late member of parliament for this district, Mr Tuntemeke Sanga, did research in the early 1980s to find out which resources were available in this area. He wrote a paper entitled, *Techno-Economic Survey for Makete District*. He found that there were natural resources that were untapped. Unfortunately, no further research has been carried out following his findings. With reference to his work, we can evaluate the adequacy of natural resources which Makete District has as follows:

2.3.2.1 Crop production

2.3.2.1.1 Wheat and barley

Makete District has favourable conditions for growing wheat and barley. They are grown in small

farms. The produce is used in the district. The surplus is sold in Njombe, Makambako, and Mbeya. But the area allows for large scale production. It has fields which can be cultivated, planted and harvested by machines. Initiative to do things is lacking among the people in the area.

There are a few commercial farms at Ludodolelo, near Njombe. A small number of these farms is used by people who come from outside the district. They normally sell their produce to the Tanzania Breweries Company. By doing so they have created some jobs for the people who live around the farms. But those people are blamed by the district authority for not allocating funds to the development of the district. This can be proved by the fact that many people have indicated interest in using this land but their applications were not accepted by the district authority. It is this thought which makes them have negative attitudes towards foreign investors. They still think that foreign investor come to exhaust the resources of the country as Banana once pointed out while he was dealing with the causes of poverty in Africa. He says,

Paradoxically the African continent is rich yet so poor, poor yet so rich. African resources have been the subject of much plunder and great looting by birds of passage whose main aim has been to develop the metropolis, allowing only certain crumbs to the colonies as incidental by-products of exploitation. Indeed, sub-Saharan Africa continues to remain a producer of raw-materials for which they receive a pittance, whilst the net beneficiaries of devaluation remain the importers of raw-materials - the West (Banana in Koegelenberg, 1994:38).

Another complaint is that foreign investors are not concerned about maintenance of the roads which are usually in bad condition caused by the heavy trucks which the investors use. It was expected that the surplus could be brought back to Makete. It could strengthen or build up the productivity of this area. Thus foreigners who want to invest their capital are compared to a farmer who knows how to milk a cow but does not care about feeding it. This implies that eventually the cow may perish. I am not supporting those who make these accusations against developers, because foreign investors create opportunities of income for the community. Instead of people having nothing to do with their lives, foreign investors can provide a break through to the problem. Through foreign investors, countries such as Japan, Taiwan and South Korea have attained a higher living standard

for their people. When I spoke to Yu-han Sun from Taiwan, presently a student at the University of Natal, she said that people in Taiwan have no problem of employment but they are looking for jobs which can pay good salaries (Yu-han, 1999). Those countries have managed to push the level of individual income to the point where almost all persons manage to meet essentials. According to Nurnberger's point of view,

The most successful developing economies are those who have chosen not to isolate themselves, but to open themselves up to world markets; who have not protected their fledgeling industries, but have exposed them to international competition; who have not been hostile to international capital, but welcomed it with open arms; who have concentrated not on satisfying internal markets, but on exports; who have concentrated on growth, not on equality (Nurnberger, 1999:322).

Therefore measures should be taken to encourage people to come and invest in the area from within the country and outside.

2.3.2.1.2 Maize production

Although the weather is not so good for maize, people persist with planting maize, because it is their staple food. In some places such as Kitulo, Iwawa and Mang'oto, it is too cool for maize to mature. In other places like Madihani there is too much rain which causes a large percentage of maize to rot before it is ready for harvesting. Also, in some places the fertility of the soil is low because the farms have been under continuous cultivation from times immemorial. In this case low production has compelled the society to use excessive applications of artificial fertilizers on their farms in an attempt to boost production. This is another area which, by and large, affects development in Makete. It looks as if people do not realise the bad effects of fertilizers and chemicals which are applied in agriculture. They keep buying and using them. This point will be discussed at length later. The point which needs to be made now, as far as maize production in the area is concerned, is the use of animal and farmyard manure which is at their disposal. This will help to improve the soil fertility and structures.

2.3.2.1.3 Pyrethrum

Makete is the only place in the country where pyrethrum flourishes. The district produces over 50 percent of the total national production (Sanga, 1984:9). The Assistant Agricultural Officer in Makete, Mr Paul Mwaleba, said the government has decided to take measures designed to increase the production of pyrethrum in the country. A strategy to improve production has been put in place. For instance, farmers are being motivated by being offered a good price for this crop. His point is also found recorded in *Africa South of the Sahara*:

Production of pyrethrum, cultivated mainly in the Southern Highlands, fell from about 6,000 tons per year in the 1960s to 1,232 tons in 1986/87, before recovering gradually to 2,396 tons by 1991/92. However, output fell back to 2,050 tons in 1992/93, before plunging to 466 tons in 1993/94 and 460 tons in 1994/95. Nevertheless, world prices have improved, and the government is making efforts to reorganise the industry; the Tanzania Pyrethrum Board has raised prices in line with higher world prices, and it supplies free seeds to growers (1998:1040)

But, according to his experience, many farmers are reluctant to grow pyrethrum, in spite of the good price. They suspect that, in a short time, there will be no market for it as has happened in the past. The market for pyrethrum has not been stable. At the moment there is a great demand for it. By and large, this is the easiest crop one can grow provided that the climatic conditions are good. Normally, it takes about four to six months to get the first produce. Then it will be ready for picking after every two weeks. The production period is at least three years.

2.3.2.1.4 Coffee

Although some people in the district have been growing coffee from 1895, when it was brought to the area by missionaries, very little has been done to improve production of coffee in the area. The reason for not promoting it is clear. As I mentioned before, this area was among those areas in the country which were earmarked as places where labourers, known as *manamba*, who were needed in plantations, could be collected and taken to plantations. Thus this area was declared unfit

for any kind of production. As a result, in this case, investors did not invest their capital in this area. The Makete dwellers were forced to go and work in the tobacco, tea, and coffee plantations found at Luponde, Lusitu, Mgongo, Image, Dabaga, Kiwira, etc., in order to get money to pay poll tax and buy essentials such as clothes. This was similar to Kenya, where Cole reports that,

Since the Africans were forbidden to grow cash crops on their small holdings (shambas), they had to work on European farms and plantations if they were to penetrate the cash economy at all. But the colonial government kept rural wages low and used higher wages to attract workers to the city (1977:28).

The problem is not why it happened that Makete was set apart for that purpose. It happened in the past and now it is over. The real problem is how to attract investors so that they come and invest in the area, and how to change people's minds to understand that they do not need to go to another area in order to overcome their poverty as we have said above? In addition to that, Mani reports about continuous migration caused by poverty.

Some people consider escapism can provide the necessary solution. They think that by moving from one place to another they can leave their problems, worries and fears behind for good. The trouble with 'get away from it all' attitude is that situations repeat themselves in the new environment (Mani, 1999:2).

This is not the place to discuss this issue at length but it will be dealt with when we look at the obstacles for development in Makete.

There is a tendency for many to believe that they cannot make economic progress unless they have moved from Makete. But the truth is that the northern part of the country, including places such as Bukoba, Arusha, and Kilimanjaro, has an economy which is far better compared to other places in the country. This success comes from growing coffee. Yet, the people in Makete, the affluent in particular, do not want to invest their capital in the production of coffee in Makete. Instead, they are found in other areas. More than half of the business persons in the southern part of the country come from Makete. Most of them have their original homes in Maliwa, Ikete, Ilungu, Lupombwe,

Mbalatse, Igolwa, Ilevelo, Mbosa, Bulongwa, Unyambogela and Iniho. Instead of working out how they can bring development through empowering the private sectors by giving loans, they encourage relatives to leave this area by making them servants at their enterprises located outside the area. In this way the level of poverty in Makete has been increasing steadily.

It was mentioned by Mwaleba that a few farmers have now become interested in growing coffee in the district. One of them is Klaus Bitter, a missionary at Lupila. When I visited his place I was delighted to learn that he was doing a good job there. I could hardly speak to him because it was the season for planting coffee and he wanted to beat the deadline. He was transplanting coffee seedlings in the new church farm, located at Igumbilo village, which he wanted to use as a demonstration site for farmers. Truly speaking, this missionary has the same vision of transforming ways of doing agriculture in Lupila as Emery Alvord (1920), also a missionary, did in Zimbabwe. It has been reported that,

He set up a six-acre demonstration plot, using the equipment which a progressive communal farmer would have at his disposal, namely a mechanical plow drawn by oxen. He drew up a list of ten rules, which included the use of compost or cattle manure and a four-year system of crop rotation. The best plot produced eighty-one bags of maize per hectare. News spread and he invited small groups of ten tribesmen to attend lessons before they were allowed to act as demonstrators to fellow tribesmen (Mufuka, 1994:296).

This is exactly what Klaus Bitter has been trying to implement in Lupila. The problem is that very few people, especially Church leaders, are able to pick up the vision which Klaus Bitter has in his mind toward economic development. Most of them, Church ministers in particular, are locked up in the Church traditions which tend to look at development activities as not being part of the mission of the Church to the world. Moreover, what Klaus Bitter is trying to do there is to put into practice the things Esseti had suggested to the Church in South Africa as far as Church land is concerned. "As Church, largely through fate, we have an opportunity to plough our resources into the land in our possession and thereby to set an example concerning how the land may be taken care of, if we wish it in turn to take care of the nation" (Gillan, 1998:142).

2.3.2.1.5 Fruit

The climatic conditions of Makete allows a considerable number of fruit plants to grow and give good fruit. This includes fruits such as apples, peaches, red plums, pears, etc. The problem is the lack of fruit technology. For instance, many fruits rot in the area during fruit season because supply exceeds demand at that time. Those fruits could be processed and canned and could be gradually used during the rest of the year. There is only one fruit season per year, that is, January and February. Also, this is the rainy season when transport in the area is very difficult. Very few people can send fruits to the outside markets such as Mbeya where normally the demand for fruit is higher than the supply. This implies that those fruits are for domestic use and are available for two months only. That is why it was pointed out before that people in Makete get even fruits from outside the district while the area and weather is good for fruit production. There are areas where fruits are attacked by pests causing great damage to fruit. This can be controlled through recommended measures against pests. But it seems as if nobody is interested in this issue. Therefore, two things need to be done. One, fruit storage and marketing awareness should be raised. Two, research must be conducted to find out how pests which attack fruit can be controlled.

2.3.2.1.6 Vegetables

Climate and soil conditions also favour the growth of vegetables such as cabbage, spinach, carrots, onions, tomatoes, salads, peas, beans, etc. They are very dear and scarce because only a few people plant them. By and large, irrigation know-how, which one cannot avoid using if better yields are to be expected, is not applied in this area. Everything depends on rain.

Because of this dependence on rain for the production of vegetables, there is an incredible shortage of vegetables in the area. But there are countless streams of water in Makete which could supply water for irrigation farming. So far what is lacking is the initiative among the people. There is also a tendency to take for granted that vegetables are not as important as other crops such as maize.

One is not expected to spend much time growing vegetables. The point which these people need to understand is that vegetables are as important as other crops.

2.3.2.1.7 Round potatoes

Round potatoes are widely grown in Makete. They perform well. Most of them are consumed at home because the transport network is not dependable or unreliable due to bad roads and the scarcity of vehicles going to the market. Like fruits, once potatoes reach markets such as Dar es Salaam they get a good price which pays the expenses incurred. Essentially, potatoes can be harvested more than once a year if irrigation is applied because it takes only three months to be ready for harvesting. Since only rain is the determining factor for potato production in the area, there are periods when the demand for potatoes becomes higher than normal. In order to fill the gap potatoes are brought in from other areas. When they reach Makete they are sold at higher prices than usual. Two things need to be done here. One, the individual farmers should be encouraged to grow potatoes throughout the year, relying not only on rain but on irrigation as well. Two and most important, there must be less restrictions on controlling the movement of crops to markets. Business dealers should be encouraged and allowed to come and buy potatoes and other crops in order to sell at markets. When conducting interviews I saw that the regulations which the district council has put in place for those people who come to buy crops from farmers are very strict. One has to pay high fees for products which are taken to the market, especially when they are sent outside the district. One can be sure that the money from those fees gets into the hands of people in the corrupt systems of government. It is the elite who are benefiting most from these fees. It is self evident that their economic power comes from abusing the money they collect from taxes. One can see the things they are doing. Surely, no ways they could do that if they relied on their salaries alone. We will come again to the issue of taxation later.

2.3.2.2 Animal husbandry

2.3.2.2.1 Dairy and beef

Climatic condition and pasture are suitable for both dairy and beef production. There are two dairy state farms in Makete, the Kitulo and Ibaga state farms. These farms are on the verge of closing down because the government has stopped financing them. They continue to suffer from the legacy of the Ujamaa policy where the state was the decision maker of production in the country. I will come again to this point, but now it should suffice to say that naturally people work harder and produce more when they work for private interest rather than for communal development. This means those farms are potentially good for production provided they are given to the private sector.

At the moment an effort is being made by non-governmental organisations such as the Southern Highlands Dairy Development Project (SHDDP), and the Heifer International Project (HIP), to motivate individual farmers to get rid of the indigenous cattle which are less productive when compared with the exotic breeds. This effort is being done to promote production of milk and meat which at the moment is very low. Yet the Livestock Field Officer who works at Bulongwa, Romanus Mbilinyi, says he has learnt through experience that the farmers are not responding promptly to the advice they are given to improve the standard of animal husbandry in the area (Mbilinyi, 1998). For instance, many farmers are asked to phase out the indigenous cattle in order to give space for dairy and beef cattle to develop. But many people do not follow the directions they are given by the animal and agriculture extension workers. The reason given by many people is that exotic breeds are more vulnerable to diseases than the local breeds which are very resistant to the same diseases. In the case of treatments given to animals, the state has organised how a farmer can be helped by a veterinarian in the time of need. (See appendix 1). But the truth of the matter is that exotic breeds need more care in terms of shelter and food rations than the local ones which are left by themselves to look for food. Many people are not ready for that duty. They would like to keep them the way they keep indigenous ones. But the same dairy and beef cattle breeds have shown great success in Moshi and Arusha. Many people there depend on these cows for income. Perhaps,

one has to indulge in breeding a new type of cattle which combines greater resistance to diseases with greater productivity. Unfortunately, many farmers have lost their animals when epidemic diseases struck the area in the past since many do not have enough money to pay for the treatment of their animals. Also, in some places the number of animals is not proportional to the pasture. What happens there is that the animals consume almost all the grass. The land becomes bare. Moreover, as these animals continue to graze, their hooves break the soil surface. When the rain comes, a large amount of the top soil, which is naturally fertile, is carried away by the run off. The land becomes poor and ultimately useless. Many people who have herds always want to increase the number of animals because they think that the more animals one has the more the respect one gets in the community. Doran, Low and Kemp have found that this problem can be felt also in many parts of Southern and Central Africa. "Cattle are looked upon as a store of wealth rather than a source of income" (Doran, Low & Kemp, 1979:44). In this way you get people who are poor yet very rich. In some areas animals are kept for bride price purposes. Besides that cattle have no other utility. They slaughter an animal for meat only when it reaches the age to be put down. One can conclude that animals, precisely cattle, are there as ornaments and something to boast of.

2.3.2.2.2 Sheep and goats

Makete has weather conducive to keeping sheep and goats. In the 1970s, for instance, the government introduced sheep for wool at Kitulo state farm. There were positive results, but there was little preparation for this project. Wool was produced but there were no machines to process this wool into woollen products such as blankets. Although it became understood that the process of making products of wool was not possible, still the wool could have been cleansed, sorted and exported. Instead the wool became useless. Finally the project was stopped and closed down. At the same time it remains true that this is one of the coldest areas in the country where woollen products would be the right thing to make for local use.

2.3.2.2.3 Poultry and pigs

Keeping chicken is also possible in Makete. The weather is cool. There are less chicken diseases when compared to other places where, due to high temperatures, germs which cause diseases develop more quickly than in Makete. Although the weather is good there are fewer chicken than one would expect. The chicken industry is still underdeveloped. People are not keeping chicken for commercial purposes. First, people have not been introduced to modern systems of keeping chicken. Secondly, chicken feeds are not available in the area. But one cannot run away from the fact that there is a great demand for chicken meat and eggs in Makete. Such a problem can also be experienced in the piggery sector. Many people keep pigs in the same way as they do sheep and goats by allowing them to graze. Pigs are non-ruminant animals. Their stomachs, unlike those of ruminant animals, do not digest fibre. This is why many pigs there look emaciated. Thus there is a scarcity of meat. This scarcity has caused the price of meat to be high because the lower the supply the higher the price (Nurnberger, 1999:299).

The reason for all this is that people are too naive. In the case of animal feeds, one can easily learn how to prepare them at home. Chicken, for instance, feed on cereals, vegetables and lucern which can be grown on the same farm where the chicken are reared.

2.3.2.3 Afforestation

The Bulongwa Sub-Centre Administrator of the Makete District Natural Resources Conservation and Land Use Management, Hezekia Tom, gives the following information about forests in Makete: Makete with a land area of about 5,800 square kilometres has a rather small area under forests. The reserve forests constitute about 5% of the land area. There is also about 3% which is classified as natural forests (Tom, 1998). The rest of the land is grassland. In the dry season this land remains almost bare after the grass has been consumed by fire or animals.

In order to preserve the soil from erosion, improve the climatic conditions, maximize the utility of

land, and create jobs, Tom says this is the crucial moment in the history of this area to launch tree planting projects. Makete has good climate conditions for both indigenous and non indigenous trees such as pine trees. The good thing with trees is that there is always a stable market for timber in the country. From the information shared above, one can conclude that Makete has more than enough space for afforestation, it has a favourable climate for trees, whose products are in great demand in the country and outside.

2.3.2.4 Water resources

This is another area of great interest for development in this district. As was pointed out in the beginning Makete, being a mountainous area, has many valleys. Almost all the valleys have rivers and streams of cool and clean water. "There are over 1600 rivers, springs and tributaries scattered all over the district. There are over 120 waterfalls which have various capacities of producing hydro-electricity" (Sanga, 1984:13). This water can be filled in bottles and used in other places where the demand for drinking water is high such as Dar es Salaam. It has been reported that, "In the capital, Dar es Salaam, the sole water supply has almost dried up and water minister Pius Ng'wandu said recently that the government was now thinking of desalinating water from the Indian Ocean for the city's three million residents" (Kilimwiko, 1997:2).

Presently, the government of Tanzania, in collaboration with the government of South Africa, is exploring the possibilities of building a hydro-power station at Madihani which is expected, after its completion, to have a capacity of generating enough electricity to supply the country and neighbouring countries such as Malawi. If this dream one day comes true, it is expected that this will be the largest electric power station in the country. The author of this dissertation has been at the site and talked to the surveyors and proponents of this project. Obviously, this is a worthwhile project for development if it comes into being.

2.3.2.5 Minerals

Before the introduction of modern instruments such as hoe, knife and slasher, the local people used to extract iron from iron ore, called 'udapo', and make their tools. If they managed to get iron by using simple tools and technology, one can say that with the technology which we have now we can expect to discover reserves of minerals. We should prospect for reserves of minerals which can boost development. In this case trained geologists and mineralogists are needed to do research in the area. This is possible only when the government decides to invest more money under the mineral and energy ministry because one has to invest a lot of money before one gets a product.

2.3.2.6 Tourism

It has recently come to light that, like other places, Makete has a lot to contribute in the sector of tourism. It does not have wild animals such as giraffes but it has other attractive features for the tourism industry. For example, Makete has a cool climate with green vegetation, attractive plants and mountain flowers, insects such as butterflies of different colours and sizes. It has good features for hiking, fishing, sight seeing, and friendly people.

The most exciting places are the Kitulo Plateau, Utengule high points, Tandala, Ibichi and Igulukilo peaks. A missionary, Rolf Wassermann, was excited when he came to Ibichi peak, near Lupila, where he could see a large part of Makete District including Lake Nyassa. He called that place 'the eye of God' because it is a very exciting place. Moreover, standing at the great Ukinga Mountain one has excellent views of the Great Rift Valley, Lake Nyassa, some parts of Malawi and Zambia. There are also the 10 observation points built by the Germans between 1900 and 1918 for military purposes.

At the beginning of this year Dominique Wirz and his friend Fai, both from Switzerland, came to Makete to collect information related to hiking. They want to write a book on tourism which they think will encourage many people in Europe to come to Makete. Their motivation came from

visiting this area some years ago. They confessed that it was a great privilege for them to see the attractive places and features of this area (Wirz, 1999). Also Abrahams acknowledges that, "For me and many others, who have enjoyed the privilege and pleasure of living for long periods among its villagers (in rural Tanzania), it has offered a wealth of human hospitality, and it has been the source of a substantial part of any social wisdom we have managed to acquire" (Abrahams, 1994:10).

Unfortunately, the people around here do not recognise these wonderful resources being placed at their disposal. This situation reminds me of the point made by Nurnberger when he said,

Development can only emerge and prosper where free individuals, operating in the context of voluntary grass roots communities, can develop their gifts and their initiative for mutual benefit. ... So the initiatives should emerge from the people. The state should create the necessary space for these initiatives to flourish, provide the necessary infrastructure, and supply the necessary empowerment to make them effectual (1999:373).

Later, we will discuss how the state through unmanageable taxation systems has blocked people from becoming creative and implementing their initiatives in order to better themselves.

2.3.3 Economic stagnation through belief in witchcraft

Thirdly and lastly, individual poverty in Makete is connected to the people's belief concerning the existence of witchcraft. This subject is very wide and controversial. Hoyt confirms that, "Witchcraft is a complex subject, and has evoked complex responses from many disciplines. There are theological, historical, philosophical, literary, anthropological, psychological, and pharmacological theories of witchcraft, to name some of the major ones" (1989:3). Hence, my concern is not to explain the science of witchcraft in Makete and how it works but to indicate its effect on the community as far as development is concerned.

To start with, Bishop Swallo has recently launched a research project on the threats to the Christian faith among the Kinga people in Makete concerning the fear of witches. He says that nearly all the

Kinga people believe in the presence of witchcraft and always feel insecure because they fear becoming victims of witches and sorcerers (1994:102). It is believed that sorcerers and witches use medicine - a collection of herbs - to empower themselves to the point that they can turn into supernatural beings who can be at different places at the same time. Also, with this medicine, they are capable of harming other people, animals and crops on the one hand, and on the other they are able to accumulate wealth and become rich.

If one has to elaborate more on what we have mentioned above, by and large, people believe that it is the witches and sorcerers who cause sickness and death in the community (Abrahams, 1994:23). They are believed to operate in secret and mostly during the night when they become invisible to ordinary people (1994:25). Also, it is widely accepted by many that witches and sorcerers fly from one place to another by using locally made trays called '*uluhelo*'. During their mission they can enter the houses of their victims and wrestle with them while asleep. The purpose of their tours is to spread their medicines among the victims and to cause trouble. It is said that they feed on human blood and flesh. The blood is drained from the victim while the flesh is taken from human corpses which are magically exhumed from recent graves. Lan says that because of this fear new graves are carefully swept over so that the foot prints of witches and sorcerers who may come there could be seen in the soft earth in the morning which will notify the relatives of the deceased that the grave has been disturbed (1985:42). Also, witches and sorcerers are said to play tricks in matters such as sending, on their behalf, their familiars, such as dreadful animals and insects, to their victims. It is also widely believed that witches and sorcerers have the ability of transforming their victims into zombies which are brought out to work for them at night (Mapunda, 1979:170-172). The last point is a reference to the affluent. It is believed that through using the zombies, the affluent have accumulated their wealth, whereas others who do not use zombies have not been able to accumulate.

All these claims create a context where a person fears for his or her safety. The fear of witchcraft has contributed a lot to obstruct the process of development in the area. For instance, on the one hand, youths are afraid of showing their talents for fear that they may become victims of witches

and sorcerers, and on the other, they are scared they may be called witches and sorcerers because of any success they may get. My experience is that some people get wonderful harvests because they do proper farming. For example, they till the land in time, they use better seeds and they improve soil fertility. Because the people do not know the scientific explanation of these processes, they conclude that witchcraft has been used. In order to avoid all this happening to them, many people decide either to stay in the area but take no development initiatives which may attract the attention of witches and sorcerers, or they leave their original homes and go somewhere else where they can fully exhaust their potential towards bettering themselves. It is believed that witches and sorcerers have particular people and territories where their medicines can become active. Beyond that limit not only do their medicines become dormant but they are also overpowered by witches and sorcerers of that territory. Normally, witchcraft territory transgression is not allowed.

All these thoughts and ideas can be summarised by saying that, as far as the economy is concerned, the witches and sorcerers are believed to be motivated by jealousy and hatred. Those who accuse others of witchcraft feel displeased and indignant about neighbours bettering their financial position. That is why many people in Makete are discouraged to show their capability of doing things such as building durable burnt brick houses.

The great danger which faces these people is, in my view, losing opportunities of using their potential for shaking off poverty from them. Many have blamed witches for the poor crop production they get because they think their crops are mysteriously taken from their farms by witches. The cure for this is education. For example, we know the causes of most diseases, or of the changes of weather, or how better seeds and fertilizers work. Tanner warned that witchcraft should not be blamed for every misfortune in the community (1970:20). It should not be allowed that individuals have easy and cheap answers to problems which need to be acted upon. People must learn how to face the challenges of poverty rather than referring to witches. We are reminded that, "During the height of the witchcraft scare in Europe, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, almost anything strange and fearful was attributed to witchcraft" (Hoyt, 1989:4). Although there are still people in Europe today who believe in witches and sorcerers, it has nothing to do with

harming anybody for bad or good reason. Lack of a scientific understanding of reality, such as the cause of lightning which is believed to be one of the witches' tools to harm victims, imposes limitations on the process of development in Makete. The issue of witchcraft has not even spared scholars and politicians. Most of them hate alleged witches. One can say that these people have contributed a lot to make witchcraft a monster for many lay people. In the eyes of the people their education and knowledge of world events seems to have proved unable to confront witchcraft so that, like others, they become victims of witches. It should be understood that all of this is nothing but superstition, a wrong belief which Christians should have overcome, because God is in charge of the whole of reality.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the concept of poverty. We have done this by looking at different approaches to poverty. In so doing we have answered who the poor are and why they are poor. We have found that this word can have more than one meaning depending on where it is applied. In Makete this word means lack of essentials for life. Many people have limited resources. Also, we have looked at the causes of poverty. They are divided into two, those which are the result of egoism of the people, and those which are related to peoples' ignorance about development theory. In the first group poverty is caused by bad policies which have little interest in empowering the poor in the community. In the second group we have seen that poverty increases because of unmanageable population growth, untapped resources and belief in witchcraft. Now, we need to look at what should be happening for the poor, that is, development. Thus in the next chapter we need to discuss development theory. But before we do that we will first define the meaning of development.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Development theory

3.1 What is development?

Nlemanya Onwu reports that, "The late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana once urged his fellow African nationalists to seek first the political kingdom and all their things would be added to them" (Phiri & Ross, 1996:30). From this statement one can start reflecting on the things which were in Nkrumah's mind when he made such a statement. It is likely that he thought that development in Africa could boom after its people had been set free from colonization. It is said that poverty among Africans was caused by colonizers who exploited people and resource bases located in Africa. Africans were dispossessed of their wealth (Koegelenberg, 1994:38).

As a response to Nkrumah's idea, between the 1950s and 1960s, there were forty-seven nations in Africa which shook off the chains of colonization. They became independent nations (Phiri & Ross, 1996:30). But did Nkrumah's dream come true? Deng who has done extensive research on development in Africa sees that the level of poverty in the free Africa is still alarming. He has seen that,

The overall objective of the post-colonial African states was the attainment of human progress and betterment. There is nothing per se euphoric about this objective, but what is rather elusive is the prevailing popular conviction then, that thought prosperity was to be achieved, literally overnight, once colonialists left (Deng, 1998:16).

It would not be true to think that nothing substantial has been done to promote development in Africa. There are a number of things on the ground such as education and health services which are the result of political independence in Africa. In Tanzania, for instance, the Tazara Railway Line which connects Tanzania to other countries such as Zambia, The Democratic Republic of Congo

and Malawi is one of the things constructed after independence. Of course, education and health services existed during the colonial period but they were given not in the interests of black people but to facilitate colonialism. Yet, can we call this development? If not, then what is development? We need a definition. There have been more than six schools of thought or paradigms of explaining development. Let us briefly state what each school stands for.

The first school of thought was the economist school. They thought that development could broadly be defined as improvement of people's live to a higher level by means of progressive changes. Mehta gives a historical background of this concept of development saying that it "gained currency after World War II and has been defined by most economists, in the operational sense, as growth of the per capita gross national product (GNP) or a similar national accounts figure" (1984:3). The aim of this approach was to attain a high degree of industrialization and a society enjoying mass consumption of material goods (Koegelenberg, 1994:40). This happened until the end of the 1960s.

The second school of thought is the humanist school. The proponents of this school understood development to be the realisation of human potential. In the 1970s, humanists such as Kaunda, Nyerere and Ghandi dominated the development debate. It was understood that economic growth is vital but insufficient. For instance, Gandhi saw that development was the realization of human potential. "Men of business do indeed make money, but they do not know if they make it by fair means or if their money-making contributes to national welfare" (Narayan, 1968:56). In the same manner Kaunda looks at African life and thought. He points out that, "In the best tribal society people were valued not for what they could achieve but because they were there. Their contribution, however limited, to the material welfare of the village was acceptable, but it was their presence not their achievement which was appreciated" (1966:26). This does not mean that people's ambition, initiatives and competition for development were left out. As long as human beings live, these will be there because they are the engine of development. Perhaps the level of competition of that time was low because peoples' essentials were easily obtained. But today things have changed. The challenge of poverty has made people aware of their contribution to development. What becomes clear here is that the people Kaunda refers to depended on other people, particularly on their

children, to get their needs. This is one of the reasons many people wanted and even today want to have many children so that later, when they become old, their children can look after them. They become someone's pension. In humanitarian terms this is alright, but it is not helpful in economic terms. They are a burden to other people.

Also, Nyerere did not see that the prime concern of a nation in development should be bound to money-making rather than promoting human dignity among its people. He argues that,

For Tanzania ... the purpose of all social, economic and political activities must be man - the citizens, and all the citizens, of this country. The creation of wealth is a good thing and something which we shall have to increase. But it will cease to be good the moment wealth ceases to serve man and begins to be served by man (1968:316).

