

JICA/UNDP Joint Evaluation (Poverty in Tanzania)

Project site

Same District (Kilimanjaro Region)



1. Background and Objectives of Evaluation

JICA and UNDP have been collaborating in a variety of ways since 1988. To mention a few, JICA seconded a number of its staff, has conducted joint seminars and cooperated in different ways in individual projects with UNDP. In the annual meeting between JICA and UNDP in November 1998, a joint evaluation was proposed. Both organizations then agreed on conducting an evaluation study under the theme of poverty in Africa in January 1999. As declared in the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II)¹ in October 1998, poverty reduction is the highest priority of development in Africa, thus JICA needed to further strengthen effective poverty reduction policies. Other reasons for selecting this theme as the subject of the study included that a more intensive collaboration of JICA and UNDP was considered important for effective cooperation in poverty reduction and that UNDP had stated poverty as its overriding goal and thus had experience of poverty-related evaluation.

The initial intention was that JICA and UNDP form a joint evaluation team to evaluate a few projects of both organizations. However, in the end, UNDP staff participated in the JICA evaluation team for the field survey on a JICA project in Tanzania. The project chosen was the second phase and the Follow-up cooperation of the Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project (KVFP), Project-type Technical Cooperation.

The overall objective of the evaluation study was to draw lessons learned for promoting poverty reduction in future JICA cooperation activities. In more concrete terms, the study aimed to grasp the local people's views on poverty and their recognition of the outcomes of

KVFP. It was also hoped to enable JICA and UNDP to share experiences in this field thereby contributing to their future collaboration. Therefore, the purpose of the study was not to evaluate the selected project itself using traditional criteria, but rather from the viewpoint of poverty reduction.

2. Evaluated Project

● Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project

(Project-type Technical Cooperation)

Phase I: 15 January 1991-14 January 1993

Phase II: 15 January 1993-14 January 1998

Follow-up: 15 January 1998-15 January 2000

(Phase II and the Follow-up were the subject of the study.)

3. Members of Evaluation Team

Team Leader:

Hiroshi SATO, Senior Researcher, Institute of Developing Economies

Poverty Analysis:

Kazuhito SUGA, Japan International Volunteer Center

Impact Analysis:

Hideyo NISHIKATA, Global Link Management, Inc.

Observer:

Khdijah FANCY, Evaluation Office, UNDP

Evaluation Coordination:

Aiichiro YAMAMOTO, Office of Evaluation and Post Project Monitoring, JICA

Sachiko IMOTO, Office of Evaluation and Post Project

Monitoring of JICA was also in charge of the domestic preparation for this evaluation.

4. Period of Evaluation

17 October 1999-11 November 1999

5. Scope and Methods of Evaluation

(1) Selection of the project to be studied

KVFP's main mission was to develop forestry techniques in semi-arid areas. In addition, the project attempted to develop a participatory extension method particularly in the follow-up phase: it aimed to promote reforestation in a participatory manner by establishing the

Village Environmental Conservation Committees. An overview of the project is shown in Table 1.

The main reasons why KVFP, a forest project, was chosen to be studied were that 1) JICA had implemented no project primarily aiming at poverty alleviation in Africa at the time this study and 2) the lessons from KVFP would still be highly relevant when JICA implement poverty reduction projects in Africa, since it is important to provide with a special consideration to poverty alleviation in the course of project planning and implementation, even when a project doesn't exclusively focus on poverty reduction.

In addition, KVFP had collected a relatively large volume of data on social and gender aspects through short-term experts and consultants, which would serve as a basis for understanding targeted communities that was important to design the study applying participatory methods.

Table 1 Overview of the Kilimanjaro Village Forestry Project

Background of the project	In Tanzania, semi-arid areas are widespread, and savanna forest resources were rapidly decreasing due to the inhabitation of forest areas as well as over collection of firewood and overgrazing. The Tanzanian government thus requested Japan's cooperation in afforestation activities in semi-arid areas, for the purpose of alleviating deforestation and meeting local people's needs for firewood, through adopting community forestry approaches such as starting plantations of firewood and fodder trees and introducing an agroforestry system.
Project Purpose	To assist afforestation activities in semi-arid areas, for the purpose of alleviating deforestation and meeting local people's needs for firewood, through adopting community forestry approaches such as starting plantations of firewood and fodder trees and introducing an agroforestry system
Stake-holders	Implementing agency: Forestry and Bee Keeping Division, Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment and staff of the project office (nursery) as counterparts Community people at the project sites Officers in charge of other government services at the project sites (health, education, water supply, livestock, etc.) JICA experts: 2 long-term experts (Leader/Village forestry and Project Coordinator/Extension methodologies and several short-term experts)
Achievement related to social analysis	A short-term expert in social and economic analysis (consultant) studied the local communities' attitudes towards trees in April to June 1996. Two gender experts (JICA advisor and JICA junior advisor) were dispatched in 1997 and 1998, respectively. The latter developed the Gender Sensitive Extension Handbook for the project. A short-term expert in participatory evaluation (university professor) held workshops and was engaged in technical transfer in participatory and qualitative evaluation in 1999.

(2) Application of participatory methodology

This study was the first time for JICA to use participatory methods for the whole process of evaluation. It is difficult to get subjective information such as people's views on poverty and their recognition of the project impact from objective indicators such as the number of seedlings distributed, survival rates and growth of planted trees. Such information can only be attained through an evaluation based directly on people's voices. Therefore, the study tried several participatory data-collection methods.

