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CHURCH AND COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

ANALYSING INCLUSION AND EMPOWERMENT OF SOCIALLY MARGINALIZED PEOPLE IN VILLAGES IN TANZANIA

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WAGENINGEN UR
For quality of life

Cover picture A rainbow after I had left village one to say goodbye. A promise of hope. (Source: author's own collection)

All photographs in this thesis are made by the author.

ABSTRACT

'Leave no one behind' is the new booming slogan within the international development discourse. Making sure that the most marginalized people are included in development programmes is therefore (back) in the agenda of many NGOs. Tearfund, a charity based in England, aims to practice this by following its own strapline of 'following Jesus where the need is greatest'. This research aims to analyse Tearfund's main development programme called Church and Community Mobilisation (CCM) regarding its inclusiveness and ability to empower the socially marginalized. CCM is a development programme involving the local church to act as a facilitator in mobilising the whole community to address their own needs in using locally available resources.

By following the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR), this research aims to not only preach but also practice inclusive development. The research is a qualitative study based on 45 interviews, three focus group discussions, one feedback session, and continuous observations and reflections. The data was collected during a three-month fieldwork period in the Mara region in Northern Tanzania.

The research finds that the impact of CCM is strongly linked to the existence of small groups (SGs). SGs are local saving- and borrowing groups in which participants contribute money on a weekly basis, which they can borrow and pay back with an interest rate. The borrowed money is used for development purposes. Villagers who are involved in a SG highly benefit from the social safety net created by those groups. Their levels of development visibly rise, and they experience a stronger sense of empowerment. Villagers who are not involved in an SG feel left behind, and this has a disempowering effect on their lives. This research shows that CCM is not intentionally including the socially marginalized people before and during the CCM process. This increases vulnerability to social marginalization of those not involved, and tends to increase social marginalization on the long-term. In order to improve the inclusiveness and level of empowerment, this research provides practical recommendations of how CCM could change its design in order to have better development outcomes.

KEY WORDS

Participatory development – Participatory Action Research – inclusion – empowerment – social marginalization – Church and Community Mobilisation – small groups – rural villages – Tanzania

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Abbreviations

AICT	African Inland Church Tanzania
CCM(P)	Church and Community Mobilisation (Process)
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CDD	Community and Development Department
DEC	Disasters Emergency Committee
EA	Evangelical Alliance
EU-CORD	European Union Christian Organisations in Relief and Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGD-Ch	Focus Group Discussion Church
FGD-Co	Focus Group Discussion Community
HDI	Human Development Index
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PEP	Participatory Evaluation Process
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
QS	Quality Standard
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHG	Self-Help Group
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TASAF	Tanzanian Social Action Fund

Translations

Mchakato	Church and Community Mobilisation Process
Umoja	Togetherness

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1. INTRODUCTION

If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together – African proverb

This togetherness, *Umoja* in Swahili, seems to resonate well with the new booming slogan within international development discourse: leave no one behind. The slogan originates from the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and it emphasizes the importance of making sure that the most marginalized people are included in development programmes. The renewed focus on this area has occurred after it became clear that the impact of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) clearly fell short. A report of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) states: "Alarmingly, while significant progress has been made in reducing overall poverty during the last 15 years, often the poorest and most marginalised groups have not benefitted at all or have not benefited enough" (Bhatkal, Samman and Stuart, 2015: 2). Later on it states that "under the SDGs, progress will need to reach down into the bottom billion – the individuals whose identity leaves them at the economic, social and political margins – to ensure that by 2030 no one is left behind" (Ibid.: 6). Creating *Umoja* in putting the most marginalized back to the centre of development has become one of the central goals of the next 15 years of international development. But, who are those voiceless? And how do we turn them into voiced people? Or, should they turn themselves into voiced people? And how do we create lasting inclusion?

These types of questions have found their way back to the agenda of many non-governmental organisations (NGOs). However, the desire to be inclusive is one thing, but another is to practice inclusiveness. It asks for knowledge on who is marginalized, how to target those groups, and how to make sure that these groups actually feel empowered once included. Tearfund, a charity based in England, has renewed its attention to this area as well. Their main development programme is called Church and Community Mobilisation (CCM), which involves the local church to act as a facilitator in mobilising the whole community to address their own needs in using locally available resources. Tearfund's organization-wide slogan is 'following Jesus where the need is greatest' (Tearfund, 2018), and it shows its commitment to reach out to the most marginalized in the communities where their CCM programme runs. However, the question is: how would the CCM approach to development be ranked in terms of *Umoja?*

1.1 Problem statement

The last three years, quarterly reports evaluating Tearfund's CCM approach have concluded that inclusion of the most marginalized needs to be strengthened. The reports highlight several different problems around inclusion and empowerment, such as:

- when the vulnerable are included they are not always empowered;
- targeting and participation is not part of the design of Church and Community Transformation;
- there is no system for beneficiary accountability in Church and Community Transformation;
- empowerment and participation is not measured as a baseline or outcome;

- Church and Community Transformation, and particularly CCM does not always bring transformation to those outside the church (Tearfund, 2017).

Tearfund expressed its desire to better investigate how to improve inclusion within their development programmes, and that is what this research aims to do. It also aims to contribute to the recurring need for assessing the opportunities and limits of working towards development through the local church. In Tearfund's case, the need to investigate levels of inclusion and empowerment becomes even more important when looking to Tearfund's definition of poverty. In the paper 'Theory of Poverty', Tearfund states:

> "Poverty is holistic: it is not just economic or physical but is also social, environmental and spiritual. It is complex and multi-faceted. The root cause of poverty is broken relationships […] broken off from God, family and community, broken off from others further removed from us […] and even from ourselves, as a result of false images of identity and self-worth" (2012: 3).

This particular definition of poverty is important in this thesis for two reasons. The first reason is that the definition stresses the need to look into the effect CCM has on restoring relationships locally. This is mainly done through on the one hand, analysing what types of people are living in the social margins of a village, and thus potentially struggle with having flourishing relationships with others. Without knowing this, the restoration of broken relationships with these people is difficult, if not impossible. On the other hand, CCM's impact is investigated by analysing whether socially marginalized people are actively included and empowered through CCM. This will enable Tearfund to know how they live out *Umoja*, and whether CCM decreases poverty locally. A second reason why Tearfund's definition of poverty is important in this thesis is this thesis aims to critically analyse whether broken relationships are indeed the (only) cause, or whether more issues could cause poverty locally, for example issues around political economy. This analysis is done throughout this thesis, and in particular in chapter two when literature on poverty and development is discussed.

The research takes place in Tanzania where Tearfund has run the CCM programme for over 20 years. Tanzania is a country in which one third of the entire population lives below the poverty line. As indicated in a report on Tanzania, "many people [are] at risk of being left behind" from whom children, elderly, people living with disabilities, women, rural communities, people living with HIV, and people living with chronic diseases tend to be the most marginalized (Action for Sustainable Development, 2016). The research specifically takes place in two rural villages in the Mara region, situated in the north of Tanzania.

1.2 Research objectives

This research has four objectives. First, it aims to identify how CCM is able to include and empower socially marginalized groups in villages in Northern Tanzania. By analysing a church-based programme, this research also contributes to the understanding of the opportunities and the limits of the church in decreasing the level of poverty. Second, it shows to what extent academic concepts align with the reality on the ground by analysing potential differences in perceptions and definitions of Tearfund and local villagers regarding the key concepts of this research. Third, it contributes to the understanding of the opportunities and limits that Participatory Action Research offers to academics. This provides a

contribution to the broader debate on participatory development approaches and how academics are able to practice these when doing research in the field. Fourth, it aims to provide recommendations and critiques regarding the design and functioning of CCM as a development approach. This includes suggestions on how to improve inclusion and empowerment of socially marginalized groups of a community. These recommendations are based on the analysis of what causes social marginalization, and how Tearfund collaborates with other institutions on the local level in order to decrease the level of poverty.

1.3 Research questions

To satisfy the above mentioned objectives, this thesis addresses the following main question:

How is Tearfund's Church and Community Mobilisation approach including and empowering socially marginalized groups in villages in Northern Tanzania?

The sub-questions feeding into the main question will be:

1. How is inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment perceived by Tearfund and local villagers?
2. Does empowerment through CCM help to overcome social marginalization?
3. What other relevant institutions work in or with the villages? Does CCM effectively interact with these to enable better development outcomes?

1.4 Research outline

The thesis outline is as follows: the next chapter presents the theoretical framework including the main concepts used for this research. Chapter three describes the methodological approach taken in this research, and discusses reflections on the research process. Chapter four sketches the context in which this research takes place by providing information on the history of Tanzania as well as its current situation. It also provides background information on the Mara region, Tearfund, CCM, and the local partner, the African Inland Church Tanzania (AICT). Chapter five, six and seven respectively present the results flowing from the three sub-questions. Chapter eight provides a discussion in which the results are mirrored with the theoretical framework in order to see to what extent theory makes sense in practice. The thesis finishes with chapter nine, which provides conclusions on the research questions, as well as suggesting recommendations for future research and the improvement of CCM as a development approach.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

'Stand on the shoulders of giants' is the quote on the opening page of Google Scholar. It is clearly asking for – at least some – humility among scientists. Acknowledging that whatever one might write and add to science is preceded by the thoughts of other former scientists. My desire to contribute to the social science of development studies has been inspired by many of those 'giants' from whom Robert Chambers might be one of the greatest. His contribution to the acknowledgement of and collaboration with local people has helped me to reflect more on what participatory development entails. Therefore, this chapter starts with an introduction to participatory development using Chambers' theory and approach, and why participatory development functions as the umbrella term of this research. This is followed by some critical remarks coming from other scientists on Chambers' theory and approach, which helps us to understand the debate that goes on around participation and development. Thereafter, I explain the key concepts of this research, namely inclusion, social marginalization, and empowerment. This is followed by taking on the relationship lens when looking into poverty. This particular lens is often taken on by Christian NGOs and churches, and therefore helps us to understand the theory of poverty that is also adhered to by Tearfund, and where CCM flows from. The chapter finishes with some concluding remarks.

2.2 Participatory development

As written by Cooke and Kothari (2001: 5), "the ostensible aim of participatory approaches to development was to make 'people' central to development by encouraging beneficiary involvement in interventions that affect them and over which they previously had limited control or influence". Differently formulated by Guijt and Shah (1998: 1), "'the broad aim' of participatory development is to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalized peoples in decision-making over their own lives". In this section I focus on three concepts that help us to further understand where participatory development comes from, and how it looks when applied in a certain context. The concepts are respectively participation, development, and livelihoods.

2.2.1 Participation

Although participation became most popular in the 1990s as being an innovative way to improve the practices of development, its appearance and importance goes further back in history. Cornwall (2006: 63) describes that "contemporary participation discourse represents a reflux of strikingly similar policies, sentiments and pronouncements from a barely-remembered colonial past". She refers back to (amongst others) the British colonial administrations in Africa and the "1929 Colonial Development Act, which formalised and regularised the notion of the 'development' of colonial territories" (Ibid.: 65). A speech given by a Member of Parliament in 1929 refers to participation, by stating:

> "The subject peoples of the British Empire are becoming increasingly aware of their position in the human family, and they are not satisfied with it. They are asking […] for some participation in the shaping of their own destinies. These things represent moral responsibility which this Parliament can neither delegate nor ignore" (Ibid.: 65-66).

Indirect rule was implemented in order to delegate power to traditional leaders, however still under the direct rule of colonial powers and their perception of what would be seen as development (Ibid.). However, this indirect rule, as a way of practicing 'moral responsibility', was increasingly criticised for it would not provide enough space for development amongst locals (Ibid.). Moving further through the 20th century, discourses on participation could also be witnessed within the neo-liberal period (from the 1980s onwards) when "a pageant of such trends as 'sustainable development' and 'participatory development'" appeared among the "rich parade of successive development trends" (Alejandro Leal, 2007: 540). Alejandro Leal (Ibid.) states that it is no coincidence that participation again became important at the time that the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the World Bank and the IMF were designed. It was all part of the neo-liberal agenda that dominated development thinking. As Cornwall describes, local people should "no longer [be] the passive recipients of development assistance, [but] 'beneficiaries' were to be active participants in implementation, and in meeting the costs of development" (2006: 71). The change from passive to active participants brings us to Robert Chambers.

Robert Chambers

During the 1980s, Chambers was one of the authors who pointed towards the potential inequity of development, while writing on rural development. His book 'Rural Development: Putting the Last First' (1983) showed his passion for knowing how the local poor people perceived "the many initiatives undertaken supposedly to benefit them" (Moris, 2011: 36). His books have been highly influential in academic debates on participatory development. Two types of methods have been strongly associated with Chambers, namely Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) which evolved in Participatory Learning and Action (PLA). These methods were "used to mobilise local knowledge in the conduct of development programmes" (Williams, 2004: 559). RRA evolved in PRA, because of the needed change from 'finding out' (RRA) to 'handing over control' (PRA) (Ibid.). Elaborating a bit on the second method, Francis states that:

> "The original impetus for the development of PRA lay in dissatisfaction with both the biases of field visits [...] and the slow, expensive and inflexible nature of formal surveys. Increasingly, however, PRA has been seen as a means of validating local knowledge and empowering local populations" (2001: 76).

As described by Mohan and Stokke (2000: 252), "principles of PRA revolve around a reversal of learning, learning rapidly and progressively". Thereby, 'visualisation' is considered important since "various mapping exercises" are used "whereby locals relate aspects of their lives through spatial representations" (Ibid.: 253). Two values are core to PRA, namely self-critical awareness and personal responsibility (Francis, 2001: 76). Next to these, also the importance of sharing data is mentioned by Francis. Without sharing, people could easily be seen as 'respondents', instead of the desired 'participants' (Ibid.).

As written by Cornwall and Scoones (2011), there are two main transitions in the work of Chambers. The first is the transition from top-down administration and management to a more bottom-up participatory approach to development. Interestingly, Chambers had started his career as a colonial administrator (Ibid.). During this time his work mainly consisted of managerial and administrative tasks, where he also had to coordinate major evaluations that consisted of extensive data gathering

(Ibid.: 13-14). His later objections against this type of work resulted in the RRA and PRA methods, as described above. The second is the transition from a focus on tools and techniques to a greater focus on people and power. Both transitions show his conviction that development institutions can do a lot of damage when focusing on tools and techniques, and disregarding people's own knowledge and capacities.

Critique of Chambers' work

Although Chambers' work has had a major influence in thinking reflectively on words, power, and development, it has been criticised by quite some academics as well. Cooke and Kothari (2001) have noted that the critique has two levels, namely internal and fundamental (Williams, 2004: 559). The internal critique "seeks to improve on the technical limitations of participation as practised", while the fundamental critique tries to "unpick the power effects of participatory discourse" (Ibid.). Cornwall and Scoones (2011) also mention three types of critique. First, Chambers' enthusiasm for short-cut methodologies such as RRA/PRA, seem to not take complex cultural contexts into account (Ibid.: 16). Mohan and Stokke also explain this by stating that "in terms of its political imagination participatory development tends to treat 'the local' as a harmonious community which is reflected in the way in which PRA tends to promote a consensual view" (2000: 253). Simple divisions between 'lowers' and 'uppers', as often mentioned in PRA methods, seem to undermine the intentions of PRA to seek diversity (Ibid.). Williams also responds to this problem by stating, "social norms are seen as part of a 'local culture' for development programmes to respond to, without necessarily unpacking that culture, or seeing it as the product of internalised power relationships" (2004: 562).

A second critique mentioned by Cornwall and Scoones is the "consequences of the mainstreaming of participation in development institutions, and the 'tyranny' that the use of participatory approaches in development had become by the late 1990s" (2011: 16). This critique emerged a few years after the creation of the 'post-development' agenda in which was said that all development is political and part of the post-colonial or neo-liberal agenda. This turn in development analysis was inspired by Escobar (2011), who was convinced that however one would try to be participatory in development, it would always turn out to be disempowering. His conviction was that development practitioners should leave people to form their own social movements, instead of outsider experts doing this and defining what needs people should be helped to cover. Escobar added to the discussion around the tyranny of participation, by emphasizing that participatory approaches became the new must have in development which even led institutions such as the World Bank claiming to be 'doing participation' (2011). Cooke and Kothari mention this as well by stating that their problem with participatory development "lies not with the methodology and the techniques but with the politics of the discourse, and [...] with what participatory development does as much as what it does not do" (2001: 7). The next quote summarizes their concerns:

> "Those [problems] apparent to us are the naivety of assumptions about the authenticity of motivations and behaviour in participatory processes; how the language of empowerment masks a real concern for managerialist effectiveness; the quasi-religious associations of participatory rhetoric and practice; and how an emphasis on the micro level of intervention can obscure, and indeed sustain, broader macro-level inequalities and injustices" (Ibid.: 14).

It seems that Cooke and Kothari's (Ibid.) point primarily is to make clear that "the proponents of participatory development have generally been naive about the complexities of power and power relations", and that this is the case on many different levels.

A third critique mentioned by Cornwall and Scoones is Chambers' "focus on the individual as the agent of change, and his apparent disregard for politics and structural power relations" (2011: 16). Williams has mentioned an occurring paradoxical effect in this regard as well, by stating:

> "If 'the local' is privileged as the site of 'authentic' knowledge, then this has a paradoxical effect. The familiar character of the Westerner/development expert as enlightened and omnipotent saviour reappears, as s/he is the only one able to bridge the gap between local 'lowers' and global 'uppers'" (2004: 562).

Mosse adds to this that "'local knowledge' reflects local power" (2001: 19). As much as PRA tries to be participatory, its practitioners need to realise that "these events [PRA] can be seen as producing a rather peculiar type of knowledge, strongly shaped by local relations of power, authority and gender".

2.2.2 Development

Much can be said about the concept of development. One could talk about different levels of development, for example local vs. global. Different aspects of development could be mentioned, such as economic, social, and physical. Also, linkages towards other concepts could easily be made, thinking of poverty, sustainability, and vulnerability. Power, as described in the section above, is one of the concepts to which development often is linked. Chambers puts it, "as a word, power has been almost taboo. Yet, power is everywhere. Considering development without power and relationships is like analysing irrigation without considering water and its distribution" (2013: 207). Development is inextricably linked with power, and in our era the adage 'knowledge is power' seems to be applicable almost everywhere. Gaventa, a well-known author on power and participation, states "'Whose reality counts?' is the critical question for development, and the answer is found in the self-articulated reality of the marginalized" (2011: 68). However, the ability to listen to the marginalized asks for reflexivity first. Leonard refers to Chambers by stating:

> "What took Robert ultimately to his well-known participatory insights and methods was a product not of sudden revelations, but of a deep dedication to development for the poor, self-reflection, an eagerness to learn and a willingness to admit past mistakes" (Ibid.: 43).

Uphoff (2011) adds to this that he thinks that PRA is often understood as being (only) beneficial for local communities. However, Uphoff (Ibid.) states that PRA might even have had a bigger impact on development professionals' thinking and their relationship with communities. Chambers' own reflections and ultimately his writings in a more general sense are perceived by Uphoff as a "*cri de coeur* to resurrect our original ideals and expectations for development professionals, promoting what Robert called 'a new professionalism'" (Ibid.: 250). One of Chambers' poems describes this:

> "Normal professionals face the core
> And turn their backs upon the poor

New ones by standing on their head
Face the periphery instead" (Cornwall and Scoones, 2011: 7).

The reflection on the impact of development workers is important in debates on development. As Cooke and Kothari mention, "the morality of development is often seen as unquestionable, particularly when associated with intentions that few could criticize – poverty alleviation, sustainable development or, indeed, empowerment" (2001: 114). However, being reflective on power or performance issues is important to understand its effect on "the processes and findings of participatory research and planning" (Ibid.: 152).