The third school of thought is a combination of the economist and humanist schools. Here development is understood to be a combination of economic growth and human potential. Todaro took a lead and said, "Development must, therefore, be conceived of as a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions, as well as acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty" (1977:88).

The fourth school of development is the Marxist-Leninist or Communist approach. Their argument is based on the assumption of an inevitable struggle between exploitative and exploited class interests. For example, the "Marxian school thought that only labour gives value, and since workers do not get all the proceeds of the productive process, they are exploited" (Magill, 1997:946). In order to solve this problem, they thought that all means of production, such as capital, must not be owned by private individuals but must be put into the hands of the state for the interest of all. This sounds good but in many places where communism was implemented it has proved of little success. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the world has witnessed the disintegration of the communist strategy of economic development in the former Soviet Union and its satellites. The same thing

happened to those countries in the Third World which were on the way to becoming socialistic states, such as Tanzania. They faced economic stagnation. Again, this does not mean that socialism is bad but it depends on how it is implemented. Sweden seems to have done well under the same system of economy.

The fifth school of thought for economic development is the dependency theory. Historically, it started in Latin America. The underlying point is that underdeveloped countries are made to be dependent on developed countries because they are not part of the world market. This is taking place in two ways: a) the underdeveloped countries are compelled to export primary material and import finished products because they are not able to process raw material into final products. In Tanzania, for instance, cash crops such as cotton have to be exported. At the same time consumer goods such as clothes and toys are imported. Furthermore, it has happened several times that these imported goods are of good quality in the sense that they are well made and packed and are also cheap in price when compared to the goods made in the country. In this case consumers opt for imported goods. The result is that the market for imported goods flourishes while the market for local goods diminishes. This implies that local producers are outperformed. "The deterioration in local industry reduces industrial employment and pushes indigenous workers into the subsistence sector" (Rutherford, 1992:116). b) The underdeveloped countries have to import capital equipment and other related facilities needed in the process of production if they want to make use of their primary products and become self-reliant (Seers, 1981:14). The problem of this strategy of economic development is that the developed countries open another door for dependency, namely technology and spare parts dependency. Say, for example, you buy a Toyota car from Japan. Since this is a machine, it is obvious that in the course of running it you will need spares. In most cases one cannot get those spares anywhere else except from Japan or other associate members of the same company which makes Toyota cars. In order to overcome the losses which underdeveloped countries encounter, it is suggested that there must be fast independent growth and granting of priority to basic needs. But how?

The last school to be highlighted here is ecological theory. Although liberal economists did not

consider ecological deterioration to be something relevant for economic development, the environmentalists see that the world will face a crisis if the ecological impact of development is not dealt with (Nurnberger, 1999:70). This point refers to the fact that human activities on earth are too many and dangerous, not only for the earth but also for human existence. These activities have reached a stage where they cause massive destruction. This destruction can no longer be absorbed by nature. We will discuss this issue at length in chapter four. For the time being it should suffice to say, as Bosch has pointed out, that human beings have treated the earth as if it is an insensitive object and that is why now it is dying on their hands (Bosch, 1991:355). The barren hills of Greece which were once covered with forests, the destruction of the ozone layer and pollution of air and water, such as the water of the river Elbe in Germany, are some vivid examples of this destructive side of human beings' activities on earth (Nurnberger, 1999:72). In this light the proponents of the ecological school argue that ecological sustainability is the way forward to development.

Lastly, there has been, in the 1990s, another explanation of development. This lays the emphasis on a market-friendly approach. In this view of development the government ought to play the role of creating a situation where the people can interact in business freely and without harming one another as it has been pointed out that,

It is the people who are responsible for their collective well-being; the state is nothing but their instrument. This is important both for the political and economic realm. Authority is vested primarily in the people, not in the state. So the initiatives should emerge from the people. The state should create the necessary space for these initiatives to flourish, provide necessary infrastructure, and supply the necessary empowerment to make them effectual (Nurnberger, 1999:373).

The argument is that any government is best when it governs least. Instead it creates an atmosphere for individuals and communities to exercise and develop their talents. But this does not mean that the government must not interfere in the market at all as Sunter seems to suggest. He argues that at this stage the world is moving towards small governments. He has given an example of good governing, by referring to a proverb taken from China which says, "Govern a great nation like you cook a small fish, don't overdo it" (Sunter, 1987:44). The point is that government should not allow

capitalist power to dominate the economic sector. Rather it should create the possibility for grass roots individuals and communities to participate in economic ventures.

On the other side of the coin, development means different things to different people, that is, physical and human. Physical infrastructure includes not only things such as health and education but also transport and productive enterprises. Even more fundamental is the difference between growth and the quality of life. Development, by and large, involves physical, economic and cultural changes.

I would say in our context, i.e. the Makete context, development is an overall process of transforming humans and societies at large, leading to a social order in which each individual can achieve moral and material well-being (Nurnberger, 1999:398; Nyerere, 1973:128). Thus development refers to a whole, integral, value-loaded cultural process encompassing the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and well-being. In a narrower view, development is a process towards overcoming poverty, that is, a lack of essentials for life.

Therefore, the primary objective of development is, or at least should be, the creation of a prosperous, happy, stable and peaceful society and maintaining that situation in reference to a balance between population and production growth. This goal can be achieved only when it is pursued honestly and sincerely and with an open mind.

Thus development theory looks at wealth distribution in the world and how some people have become either poor or rich. It identifies and directs action to the underlying causes of underdevelopment in society with the intention of transforming the existing situation into a more acceptable situation. Also, it deals with supply and demand, production and consumption. Moreover, it creates an awareness that, "Where production cannot keep pace with growing need, people are bound to end up in poverty. For a long time, development theory has concentrated on the necessity of upgrading factors of production" (Nurnberger, 1999:116). In other words, it is accepted by many people that economic progress will emerge in society when the volume or the

value of output or production in that particular society rises quickly and continuously.

This idea of the necessity of upgrading and monitoring factors of production was also felt many years ago by people such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx (Kitching, 1989:16). Although each of them approached this question from a different angle their attempts were directed at promoting development in the societies to which they belonged. Adam Smith, for instance, thought that the most important condition for upgrading production was through saving and investment, that is, building capital. He was of the opinion that a large part of output and income produced should get into the hands of those who would not consume it. It should be given to people who could save and invest it as much as possible (1976:326). One can say that this idea of upgrading production in the attempt to build up purchasing power is well received in the Far East as it is reported that,

In the Far East people save around 15-20 per cent of their personal income. In Singapore personal savings are higher, because they have a compulsory savings scheme ... The Far East has by and large used internal savings to grow fast, having learnt the classic macroeconomic equation: savings (local and foreign) equals investment (Sunter, 1987:46).

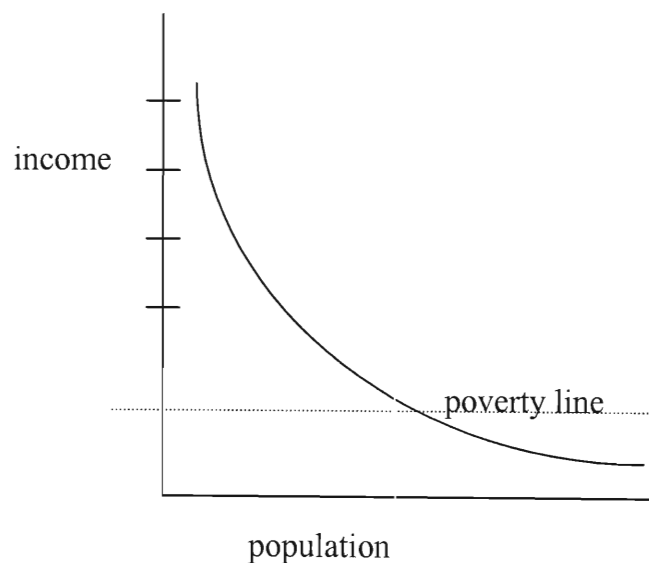
Ricardo thought that, since there was a tendency during his time (1772-1823) for an increased proportion of output in a growing economy to fall into the hands of landlords as rent, and that this tendency would starve both commercial farmers and manufacturers of capital and thus discredit the incentive they needed to go on upgrading production, land should be in the hands of labourers for continuous production. He argued that, "In speaking of the rent of the landlord... it is obvious that the landlord benefited by difficulty of production. First he obtains a greater share, and secondly the commodity in which he is paid is of greater value" (1951:83). Thereafter came Karl Marx who was very concerned about the way capitalism operated. He saw that workers in factories were becoming more and more impoverished and miserable while the capacity to produce was growing. He had a vision that there would come a time when there would be overproduction i.e. the supply would be higher than the demand in the market. (1887:570). One can imagine how producers in the First

World are trying to sell their produce through advertisements in the Third World because at home the market seems to be saturated (Nurnberger, 1999:320).

3.2 Wealth distribution

It has happened that in many societies around the world wealth is not equally distributed among the people. There are people in the society who are very rich on the one hand and others who are very poor on the other. By and large, the poor are in the majority. It implies that population corresponds with income. This can be depicted in the following graph.

Population-potency curve

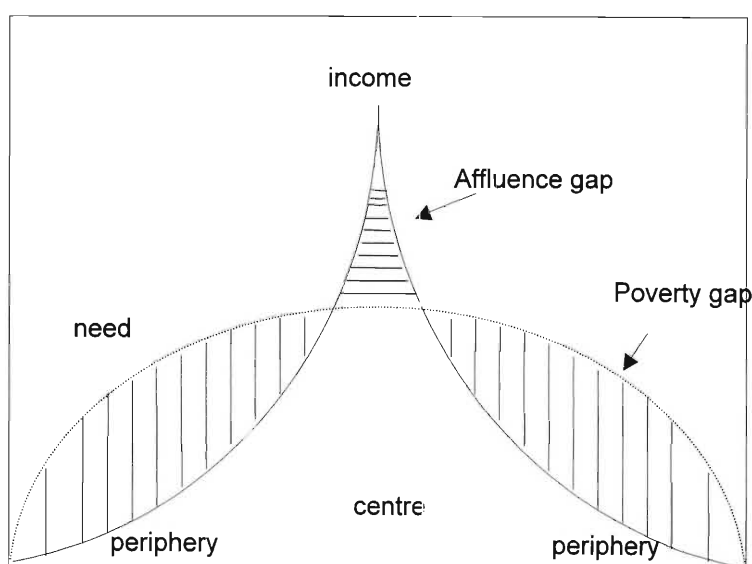


(Nurnberger, 1999: 58).

In this diagram the income of a large part of the population is below the poverty line (see meaning of poverty line in Chapter two). Only a small portion of the population has a flourishing economy.

The second point is population growth in the periphery and in the centre. Two things are happening concurrently at these points - the peripheries and the centres: a) The population growth in the peripheries increases fast while in the centres it is static or declining. Europe can be taken as an example of this point. b) The economic situation in the periphery gets weaker, while in the centres economic potency gets stronger. Since in the peripheries population exceeds potency, many people are driven into poverty and the gap between the poor and the affluent keeps expanding. In most cases the needs in peripheries are not met because needs are higher than income. In this case we can speak of a poverty gap. In the centre we speak of an affluence gap because income is higher than needs. This picture of centre - periphery income can be seen in the graph below.

Centre-periphery curve



This diagram shows that, as one moves towards the centre, both income and needs increase but needs rise faster than income (Nurnberger, 1999:58).

After having discussed the relation between potency and population in the economic sphere, we also need to look at how development can take place. Korten has helped us in this case by analysing the role of NGO's in development.

3.3 Non-governmental organisations in development

Korten has pointed out three ways of looking at the NGO's involvement in development. They are called 'generations' of theories because they follow one upon the other. Initially, NGO's were formed to cater for victims of hunger, diseases, and outbreak of disasters such as flood and wars. Also, they provided social services to the poor. In other words NGO's answered people's needs by giving them the things they needed. As a result, the beneficiary became less self-reliant because a big part of the work was done by NGO's. This situation was incorrect because it made the beneficiary stay back and wait for somebody to work for them. They became dependent.

Many NGO's were uncomfortable with making some people dependent. So the NGO's took a hard stand, that is, they developed the capacity of the beneficiaries so that they can become self-reliant. This stand is based on the fact that each person is meant to become self-supporting through working for the hope of earning income. In this regard the NGO's have the role of facilitating the process by making sure that proper measures are taken towards self-reliance and ensuring that the people are responsible for their lives. This is done through supporting developmental activities based on individual performance. The aim is to give skills to the people so that they can take care of themselves. All this is based on the motto which says "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day, teach him to fish and you feed him for a lifetime" (Korten 1990:119). Proponents of these ideas of development find it difficult to implement this strategy because there are forces which act against them. These forces are local power structures and international systems. Therefore, they have thought about another strategy of development which the NGO's can apply.

The point is that NGO's should work together with major national agencies to create a situation where people at grassroots are given chances and helped to make use of their resources to better

themselves. Also, this means creating where possible, institutions of significant size to provide essential local services on a sustained, self-financing basis (Korten, 1990:120). The underlying point is that development, particularly of the poor, cannot happen if there are undermining forces such as corruption and exploitation of the poor.

Summary

It has been shown in this chapter how different people have viewed and understood the meaning of development. We have identified six schools of thought and their approach to development. Although each school seems to have its own way of explaining what development is all about, they all agree that development is a process of change from one stage of living to another, where human values are better realised and respected than in the previous stage. Also, it is observed that wealth is, in many cases, placed in the hands of a small group of people in society and the poor get poorer because their population growth increases while production is either static or declining. Contrary to that the rich accumulate more wealth while their population is static or declining. In the third place, we have looked at the involvement of the non-governmental organisations in the process of bringing development. Formerly, these NGO's were caretakers during distresses caused by disasters such as war. But now they work as facilitators of development and as spokespersons for the voiceless in society against unjust structures.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Obstacles to development in Makete District

Human beings are not in a static state. They are always engaged in a number of activities which we may call development. In their daily interaction with nature and society they try this and that to make life progress. The way they used to do things in Makete, say twenty years ago, is different from the way they do them today, although they are basically the same people. Yet in this process of development there are obstructions which limit development. Say, for instance, one wants to undertake further studies. When the problem of finance intervenes one cannot proceed with one's desire. In this chapter I am going to discuss the things which hinder development in Makete. There are five sub-topics and each of them contains one such obstacle. These are male domination, mismanagement of land, rapid population growth, the level and the effects of illiteracy, and irrational expenditure.

4.1 Male domination as an obstacle to development

Should a visitor come to Makete with the intention of looking at the people and trying to understand the pattern of life they live, the first thing to come to light, I think, will be the fact that this is a male dominated society, a society where women are economically and socially dependent on men. As we shall see later, women in Makete are not only denied some rights of inheritance and ownership of the means of production such as land and capital but also they are subservient in all respects.

Since this is not a problem which confronts Makete alone, I would like to start by reviewing what is taking place in other places in the country and beyond. This review is aimed at giving a picture of how big the problem is as far as development is concerned, particularly in rural areas, and what measures have been taken to address the problem.

These could perhaps also be applied in Makete which is one of the rural areas in the country.

It has been found by Mascarenhans and Mbilinyi that in Tanzania 97.8% of the economically active women are involved in agriculture but only 5% of the agricultural employees, that is, those who work on farms to get money, are women. They conclude their research by highlighting that "Women are the backbone of both food and cash crop production in Tanzania, but the prevailing image is that women are ignorant, passive and traditional cultivators" (Mascarenhans & Mbilinyi, 1983:99).

Ngalula has looked at women as a productive force in Buhongwa village in Mwanza District. She has come up with devastating findings. According to her, food production in the area is predominantly women's work (Ngalula, 1977:31). In addition to that, women are responsible for domestic work and child care. Although women are so concerned about the well-being of their families, they are the last group to benefit from cattle and things such as bicycles, which were purchased with the money coming from the sale of the crops which they participated in producing. Those items are classified as men's property, that is, they cannot be owned by a woman. Women had to beg for money to buy essentials for living, such as food and clothes. In most cases the success of their requests depended on the good will of their husbands (1977:45).

Konter looks at the Nyakyusa society. These are closest to the people in Makete in terms of distance and life pattern. They share a number of things apart from geographical position. They have, for instance, similar cultural patterns such as the role of members in a family. In both places women are inferior to men. It has been pointed out that in this society, in terms of labour time, women spend more hours a day in the fields than men. Women are solely responsible for producing food for the household. It was also found that men in that area own coffee, tea and sugar cane farms, that both men and women spend their time working there, but that women do not benefit from the produce. By and large only men decide what they want to do with the proceeds (Konter, 1974:346).

There are a lot of similarities in the findings of Kontter and those of Swants, whose research focused on the contribution women make in the sector of production among small-scale peasants in the northern part of Tanzania, i.e. Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Bukoba. It was found that the basic cause of the lower status of women in the area is the fact that they are not given a chance to explore their talents. By and large, culture and traditions are a barrier for their progress. For instance, as people whose life is bound to farming they have no right to ownership of land. Usually, ownership of land is only placed in the hands of men. For example, although 97.8% of the women are at the cutting edge in the small-scale farming production, they work the land which is not theirs by right. They have no control over their labour input, nor income emanating from their labour (Swantz, 1977:91).

Discussing male domination in the traditional societies in the country, but from the decision-making point of view, Oomen-Myin, who did research in Morogoro, uncovers the fact that women in this part of the country are not only denied ownership of land where they have lived for their entire life but they are also treated by men as if they are not part of this society. Decisions over issues which pertain to them, such as having meetings, are made by men (Oomen-Myin, 1981:32f).

In a similar attempt to establish the levels of participation of men and women in bringing about development in societies, Brain has compared the workload of women in two settlements in Ruvuma. One of the two villages is traditionally organised while the other is one of the so-called sponsored village settlement schemes, or Ujamaa villages. It was found that the status of women in the government sponsored settlement, where it was expected to be far better than in the traditional settlement, was in fact worse. It was believed that men here were better informed about the rights of women in a patriarchal society, than in the other settlement. Women had more duties than in the other settlement. All rights of possession and ownership of property such as land were given only to men by the village authority. All the proceeds were handed to the husband although the wife was expected to do hours of work in the fields in addition to her domestic duties. In most cases these duties were not accounted for (Brain, 1976:121).

This is not a problem which affects women in Tanzania alone. Male domination is a problem which

faces many countries in Africa and elsewhere in the world. For example, Mncube from South Africa has sent a call to all women in South Africa to stand up and fight for their rights which, she says, men have snatched from them. She says:

Women in South Africa are faced today with the moment of truth. Our struggle to conquer political oppression is undermined by the traditionalist conservative and primitive restraints imposed on women by male-dominated structures. These structures are created in the image of man, shaped by male perceptions, organized on the basis of male priorities and needs, operated to facilitate male work and leisure. Women are simply co-opted into these institutions and patterns of behaviour (Mncube in Ackermann et al, 1991:356).

In Makete the discrimination and exploitation of women starts when everyone is disappointed that a new born baby is not a boy. From there on the little girl starts living a life of discrimination as a woman. As she grows up she is overwhelmed by work such as house keeping and working in the fields together with her mother or elder sisters. Also she is taught how to behave in front of men. It is reported that such practices also take place in other countries in Africa. Gessain reveals that in the Coniagui society, found in Guinea, West Africa, children are introduced to their respective statuses according to their sex from the age of four years. She has found that,

It is probably when she is about four years old, the age when she first puts on an article of feminine clothing - a narrow piece of indigo blue material made of strips of cotton joined together, which she ties around her waist in imitation of her elders - the little Coniagui girl first becomes aware of the duties and privileges which will be hers as a woman. It is also at this age (four years) that the little boy begins to leave his mother's side and joins company with his father, and with the other boys of his own age, together with whom he will soon go off every day and spend long hours running about in the bush. The little girl, on the other hand, has already learnt that the woman's domain is the

house, the fields and the well, and that that is where she and her mother belong (Gessain in Paulme, 1971:22).

In the context of the Fulani tribe, the nomads of Niger, Marguerite Dupire found that sex differentiation between male and female appears very early in the way babies are looked after.

While baby girls, for instance, are washed in warm water during the first four months, this treatment lasts for only three months for a baby boy. Thereafter the little girl is introduced to a number of restrictions and duties according to the cultures and traditions of the Fulani tribe (Dupire in Paulme, 1971:55). It sounds good that children are introduced to the way their parents are living. But one can see an element of suppression of women carried over from one generation to another in the way girls are brought up.

Also, in Burundi and Rwanda such patterns of behaviour have been observed. Ethel Albert informs us that children in these countries are made to become aware of who they are as far as sex is concerned. A little boy, for example, wears no clothes and people would not be ashamed of him being naked. If he is hit or gets disappointed by something which causes pain he is told to carry the pain and never cry. And if it happens that he cries he is mocked that he cries like a woman. On the other hand, a girl will not be allowed to appear naked before people simply because she is a girl. She cannot show the features of her body. Also, it has been observed that:

When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi and Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about taking care of the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with a hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a gourd of water. At the same time, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins milking cows and going out in expeditions with his father (Paulme, 1971:194).

One can see that this problem starts in the homes where boys, in one way or another, are favoured. It is at home where every member of the family favours the boys. As a woman who has experienced these things, Mncube says that, "From my earliest experience at home I was told that my brother could do this and that, but I could not. Even the young brother of sixteen years must take up leadership after my father's death, though I am twice his age" (in Ackermann, 1991:360). Boys are elevated and taken to be more important than girls. Soon they learn that they can order their sisters around to serve them. In the same manner they wash first and never clear up utensils they have used. Their early life is spent on playing games with other boys in the village. Thoko Mpumlwana has condemned the system of bringing up children which is based on sexism. She says,

Most women bring up boys and girls so differently that they inherit these differences. Boys are made to feel stronger than girls; they are allowed more freedom; are given a better hearing than girls. As kids it is a shame for a boy to cry and grow up with those stereotypes. Girls on the other hand are made to feel that their role at home and in society is not to think but to serve boys/men who are doing the thinking. Girls are prohibited from exercising their intellect and gifts if they go outside the expected arena. By the time the girls are big and they get married, they know that their role is: to serve their husbands with their bodies and strength i.e. cooking, washing etc (in Ackermann, 1991:383).

In families which have herds, boys are herders, that is, they are given the job of looking after the animals. Generally speaking, Mpumlwana's point is taken. In Makete many jobs such as cooking, cleaning the house, laundry, food processing, collecting firewood and fetching water are never theirs. It is taken for granted by the society that those duties are to be done by women. As a result, they grow up with the mentality that women are there to serve them. The interesting thing is that although a lot of effort has been made to bring an awareness of these issues, people are not ready to accept changes to their old ways of living. For instance, 32 years ago, the same situation which we have today in Makete was observed by Nyerere:

... it is true that the women in the traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was not only different, but was also to some extent inferior. It is impossible to deny that women did, and still do, more than their fair share of the work in the fields and in the homes. By virtue of their sex they suffer from inequalities which have nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare. Although it is wrong to suggest that they have always been an oppressed group, it is true that within traditional society ill-treatment and enforced subservience could be their lot. ... If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live in terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men (Nyerere, 1967:3)

He made this statement while the country was launching the so-called African socialism, that is, the Ujamaa policy. In the same spirit, some years later in 1974 a similar call was made in Mozambique by the late President Machel. He pointed out that, "Generally speaking, women are more oppressed, humiliated and exploited beings in the society, a woman is even exploited by a man who is lacerated by the palmatoria, humiliated by a man who is crushed under the boot of the

boss and the settler" (Machel, 1981:24). Why are things like this? Where does this notion of women discrimination and exploitation come from? Through literature and interaction with people I have learnt that this problem has its roots in history. Sexism has been there since the existence of human beings on earth. It is something which is passed over from one generation to another. This is not the place to show how women discrimination has happened right from the beginning. It should suffice to say that there have been many attempts over the years to change the man-woman relationship all over the world, to try to reach gender equality.

Hutchinson has found that in Europe, for example, the sex discrimination record goes at least as far back as 753 BC. In this year, he says, the Roman emperor Romulus pronounced the first law of marriage. He wrote that,

The Roman emperor Romulus provided the first law of marriage in 753 BC. He proclaimed that married women were to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands and the husbands to rule their wives as necessary and inseparable possessions. Single life was discouraged, so almost all young people married. Ownership and total control of property were placed with man, the wife was legally obligated to obey the husband (Spurlock & Robinowitz, 1990:173).

If one comes to Makete now, one will observe that what was said by Romulus is exactly what is happening there. Of course, one does not expect that the Kinga people learnt this habit from Europe but they have inherited male-female relationships from their forefathers. For many years men have been not only rulers but also bosses in their families. Nowadays, most of them do not want to work in the fields, particularly the educated who prefer travelling and looking for white collar jobs. They come home when they are desperate and sick. By and large, it is the women and children who are engaged in farming, not men.

Nowadays, women have a much harder time than before because of HIV/AIDS. It has recently been discovered that it is the men who go out looking for jobs who have contributed to a greater extent to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Makete than the women. In the Iringa region Makete is leading in the number of HIV/AIDS sufferers. Statistics show that for each five patients reporting at Bulongwa

Lutheran Hospital, there will be two HIV/AIDS victims (Hospital Report on HIV/AIDS, 1998). It is clear that in most cases men sleep around and then infect their wives.

Women are more vulnerable to the disease than men because of biological reasons and the services they provide to the victims. They give these services under very bad circumstances as far as the spread of HIV/AIDS is concerned. In a situation where everything concerning caring for an AIDS sufferer is done with bare hands, women are taking all the risks of contracting this deadly disease not through their own will but through the structures of the society. From here one can figure out how the process of development in Makete is obstructed through these male dominated structures.

This problem also emerges when reading and understanding scriptures in the Bible. It has been taken for granted that the Bible is in favour of discrimination against women on the basis that they are not equal to men. Some texts support this idea, such as: 'This is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh' (Gen 2:23); 'For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man' (1Cor 11:8); 'Wives be in submission to your husbands' (1Pt 3:1); 'The head of the woman is the man' (1Cor 11:3); 'But I suffer not a woman to teach or to usurp authority of man, but to be in silence' (1Tim 2:12), 'And if they will to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home' (1Cor 14:34-35); etc. It is regrettable that the contexts in which those texts were written are not known to many people. Thus there are historical facts which remain as they are even if circumstances may change following the oscillations of the human life circle on earth. The Bible (Gen 2) puts very clearly that the male was the original being and the female was derived from him, and that the female was given to male as a "help to be around" (Gen 1:26ff). This is one way of looking at the picture painted by the Bible about male-female relationships. In this light, one can say, some texts in the Bible are oppressive to women. On the other hand in the same Bible there are others which state very clearly that the two were created at the same time and without differences (Gen 1:27) and have equal status before their creator, that is, God (Gal 3:26-28). Moreover, women have more credit than men because they were the first people to be witnesses the resurrection of Jesus (Matt 28:9 & Mk 16:9). Unfortunately, males do not compare themselves with females in the light of this second approach. In most cases they have seen themselves superior to the females. In this regard one can point out

that the Bible does not show that females are inferior to males as many males have thought. Males should read the message which lies between the lines of the Bible. Only by doing that as a Church we can come to guidelines which are not an imposition from the past but guidelines we need today for our development and the wellbeing of humankind.

A large number of men as well as women are unaware that the Bible is fundamentally a community book. Its message is addressed to both men and women, who together form the community of the people of God and who together must form the community of its interpretation. Gen 2:23, for instance, is often misinterpreted. As a matter of fact, many people do not grasp the meaning of this text. In the past, that is, in the patriarchal society, this text was about investing authority and power in the male head. But today it is not like that. It should have nothing to do with authority and power between men and women. Our society is supposed to be a gender-free society. In this case, I feel sorry that human beings, especially men today in Makete, have absolutely missed to hear the silent voice of Adam and God going together with this text. For example, Adam made it clear before Eve that he was on the same level as she in all aspects of life. He identified himself with her by saying, 'bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh'. In other words, Adam was saying he needed her as she needed him. Also, God, through this text, confirms that the two persons have the same value to each other and to God, their Creator. He loves and respect them equally. He wants them to live together in mutual relationship and respect of each other. They are equal in many respects. This truism is based on the fact that bones and flesh which they comprise come from one source, not from different sources as far as the creation stories are concerned. If this is the basis of their being, why are women made to be lower than men? There must be something wrong.

If we put aside these two - history and the Bible - as witnesses to what has been practised by humans of all cultures and all times as far back as we can establish, and start reflecting and concentrating on our daily living, we realise that women are far ahead of men in matters of house keeping and working on farms in Makete. They know how to make a budget for a family, how to store food; they know the problems of their children and how to handle them. Generally speaking, women are the ones who are running the houses. On the other hand, men contribute very little to

the wellbeing of their families. They live like guests in their own homes. At the same time they dominate and exploit the women in all spheres of life. For that reason, it seems that men are compelled to cling to power in their homes so that they are not rejected as unproductive people, but remain as bosses.

In this way, neither men nor women are comfortable with the position they occupy. There is a tension between them. Women feel that something must happen which will set them free from the workload which is on their shoulders. In order to try to solve the problem, there have been a number of seminars and meetings around the country and beyond. To some extent, one can learn that on the ground little has been achieved because many people thought that gender issues are only concerned with the representation of women in all walks of life. For example, Mbilinyi argues that many women in Tanzania are not educated (Mbilinyi summarised in Mascarenhans & Mbilinyi, 1983:72). His point is also proved by statistics that there is a serious obstacle to the enrolment of girls in schools (1983:65). Also, many people in the church, some years ago, thought that once the church authority has adopted the ordination of women, then women discrimination in the Church and possibly in society too would be over. More than ten years have passed now since the resolution to ordain women was reached. But one can still see that nothing has really changed. Actually, the Church has encountered another problem, that of allocating responsibilities to women pastors especially those who are married to laymen.