Another factor that made KVFP appropriate for participatory research methodology was the familiarity of the project staff with participatory evaluation techniques: the team leader had already initiated participatory

¹⁾ TICAD II (The Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development): an international conference held on 19-21 October 1998 in Tokyo under the initiative of the government of Japan, the United Nations and other parties concerned. At the conference, several developed countries committed their continuous support for development of Africa as well as to encourage African countries in self-development of their economies. More than 50 Heads of State and ministers from 53 African countries including King Mswati III of Swaziland, President Rawlings of Ghana, President Mogae of Botswana and Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa participated in the conference. From Japan, then Prime Minister Obuchi and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Takamura, attended. At its closure on 21 October 1998 the conference adopted "African Development towards the 21st Century: the Tokyo Agenda for Action."

methods which had been transferred to counterparts and the community.

(3) Evaluation Design

The study team member in charge of poverty analysis (male), who had experience in participatory development, designed the study on people's perspectives on poverty. The member in charge of impact assessment (female), with an educational background of development anthropology, designed the study related to people's recognition of KVFP's impact on poverty. A local consultant (male) attended the whole program of the evaluation study and undertook data-collection under the guidance of the member in impact assessment. He also carried out additional data-collection after the departure of the rest of the study team.

The team leader (male), on the other hand, was engaged in the "non-participatory" or "traditional" part of the evaluation study. He interviewed several organizations to collect supplementary information for the above-mentioned main evaluation issues such as the situation of social development projects assisted by other donors in nearby areas of KVFP's project site. In addition, a UNDP staff member (female) from the Evaluation Office of the headquarters in New York joined the study team in Tanzania.

After the arrival of the study team in Tanzania, the evaluation design was finalized through discussions with the KVFP counterparts who were to join the study. The design was further modified with the reflection of the results of the preliminary study the team conducted in the study area (Table 2).

(4) Selection of the Study Area

Prior to the field study, the study team and the JICA experts dispatched to KVFP had frequent discussions regarding the selection of the study area and respondents/informants. Finally, two sub-villages-Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani-were selected. Kirinjiko Chini sub-village is occupied by Pare people who are farmers, and Meserani sub-village is dominated by Masai people who are pastoralists. Both sub-villages are located in lowland areas which have a harsh climate. Since 1996, they were the targeted sites of the KVFP participatory activities, and various types of social analysis had been conducted there, which was advantageous for the study team in a sense that analysis of the social situation of both sites before the field study was possible to some extent.

Also, the team selected Kombo village near Meserani sub-village as the site for the pretesting of the research methods. As Kombo village was the residence of Masai people like Meserani sub-village, the team aimed not only

Table 2 Evaluation questions and data-collection methods

Stages of the study	Evaluation questions	Data-collection methods
First stage: Identification of views on poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of people/ family/ village is poor? - What is more important among the above-mentioned "poverty factors"? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus group discussion: held meetings of selected villagers (focus groups) to discuss specific topics. - Ten seeds/ten stones exercise: villagers voted on several choices using seeds or stones as votes. - Group Wrap-up held village meetings to discuss the results of the ten seeds/ ten stones exercise. - Participant observation: researchers stayed overnight in the study area to observe the actual situation of the area.
Second stage: Project impact assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What outside interventions took place in this village within the last ten years? - Who benefited from each intervention (project) and who did not? - Why didn't particular people benefit from such outside interventions? - Are there people who suffered from any of the projects? - How did/ didn't KVFP activities affect the community? - Why didn't you benefit from KVFP? - Why did you suffer from KVFP? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free listing of major events and outside interventions (by focus group discussions): held meetings of selected villagers to brainstorm the important events and outside assistance that took place in the village in the past ten years. - Impact assessment of outside interventions (by focus group discussions): held meetings of selected villagers to discuss the benefits and drawbacks of the outside assistance projects. - Key informant interviews: conducted one-on-one interviews with individual villagers (key informants) selected among the focus groups to get additional information about project impact.
Third stage: Crosscheck of the study results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the answers to the above questions in other villages with different natural conditions? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus group discussions

to pretest methodology but also to examine how to address the conditions for participatory assessment such as language use (i.e., most Masai people, especially women, don't speak Swahili).

Kimunyu sub-village, located in the highlands with relatively good natural conditions and infrastructure, was selected as the site for crosschecking of the research results.

6. Participants and Process of the Field Study

The field study had the following participants: 1) study team members, 2) JICA experts (team leader and coordinator), 3) a few KVFP counterparts and 4) two Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs) (one female and one male) mainly as interpreters.

Basically, the team members in poverty analysis and impact assessment took the initiative in carrying out the assessment, and the team leader and the leader of KVFP provided advice when necessary.

The participants of the research activities in sub-villages included five KVFP counterparts (one female and four male), sub-village leaders and ordinary villagers. The social and economic gaps among those participants were not large. Sub-village leaders, having been asked by KVFP counterparts to invite twenty female and twenty

male villagers for the visit of the Japanese on certain dates, gathered participants for the focus group discussions. The study team did not screen the participants at this point but later included those who did not attend the focus group discussions in the respondents of the key informant interviews.