Conway reflects on his time with Chambers in India, when they were discussing their experiences with PRA and especially how "one of the outcomes of our interactions with rural people had been to understand their deeply embedded holistic view of their lives and their environment" (2011: 87). They ultimately came up with the term 'livelihood' "to explain their [rural people] perceptions and the systems they used for analysis" (Ibid.). The next section builds further on this time of Conway and Chambers, and shows how a livelihood approach can help us to see what the impact of participatory development might be for local people.

2.2.3 Livelihoods

In 1992 Conway and Chambers wrote a working paper for the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), which entails a definition of sustainable livelihoods that is still widely used. As Scoones notes, it states:

> "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base" (2015: 6).

Although having a definition makes it easier to understand the concept of a sustainable livelihood, one will still realise that "livelihoods in any setting are immensely complex and have multiple dimensions" (Ibid.: 11). In order to assess livelihoods, it is important to take on a certain approach that provides a better understanding of livelihood outcomes. The central issue of this thesis manifests itself around inclusion and empowerment, and thus two approaches to assess livelihood outcomes seem to be applicable. The first is rooted in "arguments about social justice, fairness and liberty" (Ibid.: 17). It has linkages with the concept of 'human development', and relates to the theory of Amartya Sen on capabilities (Ibid.). "Amartya Sen argues that a person's life is made up of a combination of 'doings' and 'beings' [...], and capabilities are then realized through a person's freedom to choose among these elements of a valued life" (Ibid.). According to Jolly (2011), talking about human development adds value to participatory approaches to development. He states that "human development would bring a broader frame in which participatory approaches could be set. Participatory approaches would bring values, commitments [...] to human development" (Ibid.: 30). The commitment to do justice to the local, marginalized poor, is strengthened by a global commitment towards sustainable human development. Jolly concludes his chapter by stating that "the links between a vision of human development in a world of greater equity and justice and concern for the empowerment of people is very close" (Ibid.). Taking on an approach that centres around social justice helps us to "focus on the individual but in a broader sense, looking at a range of factors that improve human development"

(Scoones, 2015: 17). A second approach, which overlaps the first, focuses "on the subjective, personal and relational aspects of a person's life" (Ibid.: 18). Having good livelihood outcomes in this approach, flows from the importance of having good, respectable relationships with other people. As Scoones states, "low self-esteem, depression and lack of respect from others will have major impacts on wellbeing" (Ibid.). Taking on an approach that validates the importance of relationships and wellbeing is an important part of this thesis on inclusion and empowerment of people. Further elaboration on this aspect will be given under the heading 'poverty through a relationship lens' in this chapter.

2.3 "Leave no one behind"

The central theme of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 'leave no one behind', seems to fit well into the debate on inclusive development. According to Gupta and Vegelin, the aim of social inclusiveness is "empowering the poorest through investing in human capital and enhancing the opportunities for participation" (2016: 436). The attention lies "on the places [...], sectors [...], and arenas [...] of high vulnerability to enhance well-being, including material [...], social-relational [...], and cognitive well-being" (Ibid.). However, as the authors later state in the article, the SDGs unfortunately do not emphasize enough the importance to include everybody's knowledge nor engagement in order to increase participation on all levels (Ibid.: 441). Nevertheless, this thesis does place itself in the pledge of the SDGs to aim for inclusive development. In order to operationalize participatory development, I have chosen three key-concepts which have guided both theory and practice of this thesis. These concepts are inclusion, social marginalization, and empowerment. Below I explain how these concepts have been discussed in academic literature. However, I have chosen to keep the academic definitions concise, and primarily focus on the definitions (and meaning) given by the local people. This choice (again) has been inspired by Chambers, and his next poem does verbalize the "call to expose the egotism of academic writing" well:

> "Let's challenge these writers to translate,
> Their texts and subtexts and to state,
> In simple prose for all to see,
> Their meaning if meaning there be" (Cornwall, 2011: 76).

2.3.1 Inclusion

According to Gupta and Vegelin (2016) sustainable development has ecological, social and economic aspects. In order to make these aspects operational, different concepts have occurred from which inclusive development is one. Inclusive development combines the ecological with the social aspect. For this thesis it is especially relevant to look into the social aspect, for it is about the inclusion of socially marginalized groups. Gupta and Vegelin (Ibid.) explain that social inclusiveness happens at many levels. On a national level it is about accounting for the least developing countries. On a regional level it is about taking into account the more vulnerable countries. And on a local level social inclusiveness is about "accounting for specific individuals and groups" (Ibid.: 436). The authors state that policies made on either level "need to be contextually sensitive [...], and encourage participatory governance and capacity building to enhance such participation" (Ibid.). Cobigo et al. also provide a summarized definition of social inclusion, by stating:

> "Social inclusion speaks of the full and fair access to community-based resources and activities, having relationships with family, friends and acquaintances, and having a

> sense of belonging to a group. It represents more than the mere physical presence, but the participation and engagement in the mainstream society" (2012: 76).

Being valued in society also relates to certain dominant beliefs in society on which social roles are accepted and which are not. Whether a person is socially included "generally reflect dominant societal values and lifestyles, leading to moralistic judgements if people reject or cannot achieve the dominant norms" (Ibid.: 79). There is a strong interplay between the individual and the group, and "when actions of an individual are deemed useful or contributing to the public good, this person is more likely to be included in the group" (Ibid.). However, according to Cobigo et al. (Ibid.) social inclusion should not be seen as an absolute phenomenon, but as a process which evolves over time and differs per person. The degree to which one person feels socially included, might be different to another person, and thus is "based on personal preferences and needs" (Ibid.: 79). Also, individuals might actively choose to not participate or be included, because they simply want to. It is important to include subjectivity in order to "ensure that the perspective of the person to be included is recognized, irrespective of conformity to social norms or dominant group identification" (Ibid.: 82).

The opposite of social inclusion is social exclusion, which is defined as "a lack of opportunity to participate in social, economic and/or political life, and results in a rupture in the social bonds between an individual and the society, which excludes the individual from social support" (Cobigo et al., 2012: 77). However, again it is important to keep in mind that subjectivity, and thus the perspective of the individual, needs to be taken into account. Exclusion might occur either by choice or by force. When it happens by choice, it might even demonstrate a sense of empowerment as a person exercises their right to say that s/he will not participate. When exclusion happens by force, it clearly relates to the definition provided by Cobigo et al. (Ibid.) and should be investigated better to understand which processes force somebody to be excluded. Cornwall and Coelho (2007) elaborate on the issue of choice and force, inspired by Gaventa and his idea of different spaces of power, namely closed space, invited space, and claimed space. Inclusion and participation relates mostly to invited space, but even goes further than that by activating people to create their own spaces in which they can speak and act for themselves and be citizens for change (Cornwall, 2007: 11). Forced exclusion then becomes an opportunity, by challenging this from happening by creating one's own space. This again relates to the concepts of social marginalization and empowerment which are discussed in the next two sections.

2.3.2 Social marginalization

In order to define social marginalization, it is important to first understand marginalization. Braun and Gatzweiler define marginality as:

> "An involuntary position and condition of an individual or group at the margins of social, political, economic, ecological, and biophysical systems, that prevent them from access to resources, assets, services, restraining freedom of choice, preventing the development of capabilities, and eventually causing extreme poverty" (2014: 3).

The authors state that "the marginality concept goes beyond a measurement of well-being in term of goods or commodities [but] seeks to reveal real opportunities or barriers that exist as a result of what people have […] and where they are" (Ibid.). The latter does not only refer to the geographical location of people, but also to their position in society, that is the way they are recognised, represented and as

a consequence how they are able to access resources they need. So, social marginalization seems to entail two key issues, namely 1) the lack of access to social networks involving economic or political power, and 2) the lack of recognition related to people's (social) identity. Both issues are often caused by structural barriers. These barriers are also mentioned by Butler and Adamowski when they state:

> "Marginalization is closely tied to oppression, and on a societal level can be seen as the product of structural barriers. Structural barriers are spaces, policies, practices, and attitudes that diminish the autonomy and choices available to individuals and communities as a result of their particular identities and experiences" (2015: 154).

They further state that these structural barriers "impact [...] who is able to participate and which voices dominate the discussions" (Ibid.). According to Freire, a scholar well-known for writing on liberation of oppressed people through transformative education, there lies an opportunity in oppression caused by structural barriers. He speaks about conscientisation, which means that people have to become conscious of the oppression they are in (Ibid.). By being conscious about injustice, people can also be the change they want to see instead of waiting for an outsider to fix things. People have to act upon their situation of oppression, or social marginalization, and should be empowered to make a change. Fraser (2005) also wrote on social justice and social order by referring to three dimensions, namely redistribution, recognition and representation. These three dimensions are aspects of social order and respectively represent the economic, cultural (or social) and political. According to Fraser, parity of participation within social order is the essence of justice (Ibid.). She states, "justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (Ibid.: 68). By improving people's access to social networks, the recognition of their social identities will increase and this will eventually decrease levels of social marginalization.

2.3.3 Empowerment

According to the post-Marxist strand of development thinking empowerment "is a matter of collective mobilisation of marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of both the state and the market" (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 248). It focusses on bottom-up approaches where listening to local knowledge is emphasized. It also requires action and consciousness. Freire contributes to the "analysis of Africans as active 'subjects', and innovative agents in choosing their own destinies, rather than 'objects' to be acted upon" (Thomas, 2009: 254). Freire states that "liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (Ibid.: 255). When people develop a sense of responsibility for their own destinies, it helps them to change from passive participants to active and collaborative people (Ibid.).

Gaventa brings power into the discussion on participation and empowerment, by stating that "with the commitment to participation comes a commitment to empowerment, and to changing power relations for empowered participation to occur" (2011: 68). He elaborates on one of the themes around power that occurs in Chambers' work, namely the 'power to empower'. Chambers' power to empower is a converted – more optimistic – version of 'power over'. Gaventa explains that "a paradox of power is the win-win that all can gain when those with power over liberate themselves by empowering others" (Ibid.: 73). In this opportunity to empower others, also lies a danger for NGOs.

Kilby states that "NGOs [...] may exert their power and influence to prescribe what they believe is empowering", which in itself "is a manifestation of power" (2006: 955). The practices of NGOs hold the paradox of on the one hand empowering local communities by their actions, and on the other hand disempowering the same communities by making them dependent on the NGO's interventions (Ibid.). This is when downward accountability becomes important in order to ensure that empowerment can take place. Making sure that the relationship "allows one actor to influence another's actions", so that distribution and enactment of power are equal (Jacobs and Wilford, 2010: 799). This links to 'power with', in which people join forces and work together in order to achieve the outcomes they want to. The 'power with' brings us to the next section on poverty through a relationship lens.

2.4 Poverty through a relationship lens

Many Christian NGOs define poverty as a result of broken relationships, and that a holistic approach is needed to alleviate poverty. In this perspective holistic is defined as "God's command to his church [...] to tackle all aspects of life; the material, the emotional, the environmental as well as the spiritual" (Woolnough, 2014: 2). In the two sub-headings below I elaborate on the theory of poverty that focuses on relationships, and thereafter I elaborate on the importance of the local church in development and how the local church could act as a space for people-centred, local development efforts.

2.4.1 Broken relationships are the cause

Two important pieces of literature on this particular theory of poverty are 'Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development' (Myers, 1999) and 'When helping hurts' (Corbett and Fikkert, 2014). In the latter, Corbett and Fikkert (Ibid.: 54-55) use the model of Myers to explain this theory on poverty more extensively. Below the model is displayed:

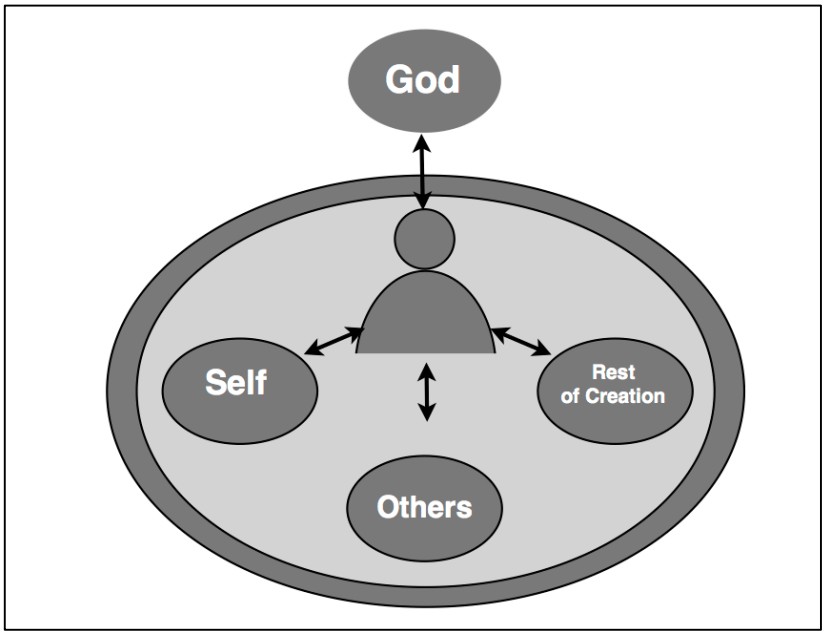

Fig. 2.1 Theory on Poverty. Adapted from Myers (1999), retrieved online

The authors (Ibid.) explain the four types of relationships as follows. First, the relationship with God, which is explained as "our primary relationship, the other three relationships flowing out of this one" (Ibid.: 55). The purpose of this relationship is for us, people, to glorify God in "thoughts, words, and actions" (Ibid.). Second, the relationship with the self, which points towards the "calling of reflecting

God's being", which relates to our "inherent worth and dignity" (Ibid.). Third, the relationship with others, which highlights the importance "to love one another, and to encourage one another to use the gifts God has given to each of us to fulfil our callings" (Ibid.). Fourth, the relationship with the rest of creation, which points towards the fact that God has called people to be good stewards on earth. "God called humans to interact with creation, to make possibilities into realities, and to be able to sustain ourselves via the fruits of our stewardship" (Ibid.). Poverty occurs when at least one of these four relationships is broken. Restoration and reconciliation is needed in order to restore relationships, and thus alleviate poverty. Therefore, the definition of poverty alleviation is the following, "poverty alleviation is the ministry of reconciliation: moving people closer to glorifying God by living in right relationship with God, with self, with others, and with the rest of creation" (Ibid.: 74). This particular theory on poverty alleviation is important to understand, because CCM is designed around this particular theory and focusses on strengthening the four types of relationships. Further elaboration on the design of CCM will be provided in the context chapter.

According to Corbett and Fikkert it is important to acknowledge that "the four key relationships highlight the fact that human beings are multifaceted, implying that poverty-alleviation efforts should be multifaceted as well" (Ibid.: 57). Development practitioners cannot reduce poverty to a problem that is simply physical, and thus try to alleviate it by material means. The authors write that "if we remember that humans are spiritual, social, psychological, and physical beings, our poverty-alleviation efforts will be more holistic in their design and execution" (Ibid.). Additionally, we (development professionals from the Western world) should be aware that, according to this theory, we have "to embrace our mutual brokenness" (Ibid.: 61). It is not just 'them' who are suffering from brokenness, but we all need poverty alleviation albeit in different ways (Ibid.: 75). As stated "our perspective should be less about how we are going to fix the materially poor and more about how we can walk together, asking God to fix both of us" (Ibid.). It will help us to see global humanity as a unity – 'we' –, instead of 'us' and 'them'. This perspective hopefully prevents the economically rich of having "'God-complexes', a subtle and unconscious sense of superiority in which they believe that they have achieved their wealth through their own efforts and that they have been anointed to decide what is best for low-income people, whom they view as inferior to themselves" (Ibid.: 61).

The perspective of 'we', instead of 'them' and 'us' is however an idealistic perspective. It still rarely happens that people from the South come to the North to help combatting poverty and restoring relationships. Unfortunately, it still is, and maybe always will be on unequal terms. Nevertheless, even if people from the North go to the South we still meet together, which offers the opportunity to learn from each other – and for those from the North to learn from the South. By acknowledging that the North is not perfect, and that we have not everything figured out, it helps us to stay humble even when visiting places that maybe seem to be less perfect than our world.

2.4.2 The church and development

The church and development have been related in many ways throughout history. As I describe in the chapter on the (historical) context of Tanzania, missionaries have been related to colonialists, and also after Tanzania gained independence, the church has played a role in developing the country by collaborating with several Christian NGOs or churches. The complexity of religion, and more specifically the church, asks for it to be narrowed down. Since CCM works via the local church, in the form of

different denominations varying per country, it is important to understand the place of the local church in development.

As stated by Corbett and Fikkert (2014: 76) "the local church, as an institution, has a key role to play in poverty alleviation, because the gospel has been committed by God to the church". Although they mention that this does not mean that the local church needs to own the whole process of poverty alleviation, it does emphasize its importance in the local community. Jones and Petersen state that "[religious organisations] are shown to enjoy strong popular support and trust among the poorest, reaching them at the grassroots and speaking their language" (2011: 1296). "FBOs probably provide the best social and physical infrastructure in the poorest communities ... because churches, temples, mosques and other places of worship are the focal points for the communities they serve" (Ibid.). According to Woolnough, the local church is "vital for sustainable development, because 'it is there'" (2014: 4). It was, is, and will remain in the local context long after development organisations have exited. As discussed when elaborating on the key concepts of this research, the local church thus is a potential space for participation and empowerment. This provides the potential to build meaningful relationships within the 'safe haven' that the local church could provide, and with that the alleviation of poverty locally.

However, when acknowledging local churches as spaces for liberation and restoration, it remains important to also keep the dialogue going within the church. The importance of trust and faith in and between people and institutions is mentioned by Freire (in Thomas, 2009), who's theory of liberation relates well to the participatory development theory. Freire's thinking could be applied to the discussion of the church and development in such a way that church leaders need to "operate in a dialogical relationship with those they claim to 'represent'" (Ibid.: 264). Development, and with that liberation "cannot be 'delivered' from above" (Ibid.: 265). The oppressed people who should be able to find a safe space within the local church, should be seen as equal counterparts in working towards development. As stated by Thomas, "throughout the process of engaging in dialogue with marginalised and oppressed people, there is ultimately the crucial issue of trusting in their ability to both apprehend their situation of oppression, and work productively in order to overcome it" (Ibid.: 256). The "trust and reciprocity leads to a reduced sense of marginalization, and more satisfying social relationships" (Cobigo et al., 2012: 79). This asks for sensitivity and also reflective thinking on power relations within the church, and to what extent these may undermine the restoration of relationships. Oppressed people should not feel oppressed within the church, however, this could often still be the case. This research aims to see to what extent the involvement of the local church within CCM helps the oppressed to find space to choose a different future than it being in the margins.

2.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework underpinning this research. It has elaborated on participatory development as a development approach that centralizes people instead of methodologies. Robert Chambers has been one of the champions in making sure that development interventions would make people active participants instead of passive beneficiaries in order to increase inclusion and empowerment, and decrease social marginalization. Social marginalization is a result of lacking access to networks that provide meaningful resources, and a lack in recognition of one's (social) identity. Through transformative education, people can increase their empowerment to make a change and 'step out of the margins' by choosing a different space. Building meaningful

relations relates to the theory of poverty which Tearfund endorses. This theory speaks of poverty in terms of broken relationships, with God, others, the environment, and self. By restoring these relationships poverty decreases, and communities will flourish. This theory relates to Tearfund's work through the local church. A space which is located at the grassroots, and will stay there in the future – long after NGOs have left the field. The local church as a space in which people are included and empowered is one of the promises of CCM. The next chapters will elaborate on whether this promise is being met through analysing the local reality of CCM.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes my methodological journey as a researcher, from pre-field desk-research to individual interviews in the field, enriched by my personal observations and reflections throughout the whole research process. My hope is that this chapter does not only help you to understand the academic reasoning for the chosen research methods, but that it also gives you a glimpse of my experiences as a researcher in the field. The chapter is divided into four parts: (1) the methodological research approach, (2) the data collection methods, (3) the data analysis methods, and (4) some reflections on both the research process and some of the limitations of this research.