It is a fact that the low standard of education among rural people is the chief obstacle to their full participation in the development process. Not only women are illiterate but men also. Therefore this is not the main reason for women domination and exploitation. I would suggest that we begin with the relationships of men and women at the grassroots level i.e. relationships at home. I think Hart is taking the right direction toward solving the problem when she says, "A gender approach focuses on how multiple understandings of male and female are socially constructed and embodied in everyday practices both within and beyond the household" (Hart in Quibria, 1996:41). I would also argue that instead of investing more effort and finances in research, as many people such as Mascarenhans and Mbilinyi (1983:66) have suggested, let men start to identify themselves with

women. Men should not look down on women as inferior beings, but recognise them as fellows, partners, and potential colleagues in all aspects of life. In this case I would like to suggest to the Lutheran church in Tanzania that there is a need for it to learn from the Lutheran Church in South Africa how to organise the so-called Men's League. In this Church, the Men's league runs concurrently with the Women's League. Usually men in those meetings, besides spiritually strengthening each other, also discuss issues related to their families and the wellbeing of the society. In this way they sometimes discuss the position of the woman in a family and what it means to them as men. Unfortunately, the church in Tanzania does not see any point for men to come together and discuss issues concerning themselves and their families. It is taken for granted that men know their responsibilities in homes and in the church. I think something very important is lacking here.

Secondly, cultures and traditions which seem to dictate to men how they should communicate with women have to be looked at critically. It should be understood that cultures and traditions are always subject to change according to the circumstances. That is why Mncube says we do not look at reality and behave like our ancestors. "Culture cannot be stagnant. Culture is living. Tradition not only reflects the past, it is continually being remade by the present. ... so in every issue, we must say to ourselves, we are growing. It must not be the excuse of culture which keeps us back" (Ackermann et al.1991:357). This is not a cheap message. We need to take it seriously and work on it if we want the process of development to advance.

Thirdly and lastly, since women play a major role in developmental activities but have limited chances to participate in decision-making organs, there is a need for a new mindset which allows them to become part of decision-making organs at all levels of people's interaction. This interaction can be in the house, in the society, in the national as well as international levels. It has been highlighted in connection with this point that, "If development is not engendered, it is endangered. And if poverty reduction strategies fail to empower women, they will fail to empower society" (UNDP, 1997:7).

4.2 Mismanagement of land

For farmers, land and the conservation of the soil mean everything. They cannot do without the soil. In Tanzania, for instance, agriculture provides employment to about 90% of the adult population (Mambo, 1998:31). This means, without land or with arid land they cannot make a living. Knowing that land is the prime factor in agricultural production, many farmers, especially in the first world, pay high attention to land and its conservation. It is regrettable that this is not what happens in Makete. Soil conservation has not been an issue calling for discussions and resolutions, although the effects of soil erosion have brought great damage upon the society. This is due to a lack of education as well as apathy.

It seems to me that a large number of farm holders in Makete are aware of the problem of soil degradation in their area but they take for granted that it is not a problem to be addressed. Kiunsi has found that, although efforts have been made to combat erosion in the country, success has been minimal. The reasons given for this failure have been ignorance of the ecological aspects of vegetation in the rural context and poor understanding of the causes and processes leading to vegetation loss due to poor communication between technocrats and policy makers (1994:vii).

In Makete a large number of people are used to fallow period production. Under forest, fallow and bush cultivation, fertility is restored to the land after cultivation by allowing it to revert to its natural vegetation for some years. What happens is that "vegetation influences soil directly by adding litter to the top soil. The litter improves the organic content of the top soil giving rise to a darkish colour. In addition, inorganic and organic matter is decomposed" (Kiunsi 1994:12). In this way those nutrients which were absorbed by the plant roots from the soil return into the soil again.

But given the limited availability of land, and the restricted prospects of bringing new areas under cultivation, shortening of the fallow period on the cultivated land has been one of the major means of providing needed increases in production (Gupta, 1988:25). This tendency to shorten fallow periods is more demanding on soil capacity because of the frequent cropping involved.

On the other hand, operating short fallow periods, which could be the answer to the problem of low crop production, needs people who are well informed about assessment of soil fertility potentials, micro-climate, assignment of crops to different ecological units and the frequency of rotation. Unfortunately, these people here are not able to do this. Also, if all these activities could be applied in Makete, obviously, it would mean much work for women because these are the people who are working on the farms, as mentioned above. "Women in the household are the main source of farm labour. Men are only occasionally available as they seek off-farm employment to earn extra income to support the family" (Hudson & Cheatle, 1993:33). Since women already have too much work to do, and also the lack of technical know how, this system of agriculture is not practised. Instead, many farms have been in use all the time. In places such as Utengule, Unyambogela, Idunda, Bulongwa, Unenamwa, etc., wheat is planted in the same plots year after year.

I tried to establish the distribution of fallow periods, lengths, and related fallow practices in this study. I attempted to determine the usual length of fallows today and some years ago, in order to estimate reductions in fallow periods over that period. By and large farmers in the past had a clear idea of the normal length of the crop/fallow cycle in their village and how it was determined. My father, for instance, had enough plots which he could use one by one. The interval between the first and second use of the plot could be more than three years. But now all the plots are used at the same time because the number of users has increased to the point that none of the plots can be left to go fallow. We are five families and each family needs fields for farming.

Now, given the prevailing cropping system, in which fields are cultivated every year, the fallow period was defined as the time between harvesting and the next planting. Wheat is, for example, harvested in September/October and it is planted again in March. This means that the time for the fields to be fallow is only four months. Therefore, the system of ensuring the restoration of fertility in the soil through a long fallow period is increasingly being constrained by land-use pressure. With this understanding, the variation in fallow periods is now compressed to a range of two months and four months depending on the time each crop takes to grow from planting to harvesting. For example, maize in Madihani takes more than nine months to be ready for harvest. However,

a general situation found across the board is that when the land pressure reaches a certain critical level, farmers no longer try to maintain a productive fallow rotation on the fields since they cultivate them more regularly.

4.2.1 Causes and forms of soil erosion

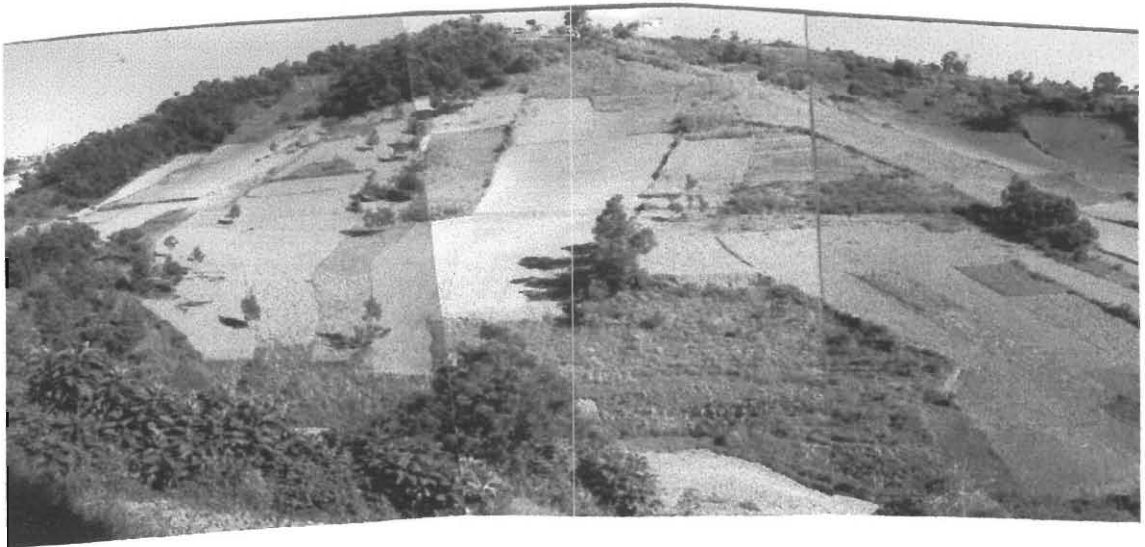
Bearing in mind that Makete is a mountainous area, its soil is light and shallow, with a rainfall estimated to be between 1300 - 2000 mm per year (Hudson & Cheatle, 1993:30), soil erosion is something which takes place every year. The fertile top soil which is dearly needed for crop production is being eroded away by water.

Soil erosion by water is the most conspicuous type of land degradation in Makete. The topographical features of this place and the system of cultivating land both encourage soil erosion. The main forms of water erosion can be listed as inter-rill, rill, sheet and gully erosion.

In inter-rill erosion, the soil is detached by rain drop splash and carried away very slowly in overland flow as it is shown in figure No.I below. This process is much quicker when the soil surface has been opened up through tilling or overgrazing. In rill erosion, soil is detached mainly by scouring and it is transported by run-off concentrated in rills. (See figure No. II). Sheet erosion is the combined effect of inter-rill and rill erosion. (See figure No. III). Gully erosion is an advanced form of rill erosion, in which intermittent water combines into small tributaries, resulting in waterfall erosion at the gully head, and deepening and widening of the gully below as shown in figure IV. Gully formation is an extension of the natural drainage network.

Less common erosion processes occur locally, such as tunnel erosion, mass movement, involving land slipping or slumping wherever there is very heavy rainfall in the area. In 1997/98, for instance, Makete district received heavy rains due to El Nino - a warming of the eastern tropical Pacific occurring every few years, which disrupts the weather pattern of the region. During this time there was massive erosion. See figures II, III & IV.

Figure No. I



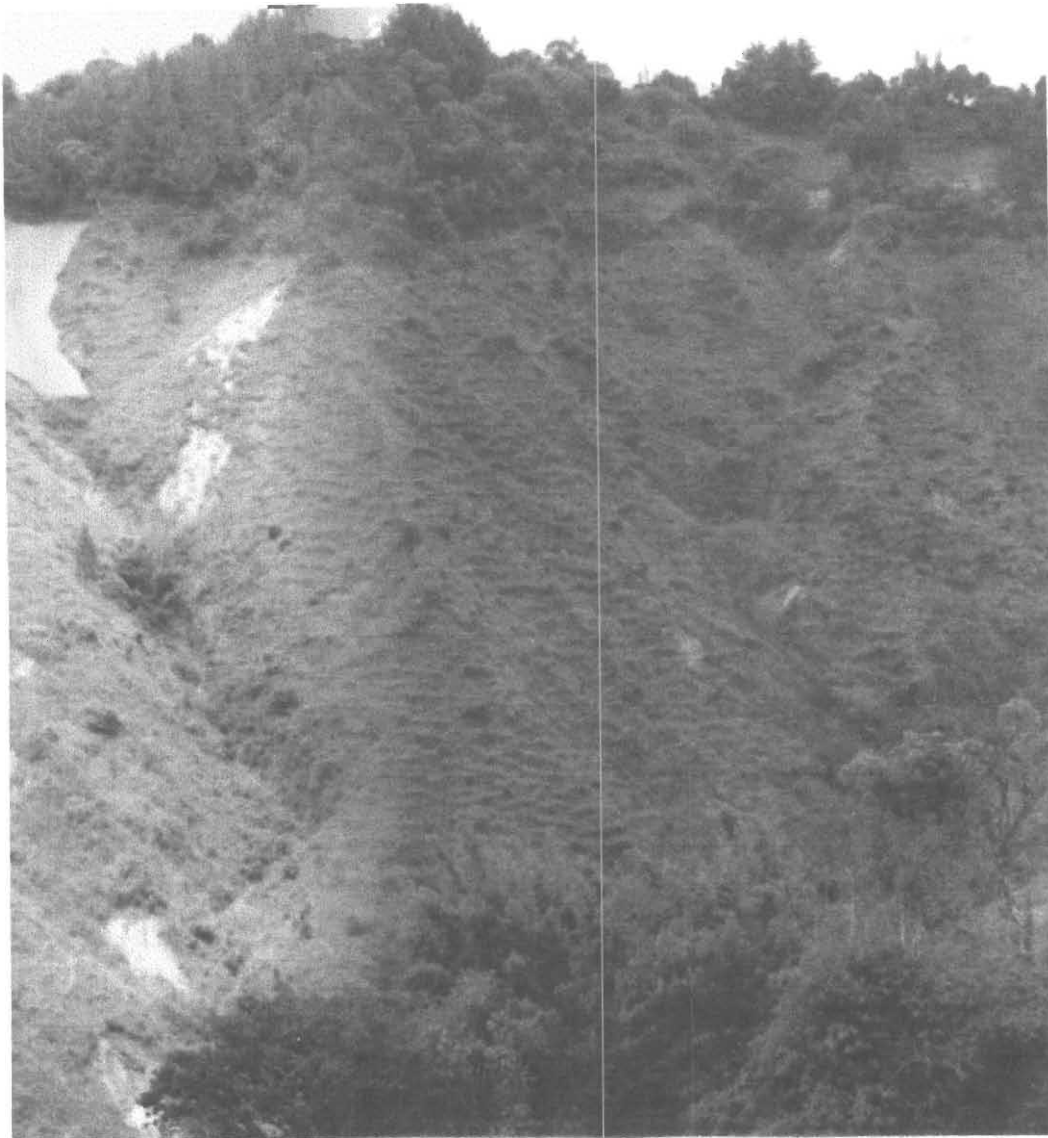
This photo shows fields being prepared for planting wheat in Unyangala. It was taken during wheat planting season. It shows how inter-rill soil erosion takes place after opening up the soil. The detached soil is carried away by run off.

Figure No. II



This photo shows some physical features of Utengule. The area is very steep. It shows how gullies are formed by water run off. Also it shows the areas where top soil has been washed away by rain water. It was taken in June 1998.

Figure III



This photo shows a type of farming called *migunda*, which is very similar to terrace farming. The difference between the two is that this type of farming involves many but short terraces covering almost the whole area. Terrace farming is carried out in steep areas. Dried grass is put together, covered by top soil, and thereafter it is burnt. It is widely exercised in the area. The photo demonstrates sheet erosion. It was taken around Igolwa location in January 1999.

Figure No. IV



This is part of Nsomoka near Luvumbu village. The photo demonstrates gully erosion which is an advanced form of rill erosion. It was taken in 1996.

Figure No. V



Figure No. V shows one of the places which have been hit by overgrazing. The area seems to start recovering from overgrazing after planting trees. It demonstrates the efforts done in the area to combat drought.

Figure No. VI



This photograph was taken at Katenga, February 1999. After attending a seminar farmers were invited to a tree-nursery to observe the process of raising tree seedlings. The photo demonstrates the efforts being done to address the question of soil conservation in the area.

Erosion in cropland and grazing areas is very often associated with lack of cover. Where annual crops are grown, there is normally little ground cover for the first month(s) after planting and this is generally the time at which the heaviest rainfall can be experienced in the area. On the other hand, in the grazing zones animals consume all grass, especially during dry seasons, and as they graze their hoofs break and open up soil. Usually the first rains are heavy rains which take away all things found loose on the ground. In this way a large amount of the top soil is taken away by run-off. It implies then that each year more of the top soil is washed away from those areas. In order to try to combat this problem, the Makete District Natural Resources Conservation and Land Uses Management has taken a stand to teach people to plant trees in the affected areas to act as wind and water runoff breakers. See figure No. V. People are motivated through seminars to come and take trees home to plant. Again, see figure No. VI.

4.2.2 Misuse of farm chemicals and manure

There are four main options for improving soil fertility. These are the use of inorganic fertilizers, the extended use of farm yard manure, alternative organic systems such as compost, and the extended use of nitrogen fixing legumes as intercrops, rotations or farm trees (Tiffen, et al.,1994:239). Very few people in the area understand and use the last three options for maintaining and improving soil fertility as mentioned above. Instead many peasants prefer using inorganic fertilizers. The majority do not see the point of not using inorganic fertilizers which basically make work much easier and yield quicker results. Also, in the last two decades there has been a strong emphasis by the state on the use of fertilizers since it was perceived to be the only alternative for boosting production in the country. The government subsidised fertilizers and other chemicals used in agriculture to the point where, by and large, each family was able to use them in their fields. Families which did not have money to buy fertilizers were given loans which they could repay after they had sold their crops. So everything was made easy for farmers. Fertilizers were obtained and used cheaply.

Of course, at the beginning there were promising and encouraging increases of production. This was

the time when many people from Makete, for instance, left to settle in Ismani near Iringa because this area was surprisingly productive. It was appreciated and hailed by many people for its high production of maize. Today, Ismani is heard of nowhere and people have started looking elsewhere to settle. Its popularity and potentiality has gone because it is no longer productive for any crop. There are times, for example this year, when the government had to send relief aid to rescue the people there from starvation. It has been found by research that bad farming, which included the use of a lot of fertilizers and other chemicals, is the main cause of the decrease in production, not only in Ismani but also in many other parts of the country:

Ismani in Iringa region, famous for its maize production in the 1950s and 1960s, and once the country's granary, has been reduced to near desert because of excessive cultivation and use of chemicals. ... In Ruvuma region, one of the grain surplus regions in the country, peasants are learning the hard way the fact that chemical fertilizers even in increased quantities are not a suitable method of restoring fertility to exhausted soils (Forster & Maghimbi, 1992:86).

This problem has hit many parts of the country, yet people still believe that their problem will be solved if more fertilizers are used, unlike the farmers in Kenya where we are told that 90% of the peasants use manure on their farms (Tiffen, et al., 1994:240). The question as to why there is a decline in production has not yet been answered.

The question of how to use fertilizers economically, I think, is the major problem. I do not think that one will get a good harvest simply because one uses fertilizers. It must be born in mind that fertilizers are products of science. They work effectively according to certain rules. For example, before you decide what fertilizer you are going to apply to your field, you must know what kind of soil you have, what nutrients are lacking there, and what time is preferable for applying fertilizers. If such things are not considered before applying them, one may end up burning one's fingers. Referring to Raike's and Onyekakeyah's works, Forster & Maghimbi warn against the use of fertilizers and other chemicals in the search for higher production by saying that,

While modern practices are widely seen by the government and donor agencies as

a solution to the problem of increasing agricultural production, they are potentially dangerous for future productive capacity because of their impact on the environment. Such technologies which entail massive use of chemicals - fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides - and an emphasis of monoculture, lead to soil impoverishment and other biological imbalances (Forster & Maghimbi, 1992:86).

It is regrettable that the government tends to overlook this important point. At this moment few people understand the damage caused by fertilizers and other chemicals to the soil if proper measures are not taken to secure both good yields and soil conservation. In regard to this point, Harrison has found that, "In many upland areas, long-term use of conventional nitrogenous fertilizers can actually reduce soil fertility by acidifying the soil and inducing potassium deficiencies. In drier areas, chemical fertilizer use can be economically irrational" (Harrison, 1987:107).

One can compare the use of fertilizers with the use of a car. In this regard, a car is a wonderful tool. It has power and is good for transport. But if you do not know how to operate it, you may not only damage it but also lose your own life. Likewise, fertilizers are good means of production if they are used in the way they are meant to be otherwise they become dangerous for human existence on earth. The majority of the peasants whose lives entirely depend on agriculture know that there are two types of fertilizers. One type is for planting while the other is applied when plants such as maize have reached a height of say 50 cm. But they do not know how those fertilizers function. When production is low, even though fertilizers were applied, they believe that the cause was an insufficient amount of fertilizers. Next time they wish to increase that amount or shift to another type of fertilizer. Here is an example of how people have used excessive fertilizers in the hope of getting good harvests:

In the wet but cool areas that produce most of Iringa maize, production is based on modern seed varieties and heavy use of chemical fertilizers and other inputs. In drier warmer zones that include the most densely populated parts of the district, chemical fertilizers have also come to be used in large quantities, in this case to offset declining soil fertility and as a substitute for animal manure. Under these conditions

maize production is a highly import-intensive activity (Forster & Maghimbi, 1992:256).

There is another strange thing happening to the peasants. As we have seen, there are only a few farmers who have opted for manure. One of them is Mr Klaus Bitter, a missionary from Germany. Also, he is an agricultural adviser by profession. When he came to Lupila, the first advice he gave to the people was to use manure instead of fertilizers.. Since he did not have manure himself for his own use, he started asking his neighbours to give him manure. Later they started to sell it to him. It became a good business for some of the people. Now everybody wants to sell manure to him. To this day he is able to collect more manure than he needs because many people ask him to buy manure from them. They are selling manure with the hope of buying fertilizers. Since these people have countless needs, sometimes they use this money not for fertilizers but for something else. At the end of the day they do not plant their crops using fertilizers or manure. The bad thing is that people do not grasp the purpose of Bitter when he uses manure instead of fertilizers. He wanted them to learn a lesson from him and thereafter practise it on their farms. Instead they think they have got a market for selling manure.

Another problem is burning residues after harvesting. Some peasants find it easier to set fire to the residues as a means of preparing a farm and controlling weeds and pests for the next planting season. Also, some of them use these residues as fuel in their homes. This is bad because both soil fertility and the atmosphere are affected by burning residues. They should not be burnt on the fields as well as in homes because otherwise their potential, both as organic material for compost and as a thing which improves soil structure and air circulation in the soil, is wasted and pollutes the air. Also, it would be better to use them as organic material to boost crop production than to burn them as a source of energy in the home. (Nurnberger, 1999:334). Harrison gives relevant information in regard to residues and their importance in agriculture. He says, "Residues such as stalks and leaves contain 40 to 90 per cent of the nutrients that the crop removes from the soil. They constitute a potentially massive reserve of nutrients" (Harrison, 1987:107). This implies that burning the residues is making the soil poorer.

Surely, both organic and inorganic fertilizers are good resources for plant nutrients. But our people in Makete cannot make meaningful use of inorganic fertilizers to boost their production. First, they are expensive. I do not think they make a good profit if they use those fertilizers. Secondly, they do not have the knowledge of using those fertilizers in order to balance the nutrients in the soil which plants need for better growth. Basically these fertilizers increase the level of certain minerals (N, P, and K) in the soil, leaving out all the others. Plant growth is either retarded through lack of other nutrients resulting in poor harvests, or boosted through these basic nutrients. In the first case one gets a loss in terms of quantity. In the second case one gets a good harvest but of low quality for human consumption because the crop does not have the nutritional content necessary for humans. Thirdly, the massive introduction of chemicals into the soil is a form of pollution which the soil cannot handle in the long run. The soil gets poisoned and the micro-organisms essential for fertile soil die as a result. Over time heavily fertilised soil becomes barren. The fourth and last disadvantage of fertilizers is that it is not only the individual farm holder who is losing but the country too. Fertilizers are imported and the country cannot afford a negative balance of payments. The First World gains, while the Third World loses in such transactions.

Looking at all these factors one is convinced that very little has been done to address the side-effects of fertilizers in agriculture in Makete. It must be borne in mind that it is not only the ignorance of the people which leads to the use of these fertilizers but also that there is little awareness of the state about periphery-centre economy relationships which are going on in the area with the support of the government. Instead of encouraging the peasants to depend on organic fertilizing agents such as animal droppings, which are cheap and improve soil fertility and structure much more than artificial fertilizers, peasants are encouraged to apply more fertilizers on their farms. In this way they suffer want for the sake of artificial fertilizers which do little to increase production. There is no reason for those people to cling to those expensive fertilizers while there is a cheap and potential alternative for improving farm production. In this light I am convinced that a market for fertilizers is created, not to improve the farm productivity of peasants but to raise the consumption of fertilizers so that there will be no surpluses of fertilizers. It has been pointed out that, "To absorb increased production, consumption must grow accordingly, otherwise there will

be surpluses" (Nurnberger, 1999:301). In this case surplus means that fertilizers remain in stores because there is no demand.

4.3 Rapid population growth

Development usually goes hand in hand with productive capacity. In economic terms, population growth must be accompanied by increases in production. As long as the growth of productive capacity surpasses the growth of the population, the livelihood of the latter is not in danger. The needs of the community will be met. But when demand is higher than supply people begin to suffer want. Here, it must be understood that the problem is not only the question of prices being low which has led to low production (Nurnberger, 1999:299) but the imbalance of the two, that is, population growth and production. It should be realised that production will increase as long as price increases. But one should also know that this race between production and price cannot continue for ever. A point can be reached when, even if the prices are high, production remains low because factors of production such as land and the purchasing power of customers are limited. One can say, this is the real meaning of poverty. The imbalance between supply and demand needs to be corrected if the people want development and cross the line of poverty. Therefore in this section we are going to deal with those factors which cause rapid population growth. These are social and cultural factors.

4.3.1 Social factors

One of the social factors which have contributed to boosting population growth is health services. These services cover improved diet, treatment and prevention of diseases, and hygiene. In former times, before the introduction of these services the growth rate of the population was comparatively low. The life span of a person was short and mortality was comparable to fertility. Sometimes the death rate was high but not to the point of extinguishing humankind on earth. Essentially, there was a balance in the sense that what humans took from nature could be replaced again. In other words

nature was able to accommodate human activities.

With the introduction of health services things started to change dramatically. Before that, people used to have as many children as possible because out of the many being born, only a few managed to live. The rest died before reaching the age of five years. Now this problem has been solved, on the one hand, while on the other a great problem has been created i.e. overpopulation. Although a breakthrough in lowering death rates has been reached, many people have not changed their habit of having many children. Havnevik, who has done intensive research in rural areas in Tanzania relating to health services and population growth, says,

At least since independence, the improvement in health and other social services has contributed to an increase in fertility and decline in mortality. Since 1960, average life expectancy has increased from 39 to 51 years. Child mortality has been reduced by 50%, almost all children have access to primary education and improved health services have been expanded considerably (Havnevik, 1988:17).

This implies that now people can live longer than before and can have more children than before. But did the economy also improve in relation to population growth? The answer to this question is negative. The economic situation, in actual fact, started to deteriorate because there were no proper measures which were put in place to balance population and production. The population was left to increase while productive potential did not increase in the same proportion. Below are figures for the total population of Tanzania from 1957 to 1998:

1957	8.6 million
1968	12 million
1978	17.6 million
1988	24 million
1998	29.5 million (Whitaker & Sons, 1998:824; Mambo, 1998:29).

If production did not increase with the population then health services were not the right thing to do for the poor. These are serious mistakes as far as economic development is concerned as it has been pointed out that:

They committed the fatal mistake of dramatically reducing infant mortality and raising life expectancy without at the same time reducing the birth rate. The application of modern medicine by the colonial authorities and missionary hospitals catered for one side of the demographic process and neglected the other (Nurnberger, 1999:211).

The problem was looked at from one side only. Maddox puts the challenge to the Church saying, "One additional factor which must be considered is the impact of Christianity on the number of children. Christianity appears to have had a substantial influence on both rising birth rates and declining death rates" (1996:35). Of course, he is objecting to those churches which do not accept family planning in their doctrinal teachings as a possible means of containing undesired population growth. Also, he is questioning the churches' contribution to the process of combatting population growth. These churches have kept quiet while poor people are getting poorer unknowingly. The churches have had enough time to caution the poor about the bad effects of having too many children in one family. At this time in Makete, to be specific, circumstances force some members of the family to move away from home and try to establish new homes somewhere else. In this way we have many emigrants, particularly in African countries.

To this day, the Church in Makete is still giving to the community health services such as clinics. Children and mothers are cared for very well. But what happens to the children after this goal has been achieved? The Church has no plans for them. It seems to solve only the problems related to raising children. Indirectly the Church is involved in promoting population growth. On the other hand, it is doing little to empower and assist the community in fighting poverty.

At this juncture, one can think that I am deprecating the contribution of the Church towards health care. I am not saying that its services are irrelevant to the community. But the Church should not

stop there and declare that its job has been accomplished. It has to take population growth as an issue of its own right. Something should be done to arrest it. If one wants to bring about a radical change in population growth, one must begin from the bottom, from the grassroots. The message should be taken to the local communities. Let each individual person come to understand the problem of overpopulation and the effects it has on the earth. Whaling, for example, has quoted Robert Muller who reported about the threat to the earth saying,

every minute on this planet 21 hectares of tropical forests are destroyed; every minute humanity consumes 34,725 tons of petroleum; every minute 50 tons of top soils are eroded by air and water; for every minute 12,000 tons of carbon dioxide are flushed into the atmosphere. Every hour 685 hectares of productive soil are turned into desert; every hour 55 persons are poisoned by pesticides and five of them die; every hour 60 cases of cancer are caused by deterioration of the ozone sphere. Every five hours a living species dies out on this planet, the rhythm of disappearance being likely to attain every 20 minutes at the end of this century. Every day 25,000 persons die from lack of water or contaminated water; every day 250,000 tons of sulfuric acid fall on the northern hemisphere in the form of acid rain; every day ten tones of radioactive waste are produced by nuclear plants (Whaling, 1995:17).

It is my strong conviction that a relatively large number of peasants do not understand the interaction between the individual family and the population crisis. They do not understand that to have more children than one can afford to provide for is creating an incredible inconvenience to that particular family as well as to the nation and the world at large. It has been recently discovered that, "In Tanzania where contraceptive prevalence is still low and where cultural as well as husbands' influence on reproductive decisions are still strong the desire for children is widespread" (Ngallaba, 1993:63).

This problem of population growth needs to be stressed because people are still living in the past, that is, socialist assumptions. At that time education and medication were among those social services which were given free of charge. However, people, especially peasants, still hold to those notions of socialism. Although each parent is now responsible for all his/her children's needs, such as school fees and medication, the majority seem to not understand the struggle they have before

them. If the writer had been given the chance to decide how many children each family should have, in reference to the economy of the area we are talking about, the answer would be not more than one child, or even none. The way people are living gives an indication that many people have given up the struggle against poverty. Any concerned person who has been at Makete will agree that people there are living at the bottom line of poverty. Until the present day they are still using a hand-hoe to till the land just to get food to eat, yet still the plots are small and not enough for all.

Moreover, ministers and Church leaders must expand their service to the community. For instance, the elimination of illiteracy is among the many services which are needed by the community. It is unacceptable for the Church to be at leisure while its people are experiencing many constraints in life. By this I am not degrading its work. But I am asking whether the Church can do more than it is doing at the moment. The Church strategy towards development should be to continue supporting its people throughout their lives.

4.3.2 Cultural factors

Sometimes it happens that cultural traditions lose their original meaning and become a burden to the answerable people. This is what has happened in Makete. Human fertility has always been a good thing in the sense that it allows the continuity of human beings from one generation to the next. But if convictions which are based on culture dictate that fertility means getting more children regardless of what will happen to them later, then those convictions have no useful meaning. This point is mentioned because some cultures lead people to believe that the purpose of marriage is to have children. This belief is widespread among Africans. Here is an example of a widely shared concept among Africans, specifically Black Africans, in regard to marriage:

In a real sense, your own being is perpetuated or continued through your male offspring. You become immortal in and through your children, even if you die eventually. Your name is carried on and not lost, the torch of life is handed down and begins to burn anew - you are kindled in your children. Through procreation you beat death, you bring together the three dimension of time: past, present and future (Mbiti, 1977:43).