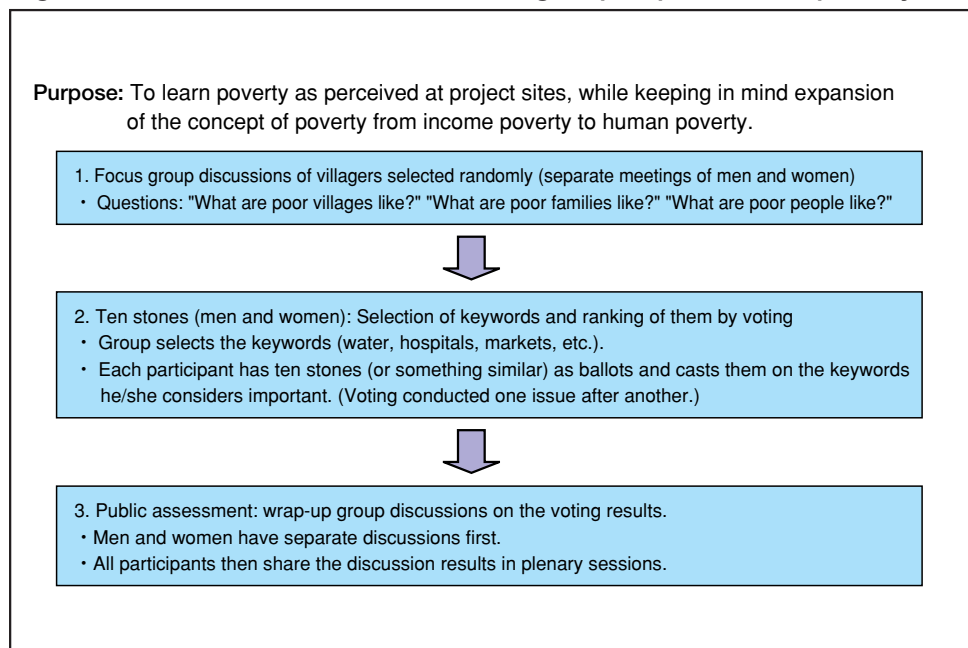
The detailed process of participatory approaches applied in the study is shown in Figure 1.

(1) Focus group discussions to identify villagers' perspectives on poverty

First, the team held plenary meetings with female and male participants under a tree in the village square or in a primary school. The activities in the meetings included self-introduction of the team members and explanation of the discussion procedure.

Then, female and male participants had separate meetings respectively and were asked to identify their criteria for "poor families" and "poor people". The Tanzanian consultant and the local staff of KVFP facilitated these sessions. The other team members maintained their status as observers, except that, when necessary, the members in poverty analysis and impact assessment gave instructions to the facilitators in male and female meetings, respectively. Also, a female JOCV served as the interpreter for the members in impact assessment.

Figure 1 Flow of the assessment of villagers perspectives on poverty



The facilitators did not ask the question, "Are you poor?" because a question directly concerning the participants themselves would likely touch off lots of requests for goods and services to donors. In other words, the team tried to draw more precise perspectives of poverty by stimulating discussions in the third person as much as possible.

Parallel to the focus group discussions, the team leader conducted interviews with the sub-village leaders with interpretation by the male JOCV and KVFP staff. The primary purpose of these individual interviews was to get the sub-village leaders apart from the focus groups, since their presence might have inhibited others from speaking. At the same time, the interviews intended to collect information about the history of village development.

Prior to the focus group discussions, the study team and the KVFP staff discussed proper Swahili words corresponding to "poverty": it was considered that several alternatives, with different nuances of meaning, would draw different responses from the people.

(2) Ten stones exercise

In this session, the facilitator drew charts of ten or more key words on "poverty" such as water, education, agricultural production/lack of farmland, access to market, lack of mutual cooperation and livestock diseases, which the participants identified through the focus groups discussions. Separate charts were made for male and female participants, who were asked to prioritize the poverty keywords according to their importance. This procedure was called "ten stones" because each participant had ten stones (or seeds) to vote on the keywords that he/she considered important. A participant could decide the number of stones to put on one keyword.

In a usual ten stones exercise, participants surround a chart that is put or drawn on the ground and vote simultaneously. But in this study, in order to lessen the possible interaction of voting behavior and to know the relation between a voter's background and voting behavior, the team called in one participant at a time to the voting place. Also, to avoid one's voting being affected by the preceding results, the team covered the finished votes (stones) with paper when calling in a next voter.



The mission camped out and conducted participant observations from this tent.

(3) Group Wrap-up by focus group discussions

Next, the team had another series of focus group discussions with both sexes, where the facilitator presented the result of the ten stones exercises (e.g., water ranked first with 47 stones, school second with 42 stones, and so on) and asked for comments from the participants

(4) Participant observation by overnight stays in tents

Parallel to these participatory approaches, the study team members stayed overnight in villages and practiced an approach of "participant observation". The team initially planned to stay at villagers' houses. However, since it was considered that the home-stay would disturb the villagers in preparing food and water for the visitors, the team set up tents in village squares and stayed overnight there. This participant observation was conducted to know how different the village situations were at daytime and night. The target villages were more than two hours distant from the nearby town. Therefore, the team had to stay in the villages in order to see the situation of the target sites in the morning and in the evening. In addition, by staying overnight the team also aimed to reduce the anxiety of the villagers towards the study team and thus facilitate the second stage of the study.

(5) Listing of major events by focus group discussions

The study team went to the villages and had focus group discussions of men and women separately. In Meserani sub-village where Masai people live, the discussions were conducted in the Masai language, not Swahili. Therefore, a woman who spoke the Masai

language was invited to assist the facilitator.

As the first topic of the second stage study, the facilitators requested the participants to list three major events that took place within the last ten years. The team set the specific time frame of ten years because KVFP had been implemented for about this period. This free listing of events served as a preparation for the identification of the outside interventions in the next step.