3.2 Research approach

When I started thinking about this thesis and the research approach I would like to take, I knew that I wanted to do qualitative research in the most participatory way possible. Researching inclusion and participation would only be credible to me when I would to strive towards inclusion and participation in my own research approach. Jolly, who primarily wrote on human development, states:

> "People-focused methodologies and approaches need to replace dominant paradigms of top-down planning, top-down management and top-down economics. In their place must come approaches and methodologies that recognize the wisdom and experience of people and give them the opportunity and capabilities to make their own choices" (2011: 30).

One of such approaches that recognize the wisdom and experience of (local) people is Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR originates in RRA and PRA, which are strongly associated with Robert Chambers. These methods "have been defined as a 'family of approaches and methods to enable rural people to share, enhance, and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act'" (Chambers in Le De, Gaillard and Friesen, 2015: 1). According to Graham (2013) and Le De, Gaillard and Friesen (2015), PAR aims to:

- include local people from the design phase onwards (fostering and building dialogue);
- achieve practical outcomes;
- reach a high level of reflectivity throughout the entire research process;
- understand and transform a specific area/problem;
- and enhance human flourishing.

In a broader sense, Graham (Ibid.: 152) explains that "[participatory] action research locates itself in the context of a 'post-positivist' social science", which means that it draws on the importance of context-specificity and continuous reflection of the researcher. Therefore, she further states that "there can be no absolute distance between researcher and researched, since all are partners in the generation of knowledge" (Ibid.). She illustrates the differences in positionality of researchers and those researched, by using the model displayed on the next page (Ibid.: 157):

Insider studies own practice and/or subjectivity	Practitioner research Auto-ethnography
Insider in collaboration with other insiders	Self-help groups Collaborative research teams
Insider in collaboration with outsiders	Study groups
Reciprocal insider-outsider participant action research	**Collaborative participant action research**
Outsider collaborating with or facilitating insider enquiry	Consultancy Focus groups
Researcher as outsider studying insiders	Ethnography Academic qualitative research

Table 5.1 Positionality within action research (source: model adapted from Herr/Anderson in Graham)

The model shows that PAR is different from e.g. ethnography and academic qualitative research. The crux seems to be in the reciprocal nature of PAR. Without this reciprocity, the research still can be qualitative, but cannot be seen as collaborative. This reciprocity especially seems to cause challenges in the academic world. Le De, Gaillard and Friesen pose the question whether academics are even able to do participatory research, by stating:

> "Local communities are generally chosen as case studies for research. In this approach, the researcher has a pre-determined objective, which often means that the participants are not involved in the definition of the research project, nor in deciding the goals to be achieved or in the evaluation of the research outcomes" (2015: 2).

3.3 Data collection

During my time in the field I have used five different types of data collection, which I will explain below. These types are Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), interviews, a feedback session, participant observation, and informal conversations.

3.3.1 Focus Group Discussions

In the first village I held two FGDs, and in the second village one FGD due to time restrictions. The FGDs would provide me with information on how a broad group of villagers perceive the key-concepts of my research (inclusion, social marginalization, and empowerment). Their answers subsequently would fuel both my understanding of the local perspectives on my research topic, and the formulation of my (individual) interview questions. In the village one, I held a FGD-Community (FGD-Co) and a FGD-Church (FGD-Ch). I decided to separate people going to church from those who do not go to church, because CCM is strongly connected to the church – it starts within the church. Therefore, it could potentially be that churchgoers are more involved with CCM than non-churchgoers. To prevent people not feeling free to share their thoughts on CCM when organizing only one FGD, I chose to do two. In the second village the group consisted of both church-goers and non-churchgoers. I tried to make sure that the three FGDs consisted of different types of people. For the FGD-Co, I asked two (local) government officials, two CCM facilitators, two women, two elderly, and two youth. For the FGD-Ch, I asked two church leaders instead of two (local) government officials, and the rest of the group composition remained the same considering the type of people.

In village one, the actual decision on who would be asked to participate in the FGDs, was made by church elders. It happened this way, because the AICT decided that I would be introduced in the village during a church service in the AICT church. After this service I could introduce myself and the research to church elders, and that was the moment that I also explained that I needed people for the FGDs who would be held the next days. They then decided to pick out names, so they could ask those people whether they would be willing to participate. If so, they would be ready when we would return to hold the FGDs. Unfortunately, it meant that the church people chose the participants for the FGDs, which could mean a decrease in the likability that the FGDs covered the whole community. Before going to village two, I made sure that I discussed this issue with my main contact point of the AICT, and I asked them whether I could be introduced during a village meeting instead of a church service. Luckily, one village meeting was held in the week that I started doing research in village two, and I was introduced there. This change in introduction did not only help me to work with church and community leaders in organizing the FGD in the second village. It also helped the villagers to better understand who I was, and what the purpose of my visitation was. In village one, the introduction in the church had caused problems in this area, because many villagers did not know who I was and why I was visiting their village. The introduction had only reached those people going to the AICT church. After some weeks they decided to introduce my research in a village meeting as well, so more people could get to understand my visitations every week.

I would like to share a brief reflection that I wrote during the FGD-Co held in village one. As formerly mentioned, I tried to make sure that I had a broad range of people involved in the groups. I specifically asked for youth too, because for me their perceptions were important to know. However, when everybody was present, my reflection was as follows:

> "Another thing that strikes me is the fact that I don't see any young people. I explicitly asked for that, so I decide to ask one of the AICT staff about it. He looks around, and it appears that he knows who the 'young' people are. So, he asks me: what is your perception of youth? Apparently, this can be different. So, I explain that youth for me means between 10-20 years old. He looks somewhat surprised, and appoints me the 'youth' in the building. Clearly people that don't fit this age-range" (personal reflection on July 18, 2017).

This situation made me realize that working and doing research in other cultures, does not only mean that you have to take into account language barriers, or certain cultural behaviour. Even perceptions of what people perceive as a young person seemed to differ from my Western point of view. The 'young' people in this building, were at least as old as me, if not older. I still remember that this caused me a critical mind-set in the local perceptions and perspectives on youth from the beginning of my research on. Time would show that this critical mind-set would not seem to be unimportant for the research, but I will explain that in in the result chapters.

3.3.2 Interviews

The interviews were a combination of unstructured and semi-structured, and the questions were fuelled by the input gained during the FGDs. Unstructured interviews aim "to get people open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace" (Bernard, 2017: 157). Semi-structured interviews are based on an interview guide, "a written list of questions and topics that need

to be covered in a particular order" (Ibid.: 158). The interviews I did were often a combination, because I always had an interview guide (although this was different for in-depth interviews and respondents with a specific task in the village), but I still tried to have minimum control over respondents' answers. In total I did 44 interviews, from which 43 were held in the villages, and one with Peter (leader of the Community Development Department of the AICT).

Before starting an interview, or any other means of data collection, I explained people who I was, what I was doing in the village, and that whatever they would share would stay anonymous. Thereafter, I explained them the recording device, and asked them whether they would agree with recording the interview. Some respondents asked some further questions, but in the end every respondent agreed upon using the recording device. From the 43 interviews, 34 were held in village one, and nine in village two. Of the 34 interviews in village one, four were in-depth interviews, which means that I went a second time to the same respondent. After having listened the first interview, I then asked follow-up questions to even better understand their story. This also allowed me to test the reliability of the research for it would show me whether people would respond with the same or different answers to questions that overlapped the first interview.

I used snowball sampling to generate respondents for the interviews. I consciously chose this method to protect the research from too much interference of local leaders (mainly from the church). Usually, after an interview was finished, I asked the respondent whether s/he knew people who were not involved in CCM. Usually they could name some people, and then I could ask the elder from the church who was bringing us to the homes of interviewees in village one, to trace those people and ask them whether they would be willing to have us over for an interview. The help of the elder of the church in bringing us to interviewees was very helpful, because neither my translator nor the CCM facilitators from the AICT exactly knew the names of the people in the village, leave alone where they lived. The elder knew almost everybody and helped us to find their homes. In village two we got this help from a local government official to find the homes of our interviewees.

A different type of interviews were discussions I held with youth. In village one I held two of them, the first contained five boys and the second contained four girls. In village two I did an interview with a boy and a girl. The youth shared about their perceptions on CCM, their position in the villages and their future plans. Inviting them to share this was important to me, for it would hopefully give them the feeling being part of this research as well. Youth are the next generation having to take up CCM, and therefore, active involvement would increase CCM's sustainability in the future. The discussions also helped me find any similarities or differences in opinions about youth shared by adults and youth themselves.

3.3.3 Oral histories

Many interviews contained aspects of oral histories. The Oral History Association (OHA) defines oral histories as "a way of collecting and interpreting human memories to foster knowledge and human dignity" (2018). Oral memory distinguishes itself from memoir by involving someone else "who frames the topic and inspires the narrator to begin the act of remembering [...] oral history seems to be the [term] most frequently used to refer to the recorded in-depth interview" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011: 451). During the interviews I held with respondents, I often asked them about their lives before CCM and how CCM had changed their lives. Their memories of the past helped me to understand the

process of CCM through the years. CCM is a slow process, and impact often can only be seen after years. By listening to people's histories and their reflections on the future, my understanding grew on how this village-wide process impacts the lives of individuals. Hopefully, this understanding will bridge the past and present to the future in regards to how CCM could improve its inclusiveness and the empowerment of individuals and communities through time.

3.3.4 Feedback session

Sharing results was an important aspect in making this research as participatory as possible. Therefore, I made sure that I organised a feedback session in village one. I created big A3 papers with initial outcomes flowing from the FGDs and the interviews. Below, a picture is shown of the set-up of the session. Initial feedback was stuck on one side of the A3, and they got the opportunity to stick their own initial feedback (comments, questions, etc.) on the other side of the paper. I invited all respondents who had been part of the research. About 15 of them came and put energy in this opportunity to provide even more data, and at the same time having an active voice in what would result in being the outcomes of this research. The feedback session was held in the AICT church, because this seemed to be the be best opportunity to arrange such a session. The village meeting hall was an open space, and due to weather conditions not convenient for this session, although this would have had my preference.

Fig. 5.1 Feedback session in village one

3.3.5 Participant observation

Participant observation occurs when "the role of the researcher changes from detached observer of the situation, to both participant in and observer of the situation" (Punch, 2013: 182). There are different levels in which this participant observation can be practiced, for completely 'going native' is almost impossible for an outsider. In my case I have tried to better understand my observations, by discussing this with my translator. She definitely helped me to add valuable observations, as well as (culturally) interpreting these observations. An example of participant observation would be when I attended a meeting of one of the small groups. They gathered at a respondent's place, whom I just had interviewed the day before, and he invited us to this meeting. I decided to just observe, and not being put in the middle of this meeting. The observation helped me to understand the way small groups gather together and have meetings in which they either receive further education or e.g. discuss potential new members.

3.3.6 Informal conversations

Informal conversations with a variety of people have been a part of the research as well. For example, with interviewees whom I met again after I had interviewed them. Usually they came to me, greeted me, and asked me to come over to their place again. These brief moments of interaction often gave

me some extra information that was valuable for the research. The reflection below describes one of those moments:

> "While we [the elder leading us around, my translator, and I] are walking to the next person, another older woman is calling us from her home. The elder and Rebeca [my translator] respond to her, and later I heard what she [the woman] said/thought: her idea of me was that I was coming to help her and give her money. She was confused that we did not come to her house [we were on our way to another interviewee], and therefore made sure that she talked to us outside of her house" (personal reflection on August 1, 2017).

This example does not only show the curiosity of people, but also shows their expectations and perceptions of me as a white woman visiting their houses. The expectation of many people that I would bring them something, was difficult for me. I tried my best to explain that my purpose was to listen to them, and understand their stories, instead of giving them something. This idea of white people coming over with 'a giving attitude' seemed to be strongly present. Even one of the local government officials referred to it:

> "When we're saying goodbye outside of church [it was after the first FGD], one man calls something from a couple of meters away. It is an older man, probably one of the government officials. He points to his bag, some old briefcase, and another man is laughing. I excuse myself for not understanding his Swahili, and that I need translation to understand what he is saying. The other man translates; he is asking you to bring a new bag next time. The man who asked me, points again to his bag and points to me: you, bring me! It feels extremely uncomfortable, for again I am confronted with their image of me as a rich, white woman. Even men, from whom I would expect different thoughts [he was a community leader], think this way. They still see me – despite that it may 'just' be a joke – as the person with the money, superior, and being able to give them what they want. How extremely opposite from how I want to be seen, but how enormously confronting to know that it may never change. History has done much damage, and for them, I fit in the same picture as what they've seen before. And can I blame them?" (personal reflection on July 19, 2017).

3.4 Data analysis

I analysed the data by both listening, transcribing and coding the content. I have transcribed the interviews of key-respondents, which also allowed me to easily take over quotes that would enrich the presentation of data. The content of the other interviews has been organized per sub-question in a table. The content of the table has mostly been coded via the in vivo technique, which entails "using actual phrases from your text – the words of real people – to name themes" (Bernard, 2017: 430). These themes have become the sub-headings within the three result chapters. Also, I have analysed the different FGDs outcomes, the extra outcomes coming from the feedback session, and my own field notes and reflections. The combination of all sorts of data gathered using different methods, enhanced triangulation of the research and thus its validity.

3.5 Reflections

In this section I would like to reflect on my position as a researcher, limitations of the research, and ethical considerations.

3.5.1 Position as a researcher

As a researcher, I have faced several challenges around my own positionality in this research. In the first place, I want to be transparent about the fact that I have received funding from Tearfund to do this research in Tanzania. This of course, can be seen as a positive and serious desire from Tearfund to know more about the topic, and it shows their trust in me as a researcher. On the other hand, it might cause bias, albeit unintentionally. Tearfund has its own agenda with this research too, and for me as a researcher I needed to make sure that Tearfund's agenda would not become leading in this research. I have aimed for independency throughout the research process, by always making sure that I reflected on decisions that were taken. Second, the fact that I used a car (and a driver) from the AICT office to enter the villages, often gave people the idea that I was an officer from the AICT. It was a challenge to explain to people that I was an independent researcher, and that I was not working for the AICT.

3.5.2 Limitations

Several limitations are apparent in this research, and in this section I list four of them. First, time has had a limiting effect on this research, especially because of the fact that I got malaria twice. Both times I was unable to work for one week, which is quite a lot on a period of three months. This situation made me having to choose to stay longer in village one, and using village two as a quick scan. This quick scan would provide me with at least some comparative material, which would help me to see whether the two villages differ a lot on the impact of CCM or not. Second, language has been a limitation of this research as well. In Tanzania Swahili is the main language, but apart from that, a lot of different tribal languages are spoken. I do not speak Swahili, let alone different tribal languages spoken in the villages where I did research, and this caused me to be dependent on my translator. I made sure to take enough time before going into the villages, to discuss the research topic and its key-concepts. I had to invest days talking with my translator, as well as some other people from the AICT, to find the right meaning of words in Swahili. Third, the fact that I did not live in the two villages where I did research has caused some limitations in data gathering. Living in the villages would have helped me to build better relationships with people in order to gain more trust. This trust would have helped them to open up on the critical questions I asked during the FGDs and interviews. Also, it would have given me a better overview of the people living in the village, and which type of people would be more vulnerable to social marginalization. Fourth, throughout this research I use quotes of respondents who have either been illustrative or representative for what I discuss. I chose to not specify this per quote, because sometimes there was some ambiguity on to whether respondents represented the majority or not. I aimed to make it as clear as possible by stating whether just one respondent stated a certain quote, or that the respondent was 'one of many' people mentioning the same.

3.5.3 Ethical considerations

Several ethical considerations have resulted from this research. First, this research deals with a sensitive topic, namely inclusion/exclusion within development programmes and people's position in society. I have aimed for anonymity of my respondents, by not providing any full recording nor transcriptions to anyone. In this regard, I also decided to not write down any names or specific status within the villages when referring to the data collected. Second, during many interviews, people asked

me at the end how I was going to solve their situations. This was difficult for me to deal with, because I understand that they think that all my questions about their (difficult) lives should lead to at least some sort of practical improvement. However, I did decide to not give anybody any capital or material to not create any division.

3.6 Concluding remarks

This research aims to place itself in the practice of PAR, which entails being aware of context-specificity, allowing participants to actively have a voice in the research, and making reflection an important part for the researcher throughout the research process. By means of reflecting and concluding, I would like to end with some remarks on to what extent my methods have been coherent with PAR as an overall research approach. First, the start of this research process has been the writing of a research proposal, which has been developed by myself, Tearfund and WUR. Unfortunately, local people have not been a direct part of the process of developing and writing the proposal due to the fact that I finished the proposal before going to the field in order to have a framework whilst being in the field. Although the proposal was flexible to some extent, the objective of the research was pre-determined, albeit fuelled by impact studies from Tearfund on the impact of CCM on the ground. This highlights the presence of power issues around who is participating in which phase of a research process. While being in the field, these power issues were also visible in a way that my hope of doing research together, to be a 'we', more often felt as 'I' and 'them'. The reciprocity asked for by PAR, did not necessarily occur within the first phases of this research, however, once in the field the local people did influence the research. This brings me to the second point. Collaboration with local people can be seen in the FGDs, from which I made the interview question flow, and also in the feedback session where the participants did have an active voice in what the actual output of the research would be. By comparing two villages, I have tried to follow the important aspect of context-specificity by comparing the outcomes of two different contexts. Third, during many interviews I have asked people how they think the impact of CCM on either inclusiveness or empowerment could be improved in the future. The recommendations they have given, combined with my own recommendations, are written at the end of this thesis. By providing ideas for practical improvement, I aim to follow PAR as well and ultimately hope to contribute to human flourishing.

The question remains on which level decisions are made with, and on which level without local people's active involvement? In my case, their involvement became concrete and more active whilst being in the field. However, the design phase of the research as well as the final data analysis and writing of the thesis have mostly been done without active involvement of local people. Therefore, I would like to conclude that PAR has functioned as an inspiration to be as participative as possible while doing research, rather than it being a research method that could completely be followed throughout the entire research process.

4. CONTEXT ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the historical and geographical context of this study, and provides an introduction to Tearfund. Part of the section on Tearfund is an introduction to CCM. This will provide a theoretical understanding of this development approach, before I will go into the result chapters of this study.

4.1 History and context of Tanzania

Without going too much into depth regarding the history of Tanzania, I elaborate on the colonial past of Tanzania as well as its independence. Then I briefly sketch the current situation of Tanzania considering its economic situation. Thereafter, I zoom in on the Mara region in which this research has taken place. I finish with a brief overview on religion and the church in Tanzania, which will give insights in which religious environment CCM is placing itself in Tanzania.