My view is that there is no reasonable point for a couple to have children for whom they cannot provide adequate provision. I am in support of the idea that, "... it is my life which counts for God, not just the life of the clan, tribe or nation. ... children are no longer decisive in one's relation to God; what counts is personal authenticity and integrity" (Nurnberger, 1999:218). It is incorrect to bring a creature into the world, as many people have done in Makete and elsewhere, and let it suffer poverty. One has to understand that humans need to have control over factors determining their lives, rather than to be controlled. Humans are not animals which are controlled by instincts in mating. For example, it is possible to have sex outside marriage. But according to moral conduct one must seek to have sex within marriage. The same is true for food. Definitely, one needs food for health and existence. But at the same time overeating is dangerous for health. The same thing applies to fertility or progeny. Fertility is essential to all living things. The important point is that people must use their brains and have control over it. I love children, but if I cannot provide for their needs why should I have sleepless nights if I can avoid them? Even the desire and ability to raise them is not the guiding principle for procreation. The point is to limit population growth until it comes into balance with the economy.

People must have new visions about themselves. In former times many people wanted many children so that they would take care of them when they became old. Perhaps they were right, but now this does not happen. Very few persons can be found today looking after their aged parents. The majority are somewhere far from their parents doing things which are beneficial for themselves, not for their parents. For example, a lady from Makete is presently married to a German and lives in Germany. A number of years have passed without the family in Makete seeing her. Nobody can put any blame on her for the problems which her parents are facing now. With this example I want to articulate that children cannot take over the role of pensions.

Also, some poor families want to have more children expecting that not all of them will end up being poor like their parents. Some of the children are expected to emerge from poverty and become wealthy. I believe that people are fooling themselves when they go by trial and error. This attitude

is creating havoc in society. The guiding line is that the more children people have in Makete, the poorer they become. It would have helped them if they could have used the few resources at their disposal to enhance their income rather than having unmanageable families which end up diluting their resources.

4.4 The level and effects of illiteracy

There is a close relationship between education and production growth, especially where development as a change from poverty to adequacy is concerned. It is undisputable that the lack of education inhibits the occupational prospects and earnings of vast numbers of people in Makete and in Tanzania at large. The level of an individual's certificated education is an important determinant of income and life chances.

It came to be known to policy makers in the country after the general census of 1967 that 75% of the adults over 15 years of age, who were at the cutting edge of the productive sector, were illiterate (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979:141). It was recommended that in order to promote production, which was drastically needed, there must be plans first to make people aware of the need for change. There had to be a dialogue between them and the agents of development, such as researchers, on what it was that had to be changed. It was at this point that adult literacy was recognized as an essential medium of dialogue on development and change.

Thereafter the state took actions towards promoting literacy as one of its major responsibilities. In regard to this point, Dolan says, "Nyerere, the teacher, from the beginning of his political career, was convinced that the advance of his country depended on the development of education and he has never lost sight of his conviction" (Dolan, 1975:158). In other words, the state realised that it could enlighten the masses only marginally if they were illiterate. Knowing that illiteracy was a barrier for further development, the first step towards development was to make the illiterate literate. So, the state inaugurated an adult education plan in the whole country and all leaders at all levels were asked to make sure that this plan was put in place as soon as possible. "Henceforth

combatting illiteracy became a political issue which no government institution could dare to ignore" (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979:142). Also, nearly all levels of studying were involved in the process. Many pupils and students were used as teachers and school buildings were used as centres for the same end.

It was accepted countrywide that literacy was going to contribute to wider political participation at the grassroots level and at higher levels, in that plans and reports could be written and read by the masses, and representation in all kinds of development committees and councils would no longer be predominantly reserved for those with formal schooling. It also came to be known that literacy could improve productivity in the country because the masses would be able to read, discuss and write about what, how much, and when to produce, and to go in for further training and upgrading of skills. More than that it was believed that literacy could be useful to the masses for transforming society for the wider range of activities in social life, leisure time, and self-improvement of the individual (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979:14).

Implementation of this plan to combat illiteracy in the country was received and accepted in the TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) Conference held in 1971. A resolution was reached that adult education should be given priority in the whole country. It was agreed that "an extensive functional literacy campaign should be launched so as to make everybody in the country literate; this was seen as an important part of basic education for those who had received no education under colonialism or thereafter" (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979:8). The plan was launched throughout the country. This was the time when many people came forward to participate in the campaign.

Also, one can see that even before this moment efforts were made to eliminate illiteracy. King reports that attendance in literacy classes kept increasing between 1961 and 1965 (King, 1967:22). More people joined those classes in the 1970s and early 1980s. Before Nyerere stepped down from the President's office in 1985, the level of literacy was substantially good. But it is regrettable that after him that level started to decline steadily. "... total enrolment at primary and secondary schools rose from 22% in 1970 to 57% in 1985, but was equivalent to 42% in 1995" (Africa South of the

Sahara, 1999). On the side of adult education the enrolment from 1971 to 1975 was as follows:

Year	Enrolment
1971	908,351
1972	1,508,204
1973	2,989,910
1974	3,203,103
1975	5,184,982 (Galabawa, 1990:8).

During this time the state was trying to correct four misleading concepts which were underestimating the value of education in the country. Morrison has enumerated them as they were addressed by Nyerere:

- (1) The education we are at present providing is ... basically an elitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system. [By providing education for the intellectually strong, the existing system] ... induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority and leaves the majority hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces the growth of a class structure in our country.
- (2) Education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. ... The school is always separate; it is not part of society. It is a place children go to and which they and their parents hope will make it unnecessary for them to become farmers and continue living in the villages.
- (3) Our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from educated people. ... Everything we do ... underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life.
- (4) Our young and poor nation is taking out of productive work some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women. Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of the older and often weaker people. ... Even during the holidays we assume that these young men and women should be protected from rough work (Morrison, 1976:256).

These were great ideas for a country which was propagating socialism. But has the state achieved those goals? By looking at what is taking place in Makete at the moment, practically speaking, one

can doubt whether such goals have been attained. Let us have a quick look at each of them and its implication in the district. In the first place, the state aimed to transform the system of education in the way that it could become a tool of development for all people in all walks of life. The argument was that the education of the day benefited only the minority while the majority were left in the cold (Resnick, 1968:15). But what has changed? Nothing substantial. Adult education, for instance, has ceased to function. There is no plan to run it and at the moment nobody seems to be interested in adult education programmes. This situation implies that the level of illiteracy, which was planned to be reduced if not eliminated through adult education, is increasing instead of declining. Moreover many people who had been making progress from illiteracy to literacy have gone back to square one. They cannot read or write. This has occurred because nobody is teaching them and they cannot learn by themselves. The motivation which they had at the beginning has burnt out, partly because there is no longer an emphasis on education as there used to be in the past, and partly because they do not see how to use the little education they have achieved. It has not helped them to solve the problem of poverty which is always on their back.

In the second place, universal primary education (UPE) has failed to meet the needs of the society. The foundation of education was said to fall short of preparing the members of society to become committed to their society. It was preparing them to become people who could stay and work away from villages and farms. In this view Nyerere has been quoted by Muncie as wanting the literate to go and live in the rural areas where they could use their education to boost development.

Education must no longer be looked upon as a preparation for more education... Because most students must be content with only a primary education, it was essential that those seven years prepare them for their life on the land. For those fortunate enough to go further, education must prepare people for life and services in the villages and rural areas of this country (Muncie, 1973:15).

What is taking place at the moment at Makete is quite different from what was expected to happen. Many youths, for instance, do not know what to do after they have finished primary education. They cannot be employed anywhere because there are no jobs available for them and they cannot

employ themselves because they do not have capital or skills. Instead, "They hang around in dreary streets and receive a street corner education. They begin to smoke, use drugs, get involved in gang warfare and become sexually active at an early stage" (Nurnberger, 1999:106). It is regrettable that this situation has encouraged many girls to seek to get married to affluent businessmen so that they do not fall victim to poverty and other traps such as getting pregnant before marriage. Since not all girls can get married to the wealthy husbands, the rest stay at home with their parents. The problem which faces many is that after some time they become single parents. Mwandila says, "Many youths like to enjoy sex but they are unaware of its consequence" (Mwandila 1999). At the same time, boys are expected to start their own life after finishing school. I suspect that this is the hardest time for them. They are compelled to do something to earn a living. While some reluctantly go out to look for jobs, others become involved in crime.

An option for young people would be to go on to secondary school after primary education. I think that could help them in two ways. First they would have more time to develop their brains. Basically primary education is like an introduction. Nobody is expected to pick up his or her career after primary education because pupils are only introduced to a number of subjects which may lead to a career after further studies. It was incorrect to think that primary education could enable people to make a living in rural areas. They needed, and they still need, more than that. Secondly, by continuing to study the pupils become more mature and become more aware of themselves, who they are and what they should do in life. It has been observed that many pupils finish primary education while they are still young. At this age they are unable to plan what to do in life, yet they are challenged to stand on their own feet. Also, the state starts asking them to pay annual tax as their contribution to the government budget.

But poverty is a major barrier for these pupils to continue with secondary education after primary education. Since the state has stopped subsidising education at all levels it has become very difficult for many Tanzanians to support their children at school. Even in primary schools people have problems to cover the costs for their children. While conducting interviews, I found that there is a considerable number of children who were supposed to be in schools but are not going because their

parents or guardians could not afford the fees which the schools require. The author also had time to speak to headmasters at Mwakavuta, Bulongwa, Tandala, and Lupila Secondary Schools. It was regretted in all four cases that many pupils who were selected to join those schools did not show up when the time arrived for them to go to school. Mwakavuta Secondary School, for instance, is facing a serious shortage of students as the headmaster, Paul Mgaya revealed, during my interview. In 1998 the school registered 320 students, but only 192 attended school (Head Master's Annual Report, 1998). The rest did not show up. The author managed to speak to one of those who failed to join the school, Juhudi Kusiluka from Madihani who was 18 years old. He explained very clearly that he wanted to study but his family could not afford it (Kusiluka, 1998). It is obvious that many youths from this area can get primary education, but the majority of them have no access to secondary education. By and large, only the rich families manage to take their children to secondary school.

In economic terms the society in Makete is producing people who cannot contribute to modern development because they are ill educated and unskilled. Many of them depend on muscle energy to make their living. The problem arises from the fact that in this generation muscle energy or power is replaced by machine energy. Many industries, for example, use modern appliances such as computers and employ fewer people who are highly trained to do the jobs which could be done by tens or hundreds of unskilled people. This is where the problem lies. One can see very clearly that the present situation of education in Makete and Tanzania at large does not allow the majority to face the challenges they encounter in the course of life. As in colonial times, only a small number of the population has the chance to better their situation through education. It seems to me that since Nyerere stepped down from the presidency, education has lost its goal. It is regrettable that his plan to eliminate illiteracy is collapsing, leaving the poor stranded and desperate. Many people in Makete do not know where to turn for help.

As far as education is concerned the colonial situation has not changed. Education is still something for the few who can afford its expenses. It is still playing a role in classifying people - illiterate and literate. This distinction influences the services offered in the community such as leadership and

decision making.

4.5 Irrational expenditure

In Bocock's view consumerism is a modern concept introduced by capitalism. The perception is that the meaning of life is to be found in buying things (Bocock, 1993:50). This means consumption is not something natural but it is something which is acquired or learnt. It is something which some people are socialised into desiring. In this subsection I am going to discuss how the Makete dwellers have been influenced by the ideology of consumerism keeping in mind that their purchasing power is very small. I have picked up three aspects for discussion, namely material accumulation, ceremonial entertainment, and the abuse of alcohol.

4.5.1 Material accumulation

It is indisputable that a large number of items which fill shops and markets in Makete and Tanzania at large are not the produce from farms and gardens but consumer goods from industries. Most of these goods come not from within the country but from other countries such as Taiwan. There is a lucrative market for these goods all over the country. The reason is simple. People try to become the being they desire to be by consuming the items that they imagine will help to create and sustain their idea of themselves, their image and their identity. This is the reason social scientists conceptualise consumption as involving the consumption of signs and symbols, and not of commodities that will satisfy pre-existing needs rooted in human biology. Consequently, consumers may often experience a sense of emptiness once they have purchased a commodity which they have saved for and longed for because another want is elevated to the same position of the one which has been fulfilled. We are warned that, "The spell of new products and their status enhancing capacity is so great that poor people are often paralysed by huge debt burdens" (Nurnberger, 1999:311). Consumption is, therefore, founded on a lack, that is, a desire always for something not there. This is why modern or perhaps post-modern consumers will never be satisfied (Baudrillard, 1988:24-25).

Let us take the need for clothes as a vivid example for Makete dwellers. To make it easy to understand, let us again narrow this need down to clothes called '*kanga*'. '*Kanga*' is a Swahili word which means a colourful piece of cloth worn by women. Besides the wonderful paints and decorations each type of '*kanga*' has, there is a motto on it which tries to express something. Each time they are produced they seem to be special when compared to the previous ones because they have appeared with different colours, paints and new mottos such as 'It is you and only you who is going to suffer the consequences of what you have done' or 'Let them speak but I know myself what I am out for'. Because of these phenomena, women are, by and large, never satisfied. Whenever they realise that another type of '*kanga*' is in the market they want to get it. Moreover, some ladies have decided to mark every event which they come across in life by having a new '*kanga*' to remember that event. In this way there are women who have accumulated a lot of '*kanga*' in their homes which they do not really use.

On the other hand, it happens that during special celebrations such as Christmas and New year, nearly every member of the society would like to appear in new dresses and / or new shoes, even if the old ones are still good and fitting. Of course, for the businessmen and women this is the time they make a good profit because many people come and buy their goods. They need new clothes, not because they have nothing to wear or to protect them from the cold, but just to impress others and get recognition as it has been said, "Body decoration and clothing, for example, which a particular individual uses as a means of marking himself or herself out from others, have to be interpreted and understood by others. So someone can only mark himself or herself as being different from others if they also share some common cultural signs with others" (Bocock, 1993:17). The same thing is found happening with other material needs such as radios, furniture, and utensils which are not essentials. Being informed about the poverty situation which Makete dwellers are going through, I would not have thought that these people could spend their money on finished products rather than investing it in projects and other productive fields such as education which could increase their purchasing power.

Bocock has made an analysis of the reasons why some people want to impress others:

Consumption should not be seen as an activity which is simply induced, or produced, in modern consumers by the advertising industry and commercial interests upon a passive audience. Consumption has become an active process involving the symbolic construction of a sense of both collective and individual identities. This sense of identity should no longer be seen as given to people by membership of a specific economic class, or social status group, or directly by ethnicity or gender. Identities have to be actively constructed by more and more people for themselves. In this process of active identity construction, consumption has come to play a central role ... Consumers do not purchase items of clothing, food, body decorations, furniture or style of entertainment, for instance, in order to express an already existing sense of who they are. Rather, people create a sense of who they are through what they consume (Bocock, 1993:67),

In my view, people should realise that their struggle is not to be recognised as very important persons, but to improve their financial positions. Each person should aim at saving and doing all in his or her power to build up purchasing power by cutting down on unnecessary expenses. They can succeed in doing that only if their way of life is simplified. People should meet their essentials. I have already explained in chapter two what we mean when we use this phrase 'essential'. The bottom line for people's expenditure should be based on fighting and eliminating poverty in the society.

4.5.2 Ceremonial entertainment

There are two ways of looking at ceremonial entertainment among the Kinga. The first is ceremonial entertainment as rites of passage (Mitchell, 1977:27). There are many rituals such as initiation from childhood to man or womanhood performed here which make people who they are. These rituals are accompanied by feasts. For example, to show their love, honour and respect to their ancestors for the way they had behaved as living examples in the community, they celebrate. Essentially, the ceremony is not only the celebration of lives well lived, lives from which those left behind can learn for their own moral, social and spiritual nourishment, but also a way of communication with those who are in the "land" of the ancestors. Mulago gives an account that,

For black Africans, living means existing in the bosom of the community; it means

participating in the sacred life - and all life is sacred - of the ancestors; it means a prolongation of the ancestors and preparing one's own prolongation through descendants. There is a true continuation of the family and the individual after death. The dead form the invisible element in the family, in the clan, in the tribe, and this invisible element is the more important. In all ceremonies of any significance, on the occasion of birth, marriage, death, funerals, or investiture, it is the ancestors who preside, and their will yields only to that of the Creator (Mulago in Olupona, 1991:129-121).

In this regard one can conclude that our life only takes part in the life belonging to the community. Our life is just one link in an endless chain of life. Everyone knows the origins of one's life and that one is merely part of the stream of life which has been flowing since time immemorial in one's family. "The goal of life, then, is to maintain and join the cosmic web that holds and sustains all things and beings, to be part of the integral mutuality of things" (Mulago in Olupona, 1991:173). In this light I have nothing against those practices. But this does not justify the unnecessary expenditure incurred at such occasions.

The second way to look at those ceremonial practices is to see such practices as a show of the economic power and importance of a person. I have a problem with this because that is a misuse of economic resources. It happens nowadays that things such as bride price, weddings and funerals turn out to be another pitfall in the process of development in Makete. There is a general understanding that these three functions in society cannot be performed without being accompanied by great parties. Marriage negotiations cannot be done without involving a lot of expenses. The same applies to weddings. Before a wedding is officiated, there will be a lot of preparations which cannot take place without money.

It is believed by many people in Makete that a proper marriage must start with a wedding. Since most people there are Christians, pre-dominantly Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the understanding is that marriage starts before the altar, where both participants appear in special wedding garments. Because these garments are for a special occasion, that is, the wedding, they are more expensive than normal clothes. From the church, the congregation accompanies the married

couple to their home where a feast is held. At the end of the day the young married couple is left with great debts to pay.

In one way or another, church ministers are responsible for creating favourable conditions for the increase in poverty in the area because, on the one hand, they condemn secular marriages while, on the other, they do nothing to reduce the expenses which one has to incur if one wishes to get married in the Church. I am saying that it is possible for the Church to renounce the wedding garments and wedding celebrations as something unnecessary for marriage as it is done by the magistrate's courts. Experience has shown that the bridal couple is free to decide either to have parties or ceremonies or not at all after their weddings whether in magistrate's courts or in the traditional way. Only a few people, at least four, are required to attend the marriage ceremony. The problem is how the bridal couple feels because the general understanding of marriage is that God is fully involved in the inauguration process only if it is done in the church. For Lutherans it must be remembered that Martin Luther's wedding was not pronounced in the church but at his home. Thereafter they went to church for a blessing (Thielicke, 1966:135). Luther himself believed and taught that "marriage and its regulations were purely secular affairs, to be regulated by the state without interference from the church" (Macmillan, 1944:94).

4.5.3 Abuse of alcohol

I am approaching the problem of alcohol abuse with great trepidation. I do not want to make the same mistake which was made by the first missionaries who came to the Kinga people in the Makete area. They found them brewing sorghum beer and tapping juice from bamboo plants. They told the Kinga people that if they wanted to become Christians, they had to abandon making and drinking beer. They were warned that beer was dangerous for their spiritual life. I grew up, for instance, seeing people drinking. Very interestingly, in front of a missionary they pretended as if they were not drinking, otherwise he could dismiss them from the Christian community which they liked. The truth of the matter was that they were drinking.

I am feeling at home when Mugambi, although not directly referring to the Kinga people, puts the message across that, "If their Christian experience is going to be meaningful and effective, they cannot cut themselves off from the rest of the community or from their own cultural and religious past. The gospel should help them to live more fully, more abundantly, as Africans. They do not have to copy the norms of the European and American missionaries" (Mugambi, 1989:10). Alcohol has been part of the diet of the Kinga for ages. It is firmly established as the major relaxant in the society. Its production is one of the sources of income for some people and of tax revenue for the state. Its consumption is a major part of many, if not most, social occasions. Alcohol is more than just a beverage such as coffee or tea. It is an important symbol of hospitality and getting together. Besides all these, it has a long record of use as part of religious ritual (KKKT, 1995:14). The question is not to determine whether alcohol is good or bad but to look at how some people misuse it.

Moreover, alcohol has many social uses, and, if used carefully, it can be beneficial to one's interests and to the smoother running of society at large. For example, it is common among the Kinga to find them working and drinking beer in a group. It is called *mgowe*. This happens when one wants help from neighbours to do a certain job such as building a new house. One makes beer and calls one's neighbours to come and work. People will be drinking as they continue working until they finish the job. In this way many people have been able to do tough jobs at once which could either have taken more time to finish, or would not have been done at all. People get closer to each other through working, talking and drinking together. Usually people do not get drunk at *mgowe*. What matters most, as far as alcohol is concerned, is self-control. But these days another group of people has appeared who abuse alcohol. They drink it with the purpose of getting drunk. It has happened very often that while being under the influence of alcohol, they have made terrible mistakes. For example, it has been pointed out that,

One major problem is that alcohol on the one hand makes people feel more confident and capable, while on the other hand it is in fact slowing them down. A commonplace example of this paradox is the ill-informed driver who insists that he is better able to drive after a drink or two. In fact, his abilities are impaired, even

though his self-confidence is unrealistically inflated (Plant, 1979:3).

Therefore, one can say, alcohol is not bad but dangerous. The people who do not know how to make good use of it are the ones to blame.

It is regrettable that many Makete dwellers have turned out to be heavy drinkers nowadays. It was not so in the old days as I have indicated above. They spend many hours in clubs. The consequence of that drinking habit is that they turn out to be weak people who cannot maximize their potential at farm-work. MacAndrew & Edgerton saw that, "When people are drunk, not only are various of their sensorimotor capabilities impaired, their comportment often changes as well... when changes in comportment are reported, more often than not they take the form of changes-for-the-worse" (1986:16). Since they cannot make full use of their human resources they have a meagre or no income, thus meagre purchasing power. So what do they do? They play all kinds of tricks including selling their properties to get money for drinking. In this way poverty keeps increasing.

It also came to light during my interviews that many people who drink a lot have no time to be with their families. They leave early in the morning and come back late at night when almost everyone in the house is asleep. In most cases the life of a family will be in danger of disintegrating if the mother is involved in too much drinking. As I have discussed earlier, women are the key players in doing housekeeping tasks.

As we have already discussed the position of women and their contribution to the economic development of their families, by and large, the family goes into dramatically difficult circumstances once a woman becomes a heavy drinker. First there will be no organisation at home. Very often mothers are the ones who know what should be done to keep the family going. They look after the family members including the husbands. They always try to satisfy the needs of each person in the family. Once the mother becomes a victim of alcohol, the family is likely to lose direction as a family as far as family values are concerned. In the same spirit Sunter has given advice to the people of South Africa saying, "If you want to produce children who at the age of

eighteen are ready and willing to contribute to the society, you have to have a sound family system" (Sunter, 1987:45). Again, women are playing the major role in family matters, more than the men.

Finally, too much drinking affects finance control. In the first place, drinks are expensive although many drinkers tend to think they are not expensive. Perhaps they do not feel it because they are not counting how much money they use each day, week, month or year for drinks. But the fact of the matter is that a large part of that little money which comes along their way is used for alcohol. That money, if saved could be used for essentials. It has happened several times that a person will claim to have no money for essentials such as food and shelter, or even the uniform and school fees for children, yet he/she can afford to drink beer every evening. Also, it is correct when it is said, "People drink alcohol because (almost) everyone else does, it is freely available and it is part of being sociable" (Swinson, 1978:84). But individuals should make their own decision whether to drink or not, even if many others seem to drink because it is a personal issue and it takes money.

It does not make sense when a person says he/she has no money, yet he/she pays for drinks. The point is clear for such a person that he/she puts his/her interests above the interests of his/her family. Secondly, such a person has a limited understanding of development. He/she does not know that by acting like that he/she is creating problems for his/her children for their entire lives. They are going to be illiterate in the world of science and technology. It is obvious that their potential is going to be low since nobody will be interested in employing illiterate people in any job. In the past, domestic work, for instance, was given to people who had not been to school or to semi-literate people. Nowadays, people would like to employ somebody to work in their house who has knowledge of the facilities and implements in the house. They are scared to employ anybody who can break them because he/she does not know how to work with them.

To avoid this situation, clever parents in Makete, who are very few, do all they can to make sure that they support their children in getting a good education. First they have minimized the number of children to avoid diluting their resources. Secondly, they have completely stopped drinking alcohol which could otherwise take a substantial amount of their total earnings. In this way they

have been able to use their resources for the education of their children.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the five main causes of poverty in the district of Makete. These are male domination over women, mismanagement of land, unmanageable population growth, illiteracy, and irrational expenditure. We have found that women do more work in homes and on farms than men. In spite of that they are not entitled to ownership of land and inheritance. This process of domination and exploitation of females by males starts at home where boys are elevated and favoured in many ways while the girls are made to be the servants of the men. Secondly, we have reflected on how mismanagement of land has affected crop production in the area. People depend on buying some of the food from outside in order to supplement their diet because there is a shortage of food within the area. Thirdly, it has been realised that population growth is steadily increasing while production keeps decreasing. Population growth is the result of health services rendered to the community. The death rate of children has been reduced and the life span increased. By doing so many people have more children than they can provide for adequately. Fourthly, we have looked at the level and the effects of illiteracy. It has been found that immediately after independence (1961), the education sector was given priority because it was believed that by promoting education, production, especially of animal and farm products, could be increased. But the country did not achieve its objectives because the plan was abandoned. Instead the country encountered an economic crisis. The level of poverty and illiteracy has increased. Only children from rich families can go to secondary schools and colleges or universities. The poor have no way to educate their children beyond primary school. Fifthly and lastly, we looked at irrational expenditure. It has been said that although the poor in Makete are faced with problems such as poverty and illiteracy, they spend the resources found at their disposal carelessly. Instead of investing them in order to increase their purchasing power and to fight illiteracy, they dilute their resources through buying things which are not essentials but are luxury items.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The theology of development

After saying all that has been said in chapters three and four, one can also reflect on the Church and development. Is the Church responsible for dealing with the issues of development? In this section I will look at the theology of development. I believe that the Church should be an agent for development. Marty says, "The Church is the new will of God for human beings" (1962:29). The aim of this paper is to suggest how the Church in Makete and in Tanzania at large can become a tool for economic development for the poor in the area. The whole question of development and the Church is reflected under the concept that the mission of God to the world is to bring peace, or *shalom* in Hebrew which means the comprehensive wellbeing of humanity.

Thus our concern here would be to look at the things God did to restore peace and order after the disruption of his plan for humans and all creation. We are going to use the two narratives of creation - Gen 1:1-2:4a and 2:4b-25 - and the result of disobedience, that is sin - Gen 3. The authors of the two narratives witness to God's creation with different views and interests. Hargreaves has seen that the interest of the author of Gen 1:1-2:4a, whom scholars have called the Priestly source, was to say, "The creator is God; praise Him" (Hargreaves, 1969:8) while the author of Gen 2:4b-25, who is referred to as *Yahwist*, tries to locate "the origins of the world and of man and woman, the origin of sin and division and pain in the world" (Maher, 1982:15). The latter story can be used to legitimate discrimination against women because the author puts a clear demarcation between the two, that is, man and woman. It should suffice to point out that our interest does not lie in the problems of authorship, particularly the book of Genesis to which we will be referring here, but in the concern of God for his creation as it is written in the first three chapters of Genesis. Therefore, I will not enter the debate which tries to uncover who wrote it, when it was written and why it was written.

The Bible, in Genesis 1, says that God created this universe according to his plan and it was found

to be very good (1-4). Then, he kept it going by putting in place orders and regulations which were meant to make the universe a good place for living things (5-25). Finally he created human beings and gave them authority over his creation (26-30). Peake says that they were put in God's home (1920:139). So far everything was fine and life was smoothly taking its course. I will leave Gen 2:4b-25 for a moment. Let us see what happened thereafter.

According to the present sequence of narratives in Genesis a big catastrophe happened there, i.e. sin (Gen 3:1 ff). The good intention of God for creation was thwarted. In simple language one can say, humans failed God in his plan. What came about was not what was formerly intended to be by the creator, namely the suffering of humanity and creation. Therefore, creation was in danger of disintegration. "Sin has introduced death, but life will continue and God still provides for fallen man" (Brown, 1969:13). In this way, God became no longer at peace with his creation. "There is tension between God and the world. God is dissatisfied. He cannot rest because he wants change" (Nurnberger, 1996:10-5). At this juncture God started to establish peace in order to preserve his creation.

5.1 Yahweh and the restoration of *shalom* in Israel

Shalom is the Hebrew word for peace in the Old Testament. Its root meaning is well-being or wholeness in all aspects of life. Cohn-Sherbok has explained that, "The Hebrew word *shalom* means peace, indicates wholeness, completion or perfection. Thus when the Jews pray for peace, they are not merely looking for the absence of war, but for a state of complete cosmic harmony. According to the rabbis it is the duty of every Jew to love and pursue *shalom*" (1991:124).

The common understanding of peace according to the biblical teachings was that Yahweh is the giver of this peace (Isa 45:7, Lev 26:6), and the condition for peace was the presence of Yahweh in the community (Numb 6:26, 1Chro 23:25). His presence in the community was realised through practising righteousness, good health (Isa 54:13, 66:12, Zech 8:12), a state of social harmony (Isa 32:18) and absence of strife or violence (Jer 12:5, 14:13, 28:9, Zech 8:10). This means that *shalom*

refers to the total well-being of the people and it includes healing, prosperity, love, righteousness, unity, freedom, compassion, caring, etc. It implies that, "to the Israelites peace was a social concept; it was visible and produced a harmonious relationship in family, in local society, and between nations" (Eliade, 1987:221).

In the New Testament, the Hebrew word *shalom* is translated into Greek as *eirene* with the thought of the total well-being of the human person. It is commonly used for greeting in meeting and parting. "The salutation *shalom* expressed the positive aim of encouraging friendly cooperation and living together for mutual benefit" (1987:221).