After the participants mentioned several events, the facilitators asked the participants to mention activities for village development (or poverty reduction/ progress of the village) by outsiders that took place within the last ten years. The "outsiders" meant anyone other than the villagers and it might include not only foreign aid organizations (JICA, the United Nations organizations, foreign NGOs, etc.) but also the Tanzanian NGOs and government agencies.

(6) Impact assessment of outside interventions by focus group discussions

Then, for each of the ten or more outside interventions identified in the above-mentioned exercises,

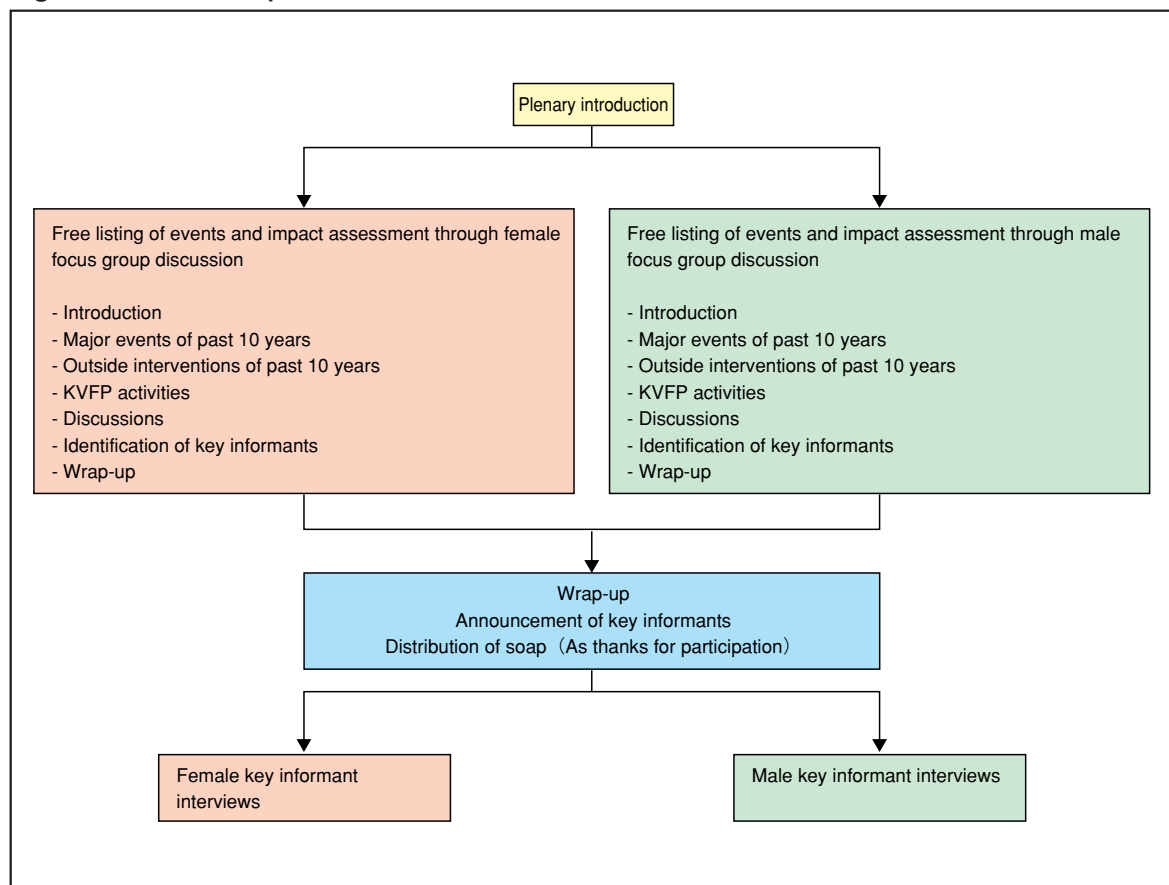
the facilitators asked the following discussion questions: "Who benefited from the intervention?", "Who did not benefit from it?" and "Who were negatively affected by it?"

For example, regarding the intervention "school construction", the participants discussed issues such as the following: "Who sends children to school?", "Is there anyone who does not send children to school?", "What are the reasons for not sending children to school?", and "What benefits did parents receive by sending their children to school?".

With regard to the seedlings that KVFP provided to villagers, similarly, the facilitators asked, "Who received the seedlings?", "Who did not receive them?", "What was the reason for not receiving the seedlings?", and "Who were successful in raising seedlings?", then had the participants answer through discussion.

This stage had the most prominent characteristics of "participatory evaluation" among those of the evaluation study. It was important that the facilitators did not ask the participants a direct question such as "What impact did KVFP have?", but rather had them tell their recognition in

Figure 2 Flow of Impact Assessment



discussing who received what or who did not using concrete cases.

Throughout the series of focus group discussions, a local consultant and the female KVFP counterpart mainly took on the role of facilitator.

For the final stage of the study, the team crosschecked the study results in Kimunyu sub-village, where natural conditions were different (more rainfall and availability of water). The objective of the crosschecking was to compare the data collected in the target villages to other villages.

7. Results of Evaluation

(1) Donors' and people's perspectives on poverty

The first point revealed from this study was that there was a gap between donors' and people's perspectives on poverty. This gap could be confirmed only by means of participatory evaluation.