4.1.1 A history of colonialism and independence

The United Republic of Tanzania consists of the mainland Tanzania, formerly known as Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, which consists of the two islands Unguja and Pemba (Masanyiwa, 2014). As stated by the Tanzanian Government (Government of Tanzania, 2015), the history of Tanzania is known for the impact external traders and colonialists had on the country. It started with the settlements of Arabs along the coastline in the 8th century, and several centuries later the Portuguese visited and eventually occupied Zanzibar (Ibid., 2015). The Portuguese were replaced by the returned Arabs, who traded in ivory, cloves, rubber and slaves (Temu, 1980). In the 19th century, Europeans began to explore inland Tanzania, and German East Africa was established as a colony in 1897 (Government of Tanzania, 2015). Initially, the first phases of the colonial economy consisted of "trade in goods obtained by hunting and, to an increasing extent, by gathering", and therefore, the colony was an "experimental economy" (Koponen, 1996: 168). After decades, the economy of the colony developed into being based on the organisation of export agriculture, such as "cotton, coffee, tobacco, cocoa, spices and vanilla" (Ibid.: 167). The formation of an industry that would support these exports was one of the main concerns of colonial development (Ibid.). The 1st World War did also affect the colony of German East Africa in such a way that the British conquered parts of the colony in 1916, and successfully claimed Tanganyika in 1919 (Government of Tanzania, 2015). The British mainly focused on expansion of the mining sector (Grosen and Coşkun, 2010).

Tanganyika as a geographical and political entity, including its name, only came into use after the British took the colony over from German East Africa. Before, the region consisted of several small kingdoms which were dominated by neighbouring countries. In 1920 the colony was renamed Tanganyika Territory, and in that year also the initial boundaries were established (Read, 2006: 3).

Colonialism has had many negative impacts, such as the fact that it contributed towards "a loss of the sense of human dignity among the colonized and left behind an enduring feeling of inferiority" (Koponen, 1996: 565). Despite this and other negative impacts of colonialism, Koponen does mention the fact that "for Tanganyika as a country, colonialism was the main constitutive factor. Prior to it were hundreds of independent self-propelled societies in the area" (Ibid.: 557). In the fight to escape

colonial powers, Tanzania took on the lead within British dominated East Africa (Shillington, 2012). Julius Nyerere lead the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) from 1954 onwards in uniting the country in the fight for independence. Under his leadership TANU not only grew extensively, but also "won the support of a number of influential white-settler politicians" (Ibid.: 403). This resulted in "a clear majority of TANU in the parliamentary election of 1958", and by the end of 1961 Tanganyika had gained independence (Ibid.).

On a side note, for this research I would like to briefly go back into history again by mentioning the impact Christian missionaries had on Tanzania. As Koponen states, "when colonialism began there were five missionary societies served by about 150 missionaries; when German power ended the figures were 14 and 709" (1996: 577). The numbers of missionaries grew during colonialism, and as Austen states, "they did not shrink from accepting Arab assistance in their travels and, in turn, developed new routes which could be exploited for any commerce whether slave or 'legitimate'" (1968: 20). Missionaries made use of the fact that European powers destroyed African political authority, which also weakened the legitimacy and authority of African religions (Shillington, 2012). Unfortunately, during this time missions also often were influenced and led by commercial interests, such as the trade in ivory (Ibid.). Despite this negative influence, and the "moral superiority" of missionaries, there are also more positive stories to tell. Just like the vision of CCM, there were missionaries who believed in the importance of the use of local resources in development. The "leading missionary ideologies [...] spoke for the need to understand and make use of local cultures and resources" (Koponen, 1996: 582). This led those missionaries to "criticize particular actions by agents of colonial state" (Ibid.: 584). However, if those missionaries did want to carry out their task of the 'remaking of man in Africa', "they had to collaborate with those in power" in order to realize this (Ibid.).

Coming back to Julius Nyerere's succession of bringing the country towards independence, it is noteworthy to say that this time was also important due to the change from indirect rule to majority rule. The years after independence were marked by Tanganyika becoming a republic in 1962, Julius Nyerere becoming president of the republic in 1962, and Zanzibar becoming independent in 1963 (Government of Tanzania, 2015). On 26th April 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar united as the United Republic of Tanzania with Julius Nyerere as president (Ibid.). In 1977, the two ruling parties: TANU and Afro Shirazi Party, merged to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi, which continues to rule the country after consecutive successful elections (Ibid.). In 1980, the Tanzanian economy collapsed due to "weak demand for her agricultural products in international markets, worsening terms of trade and proliferation of protectionism as a non-tariff measure by the industrialized countries" (Grosen and Coşkun, 2010: 54). An IMF stabilization program was accepted in 1986, which "focused on liberalization of foreign investment regulations, deepening the reforms in agricultural sector and privatization of public sector" (Ibid.). Especially the mining sector became important in terms of commodities, however, it also created increased inequality amongst the people living in the mining regions. Many people "lost their lands and the base of their livelihoods because of the policies in favor of mining companies" (Ibid.: 55). The economic decisions made during this period, "have been designed and applied without considering any associated social and environmental effects" (Ibid.: 68). The exploitation of Tanzanian's natural resources has been seen as a necessary cost for the economic development of Tanzania (Ibid.). This ultimately reflects macro-level power relations, for the decisive actors almost always have been the foreign or local large-scale companies (Ibid.). This has caused both

economic and ecological oppression at the grassroots level, for local people have not been able to resist the practices of powerful actors (Ibid.).

4.1.2 Tanzania in 2018

Tanzania has a population of 59 million people. The Human Development Index (HDI) indicates that Tanzania has a value of 0.531, which means that the country is in the low human development category, and Tanzania is positioned at 151 from the 188 countries (Human Development Report Tanzania, 2016). Although Tanzania is one of the poorest economies in the world in terms of per capita income, it has achieved high growth rates due to its vast natural resources wealth and tourism (CIA World Factbook, 2018). The economy depends on agriculture, most of its land is owned by the government (Ibid.). According to The World Bank (2017), Tanzania's poverty rate has declined over the last decade, but the decline could have been stronger as stated by the Government of Tanzania when the National Strategy for Growth and Reducation of Poverty is discussed (Government of Tanzania, 2018). The growth of the economy has been affected by on the one hand a severe drought which affected crop production, livestock and power generation, and on the other hand the global economic crisis which affected the volume and prices of exports, the flow of capital and investment, and earnings from tourism (Ibid.). The Tanzanian government launched an "ambitious development agenda focused on creating a better business environment through improved infrastructure, access to financing, and education progress" (CIA World Factbook, 2018). It is called 'Development Vision 2025', and it aims to empower people and boost economic growth in the country (Government of Tanzania, 2018).

Currently, "one-third of the population of Tanzania lives below the basic needs poverty line", which means that these people struggle to provide their families with basic needs (Tanzania Social Action Fund, 2018). Most of these people live in rural areas, and the poverty is both absolute and relative. It is absolute because of income poverty, and it is relative because of shortage of food and non-income aspects (Xinhua and Mkonda, 2017). According to the same authors, "life expectancy has decreased to about 50 years [...] [and] food insecurity is about 41% of households due to inadequate crops yields" (Ibid.: 31). The Tanzanian government has put into place a specific program called TASAF III, which focuses on three areas in order to reduce poverty of the poorest of the poor. The areas are respectively 1) provision of a safety net, timely and predictable transfers on a multi-year basis; 2) a greater emphasis on savings and financial literacy as a key building block for livelihood enhancement; and 3) infrastructure development in those areas that lack basic services (Tanzania Social Action Fund, 2018). TASAF III specifically targets the 6 million people living below the poverty line (Tanzania Social Action Fund, 2018). One of the components of TASAF III is to improve livelihood outcomes, which entails idea of savings groups in which people save together and when eligible can compete for Livelihood Enhancing Grants (Tanzania Social Action Fund, 2018).

4.1.3 Mara region

This research took place in the Mara region, which is situated in the north of Tanzania. The region borders Lake Victoria in the north, Kenya in the east, the Arashu and Simiyu regions in the south, and the Mwanza region in the west. The figure on the next page shows Tanzania and the Mara region. The Mara region borders Lake Victoria, and this has influenced the history of the settlements of people (Mara Regional Profile, n.d.) since many settled on the shores of the lake. Due to the soft soil, the land close to Lake Victoria was easy to work, and living alongside the Lake was safer, and provided resources such as water and fish close by (Ibid.). The report on Mara's regional profile also states that most

people “earn their livelihood from agriculture mainly at subsistence level” (Ibid.: 28). However, people do face low crop productions due to the following reasons: 1) climatic factors, 2) soil infertility and sandy soils, and 3) risk of outbreaks such as the cassava mealy bugs (late 1990s) which highly affect the harvest (Ibid.: 35). These vulnerabilities around agriculture, probably relate to the fact that “trade and industry do not have much significance to the region’s earnings and employment” (Ibid.: 29).

This research has taken place in two villages, both situated driving inland southwards. For the purpose of ensuring anonymity of respondents, the names of the villages will not be provided, and the villages will be called ‘village one’ and ‘village two’. Village one was about 45 minutes driving from Musoma (the town where I lived, indicated by the black circle), and village two was about 2,5 hours driving from Musoma.

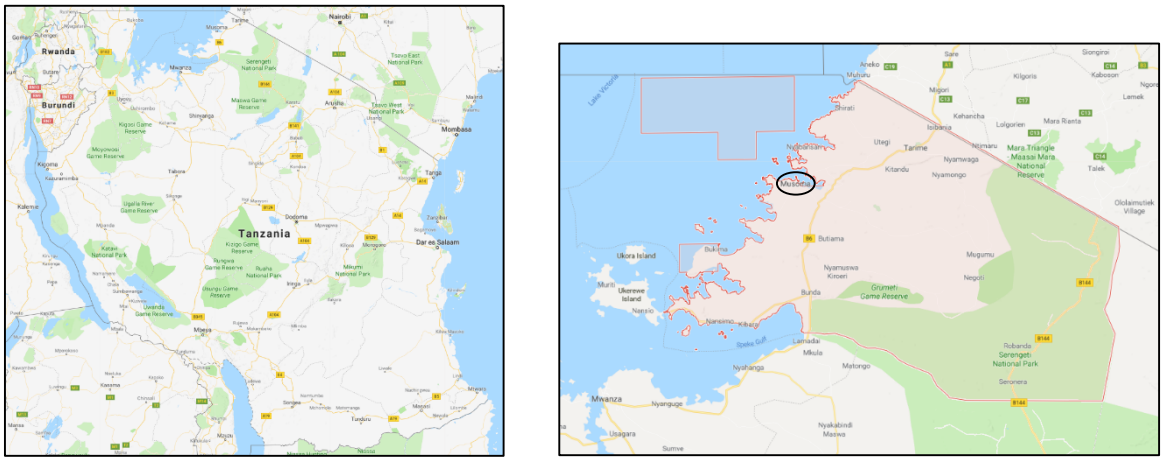

Fig. 4.1 + 4.2 Tanzania and the Mara region (source: Google Maps, 2018. Modified by author.)

Village one holds a population of 2,216 inhabitants (1,090 men and 1,126 women) distributed within 331 households. Village two holds a population of 2,702 inhabitants (1,214 men and 1,488 women) distributed in over 350 households. Tearfund entered village one in 2004 and started with the church envisioning phase of CCM (phases are further explained later on in this chapter). Afterwards, it started involving the entire community in 2005. The community was actively involved in CCM until 2010. Village two was the village where CCM was tested as a pilot back in 1998-2001. It was introduced with the idea to test the new program, then called Participatory Evaluation Process (PEP). The criteria for this program were that a village would identify to be part when it was very remote and entailed impoverished communities with very limited or no infiltration of other NGO philosophies. Also, government services would have to be very limited. This would allow Tearfund to test whether this new program, initially named PEP but now CCM, would succeed in empowering communities to see if it was possible to come out of poverty and do self-development without external funding.

4.1.4 Religion and the church

The number of people following a certain religion in Tanzania is divided as follows: Christian 61.4%, Muslim 35.2%, folk religion 1.8%, other 0.2%, and unaffiliated 1.4% (CIA World Factbook, 2018). Zanzibar holds an almost entirely Muslim population (Ibid.), and also along the coast one can find a high percentage of Muslims due to the former trade routes (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002). As Heilman and Kaiser state, “regarding the boundaries between African traditional beliefs and Christianity and

Islam, the dividing lines can be fluid, as many African followers of both Christianity and Islam have not completely given up their traditional spiritual belief systems" (Ibid.: 698). The traditional religions often lack formal organisational structures as compared to either Christianity or Islam (Ibid.). In case of religious conflict, the traditional beliefs act "as a calming influence on religious conflict, as both leaders and followers of these beliefs are not likely to see the world through an exclusive by Christian or Muslim prism" (Ibid.: 705).

Nowadays, the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) is seen as the umbrella organization for Christian denominations (CCT, n.d.). The CCT was founded in 1934 by missionaries of the Anglican, Moravian and Lutheran churches as a fellowship of church and non-church Christian organizations and is currently constituted of twelve national Churches and twelve church-related organizations (About CCT, 2018). The vision of CCT is to be "a responsible ecumenical instrument promoting the kingdom of God", and its mission is "to foster unity and enhance capacities of members to witness for Christ and build holistic development" (Vision & Mission, 2018). In its attempt to build holistic development, CCT has been partnering with Tearfund for more than a decade. The main program of its partnership is CCM, which is implemented within twelve dioceses in the country.

4.2 Tearfund

This research centres around the NGO Tearfund and its main development approach CCM. In this section I elaborate on the history of Tearfund, on CCM, and eventually on the local partner of Tearfund in Tanzania: the African Inland Church Tanzania (AICT).

4.2.1 The NGO Tearfund

In 1960, when the Cold War dominated, 40 million people worldwide were suffering due to war or disaster (Tearfund, 2018). The huge amounts of humans suffering caused many people to send money to the Evangelical Alliance (EA), who at that moment were not yet involved in emergency aid or development work. A fund was established called 'Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund', and in 1968 a committee leading this fund meets for the first time. They then decide to create a new organisation that aims to marry Christian compassion with practical action, and Tearfund is born (Ibid.). As stated on its website, "Tearfund's income grows each year and in 1973 it becomes a registered charity" (Ibid.). Tearfund developed itself throughout the years, and especially the establishment of a Disaster Response Unit in 1994 was an important milestone. The Rwandan genocide forces thousands of refugees to flee to Tanzania and Zaire, and Tearfund sent its staff to help (Ibid.). Today, Tearfund is one of the UK's leading relief and development agencies (Ibid.). Especially Tearfund's campaigns to fight against injustice gives the organisation "a reputation for being a voice for the voiceless" (Ibid.).

Key to the way Tearfund works, is the conviction and practice that working through local partners is the most sustainable way of working towards restoration and development. As written in Tearfund's Annual Report, "Tearfund's partners are local churches, denominations, and Christian national and international NGOs who agree with our statement of faith and meet the partnership criteria" (2016/17: 3). Next to partners, Tearfund also works through operational programmes (in case of a disaster or crisis when the partners' availability or capacity is limited), alliances (such as the DEC or EU-CORD), and Inspired Individuals (a programme to identify, support and resource social entrepreneurs) (Ibid.). Tearfund describes its core competencies as; mobilising the church to help the poor; churches

spearheading national advocacy campaigns; food security; livelihoods; water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH); and disaster response and resilience (Ibid.).

4.2.2 Church and Community Mobilisation

Church and Community Mobilisation (CCM) started over twenty years ago and has grown into Tearfund's main development approach for holistic development (Umoja Facilitator's Guide, Njoroge et al., 2009). Formerly, it was called Church and Community Mobilisation Process (CCMP), and in this research it sometimes still is due to the fact that the main political party of Tanzania is also abbreviated as CCM. In many quotes in this research, respondents express CCMP instead of CCM for this reason. According to Tearfund, the vision of CCM is that it "involves mobilising a local church to act as a facilitator in mobilising the whole community to address their own needs" by using its own resources (Church and Community Mobilisation, 2017). The aim is "to enable the poor people to gain strength, confidence and vision to work for positive changes in their lives, individually and collectively with others […] to address issues of poverty" (CCMP, n.d.). Today it is often named 'Umoja', which means *togetherness* in Swahili (Umoja Facilitator's Guide, 2009: 5). As described in the Umoja Co-ordinator's Guide "Umoja embodies the unity there must be in the church before it can work with the community" (2009: 8). By working together within the church, possibilities for a positive outreach towards those outside the church increases. This process of working on both internal and external values takes time. CCM usually takes multiple years to be grounded within the community in order to cause long-term and sustainable change (Ibid.).

The process of mobilising a church and a community consists of five stages, which are the following (Umoja Facilitators's Guide, 2009: 5):

1. Envisioning the church – through Bible studies and activities, to create a vision for community involvement
2. Envisioning the community – through activities, to assess their needs and resources
3. Dreaming the dreams and planning for action – through activities, to create a vision for the future and plan for it
4. Taking action – through activities, to ensure that plans are carried out and positive change happens
5. Evaluation

As described by Scott et al., "CCM is an expression of integral mission, which is the work of the church in contributing to the positive physical, spiritual, economic, psychological and social transformation of people" (2014: 2). The fact that CCM focuses so much on the community makes that the outcome of the process varies per context. It is possible that one community, in phase two of the process, desires a new school building, while another community desires an improved training in hygiene (Ibid.). However, one aspect should be improved in every community, namely "relationships among the community […] and we should expect improved relationships with the environment and with God" (Ibid.: 6). This has also been stated in Tearfund's Impact and Learning Report, "Tearfund's understanding of poverty is that strong relationships are key to community resilience" (2016: 15). One example of the impact of CCM on social connectivity is also written in this report when it is said that "[in Nigeria] CCM allows for people from different cultural and religious backgrounds to come and work together towards action and community empowerment" (Ibid.). These examples show CCM's

purpose of strengthening and building new relationships within the community in order to decrease the level of poverty.

Recent reports on the impact of CCM have indicated several current strengths and opportunities for improvement in the future. Strengths that are mentioned in many reports are the proven improvement in the quality of relationships, and thus the decrease of poverty. For example, a report about CCM in Uganda describes that "the most positive change was in community relationships and decision-making" and that the "improved community relations were also often as a result of local savings group membership" (QuIP Report, 2018: 14). Another strength often mentioned is an increase in self-esteem of those involved in CCM. A report on CCM in Myanmar highlight this by stating that "the CCM process challenges traditional 'top-down' development approaches where resources are handed out, and instead takes a 'bottom-up' approach that empowers churches and communities to take ownership for the changes they want to see and to make a start using their own resources" (Ibid.: 16). Opportunities for the future have been indicated as well. For example, it is recommended that Tearfund would practice "even more joined-up planning with other NGOs and local organisations to ensure local actors play a lead in the future" (Impact and Learning Report, 2017: 45). Another area that Tearfund hopes to strengthen in the future is "the reduction of negative impacts of climatic change on the poorest communities" (Ibid.: 57). Tearfund aims to find ways on how to help communities become more resilient towards stresses and shocks in the future, which will support the sustainability of livelihoods locally (Ibid.).

4.2.3 Local partner: African Inland Church Tanzania

Tearfund's local partner in Tanzania is the African Inland Church Tanzania (AICT). It is an evangelical church registered in the country since 1965. It was established by AIM international, from the USA, but was later handed over to indigenous people in 1965. The church holds a membership of 1.2 million people. During this research I worked with the Mara Ukerewe Diocese (AICT-MUD), one of the five dioceses that AICT has in the country. AICT-MUD covers eight districts. Its staff grew from only four people back in 1993 to 101 in 2018. The vision of AICT-MUD is the following: "we envision a future where people live a life in its fullness and with their basic needs fully met" (AICT, 2017). Its mission is "to empower and enable communities to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, and advocate for human rights in the light of God's word" (Ibid.). The diocese has eight departments, from which the Community and Development Department (CDD) has been the collaborating department in this research.