This usage was applied, for instance, by Paul in his letters to the Churches. He incorporated it into the opening and closing sentences of his letters. In these greetings the peace which is offered comes from God (Gal 1:13, Eph 1:2) and can be described as the peace of God (Phil 4:7, Col.3:15), and God himself is perceived as the God of peace (Rom 15:33, IICor 13:11, Phil 4:9, Heb 13:20), since it is from him that peace comes to human beings. In this context God is not peaceful when He sees that his creation is in danger of disintegrating. He wants to rescue it and bring peace and order again. To restore his creation he sent Jesus, and after Jesus, the Church. Elwell says, "Jesus conceived his mission to be that of the son of man, who came to offer himself in obedience to God's redemptive plan. He applied to himself the things said in the Old Testament of the servant of the Lord concerning his rejection, humiliation, death, and resurrection (Mk 8:31,9:31,10:33-34)" (1996:665). Now before we look at the role of the Church, let us briefly look at the work of the Jesus of history in Galilee as he worked to bring peace and order in the area. This will lead us into an understanding as to which way the Church today may become the agent for economic development in the community.

5.2 Jesus' involvement in the renewal of local communities in Galilee

The Lutheran Church in Makete, possibly in other areas in the country and outside too, seems to understand the work of Jesus in Galilee very superficially. It is taken for granted that he was a clean

and upright person from God. He is portrayed as a lamb (Jn 1:29f) who is not meant to face challenges head-on. May be this idealized projection comes from Acts 2:44-45 and 4:42-35 where we hear about a happy group of followers of Jesus. Not much is speculated on why Jesus had to march into Jerusalem with a large group of people ending by creating a chaotic situation at the temple (Matt 21:10ff) and why he was mistreated by the religious and state leaders to the point of putting him to death. There is a clear indication that there are hidden things which Jesus did which were not only disapproved of by the elite but which infuriated them. Those deeds are not literally explained in the Bible. In this regard we are informed that, "A fundamental presupposition of the analysis undertaken here is that the biblical texts are more than records or repositories of information; they are signified, discursive practices, discourses of struggle" (Villa-Vicencio, 1987:103).

But through the interpretation of the biblical texts, which is possible only for those who have skills to do that, i.e. academics, logical explanations of the matter are made. This comment can be verified by looking at the works of people who have done research on this subject. There are, of course, many people who have done that. I have picked up only five of them to represent others. To start with, Horsley points out that the deeds and prophecies of Jesus, particularly those which he directed to the elite, give a picture that he was indirectly attacking them. He was posing a challenge to their system of ruling. He continues arguing that it is regrettable that "the charges brought against him, however apologetically handled by the gospel writers, were in effect true. He had definitely been stirring up the people" (1987:320).

Hollenbach looks at the people and the trauma they went through at the time when Jesus was living in Galilee. He says that in order to cope with the situation, Jesus became a great exorcist and a spokesperson for victims of unjust eco-political structures in society such as antagonisms rooted in economic exploitation and colonisation (1981:573). He compares the bad situation which took place in Algeria and the situation which was there in Galilee at the time of Jesus. He says, "The so called *lumpenproletariat*, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and their clan, is comparable to the alienated masses of Jesus' day who were also economically oppressed, threatened

with cultural disruption, and who were searching for deliverance" (1981:573). In both cases unusual incidents happened and caused great harm.

In support of the point made by Hollenbach, Fanon gives a vivid example of a young man of twenty-two years who became physically emaciated and was in a complete state of mental breakdown because he had developed a guilt complex for not joining in revolutionary activities. He began hearing voices accusing him of cowardice, and he sought ways to overcome his terrible anxiety, among which was to get a person who could kill him (1963:275).

Hobsbawm went further in the exercise of discovering the things the Jesus of history did. He perceived that Jesus behaved like a social bandit. He came into physical confrontation with the elite for the sake of addressing the interests of the oppressed and marginalised in the society which were undermined by the elite and the affluent. On the one hand, he became an unwanted person and an enemy of the elite. But, on the other, he remained within the peasant society and was considered by his people as a hero, as a champion, as a fighter for justice, perhaps even a leader of liberation, and in any case as a man to be admired, helped and supported (1969:17). At the same time Downing thought that Jesus could be one of the cynics. He is referring to his teachings such as 'let the dead bury their dead' (Lk 9:60) which was among the teachings of the cynics. He says, "The Jesus proclaimed will have sounded cynic. And he is the only one we have access to. However great a paradigm shift it demands, we seem to have to face the strong possibility that Jesus the Jew must also be seen as Jesus the cynic" (1987:132). This kind of thinking allows many ways of interpreting the deeds of the Jesus of history according to the context one is going through. All these bring us to the point where we need to look at the situation which compelled the Jesus of history to take sides with the low class of people, which is the poor.

5.3 The historical background of Galilee

Why did Jesus become concerned about social life in Galilee? Let us first look at the historical aspects of Galilee relevant to our topic. Galilee is the motherland of Jesus. He lived in the small

town of Nazareth. This province, i.e. Galilee, has a very long history. For the time being it should suffice to point out that after Solomon's Kingdom split into two (936BC), Galilee was located in the northern part of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Then in 734BC it was absorbed into the Assyrian Empire (Buttrick, 1962:344).

Through the next six centuries this region passed in turn to Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. During all this time there was a constant experience of infiltration and migration. In 63BC Palestine was ruled from Rome. When Herod the Great died in 4BC his kingdom was divided among his three sons. Herod Antipas ruled Galilee (1962:344).

5.4 The political and economic situations in Galilee at the time of Jesus

It is known through scientific tools of modern historical research that at the time of Jesus the life of the people in Palestine, in this case life in Galilee, was miserable. The poor, in particular, were exploited by the rich and those who were in power, the elite. This exploitation took place before, during and after Jesus. For example, West has pointed out that even the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4) represents a struggle for land between peasants and the elite in Israel. "The conflict between Cain and Abel, with Cain as the aggressor and the instigator of violence, reflect the struggle between peasants and the ruling classes for land" (West, 1993:32-33). The majority of the population were dispossessed people, meaning that their land was taken from them. "There is ample evidence that when Aristobulus conquered Galilee much of the land passed into the possession of large estate owners from Jerusalem and Judea, who squeezed out as much as possible absentee landlords, a situation mirrored in a number of Christ's parables" (Ellison, 1976:102). In order to live they were forced to live as peasants. The surplus was taken from them by the state. One can see partial similarities about the situation which prevailed in Galilee at the time of Jesus and the present situation which is prevailing in Makete. At the moment people in Makete, the poor in particular, are overcharged in terms of taxation and poll tax. We will come to this point later but, in short, the state wants peasants to pay tax even if their income is minimal and hardly cover their essentials. For example, people from poor families in Makete are normally living away from their families because

they have to work and get money to pay poll tax. This separation has caused a number of problems. Some people, for instance, have deserted their families. Also, it has happened that some have disappeared in this course. Since they left home they have never communicated with their families to tell where they can be found.

The second step was to make the Israelite peasants servants on the farms belonging to the elite and the affluent. They possessed large fields which they used for farming or keeping animals, "... extensive estates in the eastern Plain of Esdraelon and the Plain of Beth Shean had been in royal hands" (Safrai & Stern, 1976:633). Labourers were employed on those farms. In most cases the landlords lived away from the farms as is recited by Jesus in his teachings, see Mk.12:1ff, Matt.21:33ff, and Lk.29:9ff.

The main reason for this differentiation in people's income was the infiltration and migration due to the political and cultural instability in the country. As an example, Gottwald says that Herod the Great, during his time, commanded that a large amount of wealth from Palestine be taken to Rome. At the same time he inaugurated a scheme of huge buildings in his kingdom. In order to achieve all that, the people in Palestine had to pay poll tax and make other contributions. "With so heavy a burden farmers came more and more to work in the fields of an absent landlord; the regime was killing the goose that laid the golden egg" (1983:364).

This situation allowed the elite and the rich class to have authority over the weak, who were the poor. Referring to the works of Eric Wolf, Gideon Sjoberg, and Eric Hobsbawm who have done research into the Galilean society at the time of Jesus, Draper writes that the peasant societies in Galilee were forced by the state to produce a surplus which supported the life of the ruling class and the people who kept them in power like the army (1994:37). The landless were obliged to sell their human resources in order to meet their immediate needs for survival. A labourer could be hired for a day or for a longer period, particularly in harvesting and ploughing seasons (Safrai and Stern, 1976:657). Something very strange could be observed in the existing relationship between the wealthy and the labourers who were also the poor. The rich had freedom to decide how much they

wanted to give to the poor for the work they did, as is clearly shown in Matt 20:1 ff. In this parable, in the first place, it was unfair to pay an equal amount to all the people who came to work at different times. The latecomers had to get less compared to those who came in the morning and had worked the whole day. In the second place it was again unfair to start paying the latecomers and leaving the early comers to the last. What was the logic behind doing all that, if not just to increase pain for those poor workers? This parable can be interpreted as a codification of the world of Jesus and therefore, to represent a scene typical of that world. This understanding of the parable leads to the belief that the parable was a method which Jesus used to reveal the injustice which the elite used to do to the poor and marginalised people (Herzog, 1994:87).

There are very few people who can keep quiet while they are undergoing a traumatic situation. In most cases people want to react against forces which suppress them. Usually such reaction takes the form of a war against the oppressors. But the poor cannot stand up and fight because they have no access to the facilities needed for war. Instead they turn to being bandits. Such people deserve to be called freedom fighters. As we have seen above, Hobsbawm calls such people social bandits. They are widely found in the rural communities where there are vast injustices, trying to bring liberation to the oppressed and the marginalised (1969:20). He sees that bandits are good in the sense that they aim, in their reactions, at restoring the traditional order of things as it should be (1969:26). There are some similar characteristics between this group and opposition parties in a democratic society or country. Their work is to make sure that there is no abuse of power and humanity.

In the same manner Gager speaks about the charismatic as a force which appears in a community following a certain need in that community where re-adjustment is required (1975:70). History shows that before Jesus there were a number of movements which aimed at restoring the dignity of Israel. It implies that there was political tension in the country where the elite did all they could to suppress any attempt by the oppressed to overthrow those in power. John the Baptist, for example, was executed in the fear that he was a political activist (Schafer, 1995:103). He can be compared with Stephen Biko who was silenced as a freedom fighter in South Africa as it has been

stated that, "Biko's death was significant because it threatened the social structure as it encouraged Black Consciousness supporters to continue challenging government oppression" (Juckes, 1995:154). In this regard Jesus of history became a friend of the poor but a challenge to the elite in Galilee.

5.5 Jesus and the poor in Galilee

As it has been mentioned above, the political and economic situation in Galilee was bad. This situation provides a helpful starting point for a survey of Jesus' attitude toward the poor.

The first remark to be made is that in his mission to the world, Jesus went against the hope of the Jews. This hope of the Jews was centred in the coming of the kingdom of God which was to be proclaimed by the still coming messiah. "It was believed that Yahweh would establish Israel, give her victory over her foes and endless felicity under his beneficent rule. Such were the popular hopes attached both to the Day of Yahweh and the official theology of the Davidic state, where the notion of the messiah had its roots" (Bright, 1960:452). Unfortunately for the Jews, their expectation did not materialise as they expected when the messiah came. Jesus did not come with power.

This hope was the result of long periods of suffering since the time of the downfall of the Northern and Southern kingdoms, and the Babylonian captivity. Consequently, national self-determination of the Jewish people appeared illusive. The Messiah to come was expected to cast off the Roman domination by any means, including a violent coup d'etat, in order to establish the hoped-for kingdom (Isa 9:6). Grollenberg quotes David Flusser who maintains that, "Jesus is the only Jew known to us from antiquity who not only proclaimed that people were on the brink of the end-time but at the same time that the new day of salvation had already dawned" (1987:57). Actually, this was an unexpected message because for them the kingdom of God had always been something in the future. For this reason Jesus caused an uproar in the community when he announced that the kingdom of God was already with them. Finally, the leaders felt compelled to eliminate Jesus from the community once and for all (1987:57).

Jesus adopted a process of liberation from both the Roman yoke and the internal exploitative system but not in a way which led to violence in the community. His deeds were directed to bring about an awareness of the evil activities which were going on in Galilee. It suffices to say that the Jesus of history came to "accept, to serve, to heal, to liberate, to empower, to give hope. In short he came to open up space for life to flourish - not to oppress, dominate, dictate, demand, or exploit" (Nurnberger, 1998(b):7). In accordance with that, Jesus gave a different sign of his inauguration of the kingdom to John the Baptist's messengers who were sent to ask if Jesus was the one to come, saying, "The blind see again, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised to life, the Good News is proclaimed to the poor" (Lk.7:22).

Jesus, according to the Evangelists, also went against the religious leaders who expected to be acknowledged by him for all they were doing. "The hostility towards the Pharisees found in the gospels is thus to be seen as stemming from their authors' anger with these teachers for having rejected Jesus' claims and of his followers" (Eliade, 1987:271). The question is why did he do that? Gottwald says,

By attacking the banking and commercial aspects of the temple they were not attacking a minor sideshow. This was fundamental to the class system. It was by means of trade and the taxes collected in the temple that the priests extracted the surplus labour of the peasants ... The economic base of the temple's domination was challenged by Jesus and his movement (Gottwald, 1983:386).

Thus the reason is clear, he saw their contribution to the exploitation of the poor by the elite. They were also exploiting the poor since they were part of the elite. Religious leaders were manipulated to exploit and alienate the poor, and therefore were unjust. The Pharisees, for instance, "have neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, good faith" (Matt.23:23).

Furthermore, contrary to what they expected his mission to be, Jesus, in his inauguration speech, recited the text from the Old Testament (Isa 61:1f) to reveal his mission in the following words:

The spirit of the Lord has been given to me,
for he has anointed me.
He has sent me to bring good news to the poor,
to proclaim liberty to captives
and to the blind new sight,
to set the downtrodden free,
and to proclaim the Lord's year of favour (Luke 4:18)

To the amazement of the people, he began to carry out this manifesto by proclaiming that the blessed were the poor in the kingdom which was at hand. It has to be realised that the kingdom of God which Jesus spoke about was to be a historical reality. Jesus' preaching on the kingdom indicated that human coexistence in the socio-political and religious context of Israel did not reflect that the will of God was being done adequately on earth, as stated in the Lord's prayer: "Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as in heaven" (Matt.6:10). Since God wanted his will to be done on earth, Jesus must have been talking about a historical reality - the kingdom of God on earth - which was based on love and care one to another. In other words, it was to create a state of peace and good will among the people and care for nature. This is the core point of this chapter as will be shown later. The Lutheran church in Makete and in Tanzania at large lives for the future, that is, it puts the emphasis on preparing its people for a better life in the world to come after this world has come to an end. There is less interest in matters concerning the daily needs of the poor. This may apply to some other churches as well. Yet we are reminded that,

God's redemptive intentions cannot be reduced to the salvation of a disembodied soul in a spiritual heaven. ... comprehensive wellbeing is meant to cover all dimensions of reality: body and mind; individual, community; society and humankind as a whole; the present and all future generations; social structures and natural environments (Nurnberger, 1999:167).

To take our discussion further, the poor were among the groups who were addressed by Jesus about the historical reality which had been inaugurated. Jesus proclaimed the poor as being blessed because the coming kingdom was theirs. "How happy are you who are poor; yours is the kingdom of God. Happy you who are hungry now, you shall be satisfied. Happy you who weep now; you shall laugh" (Lk.6.20-21). Since these poor suffered under socio-political injustice, they were

proclaimed happy and blessed because the liberating intervention of God would be in their favour. The explanation of their privilege lies not in themselves, but in God who takes sides with the weak. For them the message was the gospel, that is good news. "The mere proclamation of the proximity of the kingdom as something that will bring that blessedness to the poor and woe to the rich not only points out the opposing situation of the two groups in Israel and Galilee in particular, but also undermines the very foundation of the peaceful coexistence that had been typical between them" (Segundo, 1985: 76).

Thirdly and lastly, Jesus went against the will of the rich who he said would be made wretched by the kingdom which was at hand. "But how terrible for you who are rich now; you have had your easy life! How terrible for you who are full now; you will go hungry! How terrible for you who laugh now; you will mourn and weep!" (Lk.6:24-25). We can see from this that Jesus' preaching inevitably sets the rich over against the poor. The rich obviously had benefitted from exploiting others. As a result the coming kingdom could spell woe for them unless they repented and changed their system which permitted the exploitation of the poor.

The question can still be raised as to why so much interest has been taken in the poor. Obviously, the poor live a life of constant suffering and God wants to stop this suffering (Theissen & Merz, 1997:254). This was demonstrated in many ways by Jesus during his life time. The first demonstration was the cure of the man with the withered hand (Mark 3:1 ff). For Jesus that was the right thing to do regardless of the law of the Sabbath. This was beyond the Pharisees' understanding of their scope of service. Thus they challenged him for violating the law of the Sabbath. Instead Jesus, in responding to their criticism, insisted that the concrete human issues here and now demand immediate attention. He then claimed that a person has no other criteria than his or her own heart and common sense, and not theological certitudes. He therefore asked: Is it lawful to do good or evil on the Sabbath? (verse 4). By this question Jesus pointed to their hearts and insisted that they knew that what he was saying was right. At this stage of the relationship between Jesus and the religious leaders, Pixley and Boff say, "It was precisely from within the religious sphere that Jesus came into conflict with the religious authorities of his country" (1989:64).

With this argument he justified his decision to heal on the Sabbath and then condemned their worship and practices which had lost contact with their historical roots and responsibility. Unfortunately, "They did not see the act of mercy of him who came to proclaim release to the captives (Lk 4:18)" (Buttrick, 1951:680). Therefore the knowledge of God and his revelation is only possible after, not before, the option of love, mercy, and justice. Jesus condemned their ignorance concerning the significance of prophetic demand and the meaning of the words, "What I want is mercy, not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6).

The second reason why Jesus opted for the poor is found in Mark 3:22ff. The Pharisees were uncomfortable with the actions of Jesus, in this case the casting out of demons. They ended by accusing him of using the power of Beelzebub. With these accusations, they once more tried to apply a theological criterion to Jesus' activity of healing and exorcising demons, claiming that it was by the power of the enemy of God, Satan, that Jesus was carrying out his healing activity. Jesus responded to those allegations by asking a question which was a challenge to them. He insisted that it did not matter at all who liberated human beings, as long as they were really liberated (Mt 12:27). The reason is that with the liberation of persons, Satan really comes to an end. Therefore, directly and indirectly, in the liberation of persons God is really and always at work. Therefore the question coming from the heights of theology has no sense; rather, theology should follow after the concrete event has occurred.

Mark 8:11ff furnishes the third example, where the Pharisees required Jesus to give a sign from heaven. Three points need to be noted here. The first is the Pharisees' attempt to find a definite place in their theological system for the phenomenon of Jesus. The second is their refusal to open their closed system to anything historical and relative. The only thing they wanted was a sign from heaven. Third was Jesus' adamant refusal to comply with any of their demands. Rather, he instructed them to invert the order of criteria, starting not with theology but with non-scientific, though decisive, options. I can surely pose a challenge to the Church in Makete that its solidarity with the poor is inadequate. In most cases the poor have been pushed to the periphery where they experience the hardships of being abandoned by the Church. This comment compels us to look at

the Church's concern for the poor in Makete.

5.6 Solidarity with the poor in the Church

Driver argues that, "... the gospel is not communicated or made evident primarily in proclamation. We may preach about it, but we cannot preach it. The gospel ... is not a word or message, even if it is good news. Rather, the gospel is a way of living which appears from time to time alongside what goes on in the social world" (1981:147). Therefore, in this light, sin in the context of solidarity with the poor is not something theoretical or fictitious, or something between me and God alone. It involves our concern for the wellbeing of all humanity.

It is a proclamation that the accumulation of goods of this world makes salvation very difficult as we see in Mark 10:23,25, "How hard it is for those who have riches to enter the kingdom of God". The question here is not really riches itself, which can be a good thing and a gift from God. The basic problem is the unbridled attachment to riches and the refusal to change one's attitude toward acquisition of material wealth by any means. In this connection, Zacchaeus becomes a model of an authentic conversion. He said to the Lord: "Lord, sir, I am going to give half of my property to the poor, and if I have cheated anybody I will pay him back four times the amount" (Luke 19:8). But in contrast, notice that the rich young man in Luke 18:22 was not converted even though he kept all the commandments from earliest days. To be authentically converted he was required by Jesus to sell all he had and distribute the money to the poor, in other words, he was asked to become poor for the sake of Christ.

Solidarity with the poor means abstention from any form of silence or overt support for injustice, that means, tacit alliance with and support for the ruling class. The option for the poor brings the church into confrontation with the forces that cause social evil and injustice. It is normally interpreted as 'meddling in politics' whenever the church takes sides with the oppressed. A good example is the appearance of *The Kairos Document* in South Africa. While the country was going through a tremendously bad experience under the apartheid regime which oppressed mainly black

people, the leaders of the Church stood up and spoke against the state. They did that because the church lives in the political world, and as such it must fulfil itself as the church through politics. It cannot be otherwise if the church, like Jesus, is to turn toward the poor. At any particular place, and as soon as this happens, the consequence is invariably persecution of the church. I believe persecution in this case is, or should be, one of the marks of the true church. If the church is not being persecuted, it is not fully alive in a context of injustice and oppression; it is not a true sign of compassion in the world of injustice and mass poverty. The silence of the church in such an inhuman and sinful situation of injustice results from a professed spirituality which is one-dimensional, that is to say, between an individual and God.

Solidarity with the poor becomes a spiritual experience of Christians where the divine-human encounter manifests itself. Spirituality is not to be regarded exclusively as any particular or distinct moment of our life, for example, when we engage in a liturgical worship or cult. It consists fundamentally in breaking down the wall that separates faith and life, prayer and action. Hauerwas points out that,

We must be a community with the patience, amid the division and hatred of this world, to take time to nurture friendships, to serve the neighbour, and to give and receive the thousand small acts of care which ultimately are the heart blood of the kingdom. That we must take time to help the neighbour in need, no matter how insignificant that neighbour or her or his need is from the perspective of the world, is but a sign that we recognize that we are called not to make history come out right but to be faithful to the kind of care we have seen revealed in God's kingdom (1988:105).

Spirituality means an encounter with the living God in our daily social interaction. To offer sacrifice, for instance, when one is at enmity with one's brother or sister is a false spirituality. "So then, if you are bringing your offering to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your offering there before the altar, go and be reconciled with your brother first, and then come back and present your offering" (Matt.5:23). This message fits squarely into African life and thought as Oduyoye, from Nigeria says. "Broken relations are never allowed

to go unhealed. Sacrifices are performed and communal meals held to restore normality. In both African religion and Christianity, when life is sacrificed, when it is given back to God, it is made sacred and harmony is restored" (Appiah, 1979:113). Our spirituality must be related to life, to what we do with our enemies, inviting the poor to participate in our feasts and celebrations on the basis that they cannot pay us back. It also means giving work to this concrete person from a state, ethnic, tribal or political group other than your own; paying just wages; not exploiting the weak, the voiceless, and the marginalised. In this approach of solidarity with the poor, the Vatican II's Decree says,

Wherever there are people in need of food and drink, clothing, housing, medicine, employment, education; wherever men lack the facilities necessary for living a truly human life or are tormented with hardships or poor health, or suffer exile or imprisonment, there Christian charity should seek them out and find them, console them with eager care and relieve them with the gift of help (Walter & Abbot, 1969:499).

It will always be true that the church is responsible for the poor. We are reminded once more by Gutierrez who has used the first chapter of his book, *The Power of the Poor in History*, to explain how the poor are the central point of God's redemption. He says, "The gift of the status of child of God is experienced only in historical context. It is in making our neighbours into sisters and brothers that we receive this gift, for it is a gift not of word but of work. This is what it means to experience the father's love and to bear him witness" (Gutierrez, 1983:18).

5.7 The Church and economic development

I grew up seeing the Church being the centre of life in our village. Nearly all the people there were united together under the leadership of the Church. They lived as one large family. It was common, for instance, to find a girl addressing people around her as her mothers or fathers, her brothers or sisters, her young-brothers or sisters, etc. The Church did not come to this people with patterns or systems which can work to form a caring community; it was picked up from the people and developed. Together with the preaching and teaching of these communities it became the hope of

everybody. It used to happen like that because the church had a strong emphasis in her teaching that each person has a dignity which needs to be hailed and respected by all people. The underlying point is the belief that each person was created in the image of God. To play with a person's dignity is to play with God. In this light the church was responsible for the daily growth and well-being of the person, individually and in solidarity with others. Although people like Mbiti (1969:104) have argued that primarily Africans live together as a family, yet there are many questions which are left unanswered in regard to this claim. I appreciate the point made by Githumbi that there was a period when the Church lived for its people and it was a home of the poor in Africa. "Amid poverty and oppression, the Church had been advocating for the poor, sometimes acting as a trainer and an organizer among them. For this reason people came to Church in search of answers, both for material and physical needs" (Githumbi, 1995:25). But now it lives for itself.

Thus, development took its origin and shape from respect for the dignity of the human person. The Church worked aiming at giving every human being the opportunity for living in conformity with his or her dignity, as a free thinking being. In this context, one could understand when it is taught that humans come packaged with others and with nature. Thieliicke has pointed out that, "Before ethical relations can arise at all there are three conditions which must exist: man's relation to himself, to the neighbour, and to the world" (1966:465). Therefore, our own well-being will always be linked to others who can promote it or harm it, and to the quality of our natural environment. Common sense shows, in view of this reality, that the wise person cares about others and nature. The Church must know this fact, and its duty should be to teach its people the importance of living together for the wellbeing of all people. It should empower all the people, not to have the same style of life, but to have equal caring for one another.

Under such circumstances, each person felt the need to be part of that Christian community because the Church was involved in addressing the needs of its people. By and large, the Church of that time was the social ethic, that is, being part of the community. It has been communicated that, "For the Church to be, rather than to have, a social ethic means that it must be a community where the truth is lived and spoken. The story that forms the Church is ... a reality-making claim that tells us the

truth about the world and ourselves” (Hauerwas, 1988:102). But today the weather has changed. The church, that is how I see it, is giving a deaf ear to the cries of the poor. Healey reminds us that in Brazil and Panama a programme called Basic Christian Communities was inaugurated in the 1950s as a response to the needs of the poor. He says,

In sharing the responsibility of the church, community members often began to participate in other neighbourhood concerns such as a health centre or a school. Reflecting on the Bible as the story of liberation, the BCCs tried to change their poor and oppressed situation through cooperatives and other associations that helped them to have a voice on their own destiny (Healey, 1986:17).

My village church also used to provide assistance for people in need. When a conflict erupted in the village, the church was involved in bringing peace before the situation went out of control. Also, there was more caring and sharing in the Church in the past than there is today. For instance, when a mother became sick, especially when she had a prolonged illness, other members of the Church used to keep contact with this family by providing for the immediate needs of this family. Each season they used to plough and plant crops for this family in order to keep it going. Today, the Church is looking inwards, not outwards. The Church leaders, including ministers, have little interest in individual problems and those related to development because they are badly informed about the role of the Church in development.

It is possible today that the same community could deal with problems which the poor face everyday in their lives if there were somebody to lead. Dean Adam Kombo, Assistant to the Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, East and Coast Diocese, has been reported as saying that since there is a rapid increase in the number of suicides in the country due to an unattainable cost of living, the community must “pay attention to its responsibility to those experiencing problems instead of jumping to conclusion that every person should bear his own problems” (Mani, 1999:2). The Church needs leaders who can show what should be done and how. Here the Church must come forward as people call for help as they usually do. Healey has given an example of what he saw among Africans. He says that if a person finds himself in difficulties,

it is not unusual for him to call for help from his clan members and other relatives (1981:106).

This kind of communal life, which Nurnberger calls 'traditionalism' (1999:186), was brought to a halt by so-called modernity. Now, from the beginning of their interaction, children are taught to compete and outperform other children. Every person is competing for existence, authority and acceptability. Individualism and personal achievement take the greater part of our people's lives (1999:201). Personal achievement is a norm which severs the individual from communal solidarity. Modernity seems to teach people to forget that we humans get born to parents or at least to our mothers; we grow up amidst others and learn to talk from them, play with them, turn to them for help when in trouble, laugh with them when happy, and rely on them to remember and bury us when we die.

In this way of understanding modernity many people have lost interest in keeping up relations with other people. It is very unfortunate that even the Church has been torn apart by modernity. It has lost interest in enhancing and empowering the poor and the disadvantaged. The poor have no place in business and in the market. To my surprise, they are neither accepted in the state nor in the church. They are challenged everywhere. I dare say that the poor have no place in the Church now. The Church does not need them because they are poor, they have nothing to give to the Church, rather they seek help from it. By and large it accepts people who can financially support the Church according to its needs. This is the Church we have.

The Lutheran church in Tanzania, in Makete in particular, needs to review its basic principle of being a church. The church as a redemptive community must give the first priority to the poor. Personally, I appreciate the Basic Christian Communities (BCCs) strategy to address the needs of the poor in Brazil (Healey, 1996:23), and I think the Lutheran church in Tanzania, as a living community of believers, can adapt this system and start establishing basic communities in the area. Each pastor at his parish can bring awareness to his/her congregation as to how they can care for one another. Healey has done a good job when he compared the Basic Christian Communities in Brazil and the Small Christian Communities in East Africa. It is clear that those communities in

Brazil were started to identify, care and empower the poor from the bottom.

Although there are many different types of BCCs in Latin America, they are frequently a politicising model or liberation model or social action model ... The purpose of the basic communities in Latin America is not just community-building but evangelisation, proclamation and transformation of society (Healey, 1986:26).

This means that the people found at the grassroots decided by themselves to start supporting one another as a means of overcoming the problem of poverty. They did that without receiving an order from above. The community, for example, saw the problem of a dumping site being located near to their home and started to work in order to solve it. Those communities in East Africa, according to Healey, failed to deliver the goods because they were not organised by the people for the people. It was an order from above aimed at addressing the needs of the disadvantaged group. One can think that it was a pastoral model (1996:26). The church, in this case the leaders such as bishops and pastors, decided what they thought was good to do in the interests of the poor. It was a plan of the church and not the poor themselves. The church was doing to the poor and for the poor and not with the poor. In this way the church was not part of the community because it could not identify itself with the poor.