The gap was seen, for example, in a finding that an "increase in income" or "improvement of economic situation", which donors have always put in the center of their programs for "poverty reduction," was not necessarily in conformity with the people's views on poverty. In this regard, it was interesting that the villagers seldom mentioned poverty factors related to money (in fact, asking questions in the third person instead of asking, Are you poor? in order to draw general views

might have lessened the appearance of money-related factors).

Secondly, people seldom mentioned "empowerment" that is recently emphasized by bilateral donor agencies in western countries and international organizations, and other factors related to social justice (including some concepts of democracy summarized as "good governance"). This could be also considered as a gap between donors' and people's views on poverty. For the villagers, at least in their subjective views, the logic connecting "empowerment" and "elimination of poverty" did not exist. On the contrary, it was material needs such as "water", "schools" and "health facilities" that were mentioned first.

Although social justice might be an important factor for getting out of poverty in the long-term, donors should not neglect the fact that people would have little interest in social justice such as democratization unless material needs as a precondition are met.

In this regard, a woman said during the female focus group discussion in Kirinjiko Chini that a characteristic of "poor villages" was the existence of men who would not listen to women, but this opinion was not supported as a candidate "poverty factor" for the voting in the ten stones exercise.

(2) Gender and regional perspectives on poverty

The focus group discussions and ten stones voting

Table 3 Men's and Women's perspectives on poverty (Focus group discussions)

Questions	Kirinjiko Chini sub-village		Meserani sub-village	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
What are poor villages like?	No water for domestic use No school No dispensary No fertile land No food reserves No clothes No cattle Lack of manpower for development	Lack of/far from water to improve life No school No dispensary Far from milling machine Far from stores/market No place to work No one interested in development/ men don't listen to women	No dispensary Lack of water No road No school No farmland No market No business/nothing to sell	No water No hospital/clinic No road No livestock medicine No education opportunity No tool/machine for work, no water No farmland Lack of capacity
What are poor people like? (In Meserani, "poor families/ people?")	No safe water No access to education No medical care/poor health No fertile land No food No clothes No cattle for grazing Poor housing No cooperation	No consistent effort for development Drought	Can't send children to hospital Can't send children to school No farmland No cattle Nothing to sell No medicine for cattle Can't buy clothes for children No food	No education to children Lack of advice for running a store, etc. No decision-making power of women No agriculture Lack of cattle Many sons (assets to be divided)

revealed differences between men and women in their recognition of poverty.

It was beyond question that people were mainly interested in "water", "hospitals/clinics" and "schools/education" regardless of sex and geographical areas. However, while men in Kirinjiko Chini showed relatively high interest in "agriculture (production aspect)" women in the same sub-village were more interested in "milling machines (processing of produced grain)" and "market (selling of products)" (Table 3).

Also, there was a difference between men and women in their perception of "major events" in the village. For men in Kirinjiko Chini, "grassland fire" was important while women were more interested in "prevalence of cattle diseases" (Table 4).

Moreover, it was only men in Kirinjiko Chini who mentioned as an outside intervention the "water point"

that KVFP provided for nearby residents (Table 5). It was understandable that people in Meserani sub-village did not mention the water point, which was located far from this sub-village. But it was surprising that women in Kirinjiko Chini did not acknowledge the water point even though fetching of water was usually women's responsibility. But then the team found out the reason was that the water point was located outside their living territory. Women in Kirinjiko Chini walk on an unpaved road to the traditional water point located within their living territory. The new water point was far from the sub-village but the road to it was paved, so one could collect water in much shorter time if traveling by bicycle. However, because only men ride bicycles in this area, in Kirinjiko Chini men were the only users of the new water point.

With regard to the gap among regions regarding

Table 4 Major events that took place in the target areas in the past 10 years (Free listing of events through focus group discussions)

Kirinjiko Chini sub-village				Meserani sub-village			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
1996-97	Drought	1996-97	Famine		Drought	1982	Earthquake
1998	Bush fires	1997	Heavy rain		Earthquake	1990	Malaria
1998	Heavy rain	1999	Cattle diseases		Cattle disease		

Table 5 Outside assistance of the past 10 years (Free listing of outside interventions through focus group discussions)
KVFP activities underlined

Kirinjiko Chini sub-village				Meserani sub-village			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
1990	KKKT(Lutheran Church) provided water well	1982	World Vision dug a well	1990	KKKT provided water pump	1995	<u>KVFP provided seedlings</u>
1992-99	<u>KVFP provided seedlings</u>		An individual donated a church roof	1991	District Council provided mobile clinic service	1995	KKKT started church construction
1994	<u>KVFP provided cattle trough and water point</u>	?	<u>KVFP provided a cattle trough</u>	1998	<u>KVFP provided 100 iron sheets for school roof</u>	1997	School construction started
	GoT provided livestock medicine	?	<u>KVFP started distributing seedlings</u>		Min. of Education provided cement for school construction	1998	School construction completed
	GoT granted permission to collect funds to dig water well	1997	<u>KVFP provided water to make bricks for school construction</u>		25 desks provided, but cannot remember the source	1999	Church provided water pump
1997	GoT provided food assistance	?	GoT distributed maize		<u>KVFP provided tree seedlings</u>	1999	<u>KVFP provided school roof</u>
					KKKT advised to build a church		
					Women were advised to form Shop Group, but could not remember by whom		
					Received training on how to make low price bricks, but could not remember by whom		