The CDD was established in 1998 with the ambition to alleviate poverty, disease and ignorance (Ibid.). To achieve this, CDD holds various partnerships with Tearfund UK, Pact Tanzania, World Renew, Vi-Agroforestry, Hilfur Fur Bruder, and some USA church based organizations (Ibid., 2017). The partnership with Tearfund mainly focuses on the implementation of CCM, and it currently covers 60 communities. About the impact CCM has had so far, the AICT states:

> "Demonstrated outcomes include a cross section of women involvement in community decision making processes unlike before, construction of over 60% permanent houses in all the mobilized communities, establishment of three health centres, four dispensaries, one complete secondary school, 43 class rooms, six village

offices, four permanent roads, four shallow wells, 10 new church buildings, and the formation of church/village based HIV/AIDS committees" (Ibid.: 2).

Also, the communities' income levels have risen due to improved agricultural production and the formation of Self-Help Groups (SHGs) (Ibid.: 2). Furthermore, the CDD aims to care for and support vulnerable children via special groups called Pamoja Tuwalee, however, these are in partnership with Pact Tanzania. Next to these the CDD also has an Economic and Livelihood Improvement Program in partnership with Tearfund and World Renew. This programme manifests itself via the SHGs through microfinance and agricultural initiatives. As stated, "this project seeks to empower local communities […] to improve their capacity in managing and sustaining their initiated programs of self help groups […] in order for them to strengthen their socioeconomic voices" (Ibid.: 3).

4.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter has described the historical and current context of Tanzania and specifically the Mara region in which this research took place. Thereafter, it elaborated on the NGO Tearfund and its main development programme called Church and Community Mobilisation. The African Inland Church Tanzania, the local partner of Tearfund in Tanzania, has been discussed regarding its organisational structure as well as the ways in which the partnership takes place. The next chapter discusses the results flowing from the first sub-question posed around definitions and perceptions of the key concepts of this research.

5. CAN WE WALK THE BRIDGE? AN ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES

5.1 Introduction

If I could list one thing that stood out in my studies, it would be the fact that I learned that everything is context-specific. Lecturers often explained that one needs to be conscious of for example the history or cultural values within a certain context, before one would be able to define the local meaning of a concept. Regarding development activities, it was often said that blueprints do not exist. Every context asks for a sensitive and conscious approach, before a possible solution could be proposed.

This critical viewpoint on reality influenced me in such a way that in this research, I could not 'just' use the definition of key concepts provided by Tearfund or scientific literature. The conviction that knowing how the local villagers would define the concepts became important, in order for me to work with locally sensitive and context-specific definitions. Therefore, this chapter aims to answer the first sub-question, which is: *how is inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment perceived by both Tearfund and local villagers in Tanzania?* It helps to understand whether there is a conceptual bridge between Tearfund and local villagers when talking about these concepts. It aims to prevent that both parties assume to be talking about the same issues, while possible gaps in conceptions of reality exist. This chapter is also written in the light of Chambers' appeal on local reality when he wrote 'Whose reality counts?', discussed in chapter two. Knowing whether definitions from development professionals (or NGOs) differ from local villagers is important, because it helps to understand whether or not automatic (conceptual) bridges exist when collaborating between cultures.

This chapter defines each concept by analysing on the one hand definitions given by Tearfund, and on the other hand by local villagers in Tanzania. Tearfund's definitions flow from several documents that discuss their main methods in alleviating poverty. Villagers' definitions flow from the FGDs and the interviews, which have been mentioned in chapter three of this research. The questions on the concepts posed during the FGDs were divided into three foci, namely 1) the importance and practical implication of the concept, 2) the relation between the concept and CCM, and 3) the relation between the concept and the role of the church. This chapter mainly discusses the first focus, and the other two are discussed throughout other chapters. This chapter lays a foundation for the rest of the research, and analyses any potential differences which may prevent the existence of a solid (conceptual) bridge between the two different contexts.

5.2 Inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment – Tearfund

On the website of Tearfund it is hard to find documents which provide specific definitions on the key concepts of this research. This is interesting in the light of this chapter, because would this mean that Tearfund assumes that everybody has the same perception of for example inclusion? And, would it be wise to assume this as an international NGO working in an intercultural context? These questions are relevant to ask, but difficult to answer. Nevertheless, I tried to find documents in which broad definitions of the concepts are provided in order to at least find some direction in how Tearfund defines these.

Before describing what I found, I would like to elaborate briefly on the concept of development. Inclusive development, or empowered by development can be interpreted in many different ways. When Tearfund writes on development, it often states that development is a result of the restoration of broken relationships on many levels (see chapter two). Development is often described as a socio-economic type of development. The success of CCM is best seen when the change within someone comes first (by restoration of relationships and a growth in empowerment), and then external things change as a result of that (people start using resources around them and physical development becomes visible) (Tearfund, 2017). As written in a report on CCM in Africa, Tearfund states that when CCM is successful, people have joined hands to form groups in which members amongst others "have access to affordable credit, start projects that enable them to overcome their physical poverty in a sustainable way, and build networks that provide them access to services otherwise difficult to access" (Ibid.: 10). This means that in the light of inclusion, people need to be included in such groups that will help them to achieve increased levels of empowerment, and decrease social marginalization since these networks provide them access to services they could not reach before (relates to the discussion on the key concepts in chapter two).

5.2.1 Quality Standards

When analysing documents on the website of Tearfund, the twelve Quality Standards (QSs) seem to provide a foundation on which Tearfund discusses issues around inclusion, social marginalization, and empowerment. As written on its website, Tearfund identified the QSs in support of their vision and the delivery of their strategy. These QSs "bring together all the relevant external and internal accountability and quality standards, codes, guidelines and principles to which Tearfund is committed" (Quality Standards, 2017). Two QSs seem to apply best to this research, namely 'Impartiality & Targeting' and 'Sustainability' (Our Quality Standards, 2017).

The QS on Impartiality & Targeting is defined as "we are committed to reaching the most vulnerable and marginalised, selected on the basis of need alone, regardless of their race, religion or nationality" (Ibid.). Impartiality asks for provision of assistance always being based on the basis of need alone, and not subject to favouritism or discrimination. Targeting is described in the Quality Standards Field Guide, where Tearfund states that "good targeting seeks out the most vulnerable for inclusion in the participant list. The best way of achieving this is by involving the community in selecting who, amongst themselves, is the most vulnerable" (Quality Standards Field Guide, 2015: 18). This standard is all about the issue of needs. It obviously relates to Tearfund's strapline 'following Jesus where the need is greatest'. The needs Tearfund is referring to, most likely relate to their interpretation of the need for development, which is mainly perceived as socio-economic being met through flourishing relationships. The need is greatest among those who experience the highest level of brokenness in relationships and therefore the biggest struggles to make decisions themselves and make meaningful connections with other people and networks. The QS on Sustainability is defined as "we are committed to empowering staff and partners and to seeing that the work that we support has a lasting impact, being built on local ownership and using local skills and resources" (Ibid.: 114). This QS strongly relates to the vision of CCM that local needs should be met with local resources, through an active participation of local people (for example in SGs). What is meant by empowering, is explained later on in this section.

5.2.2 Inclusion

Regarding inclusion, a report investigating the role of the local church in fostering local-level social accountability and governance, describes the parameter 'inclusion' as "including the most marginalised and vulnerable people in CCM advocacy processes" (Tearfund, 2016: 8). Tearfund elaborates that "this parameter was chosen to investigate the role of the local church in including the most marginalised and vulnerable people, to understand how the church minimises their exclusion and encourages participation" (Bridging the gap, Tearfund, 2016: 25). The report states under 'findings' that marginalised groups were people living with HIV, people living with a disability, and the elderly. Later on it also states that widows and orphans are examples of marginalised groups (Ibid.: 14). The report shows that marginalization is not defined, and the report seems to list some marginalised groups mentioned by respondents without having done a proper analysis of who would be marginalised. The QS on Impartiality & Targeting discussed before, states that good targeting is when the most vulnerable are part of the participants list. This entails that inclusion means that a vulnerable person is counted as a participant, literally being part of the list that should be kept up to date throughout the process ideally.

5.2.3 Social marginalization

When looking for a definition of social marginalization, I found a page on Tearfund's website that discusses Tearfund's desire to reach out to marginalised groups. However, the definition of 'marginalised' is thin and unspecified. Social marginalization is linked to the perceived strength of local churches, by stating:

> "Churches have a grass-roots knowledge of the people that make up its community. That includes the people living on its fringes, the outcasts, the most marginalised. Normally these are the kind of people who are often at the bottom of the list when it comes to getting help" (Tearfund, 2018).

Tearfund aims to not only apply this standard in its humanitarian work, but it should be applied in all work Tearfund undertakes. As a Christian NGO it could be even more important to strive towards being impartial, because Tearfund would soon lose its legitimacy and significance if they would not be impartial. The incorporation of marginalised groups asks for targeting, and Tearfund elaborates on this by stating, "alongside the commitment to select beneficiaries on the basis of need alone, comes a commitment to targeting those in greatest need. Projects must be careful to avoid generalisations, assuming that all community members have been affected in the same way" (Quality Standards Field Guide, 2015). This shows Tearfund's awareness of a community not being a homogenous entity, but rather having social differentiations within. Some might be poorer than others, or might be more affected by certain stresses and shocks than others. The people who are most affected – in whatever way – should be supported first.

5.2.4 Empowerment

The report on CCM in Africa (2017) offers helpful insights in how Tearfund identifies empowerment. The report states that one of the pillars of CCM is the empowerment of people. This is discussed as "people discovering for themselves (self-discovery), people taking charge of their situation, people having a voice and expressing themselves freely, people ultimately determining their destiny, and people being released to use their own resources" (Ibid.: 6). One could say that empowerment is seen

as an internal and personal process, in which people discover their voices and actively using these in determining the destiny they want. The final aspect mentioned raises the question from what people should be released, and whether people felt imprisoned at all, but this is not explained in the document. It is however said that people should 'read' into their own reality and desire to transform their lives, which is stated as something that needs to happen without a question. In elaborating on CCM's predecessor called PEP (mentioned in chapter four), it is stated that "the emphasis [of PEP] is that people should fully explore their current situation, and through deep analysis reach conclusions that will empower them to determine the best change for them instead of outsiders deciding it for them" (Ibid.: 4). Further on, it refers to evaluations of PEP by saying that the empowerment process had succeeded, because "evidence shows communities had begun to take charge of their situation and to bring about change in their lives" (Ibid.: 4). This does raise questions whether the 'insiders' wanted change at all, and whether Tearfund thinks that the 'insiders' did not take charge over their lives before Tearfund's programmes entered the communities. Again, who's reality counts? Did Tearfund project their ideas of what an empowered person's life should look like, and thus deemed it necessary to enter communities and ultimately take charge by enforcing change? This issue will be discussed more in chapter 8 when the overall research will be discussed. For now, it brings us to the 'other party', namely the local villagers. How do they define the concepts?

5.3 Inclusion – local villagers

When asking respondents in the FDGs about the concept of inclusion, I usually started asking the following: *how would you define inclusion?* Within the different groups people gave the following definitions:

- "inclusion is the unity of all together, to put people together to co-operate"
- "inclusion is a process: it starts with a few people who are informed, then it becomes a group, and then the whole village is informed"
- "inclusion is when you can't do something yourself, you have to come together"
- "the purpose of inclusion is to get things together, acting together is more beneficial"

This question was followed by the question: d*o you think inclusion is important? Why?* People unanimously answered with yes. The main reasons given on why inclusion is important were time, increased knowledge which helps in decision-making, and the fact that you cannot fix all things by yourself. Some examples of specific answers that were given, are:

- "yes, you cannot succeed alone, inclusion helps succession"
- "yes, the group who is involved will feel part of society"
- "yes, somebody doesn't know something, but by including that person, he or she can understand. That makes that person happy"
- "yes, it saves time, together we spend less time"

Lastly, I found it beneficial for this research to know how people would describe an inclusive development program, for CCM aims to be inclusive in its development approach. Therefore, I asked the question: *how would you envision an inclusive development program?* People answered by stating that an inclusive development program has two sides. On the one hand, an informing side, which entails an introduction by a certain organisation or the government. On the other hand, a responsive

side, which points towards the responsibility of an active response from the people to whom the program is introduced. Mentioned by people of all three FGDs is the aspect of inviting and maybe even targeting people to come to a certain introduction. One respondent said “we need to tell people in order to achieve inclusive development”. Another respondent shared that people from the AICT office once organised games in order to make (young) people enthusiastic to join. After these games they held a facilitation session on CCM. According to this respondent, in this way the people from the office made sure that everybody was involved and hearing.

When analysing the three questions asked around the concept of inclusion, four aspects become clear on how many villagers look at inclusion. First, people often see inclusion as something practical. One could call it an ‘utility perspective’. The villagers’ perceptions on inclusion have to do with the usefulness of the concept in daily life. The villagers relate to it in terms of saving time, increasing knowledge, or personal succession. One could question whether this shows that inclusion is often only interpreted as something useful for yourself, rather than it being an ethos underlying life in the village. Second, it appears that inclusion is interpreted as a way of co-operation, instead of just participation. Inclusion seems to be interpreted as being concrete and active. Co-operation should be felt by both sides, and then inclusion is perceived according to the villagers. Participating without active collaboration would not cover the meaning people give to the concept of inclusion. Participation, being part, should lead to a practical outcome in which individuals are feeling supported themselves, as well as together. Third, the aspect of emotions is mentioned when respondents share about ‘feeling part of society’ and ‘being happy once included’. These deeper layers do portray some sense of an understanding that inclusion is more than just a practicality. It makes you belong to a bigger group of people, which could ultimately affect your emotions in a positive way too. Finally, inclusion is seen as a process, which takes time. This comes close to the concept of CCM as being a slow, but potentially sustainable development programme.

5.4 Social marginalization – local villagers

The second concept discussed in the discussion groups was the concept of social marginalization. Before I provide the actual responses people gave on the questions I asked, I would like to share about the difficulties around the concept of social marginalization. In general, it appeared to be difficult for people in the FGDs to talk about the concept of social marginalization. Quite some people in the FGDs stated that marginalization in general did not exist in their village. Or better said, that it had disappeared because of several reasons. First, somebody explained that CCM had helped them to decrease marginalization, by stating “during CCMP we were taught about marginalization, that this is not good. Even now, you can find in the village here that there is no marginalization. For example, there is no specific male-work or female-work, they both co-operate”. This person explained marginalization as putting people in specific boxes, e.g. by sex, which causes disadvantage in their day to day life. Second, another person shared the example of the problems that different tribes caused each other. He said “marginalization was there before. The Kuria tribe couldn’t co-operate with us, because they could come to steal [...]. Currently this is over. We do make interactions; people can marry with somebody from that tribe. So, currently there is no marginalization”. This man explained marginalization as the problems that existed between tribes, which resulted in the marginalization of people.

It became clear that people did use the word isolation more often than marginalization. Isolation, or

sometimes 'lacking support' were terms that these people seemed to feel more comfortable with. For some reason people tried to prevent taking the word marginalization into their mouths. It could be that this was caused by the fact that CCM has taught them that marginalization is not good, as explained by one of the respondents. Also, it could be hard for people to relate to such a term, which probably is not used in the village so often. Another explanation could be that social marginalization is something which would put a big shame on the community. In an African country such as Tanzania, it is highly important to care for your family, your neighbour, and for those who are part of your tribe. Admitting that people are socially marginalized for causes they could not change themselves, such as disability or old age, would be a shame on the people around such a person.

Having shared a bit on the difficulties around the concept of social marginalization, I will share no the answers people gave on the questions I asked them. The first question was: *how would you define marginalization?* Some of their answers were:

- "isolating for colours, beliefs, political issues, ideologies"
- "love yourself, not your neighbour"
- "when you don't co-operate"
- "when they want to do something in the village or family, but they find that you are not capable or you are not fit to do it. They separate you, they put you aside. And themselves they go on doing"

To gain local understanding on the more specified concept of social marginalization, I asked the question: *how would you define social marginalization?* This provides insights on whether people are able to express a difference between the broad and the more specific concept. Some of their answers were:

- "when somebody's action doesn't relate with society's regulations. There is no need for people in society to relate to that person. An example: somebody who doesn't attend (or contribute to) a funeral, makes himself socially marginalized"
- "in the past only men could say something, not women. That was social marginalization"
- "when somebody wants to come back to you, but you don't want"

One of the respondents explained that "currently we don't see people who we don't co-operate with. There are maybe only very few. Also, it is very hard to identify when somebody is less connected to the majority". This response refers to the issue of targeting, and the difficulty of making a set amount of indicators that enable development programmes to target those in greatest need. Vulnerability is different in every context, and even the fact that this respondent expresses his own difficulties of knowing who could be socially marginalized says enough about the complexity of the issue. However, in quite some development programs targeting is an essential step in making sure that those who are in a particular need are most likely to be involved. However, CCM does not have a concrete targeting method when implementing CCM. The process starts with 'targeting' church leaders in order to envision them on how to mobilise the community. Then the entire community is 'targeted', or 'invited' to join the facilitation sessions. No measurement is carried out to what extent the whole community is actually participating.

5.5 Empowerment – local villagers

The third concept discussed in the FGDs was the concept of empowerment. The first question I asked them was again about the definition of the concept: *how would you define empowerment?* The following answers were given:

- "the act of giving education"
- "a process of building capacity to someone in order to get a certain knowledge or understanding of the things that he/she did not understand before"
- "somebody can help you to achieve what you want"
- "when people come and help you with tools"
- "the act of helping. Also, giving education or money to someone to achieve goals"

It became clear that people referred to empowerment as something coming from 'the outside'. For example, an NGO coming in and providing money or education to the 'insiders'. The help from the outside (another person or organisation), helps people to achieve what they want. This is interesting in the light of CCM's purpose of meeting one's needs with the resources around. Empowerment in the eyes of villagers does refer to getting help, and to some extent dependency in order to achieve development. This raises the question whether villagers themselves experience that they can empower within the village, or indeed need help from outside – which still is being empowered in their eyes.

To better understand their given meaning, I asked villagers how they would see the impact of empowerment: *when a person is empowered, what has changed in his/her life?* This question was answered with:

- "leave poverty and develop"
- "that person is able to have a vision or plans"
- "people can run their lives, without being beggars"
- "use the knowledge and money to help you to achieve what you want"
- "to move to the next stage of development"

This seems to come closer to the meaning that Tearfund gives to empowerment, namely an internal growth process which shows the ability of making decisions yourself and choosing your own destiny. Having visions or plans for the future, with the aim to move into the next phase of development. When they state "people can run their lives", it also refers stronger to Tearfund statement on taking charge of one's life and making a change.