We have to insist on building church-life and work on the basis of Christian communities in both rural and urban areas where the church becomes a tool for uniting its members. Church-life must be based on the communities in which everyday life and work takes place: those basic and manageable social groups whose members can experience real inter-personal relationship and feel a sense of communal belonging, both in living and in working (Healey, 1996:20). Let us take, for instance, the people who work in factories and other large enterprises and demonstrate how this idea of BCC can apply to the problems they face at work. First, the Church should allow individual persons to come together, e.g. in the Church hall, and share ideas and feelings about their situation. Out of this process of sharing ideas and feelings some consensus can be reached. The minister who takes the role of facilitating the talk can inform the respective officials about how the people feel regarding the way the organisation is treating them. It happened to one pastor, for instance, who

addressed the problem in this way. After making all these efforts, there was nobody among the decision makers at the institution who paid any attention to him. Many officials thought the pastor was wrong. Then, with help from a confirmation class, he prepared a drama which was acted out before the congregation during the Sunday services, when almost all the members of the community come to attend the service. The drama revealed the evils which were being committed at that particular place of work. From that day on, nobody was afraid to speak about it; people could be heard talking in their homes and in the streets challenging the leadership of that institution for its bad treatment of the workers. It did not take long before most of the things there were brought to normal. This is what one can call the living church and the living faith.

Therefore, when we think about a redemptive community, we reflect on a community which enhances people who are in trouble. In relation to this concept of a living church, Francis of Assisi reminded us about our relation with other people when he prayed,

Lord make us an instrument of your peace
where there is hatred, let us sow love
where there is injury, pardon
where there is discord, union
where there is doubt, faith
where there is despair, hope
where there is darkness, light
where there is sadness, joy:
grant that we may not so much seek to be consoled as to console,
to be understood as to understand, to be loved as to love;
for it is in giving that we receive
it is in pardoning that we are pardoned
and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life (Bowden, 1984:48)

In this regard we think of people who are trapped in poverty or those who have been pushed to the peripheries by the society. They feel hopeless, unwanted and useless. Unfortunately, some heart-broken victims have decided to commit suicide because they found life to be meaningless. Mani reports that, "Statistics released recently by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police Force (Tanzania) show that between 1996 and this year (1999) 718 people took their lives. The toll

is anticipated to rise at alarming rates as life becomes tougher” (1999:1).

The church is obliged to help such people. The question is how the Church in Makete can go about helping them. The answers to this question will be given in chapter five. Meanwhile we need to show that something is missing in the Church in Makete. Gutierrez has challenged the Church saying that it is unacceptable to remain pessimistic about development of the poor while these people are severely suffering. He argues,

Those who wish to shape their lives to the demand of the gospel find it increasingly difficult to accept vague, romantic appeals of ‘fellowship’ and Christian unity that do not take account of the causes underlying the present state of affairs, of the concrete conditions required for the construction of a just society (1983:30).

The church must labour unceasingly in establishing a solid foundation for the welfare of individuals and of society at large. At this point I concur with Hauerwas that the church has not paid serious attention to the things happening outside its boundaries (Hauerwas, 1988:123).

By the nature of its mission, the church has to teach the values peculiar to the liberty to which Christ has freed us. The life of the church is supposed to be a sign of freedom and commitment to true liberty and liberation. The struggle for justice and active participation in transforming the world are integral to the mission of the church for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every state of economic deterioration which leads to poverty. "The primary task of the ministry of the word and sacrament is to enable the upbuilding of the church in such a way that it is always pointed beyond itself to the reign of God in Jesus Christ in the midst of the world" (de Gruchy, 1987:4). The church must get involved in the liberation of all people at all times and at all levels, to the extent that it is conscious of the gratuity of the liberty of salvation, and also is aware of the greatness of this gift.

People cannot really live and enjoy true liberty of the ‘children of God’, without being redeemed from poverty. The mission of the church is fundamentally and primarily oriented toward liberation

of the poor from an undesired life. When we speak about salvation, we should look at the things which harm the daily lives of the people. It also embraces liberation from all human pain and hatred, be it political, economic, social, or cultural, which derives ultimately from sin (Numberger.1999:165).

The mission of the church, like that of its Master, may not and cannot be departmentalised, but should be holistic, for the welfare of the whole person, both physically and spiritually. The church may, in the first place, strive to verify whether, in all respects, it presents itself credibly as a sacrament and servant for promoting the dignity of all people. Forrester says:

The church is called to be a kind of anticipation of the life and justice of the city of God, a colony of heaven, a preliminary and partial demonstration as it were of the justice of God. ... a place of refuge from the injustices of the world, and also a social space where a serious effort is made to pursue just practices to demonstrate the justice of God (1997:244).

Thus the church cannot rightly claim to enjoy the gift of liberty, which is salvation, without full dedication to the service of liberation and salvation of humankind. The mission to which Christ has assigned the church is to foster the growth of the new creation. For this reason the church should be incarnated in human history.

5.8 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the theology of development. We have found that God started the process of development in the process of creation. After human beings failed to live according to His will, He did not abandon them but cared for them in a special way. He still wanted them to live in peace, that is, *shalom*. Later, in the history of salvation, God's intentions were articulated by the prophets and then by the Jesus of history. This task was picked up by the early church. It has been shown that the Church started well by being an agent for development in Makete. Then it lost interest in dealing with the issues of poverty and development. It has been recognised that the Church is now less involved in economic development than previously, contrary to the Jesus of

History, its master, who took sides with the poor during his life on earth. The main reason for this poor performance of the Church in development is that the Church leaders are ill-informed about development. Their studies did not include development studies because the Church leaves this task of development to the state. In this way there is no clear link between Church life and the theology of development as it is presented in the creation stories, the life of Jesus in Galilee and the life of the early Christian community.

CHAPTER SIX

6. A new approach to development in the light of a redemptive community

Our task in this chapter is to suggest a socio-economic approach that can bring about sustainable economic development in Makete. Based on the concept of the comprehensive wellbeing of human kind, as has been discussed above, a new approach to development in Makete is needed. The aim of this approach is to create a situation where all people, especially the poor, will find not only their human dignity being restored but also economic upliftment from poverty. Once such a situation has been reached, salvation will have been attained and a redemptive community will have been created. This chapter is divided into three sub-sections. Section I looks at the church as an agent for development. The underpinning concept is that God is concerned for his creation. He wants his people and all his creation to be at peace. In other words God's intention is to restore peace to the world. Section II reflects on the Ujamaa policy as a recommendable policy for Makete development. Although at the moment the Ujamaa policy has failed to bring about the expected economic development in the country, its plan was and is the right alternative for economic development in Makete and in Tanzania at large. Its goals were meant to create a redemptive community where the comprehensive wellbeing of humanity could be exercised and lived. Section III tries to suggest a way of integration between the affluent and the disadvantaged people in a redemptive community. The point is that the increase of poverty in the community does not only make the affluent feel uncomfortable at seeing their neighbours being poor, but they are insecure because the level of crime in the community increases as the gap between the affluent and the poor keeps widening.

6.1 The Church as an agent for development

What ought the church to be doing in Makete where the process of economic development is minimal, population growth is escalating, and where environmental deterioration is quickly gaining momentum? I am convinced that the life of the people in Makete emanates out of a balance of these

three dimensions - economic development, desired population growth, and environmental sustainability. Let us see the role of the Church in Makete in dealing with these aspects.

6.1.1 Economic development and the Church

One can argue that from its very beginning, the formation of the Church was to provide both the framework and mechanism for the fulfilment of God's mission on this planet. This mission was the central point of Jesus' mission. "I came that they may have life and have it abundantly" (Jn 10.10). If the church, says Cochrane, wants to carry out this mission of Jesus effectively it needs to move from "an ambulance ministry to a ministry of involvement and participation" (Cochrane, de Gruchy, & Petersen , 1991:53). What does that mean?

The church in Makete must not, for instance, keep quiet or take sides with the state in mistreating people as we are soon going to explain. Those people who can figure out the relationship existing between the church and the state in Makete and in Tanzania at large will agree with me when I say that this relationship is unacceptable. Figuratively speaking, one can say, the Church and the state are bed-mates. I think this relationship should be reviewed and transformed. Neither of them is prepared to critique the other when it fails to perform its duties in the community. In the 1970s and 1980s, for instance, the period when the 'Ujamaa' policy and the new settlement programme, that is, villagesation, reached its peak of implementation in the country, when the state used force to push people into new selected areas, the Church, in many cases, was used by the state to carry out its mission. The church ministers were told to preach in their churches about this policy. For example, one of the pastors, after conducting a church service where he preached the importance of living in a newly formed settlement, was shocked to hear later that his parents, who were old, were homeless because their house was pulled down by the pupils who were sent by the government to do so. In this process not only did some people lose their properties but even their lives. Besides the outbreak of epidemic diseases, such as cholera which claimed many lives, there were other incidents like burning houses, poor siting of villages, which made them subject to

floods, insufficient land for farming, especially around the houses; lack of water for people and herds; people being deposited under trees and along the road where self-sustaining villages were not possible (McHenry, 1979:149-150). There were some cases where people were attacked and killed by wild animals such as lions because there was not enough protection. To all these the Church said nothing.

Also, in this process, the old and tested modes of production in the country were disrupted (Deng, 1998:29). This disruption is one of the major causes of continuous poverty in the country because people were introduced to means of production and consumption which were foreign to them. Unfortunately, again, the Church did not see this because it supported the process. For example, "many Church plots became natural centres of the newly registered villages" (Bergen, 1981:129).

Another example is the response of the Church to the 1995 general elections. During this time many Church leaders were involved in campaigning for certain parties which they favoured. In some places these Church leaders used the Church facilities such as vehicles and buildings for campaigns. Is the Church a political agent? Of course, it is not. It is an instrument of God to bring peace in the world.

One finds it difficult to accept this kind of relationship because at the end of the day the Church is going to lose its prophetic role in society. That is, the Church is being muzzled so that it cannot pronounce an authentic critique of the state when it fails to create law and order in the country. I think Dietrich Bonhoeffer, of Germany, was right when he pointed out that if the state becomes corrupt to the point of being unable to create law and order in the country, the Church has three things to do. Firstly, the Church can ask the state to account for its actions to see if they are legitimate and in accordance with its character as state. Secondly, the Church must stand on the side of those who are being mistreated, even if they do not belong to the Christian community. Thirdly, when the state fails to establish law and order in the country, the Church can intervene in order to establish law and order (de Gruchy, 1987:127). To say the Church can intervene does not necessarily mean it has to take guns and fight. But it can support the opposition parties, for instance,

in their quest for a way to get rid of an irresponsible leadership. Also the Church can intervene by denouncing openly the evil activities of the government. During the apartheid policy in South Africa, for instance, the Church was told that it “should not only pray for a change of government, it should also mobilise its members in every parish to begin to think and work and plan for a change of government in South Africa” (The Kairos Document, 1987:30). As a response to this call “parishes found themselves letting banned organizations use church buildings. Priests had to conduct ‘political funerals’ in very difficult circumstances. Bishops participated in protest marches together with other church leaders” (Bate, 1996:90).

If one is given the opportunity to speak out about the evils which are committed by the elite on the community in Makete, many people will be surprised to learn what is happening there at the moment. Let us take the so-called “development revenue contribution”, in Swahili, *Koi ya Maendeleo* as an example. The government has passed a rule that every person between 18 and 50 years old, with certain exemptions, has to pay 3500.00 TSH as a development revenue contribution. It has been taken for granted that every person who falls under this category has the ability to raise this amount of money and give it to the state. The truth of the matter is that this is far from reality. There are many people out there who have no means of raising 3500.00 TSH per year. When the state sends out revenue collectors, accompanied by police, called *Mgambo*, to go from house to house searching for those who have not paid, many of the people, the majority being the poor, are found to have not paid. It was pointed out by M. Fungo that during this exercise many poor people are harassed. These harassments range from being physically abused to seizing properties such as farm tools and herds (M. Fungo, 1999).

This development revenue contribution in Makete has become an unbearable burden especially for families with unemployed teenagers because parents have to give them money so that they can pay this poll tax. By and large teenagers in Makete are jobless. Many of them have finished primary school education, and some of them hold secondary school certificates, but nowhere can they find jobs. Therefore, they stay at home. Their living entirely depends on their parents' income. Now many of them have lost hope because they are found to be useless to their families and to the

community because their continuous dependence on parents is opposite to what is expected of them. The youth are the ones who should care for their parents when they become old. This development revenue contribution puts them in a very difficult situation. For that reason there has been an increase in the number of suicides of young people in the area as was mentioned before. When conducting interviews the author has seen some teenagers being held in custody because they did not have money to pay.

Moreover, when one listens, for instance, to a single mother's story and how she is fighting first for her existence and then for raising her children, it becomes evident that this rule was put in place without looking at the effects it has on the people without income. These women work hard to feed children, clothe them, pay uniforms and school fees, pay development revenue, partake in the so-called *Maendeleo*, that is, human resources contribution for development, give money to the Church as offerings and contributions, etc. Where they get money from to cover all these expenses nobody knows! But one should expect that they get money through illegal activities such as prostitution and theft which are rampant in the area.

Another area which causes concern as far as development in Makete is concerned, is in the sector of business and taxation. Many people in Makete would like to work in the small business sectors such as buying and selling goods on a small scale or working in home industries or in the informal sector like collecting, breaking and selling stones. But they can only do that if they have obtained permission from the top leaders in the district. There are things such as vegetables and fruit which one can sell without holding a licence. Again, one is supposed to pay a substantial amount of money each day. Because of that many people feel uncomfortable with the activities they do. They do not find that their financial position is improving, but rather deteriorating because the profit they could be making is taken by the state. Kavishe reports that business persons are complaining that "it is absurd that authorities should charge tax on capital. This was the main reason behind the many trade offences perpetuated by many small scale businessmen in the area" (Kavishe, 1999:2). If there is anything left it is not enough to establish a business. In this way many people in Makete do not take initiatives in business. These have been left for those businessmen who have enough capital

with which to operate. Also they know how to negotiate with the state. Sunter has shown what happens to the business sector when income taxation is high. He says it has been found that,

The major nations around the world are now competing with one another to reduce rates of income tax. The reason is obvious: if the marginal taxation is higher than a certain percentage, people do not want to give that incremental effort, because most of their additional income will go to the government.... Low taxation rates are one of the primary sources of attraction (1987:46).

At this time in Tanzania rates of taxation are higher than before. Many people have to close the doors of their shops because they cannot cope any more with the income policy. The reason for the state raising those rates is that it has been realised by the state that in the past the business sector was contributing very little money to the nation's budget. Now the state has introduced an income tax which many people are not familiar with. Of course it is said that this system will benefit both the state and the business sectors. I do not think there is any truth in this because many business men and women are closing down their businesses. Some have indicated that since this system was introduced they have already lost a substantial amount of capital. It seems that the surplus, which in economic terms should be reinvested in order to build up purchasing power, is all taken by the state as income tax. Timberlake has pointed out that the bad policies which we have in Africa form one of the causes of poverty in Africa. He argues that:

Africa is dying because in its ill-planned, ill-advised attempt to modernise itself it has cut itself in pieces. The cities where the governments live have been torn from the countryside, and development budgets have gone to filling those cities with hotels, factories, universities and cars. This has been paid for by milking the seven out of every 10 Africans who live on the land, by taking much from them in labour and produce and giving back little in money or support (Timberlake, 1985:9).

This is the actual situation in Makete. The government wants the people to pay taxes as their contribution to the government budget. I do not object to taxation as such. Of course, the state needs money which comes through taxation in order to provide social services needed for development such as education in the country. But I am not convinced that the money which is collected through

taxation is used by the state for the interest of the community. Research must be done to bring to light how the state is using this money. I have a feeling that there are many irregularities going on as far as this money is concerned. When looking at how things are done, there are enough hints for one to believe that there is a lot of misappropriation of the funds which are taken from poor people. There is, for instance, a large number of vehicles at the district headquarters, a large number of workers in the offices, there are many trips of officials inside and outside the area, also there are frequent meetings and workshops. Moreover, officials and their families have rights to use government funds for private reasons such as to get treatment outside the country. For example, at the time of writing this dissertation, the so-called *Baba wa Taifa*, that is, the Father of the Nation, the former President Julius Nyerere was hospitalised in one of the clinics in London for at least a month. During that time many officials including the president went to see him. And when he passed away after all efforts to rescue him failed, the government had to conduct a state funeral for him. How much money has been used in this process? Where did this money come from? Of course, it came from tax-payers' pockets. Was it really necessary for the government to incur those expenses which went in transport and accommodation for people who wanted to visit him while he was in hospital in London?

Moreover, there is corruption and theft in the government. Not all the money which people pay to the state is properly recorded and accounted for. As we shall indicate later, there is a lot of cheating in the accounts. This can be verified by looking at the people who deal with this issue. They start working as poor people but in a short time they accumulate wealth and become rich. They start living an expensive life which they could not afford if they were given other work such as teaching. In this light there is no point for the state to put tough sentences on the poor so that they pay taxes, while the money they pay is being misused. The state must be a clean and lean government in order to work for the interests of the poor.

Also, I would think that it should be considered important that before the poor and the young people are taxed on the little business they do, there must be a loophole left for them to allow their limited capitals to grow. Currently, like other well established businessmen, they have to give part of their

earnings from business to the state. If they do not give that money they are taken to court. They end up paying the little capital they have to the state. What is the state doing to enhance economic development of those people? Two, what is the state doing with the money it collects from taxes? Social services are not given. People have to pay for everything. Parents, for instance, pay school fees and for the medical treatment of their children. Schools have inadequate facilities such as desks, books and stationary.

After saying that, what is it that the Church in Makete ought to be doing? The Church is an institution located within a community (Mpumlwana, 1994:69) and so it is an important agent of change. It must understand society's needs in order to bring about the desirable behavioural change that is essential for development in Makete. At this point in time, the Church, that is, the pastors, in Makete needs to see to it that the poor and the voiceless are recognized and supported in their struggle to live. Also, the Church has resources such as funds, land, buildings and, most important, people. These and other resources found in the Church are crucial elements for the alleviation of poverty. In the case of South Africa it has been revealed that the Lutheran Church is among those Churches in the country which owns vast areas of land. See the figures below:

CHURCH-OWNED LAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

Denomination	Number of properties	As % of total	Area of properties (Ha)	As % of total
ELCSA (Lutheran)	122	6%	57146	31%
Moravian	10	1%	55103	30%
Roman Catholic	315	15%	40738	22%
N. G. K	600	30%	14298	8%
CPSA (Anglican)	379	18%	7131	4%
Methodist Church	450	22%	2027	1%
Presbyterian	79	4%	2579	1%
United Congregation	29	1%	2031	1%

Salvation Army	61	3%	1898	1%
Others	8		2	
Total Amount	2053	100%	182953	100%

(Philpott & Zondi, 1998:17).

The question has been raised, wanting to know what these churches are doing with this land. Why have they not given it to the people, particularly to the poor whom we hear are always looking for land? People, that is academics, have responded in two ways. One group consists of people such as Mayende who think that this land should be redistributed. For example, he says that, “Thus, when dealing with the question of the redistribution of land, the issue of colonial conquest must be confronted head on” (Mayende in Guma & Milton, 1997:37). In this case the main point is to transfer ownership of land from the haves to the have not. Also, he says to the church which owns land that, “The church must be prepared to lose land, in exchange for reasonable compensation, for the benefit of the landless communities” (1997:40). The second group has a different opinion. The central point to them is not just ownership of land but production. To these people the focus is directed to combat poverty through increased production on the land. In this regard Tsele has pointed out that, “What is needed is an agrarian reform policy and strategy whose aim is to combat rural poverty through the productive use of land for agricultural and other purposes” (Tsele in Gillan, 1998:140). Personally, I agree with the second group because land redistribution means nothing if it is not related to increasing production. The important point is that all the land needs to be put under production. It will be absurd if there is potential land remaining fallow while there are hungry people who want to use it but they cannot because the owner wants it to stay fallow. In this case Mayende is right when he says that land must be given to the landless people as it has been quoted above. The reason is that they want to live and they cannot live without the means of income which is the land.

Why should the Church be interested in the people? The answer to this question is that the power of the Church lies in the total mobilization of Christians and non-Christians in all sectors of development. In its daily activities which are carried out in the light of God's mission in the world

the Church needs to come up with models of development that give its people solutions to overcome the problem of poverty. In other words its theology of development should be grounded in the environment of the poor and the disadvantaged people in the society. The Church, for example, must look at the level of illiteracy and how it is going to address it.

The state uses the money collected from tax payers on things which benefit the elite. The church has made almost the same mistake. A great part of church-money is used for salaries, maintaining cars, buying petrol, for seminars, meetings and workshops, etc. It is regrettable to find that there are pastors who look at the church as a source of income. They try as much as they can to get as much money as possible in order to better themselves. These pastors need to be told to change and become self-reliant. Paul, the great evangelist, for example, did not depend on the Christians to give him something for his living. Instead he worked hard for himself and for those he supported. "I have not wanted anyone's silver or gold or clothing. You yourselves know that I have worked with these hands of mine to provide everything that my companions and I have needed. I have shown you in all things that by working hard in this way we must help the weak" (Acts 20:33-35). Also, it is undesirable to find that bishops and some pastors are driving expensive cars, living in luxurious houses and overeating while the people whom they claim to take care of are living in poor conditions because of poverty. I think these people should be reminded of their role as people who have been commissioned to serve the interests of God's people in the church.

Let us use what has happened at Madihani as one example of how badly the church has responded to the needs of the poor in the area. Land at Madihani Village is a burning issue. It is one of the limiting factors for development among poor families. Fortunately, in that area the Church has vast areas of land which it owns by law. Only a small portion of land is under cultivation for Church purposes. The rest is either left fallow or rented out. Though the poor want to use it the Church has failed to hear their cry for land. Instead it has allowed people from outside Madihani, mostly the affluent, to use that land for their own ends.

At the moment the Church is challenged to rethink the way it allocates and uses the funds and

properties which it possesses. In order to become fully involved and doing the right thing, it is suggested that the church should do the following: one, the education given to evangelists and pastors in the theological seminaries and colleges in the country must be transformed in such a way that it incorporates issues related to combatting poverty in order to promote economic development in the community. So far this education prepares them to become well informed about theology and all matters related to the leadership of the parish. No development courses are included in their studies. Dickson has discovered that the Church in Africa lacks ordained ministers who can see the needs of the people. He argues that,

Moreover, the paucity of clergy, in comparison with the increasing number of Christians, has predisposed the Church to think simply in terms of producing ordained personnel, after the existing pattern, to take charge of congregations; the question of what kind of clergy would be most suitable in these days, and in this particular cultural context has not, in the circumstances, been seen as a pressing one. Questions of this kind need to be raised and given serious consideration (1984:210).

In most cases it has been taken for granted that it is not the duty of the Church to look at issues of poverty and development arising in the community. In this way evangelists and ministers in the Church are ill-informed about working towards development. At the end of 1998, for instance, the Church in Makete ordained 33 pastors most of whom were partially trained. Those pastors, to be realistic, can hardly understand the role of the church in development. Two, the Church is separated from its people because it is not only hierarchical but also authoritarian. It has a top-down structure. This structure provides very limited integration between the clergy and the congregation. This implies that there is a need for change in our present Church structures from an authoritarian system to a participatory system of leadership. It has been pointed out that, “The ancient doctrine of the priesthood of the faithful should be revived in all Churches. It will help them to be truer to their mission. All believers are responsible for the building up of the Body of Christ” (Denis, 1993:56).

A participatory system of leadership allows flexibility and development of initiative at all levels. In this regard Senge says, “When there is a genuine vision, people excel and learn, not because they are told to, but because they want to. But many leaders have personal visions that never get

translated into shared visions that galvanize an organization” (1990:9). Likewise, the Church has people with potential who can bring development if they are given the opportunity to do so. What is needed is for the Church to make plans and invite the people to participate. It is to this end that the World Council of Churches’ Commission on Church and Society emphasised that the Church should “encourage the training of its members in responsible participation as citizens. It must support lay people who are engaged in critical struggles for human values in the public arena” (Banana, 1994:55).

If the Church in its various missions in society is to enter into a covenant with the poor of Makete, in order to work with them for the coming of God's Kingdom, then the creative initiatives of the poor and suffering need to be taken seriously. In adverse economic and political circumstances, it is religion and cultural values and patterns of behaviour that inform and sustain human communities.

Three, since this *koi ya maendeleo* (poll tax) adds more problems to the poor than help, the church board must speak to the state and advise it to do a feasibility study of the income of the people to find out whether all persons required by law to pay poll tax are in a position economically to pay this tax. My experience is that some of the poor do not pay because they do not have money. Those who manage to pay can do that through cutting down on other needs. For many it is only possible after a long struggle of organising how to get that money. In most cases family members, especially those who are employed somewhere, are the ones who are giving this money to their relatives after realising that if they do not support them the state will impose tough sentences on their relatives. Somehow they still operate as one large family, sharing talents and property when it is possible.

Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. When he suffers, he does not suffer alone but with the corporate group; when he rejoices, he rejoices not alone but with his kinsmen, his neighbours and his relatives whether dead or living (Mbiti, 1990:106).

This idea of poll tax was used by rulers during the colonial times to get labourers to work in the settlers' plantations, industries or factories (Havnevik, 1993:31). It was one type of exploitation of the black people. Taxation is something unavoidable in any country but some countries, especially here in Africa, have abused it. The elite have used it as a tool to extract more than they should get from the tax payers. In this regard the Church must not keep quiet especially when human suffering is unacceptable. In all this it does not mean that one is rejecting poll tax but asking who should pay this tax and where do the money of tax payers goes if community services are not given to the community.

Moreover, the church must participate in the process of creating jobs in the area where it exists, in this case, in Makete district. We are reminded that, "Despite its many limitations and failures, the Christian Church has a remarkable record down the centuries in creating and nurturing organizations aimed at serving and harnessing the energies of people need" (Wilson & Ramphele, 1989:302). Contrary to that, in Tanzania the Church has a long standing perception that it should not be involved in supporting the poor to start businesses like commercial enterprises. This has resulted in the perception that the Church will always remain clean and cling to its prophetic role as long as it stays away from business. For that reason it is hardly possible to find a project being run by the Church, on an economic basis, which leads to production and job creation for the poor. It is important to mention here that the author is referring to the rural area in Makete where there are no huge enterprises, such as banking, which definitely need highly trained and skilled personnel, but only small scale production such as brick making or gardening.

The concept of excluding the church from participating in the process of development was not brought to us by missionaries at the time of planting Christianity in Makete and in Africa at large because reports show they were involved in activities of production besides preaching (Krass, 1974:155). Stewardship and self-support was the core message to the community. They did not distinguish between the faithful and the common people. They emphasised that business can be done by Christians as well as non-Christians. Later it came to be said that business was bad for spiritual life. This philosophy was applicable in the olden days because the needs were met through farming.

At that time income was not a problem. One could live peacefully and comfortably without money because essentials were there. Life at that time was simple and cheap. But today there is no way one can live and enjoy life in the area without a means of income. Life without a means of income is very tough and undesirable. Therefore, job creation is an urgent issue which needs to be worked out both in the Church and in the state.

It has been observed in recent years that many rural people are moving from their homes into towns and cities to seek employment. This movement has created another disaster, that is, overcrowding by jobless people in towns and cities. The issue of overcrowding in towns and cities emanates from the wrong thinking that life there is cheap and good because jobs are available for everybody. People come to think like that because life in rural areas is tough. Also, they are motivated by the few people who became successful in life after being in the town or city. The truth of the matter is that people in the rural areas must find ways of gaining an income there, because they cannot live in towns or cities without jobs. In this regard the Church in the rural areas should create jobs for the poor people so that they stay there rather than go to towns or cities where they have no future.

The view that a private person can create jobs but not the Church is debatable. There are a number of projects which the Church can run. Take for example brick making. The market for bricks and the human resources is there. The problem is capital. Many people would like to run this project but they do not have money to invest in it. Also, as has just been mentioned, taxation is a great barrier to them. The Church needs to organise itself and start such a project. It is my opinion that the Church can run such projects as a way of creating employment. Secondly, there is a great scarcity of meat and milk in the area. This shortage is a result of the ignorance of the people and of high expenses which one has to incur in keeping animals, particularly cattle. There are enough plains suitable for animal husbandry. Those areas are open for ranches. There is no reason why the Church in Makete should not start such a project. If the same Church in other places such as Kilimanjaro and Bukoba is running such projects why could the Church in Makete not do the same? I am sure the problem is not funds, as many people may say or think, but the problem is a lack of motivation among Church leaders.

Thirdly, by using qualified personnel found in the church, the church in Makete has a chance of employing members of the community and at the same time teaching them recommended methods of ploughing and planting crops. As far as agriculture in this area is concerned the problem is that the land has been in use for many years. There has been little care with regard to soil preservation. Now this soil has lost its fertility due to poor soil management. It has become exhausted. Production has declined. Kiunsi, for example, says that the population has contributed a lot to this deterioration in crop production (1994:28), and Forster & Maghimbi attribute this decline to the use of chemicals and fertilizers in the attempt to increase production (1992:53). In this case, the church should, theoretically and practically, encourage individual farmers to apply humus and animal manure to restore soil fertility on their farms. They should stop taking their little money to the companies which sell chemicals and fertilizers or reduce the latter. It is widely believed that those chemicals and fertilizers boost production, which is true only if they are used according to the needs of the soil. Otherwise they make the soil poor, as has been discussed in section 4.2.2. Finally, the Church should assist individuals and groups of people which have started to do some developmental activities in order to combat poverty in the area (see appendix III).

My point is that the church must not stay behind and wait while the situation needs to be improved. “The church is for human beings, who live in real times and places. Neither will ecclesiology view the church as a fixed historical reality set in some ideal time or past that is to be taken as the sole reference point or criteria in trying to understand and evaluate it”(Azevedo, 1997:188). This understanding of the role of the church implies that it must stand up and start looking for means which lead to the development of its people rather than just being an institution which is only committed to spiritual matters.

6.1.2 Population growth and the Church

Another factor which has contributed a lot to the increase in poverty in Makete is population growth. This is a worldwide problem. But it is more acute in Third World Countries. Sunter has found that, “The triad (North America, Japan, and Western Europe) earns just over two-thirds of the world’s

income, and has 15 per cent of the world's population living in it" (1987:19). This implies that the rest, 85 per cent of the world population, earn less than one-third of the world's income. Now, when one relates these figures to the actual situation at Makete one finds that the number of children who are born increases while production is shrinking. While the rich in the developed world are getting richer, the poor in the Third World are getting more children (Nurnberger, 1999:106). It would have been better if these figures were the other way round, that is, if the poor had less children than the affluent or none at all.