Note: Villagers did not always remember the year of major events. For example, Kirinjiko Chini men thought the event "heavy rain" took place in 1998, while women thought it was in 1997. But the team did not have to record the precise year, for such "major events" were used as a cue to recall past outside interventions. Similarly, Kirinjiko Chini women did not precisely remember when each of the assistance was provided. In this study the importance was put on the sequence of the events and to what extent the events were impressive in the memories of the participants, not on precise year of occurrence. If facilitators pointed out the participants' ignorance on precise years of events, the participants might have felt inferior and declined to speak. Therefore, accuracy was unnecessary in this study but it was enough to record simply as people remembered.

views on poverty, the team also confirmed by the crosschecking study in Kimunyu sub-village that recognition of poverty also varied depending on people's living conditions. Kimunyu sub-village that have good infrastructure provided by the government has better natural conditions than the target villages. Under these circumstances, the "poverty keywords" mentioned in this village, such as "water" and "school", literally looked similar to those mentioned in the two target villages, but what were meant by those words were different. For example, "water" was meant water for household use in Kirinjiko Chini and Meserani, while it was meant water

for irrigation in Kimunyu. Likewise, as for the word "school", there were high demands for primary schools in the two target villages, while in Kimunyu sub-village, where there were already primary schools, lack of kindergartens was mentioned as a "poverty keyword".

Also, in Kimunyu sub-village the participants mentioned many agriculture-related "poverty keywords" such as "agricultural inputs", "farmland" and "irrigation water", which suggested agriculture was widely practiced there compared with the target villages. Even among the target villages differences were seen in the degree of infrastructure development and access to towns: both

Table 6 Poverty factors and KVFP intervention (determined by the study team based on the results of the field study)

Poverty keywords (total votes)	Kirinjiko Chini sub-village	
	Male	Female
Water (101)	Provision of cattle trough Provision of water point for domestic use	Provision of cattle trough Provision of water for school construction
Education/school (80)	—	Provision of water for school construction
Dispensary/school (69)	—	—
Farming (27)	—	—
Milling machine (21)	—	—
Food supply (16)	(Distributed by GoT)	(Distributed by GoT)
Keeping livestock/livestock disease	Provision of cattle trough	Provision of cattle trough
Poor cooperation (11)	—	Start of VECCs
Clothing (8)	—	—
Market/petty business (6)	—	Provision of water for school construction (See Note 1 below)
Good housing (5)	—	—
Drought (4)	—	—
Seeking advice (0)	Advice on tree planting through VECCs	(Advice by church on forming shop group)

Poverty keywords (Total votes)	Meserani sub-village	
	Male	Female
Hospital (127)	Provision of school roof (See Note 2 below)	—
Water supply (117)	(Assistance by church)	(Assistance by church)
Read (72)	—	—
School (44)	Provision of school roof	Provision of school roof
Keeping livestock/ livestock medicine	—	—
Tools (9)	—	—
Farming (7)	—	—
Market/ petty business (7)	—	—
Advice (5)	Provision of school roof (see Note 3 below)	—
Milling machine (3)	—	—
Family harmony (3)	(Existence of church)	—
Belief in God (2)	(Assistance by church)	(Assistance by church)
Women's freedom (2)	—	—

Notes:

- The village school enabled villagers to send their children to school from home rather than sending them to live with a different family in another village. Children then became able to help with housework which made it possible for women to allocate their time to income-generating activities.
- School could be used for antenatal care and other purposes.
- By having a school in the village, villagers could receive advice from teachers.

women and men gave high priority to the word "road" in Meserani sub-village but no one regarded it as a problem in Kirinjiko Chini sub-village. Furthermore, the word "clothing" that Kirinjiko Chini men mentioned might have been related to the frequency of their visit to the town.

From these findings, it could be said that even in the same geographical area, factors of poverty recognized by the people might be different from community to community and by gender. Therefore, poverty reduction activities must be carefully examined based on a solid understanding of these differences.

(3) Impact of the project

In listing major outside interventions in the villages, the participants first mentioned "school construction" or "well digging", not the KVFP activities such as "distribution of seedlings" and "establishment of Village Environmental Conservation Committees (VECCs)": villagers hardly recalled the KVFP activities until a reminder was given by the study team. This fact itself was evidence of low recognition of people regarding the impact of KVFP. If the focus group discussions had been confined to the KVFP-related events, the project activities might have been mentioned more readily.

On the other hand, the team found that the KVFP activities such as the support for school construction and water supply, which were additional to the original activities, had largely contributed to the "poverty" issues of the villagers. As shown in Table 7, among thirteen "poverty keywords" (factors of poverty) six in Kirinjiko Chini and three in Meserani had some relation to KVFP activities either directly or indirectly. Also, in both villages KVFP carried out some activities for the poverty factors that got the largest number of votes in the ten stones exercises.

Summing up these facts, it was considered that each KVFP activity might have had the following impact on people:

1) Distribution of seedlings

As mentioned above, although many of the participants in the study appreciated the distribution of seedlings by KVFP, they did not mention this activity as outside assistance they received until prompted. The reason could be considered that the lack of more basic services such as water and education was salient in the study area. Also, the low survival rates of seedlings



Survey of people's perspectives on poverty using ten stones method.

due to water scarcity and insects could have led to little awareness of people towards raising seedlings. A few key informants pointed out in the interviews that KVFP should have provided training on tree-planting.²⁾

Nevertheless, villagers were generally enthusiastic about tree-planting, due to their perception that trees do not only grow naturally but can be planted as well. The team thought this perception was created by the distribution of seedlings by KVFP, and in this sense was a large contribution of the project. People had good knowledge of the use of trees such as for timber, food and medicine. If the environment was conducive to tree growing (particularly having a stable supply of water), tree-planting activities would contribute to the improvement of the situation described by the "poverty keywords" such as "food supply", "marketing", "livestock keeping" and "drought".