5.6 Concluding remarks: can we walk the bridge between meaning given by two different contexts?

This chapter has analysed meaning given to the key concepts of this research by both Tearfund and local villagers in Tanzania. By doing this, I aimed to not take for granted that two completely different contexts define concepts in the same way. This chapter showed that it is important to investigate potential differences, for they do exist regarding the concepts central in this research. In case of inclusion, Tearfund refers to it as being inclusive towards everybody, no matter what race, religion, or gender. Somebody is included, once that person is on the participants list. For local villagers, inclusion also entailed participation, but it went further than that. They referred to it as being a collaborative

effort, and often self-centred in terms of being beneficial to one's own life. Inclusion of other people helps you to achieve what you want. However, villagers acknowledged that helping each other is also more beneficial to the group (on reflection I think they probably meant the SGs). Regarding social marginalization, Tearfund struggles to provide a clear definition of what they see as (social) marginalization. They do link it to the local knowledge of churches about the context in which they function, but with that Tearfund seems to take for granted that churches know the entire community and are able to identify those most in need. This assumption is however up for discussion, because it could be quite problematic to state that the church 'covers' or 'knows' the entire community, for it is hardly ever the case that everybody is involved in the local church. At least some awareness on questions such as 'Is the church inclusive?' and 'Does the church always have the reach to oversee the entire community?' would make Tearfund's awareness of reality – and the social frictions present everywhere – more credible. For local villagers, social marginalization was a difficult concept to relate to. It was interpreted in different ways, such as somebody who is not following society's regulations. Or, a person who is isolated because of race or religion. Or it might be a person who is not capable of collaborating with somebody else, and therefore is put to the side. Regarding empowerment Tearfund defined this as people being able to discover their own potential and use this is order to make a change. This definition is echoed by villagers, however, they often see this process combined with help from the outside in terms of money or education. This does raise questions on to what extent people believe that they can achieve empowerment themselves, or that in order to increase levels of empowerment they feel they are still dependent on the help from outsiders.

So, can we walk the bridge? Although this chapter showed some differences in perceptions of concepts, I do think that a bridge exists between the two different contexts. In order to strengthen mutual understanding of each other's reality, it will be important to become active listeners throughout the process of CCM. An ongoing conversation will enhance the level of participation, and prevent any top-down processes that do not match the local reality in which CCM takes place. Also, by a growing understanding of each other, also mutual acceptance could grow. The conversation on for example inclusion will also help to increase the importance of inclusion in both contexts. Collaborative thinking will help to keep these important concepts central to both parties mindsets, and hopefully add to the positive impact that CCM can achieve

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6. SOCIAL MARGINALIZATION AND EMPOWERMENT

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I elaborate on the local reality of social marginalization and empowerment. This flows from the second sub-question of this research, which is: *does empowerment through CCM help to overcome social marginalization?* I aim to answer this question by first analysing how CCM takes form in the villages in Tanzania. Then I describe the local reality of social marginalization in the two villages, amongst others by providing the categories of people that could be on the social margins of the villages. Next, I elaborate on the impact that either inclusion or exclusion within CCM has on people in the villages, and also how people reflect on each others' positions. This is followed by an overview of risks and vulnerabilities that people deal with, which affects people's participation and livelihood outcomes. Then I share some specific improvements that people mentioned regarding inclusion in and empowerment through CCM. I finish with some concluding remarks.

6.2 CCM in the village

In this section I explain how CCM looks in the two villages where I did research. I elaborate on the facilitation sessions which are given at the beginning of the CCM process in order to incorporate people in the process. Then I explain why Self-Help Groups are centred around the idea of 'buying shares', and how these groups are constituted and maintained at the village level. Next, I dip into the discussion on the impact of CCM at both village- and household level. I finish with an explanation of how information flows within the village, and what the impact is on the way people are informed and included.

6.2.1 Facilitation sessions

The process of CCM started in 2005 in village one and in 1998 in village two. As explained in the context chapter, the CCM process holds five stages. The second phase includes the 'envisioning of the community', which happens during facilitation sessions. In Tanzania, these sessions were held by people from the Community Development Department of the AICT office in Musoma, the partner of Tearfund in Tanzania. Several respondents shared that the villagers were called to a facilitation session via the sound of traditional drums. These drums are the typical local way of announcing certain meetings where the whole village is welcome. The facilitation sessions were held at the place where the AICT church gathers. Many respondents expressed their initial confusion about the fact that CCM was so strongly linked to the AICT church. One key respondent in village one, who is a member of the local government, explained that many people thought that CCM people were just inviting people to the facilitation sessions with the purpose to get people into the AICT church, so that this church would get a lot of new members (interview 18 on August 18, 2017). This idea caused people to hesitate whether they should go or not. He explained that it took a long time before most people started to realize that CCM aims to be development focused, instead of church focused. They understood that it would be safe for them to go to the AICT church without being persuaded to join that church.

I asked the respondents what helped them to realize that CCM was focused on development, and they explained that after a while they saw the difference CCM made in peoples' lives. This is an aspect that I will elaborate more on later in this chapter. Interestingly, a local church leader from another denomination said that he was not too worried that CCM people would take members from his church.

His initial view was that he thought that it would be interesting to hear more about it, and probably experience benefits for his day-to-day life.

During the time that CCM was introduced at church level, it was also introduced at local government level. A key respondent, who was a member of the local government at that time, shared his experience during these conversations (interview 22 on August 23, 2017). I asked him whether all local government leaders were immediately enthusiastic about CCM, or whether there was some hesitation among them as well. He explained that perceptions varied. Some were positive, because they were convinced that the CCM people wanted to help them. Others expressed doubts, because they were afraid to be persuaded to switch church and join the AICT. They thought that, because CCM entered the village via the AICT church, they were going to change them to become worshippers at this particular church. Nowadays, he is not sure whether people still hold this perception for two reasons, namely 1) it is hard for people to not see the results of CCM in the village, and 2) people have not converted to the AICT church, so it is clear that this was not the aim of CCM.

During the initial facilitation sessions, three things were discussed, namely 1) how to live with your family, 2) how to manage your business, and 3) how to produce crops (interview 6 on August 1, 2017). A respondent explained that the sessions were "good, because the things that were taught there, they gave me a vision to see somewhere. They opened my eyes and my mind" (interview 6 on August 1, 2017). Another respondent shared that during the sessions the facilitators said, "this CCMP wants to be initiated here, so that it helps you to overcome poverty. It means that you will be able to afford your needs and overcome poverty" (interview 3 on July 20, 2017). Related to the first aspect of 'how to live with your family', some respondents mentioned that they learned that women should be incorporated in family decision-making. Also, men should also carry things such as water cans, instead of solely letting women carry these (interview 21 on August 23, 2017). Many respondents mentioned the fact that CCM has helped them to realize the resources around them, and helped them to find ways on how to use those resources to meet their needs. As explained in the context chapter, the realisation of the presence of local resources to meet local needs is key to CCM. A key respondent reflected on his process by saying:

> "Before CCMP my life was poor. I had hard life. I did not realize about the resources that were available. If I would make bricks, then I could build a permanent house. Before, I had a house made with trees [...], and I put soil on it [...]. But, after CCMP, I realised that I can even use these bricks to have a good house where to live [...]. So, after CCMP I was empowered even to know the resources that are available and I can use them for my development" (interview 22 on August 23, 2017).

The sessions provided people with education on how development could be achieved on different levels, and where opportunities lay in their near surroundings.

6.2.2 Self-Help Groups: buying shares

During the facilitation sessions, people were encouraged to form groups called small groups (SGs). The formation of SGs ensures a continuation of CCM and provides a space where people can learn, share and grow together. The SGs have around 30 members each, and in village one currently 19 SGs were present. The idea of an SG is 'buying shares'. Buying shares refers to the fact that SGs exist on a basis

of structural contributions. Every week each member contributes some money, which is put in a savings account of the group. From this account, people can borrow money in order to start a business, or pay for the education of their children. This borrowed money should be returned within a certain period of time (often three months) and the returned money entails both the amount borrowed and an interest rate. The term 'buying shares' thus relates to the fact that people share money in the group, and then can 'buy' this money with an interest rate. The interest rate is deemed very important, because it gives the group extra money to spend. The savings can only increase when this system works well. In some groups, members are even obliged to borrow money, so that the group can be assured that the savings account grows (interview 23 on August 23, 2017).

The SGs usually have promising names, such as 'hope' or 'giving light'. The promise that many SGs hold is that it will help members to set up a small business and solve problems with income. A respondent explained this by stating, "when you get a problem, you can borrow money, so that you can solve your problem. You can even start a business, and you have to return with the interest rate which is planned. So, it is good" (interview 12 on August 3, 2017). Examples of businesses that respondents run are sewing clothes, cultivating and selling the harvest, or making storage pots.

6.2.3 Village level vs. household level

The general impact regarding development outcomes of CCM could be seen on two levels, namely on village level and household level. On village level the impact of CCM is the water dam, water pumps, a clinic and a secondary school (under construction). On a village level, it does not matter whether people are part of an SG or not, they can all take advantage of development activities such as those mentioned before. One respondent explained this, saying:

> "When those activities are done with CCMP, like building school and water dams, I am participating. If we have to contribute a certain amount of money, I do contribute. If we have to be involved in work like carrying bricks or fetching water, I am participating in those. But individually, I am not" (interview 4 on August 1, 2017).

On reflection I assume that people who might belong to the poorest of the poor, or those who are facing other reasons for not being involved in SGs, do collaborate when it concerns non-structural contributions to development activities. As long as it not a structural contribution (such as the weekly contributions in SGs), they try to find ways to contribute the requested money. Again, this could be influenced by the strong sense of community within villages, and the obligation to contribute to certain (social) events such as the formerly mentioned funerals.

The arrival of the water dam has been immensely important to not only the people from village one, but also those living in the neighbouring villages. The water dam can be used by everybody who is able to walk to it, and take water back home. The water is not for drinking purposes, but is used for washing, watering crops, and other purposes. Drinking water is collected from the water pumps. Some people have bikes on which they take big water cans from the water dam back to the village, and sometimes even earn some income with the transportation of water for others. Although the dam is quite high, the water is by far not reaching the top. The current season is a dry season again, and the water that is available is not enough for all people who want to take water from this place. Despite this fact, people did mention that it is a great improvement to the former situation, in which they had to walk

for up to six hours to the lake and fetch the water there. Being able to fetch water much closer to the village allows them to spend extra time to other activities such as cultivating.

Fig. 6.1 + 6.2 The water dam close to village one

Besides this water dam, also a secondary school is being built in village one. As several respondents explained, this building and other village level development outcomes, are either financed by the people themselves, the local government, or external organizations such as the AICT from Musoma. Despite these different sources, the building took a long time to construct. I believe they had started over a year ago with this building, and currently they were not working on it. However, the villagers do see it as a positive outcome of CCM already, although the school is not functioning yet. The clinic is another building that has been built after the arrival of CCM in the village. In this clinic people can get treatment or medicines for diseases which are easy to cure. Several respondents explained that the clinic is especially helpful for women and children.

Fig. 6.3 The secondary school (under construction) in village one

Besides these practical outcomes on village level, also the formation of groups for development purposes are an important feature of CCM. Having those groups that build recognition of one's own capabilities to be part of a broader societal movement that battles poverty in multiple ways, does contribute to a stronger sense of empowerment as a village. I will elaborate on this in section three of this chapter, when empowerment is being discussed.

On the household level, respondents have mentioned several outcomes that were attributed to CCM. One of these is the improvement of houses, and especially the ability to change grass roofs into corrugated iron. This improves living conditions, especially in rainy season when families now are able to keep their houses dry. On reflection I assume that the roof is not just improving living conditions, but also is a sign towards others that your level of development has increased. Many respondents mentioned the house (and especially the roof) as one of the first physical development outcomes that they either realised or desired. One respondent, who did not participate in an SG, stated "if I only get

money, I will just be able to take the grasses [from the roof] and build the other roof [corrugated iron], that the other ones who are living there are having [he points to his neighbours]" (interview 5 on August 1, 2017). Another outcome that influences the development level of people's households, is the ability to start a business. As I have explained in the former section on SGs, being part of an SG is crucial in enabling a person to start a business. This does not only benefit the SG (because of the return of borrowed money including an interest rate), but also people's households as a respondent explained: "when I have my own business, it is easy to solve other family problems, or to meet family needs" (interview 35 on September 4, 2017). One of these family needs is sending children to school, and many respondents mentioned this as an improvement on the household level due to CCM. CCM, through being part of an SG, also helped them to provide their children with book, pens, uniforms or shoes in order to improve their performance at school (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

6.2.4 Flow of information

The way in which people are informed about facilitation sessions and other education sessions, is crucial according to many respondents. The drums, the way in which people were invited to the initial facilitation sessions, are not used in follow up sessions. A respondent explained:

> "When there are visitors that want to meet the groups, the information comes to [the AICT] church. Then the church informs the union leader [the union of all SGs], then that leader has to inform the committee that is from each group. Now that member has to inform his or her fellow members" (interview 23 on August 23, 2017).

The fact that information (and education) concerning CCM flows via SGs, and not to all village members, has an exclusionary effect on those not (yet) involved in SGs. Some respondents who are not part of an SG explain that they sometimes see people from SGs go to the church, but they do not know why. They miss out on the initial invitation, and therefore also miss the education provided. However, the question remains whether the 'missing out on information' happens per accident, or on purpose. Some respondents expressed their concerns of going to a facilitation session where they felt they should not be present due to the specific invitation method. A respondent even thought that it he would need to be baptized first before being able to join an SG (interview 11 on August 3, 2017). He had observed that CCM flows from the (AICT) church, and therefore felt that he needed a certain 'level' of Christian faith to become part.

The flow of information also causes people to not know what CCM is about. A key respondent explained:

> "In general there are some people who don't know CCMP, […] people we are really missing. Also, there are people in the church, in the small groups, or in the community meetings, they can't come. Especially the people that can't walk, they have disability, or the elders. They just can't reach there [to a certain gathering], so they are not aware of CCMP" (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

These 'unknowing' people can either be people who are facing structural barriers (such as disability or old age), or people who did not go to the initial facilitation sessions and therefore still do not exactly know what CCM entails.

6.3 Social marginalization: the local reality

In this section I deal with the complexity of social marginalization on the local level. I start with an overview of the mentioned categories of those who might be socially marginalized in the villages. I aim to give the categories more ground by sharing the reasons why certain people are perceived as being socially marginalized. Then I elaborate on the impact of social marginalization on the lives of the people concerned. After this I share the perceptions of those who are seen as included on the ones that are seen as excluded, and vice versa.

6.3.1 Categories and reasons

During this research I discussed with people the concept of social marginalization and their perceptions of those socially marginalized in the villages. I quickly experienced that it was difficult for people to talk about this concept. On reflection I realise that this might be the case, because social marginalization is 'not done' in a culture that holds the value of community high. To acknowledge that social marginalization might occur, that people involuntarily live in the social margins of society might be seen as a failure, and thus better to be denied.

Before explaining the portrayed tool, I briefly refer back to the definition of marginalization resulting from literature: "an involuntary position […] of an individual or group at the margins of social, political, economic, ecological […] systems, that prevent them from access to resources, assets, services, restraining freedom of choice, preventing the development of capabilities, and eventually causing extreme poverty" (Braun and Gatzweiler, 2014: 3). Social marginalization thus focusses on an involuntary position people experience, which puts them at the margins of social (and other) systems, that prevents them from access to resources as well as empowerment (development of capabilities).

To help people talk about the concept, I decided to create a visual tool which would help them to reflect on social marginalization, their own position, and the position of others. The tool is portrayed at the right side. When I showed this picture to my respondents, I explained it as follows: "I am interested in how social relationships look in the village. Therefore, I made a picture visualizing the village. You see three different colours. The green colour (and dots) are people who have a lot of social relationships (++); they know a lot of people and have a lot of friends. Then you have the blue colour (+ –). Those people do know quite some people, but not that much as the green people. And then you have the red colour (– –). Those people still might have friends or family, but they feel a bit isolated" (interviewer's explanation of visual tool). After this explanation I asked people to

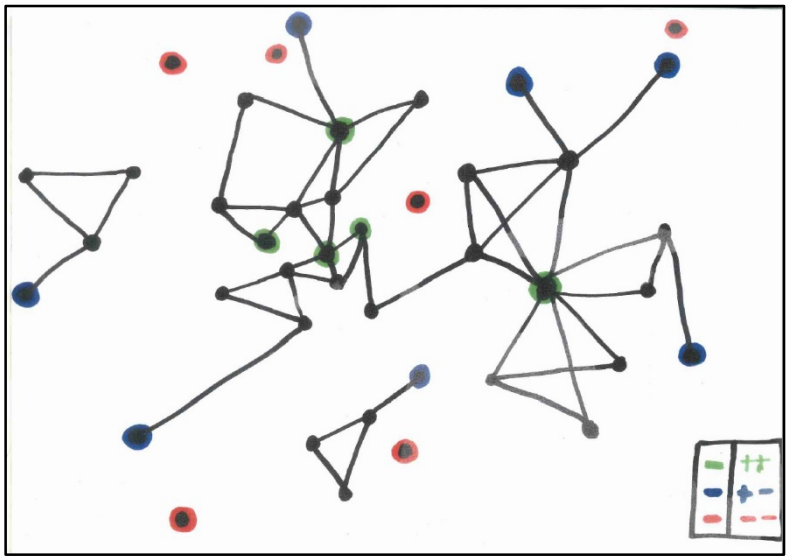

Fig. 6.4 Visual tool: social connections in the village

identify which kind of people might be seen as either green, blue or red. And afterwards, I usually asked them some questions on their own position (past, now, future desire).

Some of the categorizations people mentioned were more clearly present in the past (before CCM), and others are still present. Below I list those who have been mentioned most often:

- Women
- Children and youth
- Immoral people
- Disabled people, both physically and mentally
- Ill people
- Elderly
- Poorest of the poor
- Certain tribes

Women

People identified that women's marginalization related to their position towards their husbands. Husbands are often seen as having superiority over their wives, although this has changed over the years as respondents explained. In the discussion group held in village two, people expressed that in the past there were gender issues. When a man would help a woman, he was perceived as 'married' to this woman (FGD village two on September 18, 2017). Nowadays, gender inequality has decreased due to the CCM process, which I will elaborate on in section three of this chapter. Besides this issue, people also mentioned that when a husband has two wives, which happens often in rural Tanzania, one wife might be socially marginalized by being seen as less important (FGD-Co village one on July 18, 2017). Children and youth are vulnerable to being socially marginalized, because they are perceived as either less developed, immoral, or lazy (interviews and FGDs). A key respondent states about youth:

> "Their lives are very very bad. If you look on the way they are living, it is not good. Just like, they are far with the communities. They do not have the good manner; they do not have the good habit. So, that is the way they are. [...] they live their lives in bad way" (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

Children and youth

There are many vulnerable children in the villages. In village one about 50-60% of all children is seen as vulnerable (interview 30 on August 30, 2017). The causes of vulnerability are often that either the children are orphaned, or that the parents are very poor and cannot pay for basic needs and education (interview 30 on August 30, 2017). This prevents children from development, and makes them vulnerable in both the short- and long terms. A key respondent on the issue of vulnerable children states, "those vulnerable children are coming from the families where the parents who have not realised that they have to work, or that they can use the resources to improve their life" (interview 30 on August 30, 2017). Youth are often identified to be marginalized, due to the perception of many respondents that youth are lazy, not grown up enough to think about development, and that they live their lives in a bad way. This negative perception causes youth to not be much involved in society, which results in them living their lives more or less in the margins.

Immoral people

Many respondents mentioned the category of those who are perceived as immoral people. Immoral people are defined as those who do not follow the rules or regulations of society (FGD-Ch village one on July 19, 2017). An example often mentioned was alcoholics. These people are not welcome in order to prevent CCM of being disrupted by them (FGD-Co village one on July 18, 2017). A respondent explained that drunk people first have to pay a fine before they can actually co-operate with others again (FGD-Ch village one on July 19, 2017). Another example is people who do not attend funerals, or do not contribute to the costs of it. Funerals are highly social events, and when you do not participate in these you give people the idea that there is no need for them to relate to you (FGD-Co village one on July 18, 2017).