It was good that in the past the church did a lot to lower the death rate by promoting health standards among the Kinga people. For example, in rural areas, natural disasters like the small pox epidemics which used to claim a large number of people have been stopped and cleared. In fact, one can argue that those disasters, in one way or another, helped the balance between nature and population. But now this is not happening any more because of technology. But at the same time technology has failed to overcome the problem of pollution which is a great problem at this time.

As mentioned earlier, the problem of poverty is going to be reduced and finally brought to an end only when the population is in line with production. This balance can happen when there is low population growth, particularly in the Third World countries. This is possible when an individual person not only feels the problem but understands the reasons for reducing population growth. No one can say he or she does not feel the strain of overpopulation. A job, for instance in an urban or rural area, which is supposed to be done by a single person is done by a handful of people who are ill-trained. But with modern technology, like the use of computers, only a few highly trained workers are needed. The world is moving from quantitative to qualitative human resources. "The quantitative growth of the population must be arrested to make the growth of the productive capacity and the quality of life of the existing population possible" (Nurnberger, 1998(a):298). Family planning is among the methods used to reduce population growth.

It sounds undesirable for a church, especially the Catholic Church, to speak about family planning as something significant for development. But if we want to be serious, the churches must change

their understanding of poverty and find ways to overcome it. The real problem is combatting unmanageable population growth in relation to the economy. In this case, it does not matter which method is applied for family planning provided a living person is not affected. Thus family planning through abstinence, coitus interruptus, condom, sterilization, hormonal methods (Theron & Grobler, 1991:9-10), are means and ways towards stabilising the population. In this light the problem is with some churches which do not want to understand the importance of family planning as a solution to this problem. Of course, there are theological arguments which underpin old attitudes towards procreation and family planning. If the Church is about real people who are living in real situations of poverty, one can say that for the interest of these people the churches must change those old theologies which do not consider overpopulation as a threat for human wellbeing. It is not true to believe that procreation, for instance, is the sole justification for marriage, as Cahil quotes St. Thomas who said that, "Marriage is a state generally accompanied by sexual acts, and procreation as its justifying reason. It is a sin to seek sexual intercourse in marriage without that intention, though a far worse one to seek it without being married at all" (Cahil, 1985:105). Marriage is the way people come together and share life in a special intimate relationship.

At the moment one would think that it is time for the Church in Makete and elsewhere to tell its people that to have children beyond one's capacity for feeding and raising them at an acceptable standard is not only bad behaviour in a community, but it is also a sin. It is against God's will. This point is being stressed because many people in rural areas as well as in urban areas do not see clearly the damage they are causing by bringing a person into this world to be poor.

It should be understood by all Churches that as long as a married couple lives together, coitus will take its course. This implies that if correct measures are not put in place, there is a big chance of having unwanted babies. Of course, humans are not like animals which are controlled by instincts in mating but humans are able to control their behaviour.

6.1.3 Ecological sustainability and the Church

Theoretically the government has done a lot in its attempt to improve environmental standards in Tanzania. Seminars and workshops have been conducted countrywide to educate the people about the necessity of ecological restoration in the country. Also academic works - books, pamphlets, posters, radio programmes and newspapers - have dealt with this issue. But there have been poor connections between individuals who are in local communities and the official representatives of the government. The peasants are not part of these seminars and workshops, they do not read the books and pamphlets because they do not have money to spend on them. Most of them are also illiterate.

It is very unfortunate that these are the majority among the land users. These are the people found at the cutting edge of the problem. In fact these are the right persons to be involved in combatting ecological deterioration, but they have been left out. It has been recently regretted that,

... the absence of effective awareness of a problem among indigenous people increases the perception gap between the people and the administration and may end up with hostilities and non-acceptability of conservation programmes (Msambichaka, 1993:34).

Therefore, my first suggestion would be that the Church in Makete be involved in the process of making the community aware of the effects of ecological deterioration in their place. The Church must find means to take the message to the local communities. One of the possibilities of doing that is for the evangelists and ministers to address the problem in their sermons. A close personal contact with individuals in local communities is needed. The good news which the Church takes to these people can become relevant to them only if it reaches the needs of the poor.

Any approach to poverty which did not listen to the voice of the poor expectantly, and assumed that poverty was a problem involving a proportion of the population only, which might be solved by policy measures on the initiative of the rest, was fatally flawed, for it inherently confirmed the materialism which was in fact at the heart of the distinctively modern contours of poverty, its causes and its cure (Forrester, 1997:91).

To listen to the poor when they narrate their stories about their experience of poverty helps one to understand their feelings. Thereafter positive solutions need to be found together. Major causes of poverty in Makete have been discussed. One of the causes is mismanagement of land. Now, when peasants burn the grassland in order not only to control weeds and plant diseases but also in order to allow fresh shoots of grass to grow for their animals, the church should be able to give satisfactory answers as to why they should not burn the grassland. The same applies to pine trees. The Church should learn why people are reluctant to plant more pine trees as they are requested to do by the government. If they claim that pine trees cause water springs to dry up, is that claim true or false? If it is true what should be done? The government has failed to give them answers. But the point is that the weather has changed. These are some of the consequences of the so-called global warming. As has been said above, human activities on earth cause more damage than it can absorb. For example, people cut down more trees than the number that are planted. As result there is less rain because there are no forests which play a major part in rain formation. Thus the area has become drier than it used to be in past years. It is a problem which has affected many places in the country and beyond. Many springs and rivers have dried out because of this bad weather. Manyara Lake which is surrounded by Manyara National Park has almost dried out. The animals have started to move to find another place. The situation has been aggravated by factors which destroy soil fertility such as greater water run-off and overgrazing, as has already been discussed.

At one point a missionary who was very concerned about the conservation of water sources and forest reservation in the area of Lupila, Pastor Rolf Wassermann, became disappointed with the people when he found that they were secretly continuing to cut trees and to open up the soil in the places which he thought were good sources of water in this area. For them water was not the problem. They thought it came freely from the ground and from heaven. Only the pine trees were believed to be bad because pine trees were understood to cause springs to dry up as already mentioned. I concur with Kiunsi when he says,

In many villages, the main cause and the rate of deforestation is not normally known.

This sometimes leads to planting wrong types of trees. For example, if the main cause of deforestation is agricultural expansion, the right solution is to improve the soil fertility by planting trees which enrich soils. In many cases however, the villagers are told to plant trees for fuelwood even when the main cause of deforestation is farm expansion. Furthermore, even if the correct types of trees are known, the amount of trees to be planted offsetting the energy and/or agricultural needs is not known because the rate of deforestation is also not known (Kiunsi, 1994:39).

Secondly, the government as well as the Church must teach the people that everything around them such as wood, crops, papers, living things, and tools is energy. It is energy in different forms. This energy can be transformed from one form of energy to another form. Energy is never destroyed. But one can transform it into another form which one cannot use any more. For example, when one burns grasslands grass energy is converted by fire into heat energy. Then it disappears in the air. There is no way to capture it again and make use of it (Nurnberger, 1999: 334). Teaching this to the community will help them to take care of the land which they are using. The problem which Tanzania as a whole is facing at this time is drought and more land becoming semi-desert or desert. This is one of the results of the bad use of energy.

Thirdly, indigenous people must be motivated to respect creation and the safety of other people. A person should understand that to throw a broken bottle in a place where other people walk or to throw cans on the roadside is not only a bad habit but dangerous too, because others may become hurt by these things and nature is destroyed. Also people should feel comfortable when they go to a butcher to buy meat, carrying their own containers where they will put the meat instead of using plastic bags. This is a very important point as far as pollution is concerned because plastic bags contribute a lot to ecological deterioration. People in local communities must reject and stop using unnecessary things in their lives. The rich usually convince the poor through advertisements to make them buy items which poor people do not really need because these, for instance plastic bags, are not essential for them. One would think that in their own interests they must reject these unnecessary things.

Lastly, the Church in local communities must propagate change in their system of production. For example, there has been a gradual decline in crop production each year. They must work on this and

try to establish the reasons for such crop failures. When they have found the cause they must work in order to improve their production. The guiding principle is that each community must produce enough products to satisfy their needs. They should not expect to get support from outside in order to fulfil their needs. In all these things the Church must be involved in bringing awareness and change.

6.2 Ujamaa policy and redemptive community

Our task here is to recap the weakness and strength of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania. This exercise will be done through looking at its performance since independence to 1985. The aim of doing this is to check whether this policy was and still is the right path to economic development in Tanzania. It should be remembered that Tanzania is among the poorest countries in the world, as has been mentioned before. Its people are small scale farmers.

6.2.1 Its weakness and strength

Today more people think and speak about development and the problems facing this generation than ever before. State and church leaders, as well as international organisations like the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and many NGOs, are engaged in the process of promoting development on this planet. A lot of money is pumped daily into various development projects. In some places, particularly in rural areas, we have seen the results of projects such as to supply clean and safe tap-water being implemented. But these benefits are minute compared to the amount of money used in development and research. Large amounts of money are used in things which have nothing to do with eliminating poverty in the first place. But they are used to serve the interest of the rich and the ruling class.

The Ujamaa Policy in Tanzania, the goal of which was to alleviate poverty, failed to bring the desired economic development in the country, not because it was a bad policy, but because of poor preparation and implementation. It also faced financial shortages. The donor countries did not like.

It did not get the expected financial support from donors because they were not sure whether this country was taking the right economic direction for its people. For example, the World Bank would not release any funds to Tanzania unless it was agreed that 40% of the money given should be invested in agriculture and, out of this, two-thirds should be invested in cash-crop production (Freyhold, 1979: 108). There was little interest in supporting production of basic foodstuffs (1979:109) because the country needed foreign currency in order to import raw material for its industries. Unfortunately, this plan did not work because in a short time the country came into an unbelievable hunger crisis in 1974 because there was no food in the country. In relation to that crisis, Freyhold argued that,

The shortages were partly caused by drought and by breakdowns in the market system, but they were also caused by the one-sided promotion of export crops which not only helped to conserve the technological backwardness of food production, but also pushed the food crops into the more arid parts of the country. As more and more land with favourable conditions for agriculture was put under export crops, food crop production became more precarious (1979:109).

We can see that the lower class of people did not benefit from this programme because they were pushed into the production of crops which could earn foreign currency. Of course, those crops were not taken from them without pay. However it was at the lowest prices because it was the buyers who decided the prices. It is difficult to indicate how an individual person living in rural areas such as Makete benefits from foreign currency, if social services such as communication systems, education, and health care keep deteriorating. It is the elite who benefit because a large amount of foreign currency is used to develop towns and cities where the elite lives. It is like the success of science and technology. By and large, science serves the interests only of a few people as Kamugisha has pointed out:

There is no doubt that people today, especially with the aid of science and technology, have acquired tremendous skills which allow them to do many interesting things. The world is involved in a new stage of history. Overwhelming and rapid changes are taking place. At first sight it may seem as if science has broken through to every form of development we need in this world. Indeed, never has it happened like this before

where people have enjoyed such a tremendous wealth, resources and economic power as they do now. People's capacity of dominating the world has been made obvious. They can look down upon the earth from the moon. The wonderful power of the mass media, especially sound transmission, can enable people all over the world to communicate very easily and quickly. In other words the globe has been reduced to a village (Kamugisha, 1991:43).

But with all these achievements the world has acquired, one can still ask whether the basic question about the poor has been answered. Is this development serving the best of humanity? Does this progress make human life on earth today more human in every walk of life than before? In this process of scientific and technological growth is there any growth of social love, and of respect for the rights of the poor and the marginalised groups? These are some of the questions one has to answer when assessing the performance of Ujamaa in Tanzania.

One can argue that all these scientific successes do not make sense to the poor because they are not empowered by them. To think that there is development while the poor are struggling under the yoke of poverty is absurd. Many people, for example in Eritrea, are starving to death while the Americans are selling guns to their governments. Bondestam says that, "US military aid, which started in the early 1950s, aimed at security within the country, by tying a growing Ethiopian military strength to the western ideology in order to keep communism at arm's length" (Bondestam in Davidson, Cliffe & Selassie, 1980:65). They are there not for the interest of the local people but to make a profit because those weapons are not given for free. Also, they were given to protect the political interests of the west against the Eastern block. The same thing happened in Angola. Hundreds and thousands of firearms are taken there to be used in war where innocent people, mainly women and children, fall victims. In the same spirit there is an outcry in Yugoslavia and Ireland these days because of the ongoing violence and disputes. Definitely, this is development but this is a clear indication that scientific development has failed to meet the intended goal, which is a better life for human beings.

The world which was made a good place to live in (Gen 1:28) has not remained as it ought to be. It has changed. It has turned out to be a place of struggle, mainly for poor people. The projects which are being inaugurated serve not the interest of all, but only a few - the rich and the elite. A person

who has lived in the rural areas like myself, seeing how poverty is ruining people's lives, making life so miserable, can hardly take sides with those who think that Ujamaa has failed to bring development to the country.

Our world, so rich and powerful, feels more than ever its misery. Rich nations and social classes live in the highest degree of luxury, while others are continuously being economically depressed, and even lack the necessities of life. A large number of the population comprises people who are tormented by hunger, diseases and poverty. For example, Wilson quotes Nakajima who reports that, "Eleven million children are dying every year in the developing world because of the unwillingness of the rich countries to help them...For less than \$ 1bn, the cost of 20 modern military planes, the world could control these illnesses" (Wilson, 1992:1). The gap which separates the rich and the poor does not show any sign of decreasing; rather it expands. This tendency causes renewed explosions of hatred and open violence. Political, social, economic, racial and ideological disputes increase and continue very bitterly. Speaking in the context of Latin America, Gutierrez has found that,

What we are faced with is the situation that takes no account of the dignity of human beings, or their most elemental needs, that does not provide for their biological survival, or their basic right to be free and autonomous. Poverty, injustice, alienation and the exploitation of human beings by human beings combine to form a situation that the Medellin Conference did not hesitate to condemn as "institutionalized violence" (1983:28).

Essentially, it should not be forgotten that those countries which are being hailed for modern development have not procured for ordinary people the true happiness and unity to which they aspire. People are divided, insecure, uneasy, confused, victims of self-destruction, victims of fear, etc., because human dignity has lost its meaning in the community. People are competing for power and wealth. Yugoslavia, for instance, is bleeding because there are some people who want have control of everything. The same can be felt in South Africa. Perpetrators of violence are motivated by different political attitudes among political members. It is disappointing to find that sometimes it is only the ordinary people who are fighting each other while their political leaders can drink and eat together peacefully. This is a serious problem since there are some people who want to extend their

power in every direction in order to fulfil their ambitions. They create insecure situations just to harness innocent people. Looking at all this, one is encouraged to believe that the leaders of the Ujamaa policy, particularly the late former President Nyerere, were well aware of this problem when they opted for this policy. They did all in their power to make sure that Tanzania would not become involved in such awful activities.

Striving to probe into the more profound recesses of the mind, one realizes that today Tanzanians frequently appear to be more uncertain of themselves. Slowly it appears that many people respect the laws of society, only to be paralysed by uncertainty about the right direction to follow because the nation does not show which policy it is implementing now.

After independence in 1961, Tanzania adopted the Ujamaa policy in order to bring economic development to the country and, at the beginning, there were massive positive results. It became "one of the classical models of economic organisation in the Third World" (Nurnberger, 1998(a):131). Thereafter, like other countries in Africa, Tanzania faced a number of economic development hiccups (Tarrett, 1996:71-77). Today this model of economic development is not practised. It has stopped. Many reasons for this failure have been given by the people in the country and outside. Let us mention some of the reasons which have been given.

Deng thinks, for instance, that the failure of Ujamaa is very much related to the liberation struggle in Africa because these two, Ujamaa implementation and the liberation struggle, took place at the same time. He has argued that,

An alternative for a real African development guided by Ujamaa could have been adopted widely, if the liberation wars in Southern Africa had not bogged it down. Tanzania had to play the leading role - first, in the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and later with the Front-line states in the war against the apartheid regime in South Africa. All these efforts meant diversion of the most needed resources (including time) from the development of an African role-model, which could have been followed and/or copied by others (Deng, 1998:29).

The point which Deng has made may be true but there is not enough evidence to show the amount of resources in terms of funds and human resources which the country used in the liberation struggle in these countries. On the other hand, it can be appreciated that the system was good but it was implemented at the wrong time. It was good because through it Tanzania has been the only country with a stable government in East and Central Africa since independence (Yeager, 1982:110). The gap between the affluent and the poor is not very wide when compared to other countries such as Kenya. Also, many Tanzanians know that the war with Idi Amin contributed a lot to the Ujamaa policy setback. A lot of resources, energy and time were used up during and after the war.

Another group believes that the Ujamaa policy has been brought to its knees not because of its weakness in making economic situations flourish but because it has suffered sabotage. It has been shot down by its opponents from inside and outside the country. For example, it is believed by those with a pro-Ujamaa stance that the powerful blocks such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have played a great part in obstructing the process of Ujamaa by imposing rules and conditions which the country could not fulfil or meet. Water, for instance, asserts that, "Tanzania was aggressive in protesting the reforms in the early 1980s, but later turned around and adopted an austerity program, particularly devaluation, with vigor: between 1985 and 1995 the Shilling dropped from 17 per Dollar to over 520 per Dollar" (1997:59). At the time of writing this paper it was trading at over 800 per Dollar. In this way, by and large, imported goods became too expensive for this nation to buy. As a result of this inflation many industries were closed down and many people were retrenched because imported raw material became too expensive. The level of poverty increased. It is very true that in those years many shops were empty because there was no production of goods.

The last group to discuss in this paper is that group which reacted negatively to the Ujamaa performance. They argue that the worsening economic situation was a result of trying to make the impossibilities possible. It is acknowledged that the country, like other Third World countries, has encountered the oil crises, world recession, lack of foreign currency, change of weather, that is, floods and droughts etc. Apart from these problems Tanzania used a lot of her resources in the war

against Idi Amin of Uganda. All these factors have brought great damage to the economy of the country. But, they say, if Ujamaa was an African way of living, as Nyerere defined it, it is obvious that after all these calamities the nation should have picked up the pieces of Ujamaa and started afresh. Many have considered that it seems that many things, such as the use of force in the process of bringing people together in the allocated areas or villages, collective farming, poor leadership, inexperienced personnel, control of prices by the state, and undermining traditional leaders such as chiefs, are major causes of the failure of the Ujamaa policy (Nurnberger 1998(a):135). This can be true. As we are going to see soon, Nyerere himself has somehow regretted the mistakes made during this time of implementing Ujamaa policy in the country.

Personally, I have a strong conviction that Ujamaa was and is the proper way of bringing economic development to Tanzania. I am aware that this statement might irritate the proponents of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, that is, the United States, Britain, Germany and France because their approach to development is based on capital investment and the concentration of potency. But for the proponents of human development approach, that is, the United Nations, the Ujamaa policy makes sense because it was an attempt to bring development to the poor. It was committed to eliminate development limiting factors such illiteracy, poor hygiene and sanitation, unsafe water, insufficient food and an unbalanced diet. In this regard Ujamaa is the hope and strength of the poor. Without it many poor people are likely to end up in miserable situations. This argument can be clarified by examining the living standard of many Tanzanians in the era of Ujamaa. First, there are no reports which show that there were some Tanzanians who lived miserable lives during the Ujamaa era, such as hungry people. Secondly, for the first time in the history of this country, children from poor families were enabled to maximize their intellectual potential in studying from primary school to university level. Their parents, due to poverty, could not have supported them to go further than primary school. Because of this, we have now in the country people who are holding important and sensitive positions in the state who come from the marginalised groups. By and large, these people would have not been there if it were not through the Ujamaa policy. The important point here is not children from poor families securing chances of studying further education, but that the gap between the affluent and the poor declined during that time of Ujamaa. Now, as pointed out

above, Ujamaa has been grounded and the marginalised groups have no chance for bettering themselves through education. Only the affluent and the elite can afford to take their children to schools they prefer. Thirdly, one can dare say that a genuine form of redemptive community prevailed in Tanzania during the Ujamaa era. Of course, I do not look at redemptive community in the same way as Westerners do. They speak about a redemptive community which has never existed. The community I am talking about is that community based on physical responsibility and caring for one another, giving equal opportunities to all people to better themselves. "The purpose of both the Arusha declaration and of Mwongozo was to give the people power over their own lives and their own development. We have made great progress in seizing power from the hands of capitalists and traditionalists" (Nyerere, 1973:344).

At the grass roots, that is, the village, to a great extent this goal was achieved. People had freedom to live and act the way they wanted, there was much integration of people on a daily basis such as helping one another in times of need and friendship emerging among them. The question of ethnicity was out and it could be heard nowhere in the country. This is the reason Tanzania is among the few countries in Africa where tribalism has had very little impact on the communities. This point is relevant when one reflects on what took place in Rwanda in 1994 when many people were massacred because of ethnicity (McCullum, 1995:20). In fact, Tanzania has become a home for political victims from neighbouring countries, that is, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique.

Fourthly, Ujamaa was concerned about the old, the sick and disadvantaged in the community. It was accepted that such people needed help from those who were well. In the same manner the poor were given the means of raising an income. They were given medical treatment and their children were taken to school. Above all they were promised security and a peaceful environment. There was nobody who could threaten others because he or she had the ability to do that. This was possible not only because most of the communities were gun-free but also because love and care saturated the communities. Only in recent years have people started to discuss whether owning a gun for security purposes should be allowed for everybody. At the same time morality and adherence to family values

have deteriorated. It will not take long before these communities will look like those in South Africa where owning a gun is like owning a TV-set and the sound of a gun shot is like the sound of loud music in a street. This has happened because people are compelled by the situation, that is, when moral decay sets in, people take it for granted that a gun is a mere instrument. The fact remains, however, that a gun is a dangerous weapon because it is made to kill.

6.2.2 Opposition from within

After looking at how people evaluate Ujamaa and its achievements, it is important to know that the landlords very strongly opposed the nationalisation of all land. They critically challenged the government that it was not proper for them to take the land, which was primarily personal property, and redistribute it among the landless people. Many of these acres had been classified as the personal property of somebody, even though that land was not used, and nothing relevant had been done to develop it. Therefore, when the land was taken from them, landlords started working against the Ujamaa policy. There was a lot of Ujamaa village property sabotage in the country which later came to be known as the hit-back of those landlords. For example, a number of store buildings belonging to the Ujamaa villages were burnt to ashes, assets such as grinding mills were blown up, cars, lorries and buses were either stolen, grounded /or destroyed, and Ujamaa projects and factories were all brought to an unproductive state. Finally, these Ujamaa villages had no money or properties, and they also lost popularity in the country. It is possible that the peasants also participated in the process of bringing Ujamaa to its end because some of them were reluctant to leave their original homes for new settlements. However, it is difficult to accept this point because many of them are still staying in the areas they moved in during villagesation.

Another factor which also contributed to this downfall of Ujamaa was poor leadership and management in the Ujamaa villages. Many of the village leaders who were trusted to handle Ujamaa development became potential opponents of Ujamaa. Some were used by the landlords to break the progress of Ujamaa. Some of them were untrained people who did not really understand where the country was heading in economic development. Nyerere has openly apologized for the mistakes

done during the course of Ujamaa. He says,

It would be stupid to claim that we have never made mistakes and never failed to honour our principles. Our great shortage of education and experienced people, and our general poverty of resources, has meant that many things we would wish to do have not been done, and some things have been done which would have been better left alone or done in a different way (Nyerere, 1973:7).

Those village leaders did not see the struggle which the country was going through. Take for example one issue which happened at Mtwara Ujamaa village. Mtwara was among five regions in the country which were chosen to be focal points of the government initiatives (Desfosses & Jacques, 1975:236). After a feasibility study of the Mtwara area, it was discovered that due to a poor diet a relatively large number of children born in that area died before they reached the age of five years. As a means of solving that problem, the government bought dairy cows from New Zealand and brought them to Mtwara. The purpose was to establish a project with the aim that after some time each family could have one cow for milk, as a means of improving its diet as well as a means of income for families. They could use milk as one part of their diet and sell some milk to get money which would cover other needs. But it has been said that every time the village council met, a resolution to slaughter one cow was passed. In this way all the cows were slaughtered one by one until they finished all the cows. The same story happened in other sectors of production like factories and industries. For example, the manager of the industry would feel comfortable having more than one car for his own use while other workers at the firm struggled for transport to come to work and go back home.

The same happened in institutions, colleges, hospitals, schools and even in government offices. People, mainly workers, started smuggling medicine, textbooks and other equipment from their places of work. Finally everything broke down. The hospitals, for example, started to look like prisons for sick people. There was no medicine and the services were extremely poor. Those people were the ones who were supposed to be good examples in their service towards self-reliance. They were expected to act in support of the following statement, "TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country. The struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania and

the people of Africa as a whole from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity" (Desfosses & Jacques, 1975:216).

The third problem from within the country which caused great damage to the Ujamaa policy in the country was inexperienced employees in the production sectors. Desfosses & Jacques inform that,

The banks were nationalised with a minimum of dislocation. A group of young Tanzanian economists from the Economic Department of university college, Dar es Salaam, replaced the British directors. The NDC and other parastatals, with their lucrative salaries, attracted skilled managers and were allotted by manpower planning the bulk of university graduates not trained as teachers. There were inevitable inefficiencies, especially in the state trading corporation. Rampant inefficiency could of course, undermine efforts for socialist transformation (1975:231).

Many of these employees were interested not only in the big salaries but were also looking for more money to cover their needs like purchasing personal cars, houses and money to support their extended families which were looking to them for help. Therefore, their presence at work was not fully directed to serve the nation but their families and their own interests.

Some party leaders did not like the Ujamaa policy. Some of them were aware that the results of Ujamaa would be chaotic and discouraging to many. Some believed that individual self-reliance was the only way people would work harder and pay more attention to production than when working for communal gain. For example, in 1976 some people at Kiwele settlement scheme were put into custody and their crops confiscated because they had private plots in the Ujamaa farms. They did that in support of their village leaders (Ndelwa, 1999). Essentially, these people objected to the idea of equality for all people because it was sending a wrong impression to the poor. They believed that a poor person is a poor person. That is it. He/she cannot compare himself/herself with a rich person. The poor cannot have bread without working hard because that was what they deserved after messing up their opportunities of education and getting skills. (We noted different ways of understanding the causes of poverty in chapter two). Also, some of the party leaders opposed Ujamaa openly. For example, a TANU district council chairman was warned about his opposition to Ujamaa by President

Nyerere during November 1969 on a tour to Dodoma. "A year later the chairman was removed from the office and put under fairly lenient house arrest" (Desfosses & Jacques, 1975:242). This is only one example of party leaders who worked against the Ujamaa ideology and practice.

Finally, I think, the biggest mistake the government made was to subsidise education and medicine by hundred percent. In the eyes of individuals life was easy and less expensive while in the eyes of the government it was overburdening. Where it could get finance to continue to provide education and medication for free. In this way people did not see any problem in having as many children as they wanted because it was not they themselves but the state which was going to cover all expenses related to education and medication. They were made not to feel the pinches of having a large family. Also, since stationery and medicines were given for free people did not take great care of those things which were valuable resources for development because they did not incur any expenses. They could misuse them. People did not realise that the state was using a lot of foreign currency, which was received as loans, to import stationery and medicine. If the state wanted to make things work properly, right from the start, people should have conditioned to contribute something for those services given to them in order to make them aware of the costs of the services and also to bring income to the state so that it becomes self-reliant. The same can be said about fertilizers and prices for farm products which were lowered in order to make life less expensive for people living in towns and cities. But, on the other hand, it was discouraging producers because they could not make a profit. Thus production declined in the country.

6.2.3 Opposition from outside

Opposition to socialism or the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania from outside the country started to be felt when the superpowers from Western Europe and the USA wanted to know what kind of socialism Tanzania was propagating. Even though late former President Nyerere explained to them that it was an African way of living as one family they could not understand him. They looked at the Ujamaa policy as another threat to capitalism, their policy. They thought that since Tanzania was much more linked to the Eastern Block than to the Western Block, Nyerere could have been influenced by the

Easterners to follow their policy - communism and socialism. Then, when the process of nationalisation started to take place in the country which involved foreign banks, companies and firms, those investors took their capital out of the country. On this issue, Kahama reported that,

The government hoped that foreign managers would stay with nationalised companies and operate them under management contracts with Tanzania and it was also very concerned that the nationalisation of these companies should not create distrust among foreign investors, so it made every effort to reach mutually acceptability terms with parent firms on the value of the nationalised subsidiaries (1986:33).

But the foreign investors responded to all that has been said above by terminating their contracts and services. After they stopped their services, the government had to employ new staff to carry on their duties. Unfortunately, a large number of them were inefficient and unqualified to take up those positions as has been indicated previously.

Another blow to the Ujamaa policy was the devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank restricted money transactions with Tanzania. The IMF kept demanding that the value of the Shilling should drop to allow the investors to release their funds to Tanzania. This is not bad if the country has commodities to sell on the world market because they become cheap when supply and demand increase. In this way the country can make a good profit. But devaluation of the currency is bad when the production of commodities depends on the import of raw materials. In this case the country cannot make a profit because prices for raw materials increase. Since Tanzania depended on imported raw materials for production, when the TSH was devaluated, investors became anxious about their business, whether they could still make a profit, because Tanzanians could not afford to buy goods set at higher prices. Also the devaluation of the shilling meant that Tanzanians had to send more crops to the world market in order to get the same commodity, which in former times used to cost less crops. Take the example of a tractor. Before devaluation, the cost for a tractor was equivalent to two tons of coffee. After devaluation, the same tractor costs over four tons of coffee. The late president Nyerere and the people of Tanzania knew that that was the price they had to pay for defending their Ujamaa policy against the superpowers'

will. At that point, there were very few foreign investors interested in investing their money in Tanzania. Also, there was little progress in local income, particularly in agriculture which is the backbone of the national economy. Among the causes of low crop production in the country was drought, as many people have indicated, which used to hit the country.

In conclusion one can say that the Tanzanian economy was attacked from both sides - from within and from outside the country until it succumbed. After the Ujamaa policy had collapsed, on the one hand, the superpowers could boast that they had warned the people of Tanzania about the dark side of socialism, and on the other hand the landlords wanted their land back.