Therefore, in order to contribute to poverty reduction by improving the survival rates of seedlings and promoting tree-planting, it could be considered effective to provide training for the people who received seedlings and to arrange for easier availability of water, thereby raising people's interests in reforestation.

2) Village Environmental Conservation Committees (VECCs)

VECCs were the organizations formed to promote reforestation activities in the target villages under the assistance of KVFP. Positive impact of VECCs on poverty reduction, as recognized by people, was

²⁾ According to several villagers, KVFP had already been providing advice on seedling growth and tree planting.

limited as shown in the focus group discussions, where the participants did not point out the existence of VECCs until led by the facilitators to do so.

In Kirinjiko Chini, however, the presence of a VECC was relatively well known among the villagers. They regarded the VECC as a pipeline between the village and the KVFP. Villagers also recognized that the VECC aimed at tree-planting activities: one woman attributed current tree planting activities to successful promotion by the VECC. Moreover, in the female focus group discussion, the participants regarded the VECC as an agent to promote "mutual cooperation among people", one of the "poverty keywords".

In Meserani, on the other hand, the VECC was not active and some participants were not aware of it. According to KVFP's own analysis, factors behind such a difference in the VECC's importance among villages included the fact that the counterparts introduced VECCs simply to replicate the success of the first VECC, which was formed under the initiative of people in another KVFP project site. This observation suggested that a new organization might not achieve the intended objectives unless there exists the will among the people and the timing is ripe.

3) Support for school construction

In Kirinjiko Chini, KVFP provided water to produce bricks for school construction. In Meserani, it procured 100 iron sheets as roof material for the school. It was obvious from the focus group discussions where these activities were frequently mentioned that people appreciated this support and acknowledged them as positive impact for poverty reduction. People pointed out, as the positive impact,

that as the result of the construction of a new school in the village, children were able to attend school from home, not from under someone else's roof in another village, and that saved living costs and parents became able to pay more attention to children. Moreover, there was an opinion that women's workload would be reduced if children live together and help with housework and thus they might become able to spend their spare time for income-generation or other activities. From this it could be said that KVFP's assistance, though indirectly, addressed a poverty keyword "small-scale business".

Nevertheless, the impact of such assistance would not reach children who do not go to school because they could not afford school fees or other expenses or for other reasons. Also, as the KVFP-assisted new primary school was planned to accept schoolchildren in the lower grades only, upper grade pupils would not benefit from the project.

In Meserani, on the other hand, villagers pointed out that the school brought about positive effects beyond its original purpose: for example, the school roof provided shade for village meetings or for nearby cattle, and the school building was suitable for antenatal care or other activities in which privacy must be considered. In this regard, the assistance from KVFP had indirect connection to the keyword "hospital". Moreover, some villagers mentioned another effect of the new school, that villagers would become able to receive advice from teachers.

4) Provision of cattle trough

In Kirinjiko Chini, the provision of a cattle trough by KVFP reduced the grazing distance (a man said the distance was reduced from 15km to 3km.) The cattle trough was provided as a compensation for the closure of the Mkonga area, which had been used by some nearby villagers for creating the KVFP demonstration farm. Despite this background, the villagers seemed to regard the cattle trough simply as one form of external assistance³⁾.

5) Creation of a water point

As mentioned earlier, women in Kirinjiko Chini seldom used the public water point provided by KVFP. However, the study team found nearly 20 women coming to this water point to fetch water every day. That was a clear evidence of a positive impact of the



Children in the village

water point on nearby villagers, although they might have not been the residents of Kirinjiko Chini.

Similar to the cattle trough, KVFP provided this water point as a compensation for the closure of the Mkonga area, where the project set up the demonstration forest. However, people recognized it simply as an additional outside assistance.

6) Impact of other activities of the project

Apart from the so-called official project activities mentioned above, KVFP occasionally supported villagers in such a way as giving a ride to villagers or bringing villagers' requests to the district government. Also, people sometimes got new information through communicating with the Japanese experts. These activities helped to develop a relation of mutual trust between the project team (experts and counterparts) and the people, which consequently contributed to increase people's interests in the originally planned project activities.

8. Lessons Learned and Recommendations

(1) Lessons Learned

1) Consideration of the multidimensionality of poverty

The evaluation study confirmed that there were many aspects of peoples' perspectives on poverty, which also varied by sex and region. When planning a project for poverty reduction, one should keep such differences in mind and formulate an appropriate plan for the project site. The example of the success of VECC in one sub-village and its non-functioning in Meserani sub-village shows that a uniform activity might not always address poverty factors at all project sites.

2) Addressing social aspects of interventions

Originally, KVFP was a purely technical project in the forestry sector, not a poverty reduction project. The project thus did not clearly intend to directly address poverty issues. However, the experts came to recognize that people would not plant trees until their minimum needs were met, and started efforts for the improvement of the target groups' living conditions as a prerequisite for tree-planting activities.

The evaluation study confirmed that the activities that KVFP carried out additionally to promote tree-

planting activities, as well as other miscellaneous support such as giving rides to villagers, had a positive impact on poverty reduction. However, as those activities and impact depended largely on the interests and capability of an Individual Expert, they would not be accumulated in JICA as an institutional memory.

The first lesson learned from this case is that JICA experts must give more attention and sensitivity to the living conditions and needs of the people living in the project sites.