Disabled people

Disabled people are prone to social marginalization as well, because they might face difficulties to be included for the fact that they are not able to do something (FGD village two on September 18, 2017). A respondent explained that he thinks disabled people are difficult to incorporate in CCM, because the villagers have not been educated on the way this could be done (interview 29 on August 29, 2017). Another respondent told me after an interview that his daughter, who is deaf-mute, did not receive any support from other villagers so far. She had been married in the past, and when a woman marries she joins her husband in living with his family. After several years, and after she had given birth to four children, her in-laws decided that it was too difficult to live with her and she was abandoned by them. Now, she lives with her own family again, together with her children. This example shows the danger for disabled people to become socially marginalized, because people do not know how to deal with you, and might even break any social connections that they have.

Ill people

Ill people are also vulnerable to end up in the margins of society. One woman shared that she has difficulties attending trainings and gatherings in the village, because she is suffering from a certain illness. Often she has to go to the hospital and when she comes back, things have already passed without her being involved (interview 14 on August 14, 2017). Sometimes she does contribute money to certain development activities, but she hardly ever joins the discussions before certain development issues are decided. The illness prevents her from being an active part of society, and also takes the opportunity away to share her opinion on certain issues.

Elderly

Elderly also tend to disappear to the margins of society for almost the same reasons as ill people. Elderly often cannot come to meetings anymore, and this makes them lack information and knowledge on development issues. Their decreased mobility also affects their opportunity to earn an income, and therefore they are often dependent on the help of family members or neighbours. A key respondent explained that many people are still poor in village one, about 65% of all villagers. The majority of this percentage is older than 60 years old (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

Poorest of the poor

The poorest of the poor, although hard to define, are often mentioned as vulnerable to being socially marginalized. Being the poorest of the poor within the village is often caused by illness, disability, a lack of education or other structural barriers to income and development. Although this category

strongly relates to others, it is mentioned separately because the causes of poverty are multiple. Poverty does strongly influence one's ability to relate to others. One respondent explained that – when reflecting on the visual tool about social connections – many red people are the poorest of the poor, and that reason can make you feel unable to interact with non-poor people (interview 9 on August 2, 2017). She further stated, "if you want to make connection with people who are most known, or have a lot of friends, you also have to have something that will make you connect with those people. So, if you find yourself you have nothing like money, so it is hard to make connection with them" (interview 9 on August 2, 2017). Social marginalization of the poorest of the poor is also linked to CCM. Many respondents who felt that they belonged to the poorest of the poor, are not participating in a SG that flows from CCMP. Unlike previous years, there are presently no SGs which exist without people having to make weekly contributions (interview 12 on August 3, 2017). In the past, some SGs had started with the purpose of cultivating together. Nowadays, this purpose has shifted due to the fact that people saw that cultivation could not solve their problems, because of the sandy soil that causes a structural small harvest. The purpose of the SGs is now to contribute money which allows the members to share.

In choosing how to spend time and money, many respondents mentioned that they deal with conflicting responsibilities when having to decide whether they would become part of a SG or not. A respondent expressed this clearly, explaining that the SGs are about contributing and saving money. She explained that she is not an entrepreneur, she has no business, and she just deals with farming. So, often she has no money to contribute. She stated, "I find that I have no money and my family has no food. Then, [when] I [would] take money to that group, so how will my family live?" (interview 4 on August 1, 2017). Another woman stated the same, "actually I love connecting to people and have cooperation with others. But, sometimes I find that I cannot, because of the problem of being poor and family responsibilities (interview 12 on August 3, 2017). The conflicting responsibilities are apparent in both the way time (going to a group meeting or cultivating the land to grow food) and money (contributing to a group every week or spending that amount of money to basic family needs) are spent.

6.3.2 Social marginalization and exclusion from SGs: the impact on people's lives

Important to understand is that this research has been focussing on the issue of social marginalization in relation to CCM. For many respondents, being included in CCM meant being part of an SG. So, being excluded from CCM meant not being part of an SG. This links to social marginalization in such a way that social marginalization as explained above, can be seen as both a cause and an effect of exclusion from CCM. A cause, because of the reasons provided in the former section on why people are socially marginalized. An effect, because it tends to increase when a person cannot become part of an SG, or drops out of an SG for a certain reason. I would like to provide further insights on this by sharing the impact exclusion from SGs and social marginalization have on peoples' lives as respondents explained in interviews.

Three types of negative impact were mentioned by respondents. First, people mentioned that by being excluded from the development process that CCM entails, it means that you will struggle alone, and thus be more prone to social marginalization. One respondent explained this by saying, "in case you are not part of a group, and you get a problem, it is sometimes hard rather than those who are in groups. [In a group] you can even share your problem to your group members. [...] When I am just alone here, sometimes I can get a problem, and I just struggle by myself, and thinking just alone"

(interview 15 on August 14, 2017). The respondent shared that being in a group can help you to share your problems, and your group members will think with you on how to solve them. He shared that he is missing this social safety net, by not being part of an SG. It is clear that by not being part of an SG, vulnerability increases. This vulnerability also became clear by the words of another respondent, who said that when you are excluded "you become weak in life and you will always be poor in your life" (interview 13 on August 14, 2017).

Second, several respondents expressed that they felt that the level of development of included people increased compared to excluded people. A gap became clear between the levels of development of the included and excluded. A respondent who is not part of a SG shared about this, by saying that "I see myself as being blind, and others are moving forward" and she felt that the distance between her and others grew (interview 9 on August 2, 2017). Another respondent explained that "people who are involved in groups they really have development of their lives. And the ones who are not, actually they are not developing. They are living hard life" (interview 7 on August 2, 2017). This is confirmed by another respondent, who explained that in general the most successful people in the village are part of CCMP. They are able to develop themselves, while those not involved remain poor (interview 3 on July 20, 2017).

Third, another type of negative impact of exclusion and social marginalization is the fact that people miss out on education and knowledge. This happens due to the fact that the education sessions are held for those part of SGs, and knowledge is mostly shared within SGs. Two respondents, husband and wife and both included in a SG, explained that "CCMP is the light of their life. So, if you would not be involved [...] you could be in darkness in some issues of development", and that non-included people "do not have that light, or that information that they have to do this and this. Maybe in case of entrepreneurship or farming or other things, so that you have to succeed. They miss that knowledge that would make them succeed" (interview 1 on July 20, 2017). They further stated that "[non-included people] don't realize the resources that are around them" (interview 1 on July 20, 2017). Another respondent confirmed this by explaining that when somebody is not involved, s/he misses knowledge on how to develop life, because in SGs people learn that a lot (interview 6 on August 1, 2017).

6.3.3 The included about the excluded

During the FGDs and interviews I held, I often came across opinions and perceptions of included people about excluded people. I find it important to share these perceptions because they relate to the issue of social marginalization. For example, one of the perceptions included people hold of excluded people is that they simply do not want to cooperate due to laziness. Multiple included respondents expressed this, from which the next quote is an example: "most of the people who are not included, or are not in groups, are the people who don't like to cooperate with other people in the society, in the village" (interview 23 on August 23, 2017). The respondent then mentioned the purpose of the SGs again (contributing, saving, borrowing money), and then stated, "there are other people, the way they were raised […] with the perception of just receiving and not working" (interview 23 on August 23, 2017). He further mentioned that this 'attitude of receiving' even has been a cause for some SGs to 'die', because people did not understand that they also have to contribute and not just receive. Another respondent expressed the issue of receiving as well, by saying that a reason of non-involvement is "contributions, like some people are not able to work themselves. So, they just sit idle […] they won't have money to contribute in the groups" (interview 19 on August 18, 2017). Another perception many

respondents held about non-included people is that they are excluded because of their thinking capacity. A key respondent stated this:

> "There are two different kind of people, those with high understanding and those who may take a certain period, maybe long period to understand. Now, I think maybe those who are not part of CCMP are the people who have low understanding, that takes them long period for them to understand. But, those are few of them" (interview 22 on August 23, 2017).

Another respondent connected this low understanding to low development outcomes, by saying "other people think higher and they apply a lot of effort to make development. So, even if they use their time well, they have a lot of activities to do. But, some they don't do that way" (interview 21 on August 23, 2017).

6.3.4 The excluded about the included

Just as the included people shared their opinions and perception of excluded people, the reverse also occurred. During interviews the people who perceived themselves as excluded did share their ideas on those included. Several non-included people shared that they struggled making meaningful connections due to how included people perceive them. One respondent stated, "it is hard to connect to other people [...], because other people see that you are not part of group. So, he or she cannot come to you, because you are not the same, or you are not moving the way she is moving" (interview 14 on August 14, 2017). She further stated:

> "There is a difference between those people [in an SG] and the ones who are not in a group, because those who are in a group they get money. Those who are not in a group, actually they have no money to support their life. And, sometimes those people in groups, they even avoid to cooperate with you or to be close to you, because they know that you, you have no money. And them, they have money. So, when they make closeness with you, you might beg their money" (interview 14 on August 14, 2017).

Excluded people experience a certain stigma that makes it difficult for them to cooperate with those involved in SGs. Often respondents mentioned that they would love to cooperate, but knew that they first would have to become part of an SG. On reflection it seemed to me that people struggled with unequal relationships, regarding the economically driven relationships people seemed to have within the SGs. When a person would not be able to contribute, s/he would not be able to become part and there is no question of cooperation. Many excluded people expressed more or less the point that you only value to included people when you have 'economic value'. If not, you rely on your family and friends, and that is the place where you hopefully feel valued and included (interview 29 on August 29, 2017).

6.4 Empowerment: the local reality

Besides social marginalization, empowerment has been a key concept of this research. During my time in the field I tried to understand what empowerment means locally (see chapter five), and what the levels of empowerment are between those involved in CCM and those not involved. My aim was to understand whether CCM achieves the promised empowerment of its 'beneficiaries', but also to see

what the empowerment level of those who do not benefit from CCM is. In this section I start with an elaboration on the levels of empowerment of these two groups. Then I discuss the idea, often mentioned by respondents, that the level of 'self-awareness' shows the level of empowerment. I add to this the question to what extent 'other-awareness' plays a part in this as well. Afterwards, I finish this section with an elaboration of the role of the local church in empowering people.

6.4.1 Empowerment

First, I would like to recall the local definition given by respondents on the concept of empowerment on which I wrote in chapter five. Two definitions given most often were 'a process of building capacity to someone in order to get a certain knowledge or understanding of the things that s/he did not understand before' and 'the act of helping. Also, giving education or money to someone to achieve goals'. Empowerment was often interpreted as a practical concept, and people often gave the example of the provision of education and capital (money or material).

During my time in the field, I have worked with yet another tool to visualize the concept of empowerment. I used this tool in two ways, namely on the one hand to ask people about their level of empowerment compared to other villagers, and on the other hand their level of empowerment regarding the impact CCM has had on their lives. When in the interviews I came to the topic of empowerment I explained the tool as follows: "Here you see a tree that visualizes the levels of empowerment. The figures you see are positioned at different levels, and also their facial expressions differ. Figures at the lower part of the tree are experiencing low levels of empowerment. Some even do not feel empowered at all, those are positioned next to the tree. At the top of the tree you see figures who are highly empowered, but still differ in their facial expressions: happy or unhappy" (interviewer's explanation of visual tool). I continued my explanation by asking the question with which figure in the tree people would identify themselves, depending on what I was referring to (empowerment on village level or as a result of CCM). On a side note, in the first couple of interviews a lot of respondents were pointing towards figures that were sitting together in the tree, although I wanted them to identify themselves with a certain level and a facial expression. I realised that I had to explicitly mention that figures that are sitting alone in the tree, could still have friends and family. After I changed my explanation, people more often pointed towards other figures that are sitting/standing alone in the tree. Below I elaborate on the answers provided by respondents on first empowerment related to CCM, and second empowerment related to their position in the village.

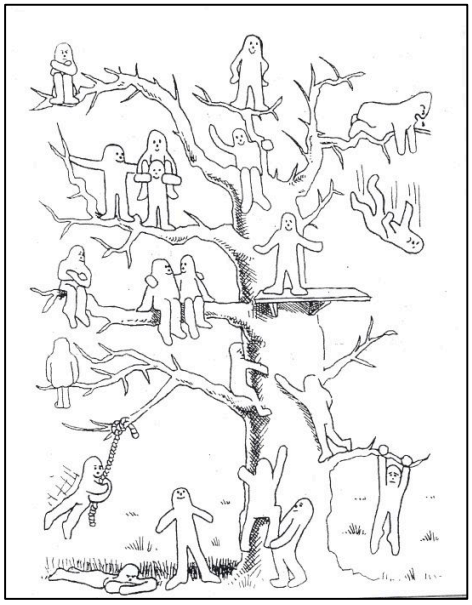

Fig. 6.5 Visual tool: levels of empowerment

Empowerment as a result of CCM

Non-involved respondents often referred to people on the lower levels of the tree. A respondent pointed towards the person standing on the left side of the tree, and stated, "when I would only get a little bit development, I could start climbing the tree" (interview 5 on August 1, 2017). I asked him how he expected being able to start climbing, and he stated that "if I will be given capital and given a bicycle,

that will assist me in my business, then I will be able to start climbing" (interview 5 on August 1, 2017). This is an example of the practical interpretation of villagers about empowerment, by suggesting that he would develop when given capital. Another respondent identified himself with the person hanging in the tree on the right side. He stated, "I am here, because I don't even have a person to push me to come to the tree, or even to begin [climbing]" (interview 15 on August 14, 2017).

A female respondent, who had to deal with a drunken husband for over 20 years now, explained that by being part she grew in development (interview 12 on August 3, 2017). Before she identified herself with being low in the tree, because she could not even send her children to school. Now, she is empowered by becoming part of an SG. The group allowed her to borrow money which she spent on buying goats, buying a matrass, and sending her children to school (interview 12 on August 3, 2017). She dreamed for the future to grow higher in development. Being part of an SG opened her eyes and mind to work on development, and she hopes she can grow in levels of empowerment (interview 12 on August 3, 2017).

The feedback session I held at the end of my time in village one, offered an interesting view on the above mentioned issue around interpretation of concepts. During this session people had the opportunity to write down any additional questions or comments to the results so far, and the following question was posed: "Getting training and education without being empowered, then would we succeed?" (feedback session on August 8, 2017). After discussion with my translator, we were convinced that this question referred to the practical interpretation people have of empowerment (discussed more in-depth in chapter five). People often interpreted empowerment as being supported with money or material coming from the outside. Therefore, this person wondered what the utility of education would be, when he would not get anything to actually put the education into practice. This issue highlights the importance of understanding how concepts are defined locally, so that questions and conversations can be put into context and will be better understood. Another person also wrote a comment (or indirect question) on this, and stated:

> "Dispensary, water pump, water dam together with the school, are examples of positive impact of CCM. I am asking if we would get a grinding machine (machine that makes flour from maize, cassava, sorghum) that would be also among the positive impact. Also, we are asking for capital so that we can start business" (feedback session on August 8, 2017).

Again an example of somebody asking for capital and referring to that as positive impact. It would allow the person to start a business, gain an income, and most likely stay or become part of SG.

A key respondent, who was also a CCM facilitator, expressed his understanding of empowerment in a way that comes closer to how Tearfund and scientific literature describes empowerment. Namely, that you can make your own decisions and decrease the level of dependency in order to develop your life. When the respondent explained about empowerment, he used the picture of the tree to express himself. He stated that "before CCM, I felt 0% empowered, therefore I was the person lying on the ground at the left side of the tree" (interview 29 on August 29, 2017). He further elaborated on this by stating:

> "Now, I am like the person in the middle of the tree, standing on the platform, because I am still climbing. I don't see whether I am really fully empowered, I am still going on. So, I cannot compare myself with the person who's sitting in the tree on the middle left side, because this person might relax and forget. I stand here, because I am still planning to go higher and I do not expect to fall down like the person on the top right side. So, I am still climbing in the tree" (interview 29 on August 29, 2017).

I asked him to explain what he deemed needed in order to achieve higher levels of empowerment. He explained that he needs capital and education. The education he needs is how to run a business, because a business provides money (interview 29 on August 29, 2017).

6.4.2 Self-awareness vs. 'other-awareness'

A recurring aspect respondents mentioned when talking about empowerment was 'self-awareness'. A key respondent explained that before CCM came to the village, "we could not understand ourselves […] we were not empowered" (interview 22 on August 23, 2017). Respondents stated that they desire to be trained in how to educate others on 'self-awareness'. One respondent even mentioned the idea that they were ready for adapted and more modern educational methods, such as a cinema which would attract young people as well (FGD-Ch village one on July 19, 2017). The importance of a continuous flow of education is mentioned by one of the key respondents as well. He stated that inclusiveness of CCM would increase when people understand themselves better through education (interview 18 on August 18, 2017). For people to know who they are, and what they (can) do, helps them in achieving what they want and being empowered. As mentioned by another respondent, a group is more beneficial in gaining self-awareness than when you have to learn that through a single person (interview 21 on August 23, 2017). This was one of the reasons for this respondent to become part of an SG, to grow in knowledge by participating in a group.

On reflection I often had to think about the idea of 'other-awareness'. This is not an official concept, neither is it used in this research, but it was something that I had expected to hear more often. I expected to hear people express their concerns about the wellbeing of others, and that it would be important to them. That it would be a conscious desire of people to reach out to those in greatest need. I believe that no respondent has mentioned this 'other-awareness', and one of my reflections expresses this thought of mine as well:

> "During lunch I ask the people about the disabled child from the woman I interviewed. I ask them whether disability has been mentioned as one of the needs, during the needs assessment sessions? They say no. I ask them why, but they don't really have an answer. I ask whether the woman gets help, but they say no." (personal reflection on July 20, 2017).

Despite the fact that I have to be aware that it is difficult for me to understand social structures in only three months, it came across as striking that an issue as disability in the village has not been mentioned as a need that should receive support. People know vulnerability, because they are able to mention categories of people whom they think could be socially marginalized. However, these type of vulnerabilities seem not to be a priority within CCM's approach to development. In chapter seven I

describe some local initiatives who are reaching out to vulnerable people, and I also discuss the level of collaboration between these initiatives and CCM in order to understand this issue better.

6.4.3 The role of the local church

During the FGDs, I asked people to express what they think would be the role of the local church in empowering people. This is a relevant question, because CCM is launched via the church. Therefore, the church should have the capacity in the first place to 'host' CCM, and secondly, to take CCM forward in the village. When I asked about the church and empowerment, people mentioned that the church should preach, evangelize, pray for those not yet involved, and visit them (FGD-Ch village one on July 19, 2017). A person in the FGD-Ch said that the church members would need to be an example in acting as a unity. This would inspire those outside the church on how to be involved and become empowered. In another FGD, people also stated that the church should continue building good relationships with the community and with stakeholders (FGD-Co village one on July 18, 2017). The church should keep the unity, and remove differences. Another respondent said that the church should send out more facilitators to the community, so that more people could be mobilized. It is interesting that people do (want to) see the church as a unity within the community. The church has to give the right example of how all can collaborate without excluding people or ending up in quarrels. Several SGs had quite because of quarrels, and people saw it as the task of the church to show a different image (informal conversations).

6.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter discussed how CCM is able to empower the socially marginalized through its development process. The results showed that CCM manifests itself mainly on two different levels, namely the village- and household level. On the village level everybody who is able can benefit from physical development outcomes, such as a water dam or a secondary school. On the household level only those involved in SGs are really benefiting from CCM. The excluded people often face certain structural barriers which prevent them from becoming part of CCM. Social marginalization is both a cause and an effect of exclusion from CCM.