6.3 The integration of the affluent and the poor in the course of development

What is our concern in this section? In the first place it should be understood that although a large number of dwellers in Makete are subsistence farmers, there are also a few who are affluent. Through many ways, such as business, some people have been able to accumulate wealth. They own large properties. They are wealthy. What do they do with this wealth? In this section I am looking at the integration in development between the two groups of people - the affluent and the poor. Thereafter I will suggest in which way these two groups can work together to the advantage of both.

There is a common understanding among rich people that if one wants to stay rich and continue accumulating wealth one should stay away from doing things which draw money away. Since poor people are always in need and seek help, the wealthy have found it very difficult to live with them because they dilute their economic resources. For this reason many have decided to have no interaction with the poor.

Of course, these people have done a lot to better themselves. Besides living a luxurious life, they take their children to the schools they like, even abroad; they drive very expensive cars; by and large, they enjoy themselves with whatever they possess. But, on the other hand, they are surrounded by poor people. It is my feeling that although they have everything they need to be happy, they are not happy

because their poor neighbours keep knocking on their doors. Jesus said that in such a situation it is in one's interests of the affluent to respond to the requests of the poor (Lk 11:5-8). If the affluent want to live a genuine and peaceful life they must work out how they can create a situation where interaction between them and the poor is possible.

The affluent in Makete have a lesson to learn from the USA. After World War II, the United States of America was the richest country in the world because it made good business during the war. It produced a lot of products in terms of weapons and other things such as cars and food which were needed in the war and sold to those countries which were at war (McWilliams & Piotrowski, 1993:405-409). An interesting thing to be noted is not how the USA managed to raise its currency to the status of a measuring rod for other currencies in the world after the war had ended, but the way it encouraged and supported poor nations to improve their own economy. It is known that in order to promote economic links with other nations, the USA had to assist the growth of the economy of other nations. Giving Japan as an example, McWilliams & Piotrowski inform us that,

US economic aid and assistance to Japan came in various forms. In addition to a total of about \$2 billion in direct economic aid (spread over a span of five years), the United States (1) persuaded its Western war-time allies to drop their demands for reparations for Japan, (2) pressured Japan to curb inflation and regain fiscal solvency, (3) provided Japan modern technology by making US patents available cheaply, (4) opened the US market to Japanese goods, (5) persuaded other countries to resume trade with Japan, (6) tolerated Japan's protective tariffs for its industries, and (7) took up the burden of Japan's defence (McWilliams, 1993: 410).

Today Japan is one of the leading nations in the world in matters related to economic development. For example, more than 90% of Japanese children (3-4 years old) attend private pre-nursery schools. At this age they are introduced to language studies, communication and the importance of working as a team. Children spend 195 days at school per year compared to 180 days per year in the USA. In secondary schools many pupils attend studies after school classes, called *juku*, for extra examination preparations. Over 90% of Japanese school children complete and pass high school (Sunter, 1987:41). In this way Japan has achieved high standards of education and technology.

The rich in Makete and in Tanzania at large need to understand that this empowerment process of the poor which took place in Japan can also happen in Makete. Of course, it will not happen in the same way as in Japan and elsewhere, but an effort must be made by the affluent to address the problem of poverty in the community. Instead of using more of their money for things like buildings, vehicles, businesses, etc., which they already have, they should think about assisting poor people in their efforts to better their economic situation so that the gap between them is reduced. How can they go about empowering them? It is hard but not impossible. Firstly, they can do that by allocating some of their funds to education. There is a lot to be done in this sector. Many school buildings, for instance, are in a bad condition. Windows, doors, floors, roofs, walls, and desks are either not there or they are in a poor condition. This situation discourages pupils from attending school because there are times in the year when the weather is too cold for many children. They need warm classrooms to study well. Also, teachers' houses are inadequate. Many teachers live in half-finished buildings. During the interviews, it was mentioned that some business people from Lupombwe and Mbalatse have started to renovate some school buildings and houses for teachers in those two areas. Moreover, many young people who are intelligent cannot go to school because there are no funds for them, as indicated in chapter four. There must be people in the community who are ready to give bursaries to such disadvantaged youths.

Secondly, since the few secondary schools which have just started have no budgets to run them, the affluent can give those schools financial support. This will allow the schools to employ qualified teachers and other school personnel. Also, they can provide equipment and appliances needed in laboratories, and provide means of transport such as vehicles.

Thirdly, the affluent can empower the poor by creating jobs and paying good wages. One of the things which motivated policy makers to opt for the Ujamaa policy was to eliminate economic exploitation in the country. It was said that some clever people used to employ poor people and pay very little. In this case the state intervened in the sector of employment. It put in place certain rules to make sure that the poor were not exploited. It was done deliberately in favour of the poor. I think this was not the right way of protecting the poor, especially when one thinks about rural people and

the scarcity of income in those areas, because, by doing this, one limits the creation of jobs for the poor. I think people should be allowed to compromise on the wages and the work to be done in friendly relationships. The government should not dictate how much one should get for a certain job. Once the state stays away from them, the affluent who always want to improve their financial positions, will create jobs. The poor who always work hard in the hope of overcoming their problems of poverty will take up those jobs created by the affluent. The basic idea is that it is better for the poor to have something small with which to fulfil their needs than to have nothing.

Fourthly, the affluent should reach a point in their lives when they should have unconditional love for the poor. In this regard they need to give financial support to the poor who are doing all in their power to fight poverty, as a booster to their activities. This can be given in the form of free gifts, revolving funds, non-profit loans or loans in the hope of assisting them to become self-reliant. No matter how some people are against to this idea of free gifts to the poor, it remains always true that in a society there will be the haves-not who need economic upliftment from the no-poor. The prophet Isaiah saw this problem when he pronounced that, "Share your food with the hungry and open your homes to the homeless poor. Give clothes to those who have nothing to wear, and do not refuse to help your own relatives" (Isa 58:7).

Although the resources of the small class of entrepreneurs will not be sufficient to pull the country out of poverty, their active involvement in finding a solution will have great symbolic significance, especially in setting an example and creating a sense of responsibility in the society as a whole. One can learn from the way the sister-churches in Western Europe and in the USA have supported and are still supporting the African Church in its growth. The goal here is to enable the poor to make a move in economic development. It should be realised that the more jobless people a society has the more violent it becomes. It is obvious that you cannot make peace with a hungry person. Let him or her eat first and thereafter discuss what is the meaning of peace.

The plan of the affluent to empower the poor in the sector of business cannot become successful unless the state has worked out its policy of taxation. At the moment the state is asking too much in

taxes from small businesses. Therefore, in order to make the process move forward, the state must change its policy of taxation to allow small businesses to develop as we have discussed in chapter four. This will include cutting down unnecessary expenses, making the administration transparent, avoiding corruption, and reducing the swollen bureaucracy by employing suitable and needed people for service. According to Sunter's approach to the problem of employment, this is the area which can create many employment opportunities. He has observed that, "Whereas about 50 per cent of Triad workers in the 1950s were employed in big business, the figure has now fallen to about one third. In regard to Japan ... small businesses and the informal sector provides most of the jobs" (Sunter, 1987:30). It should be understood that creating a suitable environment for small businesses and the informal sector in Makete will not only help the poor to better their position but will also restore peace in the area. If the state does not do this, the level of poverty is going to increase and many people will resort to crime in order to make a living.

6.4 Summary

We have covered three sub-topics in this chapter. These are the Church as an agent of development in Makete, the Ujamaa policy as a recommendable system of economic development for the poor, and the integration between affluent and poor people in a redemptive community. In the first place we have seen that economic development, population growth and ecological sustainability are important aspects for development in Makete. We have argued that the Church must become involved in overcoming obstacles to development. We have given examples of the poll tax and revenue taxes and how they affect the economic development of the people, particularly the poor. It is suggested that the Church must use its prophetic role to speak on behalf of the voiceless people in the community. Also, it is recommended that in the case of population growth the Church must become engaged in the process of arresting undesired population growth. People should be encouraged to have fewer children whom they can support well because poor management of children in a family is an indication of what kind of society you are going to have tomorrow. In regard to ecological sustainability, it has been established that education is needed at the grass roots about the change of weather, effects of turning matter into heat energy which disappears in the air

and proper disposal of waste.

In the second place we have cited some of the reasons which are said to have contributed to the failure and breakdown of the Ujamaa policy in the country. They are divided into two categories. The first category is about disasters such as drought, the war with Idi Amin and the oil crisis. The second category is about the opponents of the Ujamaa policy. These opponents came from within and outside the country. Opposition from within was based on issues such as land ownership, communal production and consumption as well as, poor implementation of the villagisation scheme. Many of the affluent were unhappy with all that. As a result there was much sabotage of properties which belonged to Ujamaa villages. Opposition from outside the country was based on the fact that the Ujamaa policy was foreign to many. They were not sure whether it was going to become successful in bringing about the expected economic development. As a result many countries, especially Western Europe and the USA, declined to invest capital in Tanzania.

In the third place we have shown what can happen when the level of poverty increases in a community. Usually, the level of crime escalates as the level of poverty increases and vice versa. In this situation the affluent become the target of crime. Therefore, it has been suggested that in order to restore the peace and security of everyone in the community, the affluent should not only look at their own interests but also at the interests of the poor and marginalised people in their community. If they do not do that there is no way they can prevent crime caused by poverty to spill over to them.

Conclusion

In this study we have started by defining two key words, that is, poverty and development. It has been found that the term poverty is a concept which can be used to describe a situation where the income of some people do not cover their needs. In almost every society there are people at a lower standard of living compared to other groups who are affluent. This situation is caused by a number of factors which can be classified into two groups. One, those which are the result of egoism and two, those which are related to people's ignorance about development theory. Moreover, poverty increases due to a number of reasons such as bad governance, ignorance, certain traditions and cultures, and the challenge of modernity.

In the second place we have defined the meaning of development. There are six schools of thought about the meaning of development. Although each school seems to have its own explanation what development is all about, they all agree that development is a process of change from one stage of living to another, where human values are better realised and respected than in the previous stage. In this process of development, wealth accumulates, in many cases, in the hands of a small group of people in society. The majority, who are also the poor, get poorer because, besides the unfriendly economic structures, they have also failed to find a balance between their income and expenditure. By and large, needs are higher than income.

Besides the fact that many people in Makete are involved in activities which bring about development in the area, women do more work in homes and on farms than men. Worse, a large percentage of women still feel inferior to men. They see more value in men than in themselves and harbour the belief that their place is in the house; that decision making and political office is the domain of men. Sometimes one hears that the enemy of a woman is another woman, that a woman's success in life and in securing a high position in politics or other offices enraged another and filled her with envy. Women should nurture the culture of getting gratification from the success of fellow women and use their power, influence and numbers, for instance, to vote women into political office. There must be a change. Women must unite in this purpose and use their own power to fight for their rights and to make their voices heard.

There are other problems which hinder development. These include problems such as the imbalance between population growth and production growth. In this case, the Church is advised to teach people the importance of having small families which they can manage to raise properly. It seems many people are not aware that the more children they have the poorer they become. They tend to take for granted that every child is a blessing without critically thinking about the consequences which fall upon a child who has poor support from his/her parents. With this understanding it is better to have no children than to have them and let them suffer the fate of poverty.

Mismanagement of land, which leads to ecological deterioration and steadily declining production, is another big problem facing the people in Makete. Human activities, in Makete and on earth at large, are causing great damage, to the point that the natural process of regeneration cannot take place. Humans believe that they are more important than other living organisms and use them for their own ends. Because of this detrimental impact of human activities on earth, animal, plant, insect, and micro-organism species have been and are being extinguished on earth every day. Above that, lakes, rivers, wells and springs are drying up for the same reason. It has been pointed out that people should learn to respect nature for their own use and for other generations which are coming.

Another problem which make many people poor is the deterioration of education standards in the country. Many children do not have access to education, especially secondary education, because their parents or guardians are unable to meet the requirements for education. More than two million Tanzanian children, aged between 7 and 13 years, are not in school and have a slim hope of ever completing their basic education. It is indicated that out of every 100 children of primary school age, only 56 are enrolled in school. Out of those 56 children enrolled, only 38 complete primary school, while out of the 38 who complete primary school only six proceed to secondary school.

Finally, there is a problem of irrational expenditure. By and large, this problem originates from making wrong choices to satisfy needs. Prestige which is accompanied by the attraction of new goods have made many people to think that in order to be happy, have good life and respect one must have those things. But happiness and meaningful life are not an outcome of being affluent but a state

of mind. I would think that what is important is not to be hailed as very important person, as many people would wish, but to improve one's economic position. Each person should aim at saving and doing all in his or her power to build up purchasing power by cutting down on unnecessary expenses such as Christmas presents and celebrations. No one will die because he/she did not receive or give Christmas present or be in a Christmas party.

The Church must become involved in developmental activities. The reason for the Church to do that is based on its mission to the world. This mission was started by God in the process of creation. Jesus took the lead of identifying himself with the poor. He lived and worked with the poor in Galilee. He became poor in order to address the needs of the poor. A preferential option for the poor requires a simple lifestyle, but this is not an end in itself; the goal is not to live more simply, but to work with the poor as one's equals to change structures. It is imperative to strive to make the twenty-first century a century of hope for millions of people walking through the valley of shadow of death. Like Jesus, the Church can go on taking sides with the poor. This means it has to speak for them; empower them, for example, by spotting those who do all they can in their power to better themselves and providing funds such as bursaries.

Our study of *shalom* is far from being exhaustive. The issue of peace remains one of the unresolved problems in Africa. Africa has been made a play-ground of disputes. Many political leaders think about their own interests instead of the people who have been entrusted to them. In Angola, for example, Savimbi's craving for power has caused Angola, which is very rich country in terms of natural resources and people, to be one of the poorest countries in Africa. It has many orphans and disabled persons because of the on-going war. The same situation can be found in The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Eritrea, Algeria etc.

Lastly, we have looked at the *Ujamaa* policy in the light of the concept of a redemptive community. It has been realised that before Tanzania encountered an economic crisis, there were some positive results of *Ujamaa*. The greatest success of *Ujamaa* was in nation building and fostering unity. Swahili was promoted as a national language and this served to eradicate much of the inter-ethnic

tensions. Education and health care flourished and literacy rates soared. There were also many mistakes which were made during the process of implementing the *Ujamaa* policy. There was not enough preparation for the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy at local level, and people were made to share consumption rather than working together for common achievements. Since this economic system was not approved by international organisations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the country did not get the hoped financial assistance from them. Finally, it succumbed. Its end has been a big blow to the poor and their future is very uncertain at the moment. Regardless of what has happened, the *Ujamaa* policy was and is still a possible means for economic development for the poor if the economy as a whole becomes more productive and can afford this system.

Appendix 1

RECOMMENDED VETERINARY CHARGES EFFECTIVE FROM JULY1, 1993

1. GENERAL CHARGES

SERVICES	RATES
CLINIC CONSULTATIONS	500/-
OUT HOUR CONSULTATIONS	1,000/-
FARM/HOME VISIT	500/- - 1000/-
TRANSPORT (AS FOR PREVAILING RATES)	100/- PER HEAD
CONSULTATION AS A SECOND OPINION	300/-
BOARDING PER DAY	500/- 750/-

HERD HEALTH PROGRAMMES/MONTH

BOVINE	300/- PER HEAD
SMALL RUMINANTS	50/- PER HEAD
PORCINE	200/- PER HEAD
EQUINE	2000/- - 3000/-
PETS	1000/- - 2000/-
POULTRY - PER FLOCK	2500/- - 3000/-
ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION	2000/- PER 3 INS.
PREGNANCY DIAGNOSIS	500 - 1000 PER HEAD

2. LABORATORY EXAMINATION

BLOOD/LUMPY SMEARS	200/-
FAECAL SAMPLE	200/- - 300/-
URINALYSIS	200/- - 1000/-
SKIN SCRAPING	200/- - 300/-
BACTERIOLOGY (including culture)	500/- - 1000/-
SEROLOGY	500/- - 1000/-
POSTMORTEM (NOT INCLUDED DISPOSAL OF CADAVER)	
LARGE ANIMALS	2000/- - 4000/-
SMALL ANIMALS	1000/- - 2000/-
POULTRY	400/-
X - RAY EXAMINATION - PER FILM	2000/- - 5000/-

3. SURGICAL CASES

TRANQUILIZATION/SEDATION	1500/- - 2500/-
EUTHANASIA	2000/- - 3000/-
MINOR SURGERY	
A) CASTRATION	500/- - 3000/-
B) DEHORNING/DISBUDDING	500/- - 1000/-
C) NAIL CLIPPING	300/- - 500/-
D) TAIL DOCKING	1000/- - 3000/-
E) WOUND TREATMENT	1000/- - 3000/-
F) HOOF TRIMMING	500/- - 2000/-

4. LARGE ANIMAL SURGERY

LAPAROTOMY	5000/- - 10000/-
RUMINATORY	5000/- - 10000/-
BOWEL RESECTION	5000/- - 15000/-
THORACTOMY	15000/- - 20000/-
SPLENOECTOMY	5000/- - 15000/-
NEPHRECTOMY	10000/- - 15000/-
HERMIORRHAPHY	1000/- - 5000/-

5. SMALL ANIMALS SURGERY

OVARIOHYSTERECTOMY	5000/- - 10000/-
BOWEL RESECTION	5000/- - 10000/-
TRANSMISSIBLE VENEREAL TUMOUR	3000/- - 5000/-
ORTHOPEDIC SURGERY	2000/- - 10000/-

6. DENTAL SURGERY

TEETH CLIPPING	300/- - 500/-
TEETH EXTRACTION	1000/- - 2000/-
TEETH CLEANING/SCALING	500/- - 2000/-

7. OBSTETRICS

7.1 DYSTOCIA

SMALL ANIMAL	2000/- - 5000/-
BOVINE	5000/- - 15000/-
SMALL RUMINANTS	1000/- - 2000/-
EQUINE	10000/- - 30000/-

7.2 CAESOROTOMY

SMALL ANIMAL	5000/- - 10000/-
BOVINE	10000/- - 20000/-
SMALL RUMINANTS	2500/- - 3000/-
EQUINE	20000/- - 40000/-
PORCINE	3000/- - 5000/-

7.3 RETAINED PLACENTA

BOVINE	4000/- - 8000/-
SMALL RUMINANTS	1000/- - 2000/-
EQUINE	15000/- - 20000/-

7.4 UTERINE IRRIGATION	5000/- - 10000/-
7.5 TEAT SURGERY	2000/- - 5000/-
7.6 UDDER AMPUTATION	5000/- - 10000/-

7.7 PROLAPSE:	
UTERUS	50000/- - 10000/-
RECTUM	2500/- -4000/-
7.8 MISCELLANEOUS:	
1. EYE ENUCLEATION	4000/- -8000/-
2. EAR CLEANING	1500/- - 2500/
3. DEBARKING (DEVOICING)	5000/- - 8000/-
4. VASECTOMY	2500/- - 5000/
5. PENILE DEVIATION	5000/- - 8000/-

APPENDIX II

LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAME	SEX	STATUS	EDUC.	Age	DATE	PLACE	OCCUPATION
Akim Mwandila	M	Married	Std vii	48	14.1.99	Lupila	District Pastor
Ambombie Kyando	F	Married	Std vii	40	28.12.98	Bulongwa	District Women Secretary
Anyagile Luvanda	F	Widow	Std iv	43	19.1.99	Utengule	District Women Secretary
Athanus Kyando	M	Married	college	33	19.12.98	Amani	Parish Pastor
Ben Amulike	M	Married	college	48	25.1.99	Makete	District Subject Matter
Daniel Abraham	M	Single	college	28	15.1.99	Lupila	Project Manager
Dinales Sanga	F	Divoced	Std viii	44	22.12.98	Tandala	Student Pastor
Dominique Witz	M	Single	college	32	28. .99	Bulongwa	Visitor
Dorit Becker	F	Married	college	55	17.1.99	BLH	Missionary
Edwina Nwihavadila	F	Single	college	24	12.1.99	Igolwa	Parish Pastor
Enike Ngajilo	F	Married	Std vii	43	22.12.98	Lumage	District women Secretary
Estomin Mahenge	M	Married	college	60	29.12. 98	Bulongwa	Retired Edu. Co-ordinator
Ezekiel Sanga	M	Married	college	74	28.12.98	Bulongwa	Retired Pastor
Frida Ntulo	F	Widow	college	34	4.1.99	BLH	Matron -BLH
Gabriel Lwilla	M	Married	college	34	4.1.99	BLH	Accountant
Hezekia Tom	M	Married	college	33	17.1. 99	Bulongwa	Adminstrator
Jackson Ndelwa	M	Married	Std vii	41	13.1.99	Lupila	Farmer
Juhudi Kusiluka	M	Single	Std vii	18	22.12.98	Madihani	No occupation
Justin Milamo	M	Married	college	50	5.2.99	Mbeya	Businessman

Klaus Bitter	M	Married	graduate	48	14.1.99	Lupila	Missionary
Luhuvilo ssigala	M	Married	college	56	2.1.99	Tumaini	Ass. To the Bishop
Mwentela Fungo	M	Married	college	63	17.12.98	Iniho	Retired Division Secretary
Omath Sanga	M	Single	Student DSM	29	24.12.98	Unenamwa	Teacher in Sec. Schools
Ozward Ndelwa	M	Married	College	33	28.6.99	Pmb	Student & Pastor
Paul Mgaya	M	Married	graduate	52	18.12.98	Mwakavuta Sec.Sc	Headmaster
Paul Mwaleba	M	Married	college	42	25.1.99	Makete	Ass. Agr.Officer
Romanus Mbilinyi	M	Married	college	34	3.1.99	Bulongwa	Livestock Field Officer
Rose Mahenge	F	Widow	Std viii	47	30.12.98	Bulongwa	Women Secr. Diocese
Sivonike Kituseme	M	Married	college	52	21.12.98	Mang'oto	Principal - Mang'oto B. Sc
Tuhuvila Sanga	F	Single	Std vii	22	20.12.98	Ihanga	Secretary Women Dept.
Twingilage Tweve	F	Widow	Std iv	54	8.1.99	Emanuel	Secretary Women Dept.
Wilson Fungo	M	Married	college	58	16. 12. 98	Iniho	District Pastor
Yohana Sanga	M	Married	Std v	52	28.1.99	Njombe	Businessman
Yu-han Sun	F	Single	student UNP	22	16.3.99	Pmb	Student
Zakayo Chaulla	M	Married	college	36	18.1.99	Makete	District Pastor

APPENDIX III

UVIMA - BULONGWA

UMOJA WA VIKUNDI VYA MAENDELEO

Progress report

June 1998, revised October 1998

By

Charles Ndovoka, chairman

Pernille Hobitz Juel, development worker

Contents

1. Introduction
2. Objectives
3. Structure and members
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4. Achievements and activities
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6. Analysis of MS principles in relation to UVIMA
- 6.1 Development by people
- 6.2 Gender: Equity in opportunities for men and women
- 6.3 Environment and development
7. The future of UVIMA

1. Introduction

Umoja wa Vikundi vya Maendeleo - UVIMA is a union of small development groups, based at the grassroots level. It was established initially by the members of the respective groups to undertake development activities, aiming at lifting the standards of living of the members of the groups.

Each group had, at its formation, its own objectives and its ultimate goal. But at the end of the day it was eventually found that the objective of each individual group was actually directed toward one focal point, i.e. poverty alleviation and a strong understanding towards their endeavour to improve their lives. This is what has led to the formation of the union.

2. Objectives

The objectives can according to UVIMA 's constitution be summarized as

- * To promote rural development through economic and social empowerment of the beneficiaries.
- * To enable the groups to manage their development activities and that the activities generate more income through increased productivity.

3. Structure and members

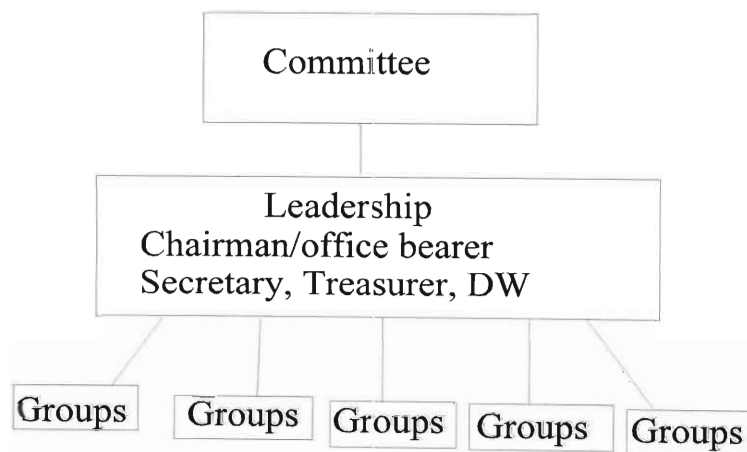
UVIMA presently has 14 groups:

- A. Iyoka Farmers Group
- B. Idunda Dairy Farmers Group
- C. Mahule Primary School Tailoring Group
- D. Mahulu Village Tailoring Group
- E. Idunda Timber Group
- F. Ilamba Women's Group
- G. Lumilo Box and Basket making Group

- H. Lugao Fish and Maize Group
- I. Mwakauta Primary School Timber Group
- J. Amani Piggery Group
- K. Kapina Potato Farming Group
- L. Bulongwa Timber Manufacturers
- M. Mwakauta Timber Group
- N. Mpaka Potato Farming Group

The 14 groups have elected a committee with one member from each group, and among the committee members the leadership has been elected, with a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The committee has also elected an office bearer, who has also the position as a counterpart for development worker.

The structure of UVIMA can be illustrated as below



3.1 Activities and major problems of the groups

As the activities of the groups differ a lot, they face different problems. In the table below the activities and the major problems of each group is pointed out.

	ACTIVITIES	MAJOR PROBLEMS
Iyoka Farmers Group	pig-rearing fruit farming crop farming	market for fruit & piglets, too much yield at one time, piglets not selling
Idunda Dairy Farmers Group	selling feeds and medicine for dairy cows & farm inputs	transport, lack of book- records keeping
Mahulu Primary School Tailoring Group	tailoring	getting material, ignorance in tailoring, need of training
Mahulu Village Tailoring Group	tailoring	ignorance in tailoring, need of training
Idunda Timber Group	making timber & tree planting	lack of transport & fluctuating prices
Ilamba Women's Group	selling maize & making timber	transport bad project management - losses, low profit
Amani Piggery Group	pig-rearing	primitive animal husbandry practices, rearing local breeds - training
Lumilo Box and Basket making Group	making baskets	financial administration, loans to the customers, low prices

Lugao Fish and Maize Group	fish rearing & crop farming	financial management, no record keeping
Mwakauta Primary School Timber Group	timber making & tree planting	market, lack of leadership, misappropriation of funds
Kapina Potato Group	potato farming	transport, training
Bulongwa Timber Manufacturers	timber making	transport
Mwakauta Timber Group	timber making	transport, marketing
Mpaka Potato Group	potato farming	training in potato farming i.e. potato diseases

4. Achievements and activities

4.1 General achievements

The achievements made to date can be said to include:

- Trust and cooperation among members of different groups has been on the increase.
- Due to seminars of various kinds being given to members, there has been increasing awareness in terms of environmental protection, animal husbandry and poverty alleviation initiatives.
- Poverty alleviation being the main agenda is undertaken from the grassroots level.
- Self employment among the members is also an indicator of achievement to be recorded.
- Income of the members of the groups has increased.
- There has been an established Union constitution.
- Members are now able to voice out their ideas more freely through the committee, they can discuss their problems and find alternative solutions to their problems.

4.2 Activities

Several activities have led to the achievements described above. Each group has received a loan from UVIMA to support their activities. Technical support has been given on technical matters concerning farming and animal husbandry. Lorry-trips have been arranged to market the products and purchase needed material. Daily support and supervision in planning and development in general has been given.

5. Problems facing the Union

UVIMA is very young and it needs to develop. Member groups are inexperienced in managing their activities. Other problems include:

- Many members lack management skills and knowledge. Hence they need more training especially in project management and planning, to ensure sustainability of the projects undertaken.
- Appropriate technology for the different group activities is also needed with training through study tours to similar projects.
- Established UVIMA groups have created an increased awareness in neighbouring areas. As a result there is a big influx of other groups seeking assistance and loans from the union, and the union has no capacity to fulfil their requests. But UVIMA is insisting that the new groups, which seek loans, work hard or build on what they have now, instead of depending on donors to provide assistance, i.e. loans.

6. Analysis of MS principles in relation to UVIMA

6.1 Development by people

People must participate in the development process and this development must aim at self-reliance. UVIMA consists of groups that have all been working with their activities before the formation of the union. The formation of the union was facilitated by MS, but involved all the members. Thus,

UVIMA is made and run by the people.

6.2 Gender: Equity in opportunities for men and women

The project has tried very much to get an equal balance of men and women with the groups supported and within the committee. Most of the groups are a mix of the two sexes, and the committee has both male and female members, which give the committee a good working base. The leading members are two women (secretary and treasurer) and one man (chairperson/office bearer)

6.3 Environment and development

UVIMA is trying to provide the groups with training in environmentally friendly development. The groups are receiving training in appropriate husbandry, organic farming, tree nursery and contour making, to teach the groups to take the environment into consideration not just in their group activities but also in day-to-day living. UVIMA has also conducted a seminar in making improved stoves, as the use of these cooking stoves is protecting the environment - by using less firewood - and reducing women's workload.

6.4 Sustainable development

Organizational sustainability:

UVIMA is a very young organization that at the moment is very vulnerable. But with more capacity, building and organizational support the structure of UVIMA will become a more sustainable organization.

Economic sustainability:

UVIMA is at the moment not in an economically sustainable position. The union is trying to change

this situation by generating income in various ways, i.e. by growing potatoes. The groups within UVIMA still face a lot of problems before they will be financially sustainable, they need training in marketing and a lot of support in the marketing of their products.

7. The future of UVIMA

As mentioned earlier, UVIMA is a young union and needs to develop to become organizational and economically sustainable. One major challenge is to change the members' attitude towards income generating activities for the union as a whole. So far the union has experienced some problems in planning activities concerning potato farming and making burnt bricks. Many members are not willing to work without payment, as they fail to see the connection between the economy of the union and the economy of the individual groups. The main reasons for this problem are the lack of knowledge in organizational and economic management and planning. Thus, UVIMA needs to conduct a lot of training in these areas in the coming years.

It is our hope that UVIMA through training and experience will develop to become independent of donors both economically and organizationally.

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