Secondly, when a social problem is found, it should not be addressed from the individual judgment of an expert or different interpretation of budget items: JICA should arrange to incorporate measures to address social issues in project activities under certain conditions, and should prepare a mechanism for such arrangements.

(2) Possible poverty reduction approach for JICA

All technical cooperation projects implemented by JICA so far could fall into the category of sector approach, and KVFP is no exception. As stated above, the impact of technical cooperation to a specific sector on multi-faceted poverty issues is limited. That is why other donors implement poverty reduction projects dealing with several sectors under the name of "integrated approach" or "multi-sector approach". However, it is impossible in reality for one project to include all sectors related to poverty factors. In Tanzania, where poverty reduction has consistently been a priority since independence, the government and donors have tried a variety of poverty reduction approaches. However, none of them can be said to take a full-fledged "integrated approach".

Also, ideas of an "integrated approach" are different

³⁾ The closure of the land due to the establishment of the demonstration forest took a form of mlimbiko, a traditional system of the community for conservation of natural resources. Under this system, the community sets its own rules for suspending the use of particular resources to be protected for a predetermined time frame. A committee is set up to impose such rules, including the punishment of offenders. Villagers of Kirinjiko Chini sub-village, which is located next to the Mkonga demonstration forest, agreed to apply mlimbiko of Mkonga for they saw the demonstration forest as a way to protect natural and planted trees from illegal cutting and animal damage. The study team conducted brief interviews in the target village and neighboring areas to determine whether there was a negative impact from the closure of the Mkonga area but found no evidence in this regard. More detailed studies are still needed to reach a conclusion.

between headquarters of donor agencies and at the grassroots level. At the grassroots level, "integrated approach" would not integrate several sectors but rather takes a strategy of carrying out activities that are closely related to people's lives (e.g., small-scale credit, primary health care, well digging, etc.) as an "entry point" of poverty reduction and then gradually expand the scope of activities to other sectors. Such a strategy can be said to be a practical "integrated approach" for poverty reduction.

On the other hand, the sector approach of JICA has the advantage of drawing on vast experience in sector-specific technical cooperation. It would be useful for JICA to support poverty reduction by making use of such strength and applying the practical integrated approach as mentioned above, namely starting with technology transfer in one sector as an "entry point" and gradually expanding the scope of activities to other sectors.

Within the current vertical organizational structures of JICA and implementing agencies of partner countries, it is generally difficult for a forestry project, for example, to provide a budget for assistance in drinking water supply. The case of KVFP suggested that project activities that are additional in terms of its original objectives (afforestation in this case) such as school construction and support for cattle raising are sometimes effective for poverty reduction. However, such additional activities and their impact were the result of the exceptionally flexible response of the field and the concerned department of the JICA Headquarters. The KVFP case is regarded as an exception and the possibility of replication is low under the present system of JICA. In order to implement effective poverty alleviation projects, therefore, JICA could look towards having flexibility to extend assistance in one sector to others without losing its strength of sector-specific technology transfer. In other words, it might be too ambitious and hardly realistic to include all sectors in a single "poverty alleviation project" even in a geographically limited project site. Rather, an approach of "gradual cross-sector" deserves consideration. This approach intends: 1) to carry out activities primarily aiming at establishing firm and sustainable technologies, institutions or structures in a specific sector that are needed by the local population (it does not necessarily have to be the highest needs), 2) to identify various social and poverty issues that might be found through the implementation of such activities and 3) to address these



Group discussion of Villagers

issues by starting the next stage of activities in another sector while continuing the first stage activities.

From the KVFP experience, the team learned that what is needed is not the traditional type of understanding such as, "Having good results as a forestry project will eventually contribute to poverty reduction". In any sector, a project such as that of JICA, which deploys a relatively number of inputs, will always have diverse effects on other related sectors. In this respect, JICA should be able to afford activities both in the original (forestry in KVFP's case) sector and at the same time in other sectors that have some connection to the original one and also are related to "people's perspectives on poverty". This "affordability" does not only mean the allocation of funds but also an insight to manage projects across the boundaries of departments (i.e., health, agriculture, fisheries, mining and industry) and utilize human resources for such cross-sectoral activities (i.e., social considerations, social analysis, poverty, etc.) at least by the Dispatch of short-term Experts.

Although the "multi-sector" or "integrated" approach is ideal in the sense that it is difficult to tackle poverty only through applying technologies of one sector, it may not be realistic to take such an approach at once. It may be possible for JICA for the time being to take the "sector-specific plus social consideration" approach.

This approach could use sector-specific activities as a core and expand the scope of addressing social dimensions (social considerations) gradually. Through this process, the possibility of coordination with activities in other sectors, geographic areas and with other donors could be sought. "Social consideration" here is considered to play the role of a bridge joining several sectors.

JICA's approach has been criticized as being "too technology-oriented". Although it is true that JICA's technology transfer has little consideration on social dimensions, this does not mean that the technology-oriented approach is ineffective. If JICA adds social considerations for poverty reduction to its technology-oriented approach and has a flexibility to go beyond the boundary of sectors in technical cooperation projects, the "technology-oriented poverty reduction approach" will be as effective as sector-integrated poverty reduction approaches.

9. Attempt to Feedback of Evaluation Results

In order to feedback the results of this evaluation to those concerned with development aid and citizens who have interest in ODA, the JICA evaluation seminar "Poverty Reduction and JICA's Cooperation" was conducted at the Institute for International Cooperation on 17 November 2001.