7. A LIVING EXAMPLE? TEARFUND'S USE OF LOCAL RESOURCES

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I elaborate on the degree to which Tearfund's lives out the vision of CCM in using the local resources that would enhance and strengthen the impact of CCM on the alleviation of poverty. With local resources I mean in this regard the local government, other churches, and other organisations who have certain development programmes going on in the villages. This chapter aims to answer the third sub-question of this research, which is: *what other relevant institutions work in or with the villages? Does CCM effectively interact with these to enable better development outcomes?* The chapter is written solely on outcomes from village one, due to the fact that for village two no other programmes were mentioned, and time restricted going into depth on the potential influence of the local government. The chapter is divided into three sections, which respectively are 1) TASAF, an initiative flowing from the government supporting the poorest of the poor 2) other church-denominations, and 3) Pamoja Tuwalee – translated 'let's go together' –, an initiative supporting vulnerable children. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

7.2 The local government: TASAF

One key development programme carried out by the local government, and often referred to by respondents is TASAF. I referred to it in chapter three, but in this section I share more in detail about the programme and how it collaborates with CCM. This section flows from the section on

is fuelled by one of the key respondents, who was the local leader of TASAF and also the village chief. The interview I had with him explained a lot about TASAF and how it collaborates with CCM (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

7.2.1 The programme design of TASAF

TASAF is a government-led programme which aims to decrease poverty by providing (mainly financial) support to villagers. In village one, many respondents had mentioned TASAF as one of the initiatives on development that happened next to CCM. The key respondent explained the process on how people were identified to be supported via TASAF. The first step entailed an identification of poor families in a village – this took place in 2009. This happened by a special committee that uses a specific form on which they rate the poverty of poor families. This form asks questions on eventual machines families are owning, the type of toilet, whether the house has a grass roof or a corrugated iron roof, and whether the family uses firewood or other material to cook. The respondent explained that a family has to lack or have (depending on what is asked) a couple of these things in order to be identified as poor. After identification the names of these families were taken to the district level government, which ultimately decided who were qualified to receive support and who were not. The respondent explained that they identified 120 families as poor, but only got support for 80. He stated that he does not know why 40 families did not qualify to receive any support.

On reflection the identification and ultimately the distribution of support occurred to me as a noticeable issue around the way the government deals with poverty. The local government, which knows local poverty best, does not regulate the actual monetary support. Both the decision and the actual money flows from a higher level. It could be that there is only a limited amount of money

available, and that there is a target of 80 families a village. However, this remains guessing. I asked the respondent who is helping the other 40 families, and he stated that these families are still registered in the system as being poor, but are now helped by other people in the village. Poor people cannot come to TASAF themselves to ask for support. Therefore, besides using the committee to identify people, TASAF encourages people to reach out to the poor in any way they can. If there is money left at local government level, the authorities sometimes choose to support people by buying stuff they need.

The respondent explained that the identified 120 families reflected about 65% of the total amount of villagers. I asked him why he thought that such a large percentage of the village was still poor, while CCM had already been working in the village for a couple of years prior. In the first place he responded by saying that it is because of income and the environment. Considering income, he stated that this was the main cause of non-included people in CCM. He explained that:

> "maybe if someone does not work […] he probably does not have enough money. Maybe sometimes they can have little money, that is only enough to run his or her family, but they are not able to contribute the money [to the SGs]". He further elaborated on this by saying, "the problem is that they do not know how to use their money, their little money in order to produce more, so they just relax now, because they think; this is just the little money that I have" (interview 18 on August 18, 2017).

The respondent shared that poor people who manage to get involved in SGs, are allowed to contribute the received money to a SG when they have met all other needs before regarding the set requirements of TASAF. Only the remaining amount of money can be invested in a SG. Later on the respondent explained that the high level of poverty also had to do with how CCM was introduced to the village. He stated that although quite some education on how to develop was given by CCM facilitators, many people did not believe in it, or missed out on it. This happened because people were confused about the fact that CCM was so AICT church linked. Many people thought that CCM was just 'preaching' to get people in the AICT church. It took a long time for village members to understand that CCM is a community matter, not a church matter according to the respondent.

Furthermore, he stated that the identified poor people are empowered by given money every other month. This money should be used according to a set amount of purposes. Examples of purposes are education for children, buying goats to generate an income by selling milk or eventually selling the goat, or buying materials to improve housing such as a corrugated iron roof. The money is used differently by the beneficiaries of this programme. When I asked the respondent to explain why TASAF is convinced that money is the solution in supporting the poorest of the poor, he explains that everybody has different needs. CASH provides the families with at least some freedom in spending it the way is best to them. However, if the families do not spend the money according to the broad regulations (or categorizations) in place, they are removed from the programme. The spending of money is checked by the same committee who identifies families, which is done about every two weeks.

7.2.2 TASAF and CCM

To understand the level of active collaboration between TASAF and CCM, I asked the respondent how the collaboration with CCM had been over the past years (Ibid.). I specifically asked him the question whether he thought that when TASAF would stop providing CASH, CCM would be enough to support the poor. His answered that TASAF is extra to CCM. TASAF only provides the money, CCM provides the education. However, he stated that CCM was especially helpful to the middle group, those people from 30-50 years old. Especially in creating self-awareness (people start working as the respondent stated), CCM had been very helpful to these people (discussed in chapter six). TASAF still is needed for the really vulnerable people, by which he explicitly mentioned the widows. The monetary support of TASAF is seen as an extra push up to those people (widows).

During the interviews, CCM also often was linked to TASAF by respondents. One respondent who was supported via TASAF and was not involved in an SG, said that the non-involvement was not a result of the money she received from TASAF (interview 9 on August 2, 2017). She explained that TASAF targets specific people, and the money from TASAF has specific purposes. It is only that she has no remaining money which she can invest in the SGs in order to become part. What she did use the money for was buying animals, and maybe in a later stage sell a goat for educational purposes (Ibid.). The woman was not aware of any collaboration between TASAF and CCM. Another respondent, who was a very old lady for whom we needed to use double translation (tribal language – Swahili – English), explained that at first she was identified by the committee to receive monetary support from TASAF (interview 8 on August 2, 2017). However, as time went on she did not receive any support, because they removed her from the participants list. She apparently belonged to the 40 families identified, but not supported. The woman did not know why she was removed and did not receive any support. As an outsider I could see that the old woman was very much in need of help. Her adult daughter was disabled and living at her place, and the woman herself was old and poor. In the interview the woman also explained that she was not part of an SG, because she is not aware what CCM is. She also does not go to church, and explained that this is because of traditional believes that her family name is related to witchcraft. She went only once, but got very ill and therefore related it to spiritual forces trying to keep her out of church. Pastors during that time also could not help her, because she started running away (Ibid.).

On reflection it seems that CCM is in the village for educational purposes, and initiatives such as TASAF push CCM's impact by providing money to the poorest of the poor. People are not aware of active collaboration between TASAF and CCM. One could question whether this is using local resources, such as initiatives from the government, in the best way possible. Dividing purposes such as educating and CASH between organisations is understandable, but when the one cannot function well without the other, a stronger collaboration is in place. TASAF seems to reach the people who are not reached by CCM due to low income. The strength of TASAF in knowing who are the poorest of the poor locally, could be an important asset for CCM to have a greater reach in 'knowing the local needs and using the local resources'. For the local government is an important resource to CCM regarding local knowledge, capital, even legitimacy of programmes.

7.3 Other church denominations

In the process of CCM, involving the local church is central to achieving the rest of the programme (this is explained in chapter four). One of the issues around CCM that has come up in this research, is that it was introduced mainly via the AICT church. This caused confusion to many villagers, and slowed

down the process of CCM's potential impact on development. There were a lot of respondents who explained that CCM had never been to their churches regarding a facilitation session, or a gathering of pastors from different church-denominations (interview 13 on August 14, 2017). The negative effect mentioned earlier about the confusion people experienced on CCM being so AICT focussed, also has been mentioned in a positive way. A respondent suggested that when churches would collaborate more strongly, and when there would also be a facilitation session in her church, it would show unity and it would maybe help people to go to facilitation sessions (interview 9 on August 2, 2017).

Regarding support to those in need, some respondents stated that they received support from their own church. A respondent who was suffering from illness even shared that her church had bought her a house and some land, so she could live somewhere. Although she desired her own place, she felt very blessed that her church was supporting her in meeting basic needs (interview 14 on August 14, 2017).

Another respondent was a pastor in another denomination, and he shared a story on how he had tried to collaborate with the AICT (interview 15 on August 14, 2017). He said that he once wanted to collaborate with AICT in holding services together. The two churches did that for some time, however, then his own congregation started gossiping about him. They stated that he wanted to 'sell' his church to AICT. The bishop from the head-office came to visit him and warned him to stop with his actions. The respondent explained that he sees collaboration as an opportunity to reduce immoral behaviour, and to increase following Christian rules (interview 15 on August 14, 2017). He hopes that in the future it will all become easier, and that when they would finally work together, this will be a testimony to the bishop that they can be a unity.

The story of this pastor is interesting in the light of local power structures, discussed amongst others in chapter two. The example shows that within and among churches not always the right values are in place. I think this is important to acknowledge while analysing local reality. When Tearfund aims to work via the local church, they have to understand that neither the village and neither the church is a 'perfect community'. Everywhere there are power relations, and maybe even especially at those places where 'white people' come to intervene, which in this case is the church. It asks for a sensitivity and again, self-awareness on the side of Tearfund as well when thinking about implementing a programme through the local church.

7.4 Pamoja Tuwalee: design and collaboration with CCM

A local organisation often mentioned by respondents is Pamoja Tuwalee. This is a programme which specifically targets vulnerable children. One lady, who acted as a key respondent, explained it as follows (interview 30 on August 30, 2018). Pamoja Tuwalee was developed in 2014 when villagers realised that there were many vulnerable children living in the village, about 50-60% of all children in the village. Children who were orphaned, or who have poor parents who cannot take care of them. During a village meeting, members of Pamoja Tuwalee were chosen, and this female respondent was one of them. The members were trained on how to take care of the vulnerable children, and after that they started reaching out. The training was given in a Development Institute, which I always passed by when driving to the village. It was some sort of development college as people usually explained to me, however, as this respondent states, training to non-students is also provided.

I asked her when a child would qualify for being vulnerable, but she explained that in this village everybody knows each other. Everybody was told to identify vulnerable children, and by knowing each other, they managed to identify the children. She stated that people also know who are facing hiv/aids, or are disabled, or having diseases. It is all known among the villagers (interview 30 on August 30, 2018). She further explained that the villagers made an account for money for the committee, in order for them to support the children. However, only the committee members contributed to this savings account. It was the responsibility of the Pamoja Tuwalee group that there was money to spend. The respondent stated that despite this issue, she loved doing the work. Unfortunately, due to economic fluctuations (for example due to bad weather), it became a challenge to contribute. Currently, the committee does not function well anymore, because several group members left to other towns for work or treatment against illness.

I asked her about the relation between Pamoja Tuwalee and CCM. It would be interesting to understand the interplay between yet another organisation, which is specifically targeting those in greatest need, and CCM. She explained in the first place that there is no relation. However, after she thought for while, she said that she might see a relation: CCM focused on both church and village, and Pamoja Tuwalee only to the village. However, they were both there to reach out to people and to support development. I asked the woman whether she thought that CCM was also targeting the most vulnerable. She stated that when CCM came, it was for all people. CCM did not mean to isolate certain people, like the poorest of the poor. It came for all people in the village, and it focused on all people without any segregation (interview 30 on August 30, 2017). She did see a relation between the work she has been doing, and what CCM does. She explained that CCM came to educate people on how to improve life. Many vulnerable children that Pamoja Tuwalee was reaching out to, were part of families who were not yet realizing the resources around them. CCM came to educate the vulnerable people, so they could understand that they can overcome poverty. She has seen visible changes in the lives of those who accepted the knowledge of CCM, and she gave examples such as 'improved house' and 'no grass roof anymore, but a corrugated iron roof'.

The woman stated that a stronger collaboration between CCM and Pamoja Tuwalee would be good, because they can strengthen each others' efforts. The collaboration could be strengthened by educating all people, which will make collaboration between organisations better. She hopes that Pamoja Tuwalee will be supported in the future with extra money or other needs for the children, and extra education on how to take care of these children. On reflection I do think that it a more intentional collaboration will strengthen the outcomes of both initiatives. The woman was right in stating that often vulnerable children are coming from entire vulnerable families, so by only targeting children the cause of poverty and vulnerability would not be fully covered. When hands are joined together, and CCM would learn from Pamoja Tuwalee and vice versa, it would definitely mean a higher inclusion within CCM and therefore also a visible decrease in social marginalization (as discussed in chapter six).

7.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed some local iniatives such as TASAF and Pamoja Tuwalee, and also other local church-denominations aiming to do good in the local community. The initiatives are great opportunities for CCM to work together in alleviating poverty locally by using local resources and local knowledge. As several respondents explained, this already happens to some extent, but more often unintentionally, than intentionally. Not only the chance which lays in collaborating with other local

initiatives is important to acknowledge. Also the fact that CCM always enters a local reality which entails local power structures. The church is not better than the local government in that regards. CCM could take tension away in collaborating with other initiatives as well as church-denominations, which on reflection could people even give a more positive image of CCM than when it focusses that much on the AICT church in terms of implementation.

8. DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

In this research I analysed to what extent Tearfund's CCM is including and empowering the socially marginalized groups in villages in Northern Tanzania. I used theories on participatory development and on inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment to put CCM in a broader discussion of development practices. I analysed the theory of poverty adhered to by Tearfund in an attempt to understand how – in theory – they view poverty and its alleviation, and how – in practice – this works out through CCM. In this chapter I bring together the theoretical framework presented in chapter two of this thesis with the data presented in chapters five to seven. The aim of this chapter is to grasp the understanding gained while doing this research, which is discussed through several points.

Participatory development put people in the centre and it stresses the importance of context-specificity. Within participatory development approaches, people are seen as active participants rather than passive beneficiaries. The approach of CCM aims to be participatory, and this research has shown that the level of 'people-centeredness' is quite high. In the first phases of CCM, people are actively asked to discuss local needs, which means that in every context CCM may have a different appearance. Through education sessions, people are empowered to think beyond their current situation and learn to see what local resources are available to meet their needs. This relates to the idea presented by Alejandro Leal (2007) that participation in development occurred as a way to make local people responsible to meet the costs of development, which resulted from a neo-liberal agenda that dominated international development discourse in the time that CCM started to be implemented. It shows the ambiguity that lays in the concept of participation. On the one hand it is a way to empower people making their own choices, but on the other hand it may take away costs for 'outsider development professionals'. These costs can be monetary costs, but also the costs when development programmes do not work out the way they should. By making locals active agents within development activities, it may also blur clarity on who is responsible for eventual negative outcomes.

Coming back to CCM on the local level, this research showed that although CCM's people-centeredness helps people to become active change agents of their own lives, it also showed that CCM only centres a particular type of people. Many respondents could name categories of people who either had never been included, or who after some time would most likely fall by the wayside. This issue relates to critique given on Chambers' theory of participatory development, namely that a community never is a homogenous entity. There is no such thing as 'the community', for local power structures and different types of social frictions are always visible when carrying out development initiatives on a local level. Development initiatives often even destabilize local structures, which may cause even more friction than there was before. This research showed power structures within CCM, especially in who is able to participate and who is not. The poorest of the poor, those who Tearfund aims to support, are mostly not involved in CCM due to structural income barriers. Gaining enough income to distribute to SGs on a weekly basis, is one of the pre-conditions for active participation in CCM. When lacking enough income, a villager often remains a passive beneficiary and dependent on the support of others.

After analysis, it seems valid to ask whether CCM unpacks the local culture enough in order to first, be aware of the local power relations, and second, consciously act upon these in order to prevent people from being left behind. One example that illustrates the relevance of this question is that many respondents referred to different levels of understanding. Often those included perceived the excluded as people of low understanding, and named this as one of the causes of exclusion from CCM. Different levels of education within one village shows that CCM places itself in a context that is influenced by broader societal structures (or barriers) that influence the way people develop in general, and their ability to connect to CCM. Is CCM empowered enough itself, when defining empowerment as self-awareness, to know how to deal with the local culture without causing even more social friction than there was before? Or does Tearfund tend to use CCM as a 'one size fits all' approach, expecting it to work out in every context regardless the wider environment?

Being aware of the local structures in which CCM is dropped, also shows its importance when referring to Tearfund's theory of poverty. The theory is based on the idea that broken relationships are the cause of poverty. By restoring broken relationships, people are able to build up their lives and escape poverty on many different levels. This research showed that this theory indeed works out when people are part of an SG in which they feel responsible for group members, and always try to help each other when there are problems. On reflection, it could be stated that SGs are mini-islands within the village which seem to strengthen relationships among group members, as well as the relationships of group members with their environment. People involved in SGs learned, after receiving education, that their needs can be met with local resources.

Regarding the key concepts, this research showed that CCM does not intentionally target, or include those in greatest need. In the beginning of CCM 'everybody' is invited, however, not everybody is coming. In order to become more inclusive, this research made the point that Tearfund needs to become more intentional and more aware of what they do, does affect the local social structures. By not intentionally analysing who is involved, Tearfund (probably unintentionally) adds to even more social friction due the fact that is strongly influences social relations between the included and the excluded. Not being (able to be) involved causes an increased development gap between the included and the excluded, which eventually lead to an increased risk of broken relationships and thus an increase of poverty. Not only poverty, also inequality. The absolute poverty may decrease due to development outcomes mainly of the included people, but the relative poverty increases for the gap in development becomes more visible. Empowerment of people (either included or excluded) depends on the definition used by the

According to the methodology used in this research, it showed that following the principles of PAR is extremely difficult when being an (eventually) outsider visiting villages in an attempt to understand these in a short amount of time. This has proven to be impossible, and I honestly wonder to what extent PAR is possible. However, by still 'using' PAR within this research, I have tried to continuously challenge myself in how I could be more participatory. I managed to be – a little bit – participatory by developing meaning together with local villagers and Tearfund, by sharing data during a feedback session which was highly appreciated, and lastly I tried to reflect on my own position throughout the research and stay open for suggestions from locals.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Conclusions

This research analysed the impact of Tearfund's main development approach Church and Community Mobilisation (CCM). The focus was to understand how CCM includes and empowers the socially marginalized people in the development process. In this section, the main findings of the research are presented, and an answer is given to the following research questions:

How is Tearfund's Church and Community Mobilisation approach including and empowering socially marginalized groups?

1. How is inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment perceived by Tearfund and villagers?
2. Does empowerment through CCM help to overcome social marginalization?
3. What other relevant institutions work in or with the communities? Does CCM effectively interact with these to enable better development outcomes?

This thesis placed itself in a theoretical framework of participatory development which puts people to the centre of development practice. According to participatory development, people are active participants instead of passive beneficiaries. In an attempt to make this thesis as participatory as possible, local villagers are actively involved in quite some phases of the research. The research started with an analysis of the differences between Tearfund and local villagers when defining the key concepts inclusion, social marginalization and empowerment. Through validation of local perceptions next to these flowing from literature or Tearfund, this research aimed to use a bottom-up approach in coming up with locally-sensitive meaning given to abstract concepts. This research has found that understanding each other's perception is important, because differences do exist. The theoretical meaning quite overlapped, while the practical interpretation appeared slightly different from each other. By opening up the conversation between different contexts, this research shows that it helps to understand local reality; whether this is an office in a big European city, or a small rural village bordering Lake Victoria.

After analysing the concepts, this research aimed to understand whether CCM empowers included people, and helps to overcome social marginalization. After investigating this in the field, this research found that CCM mainly manifests itself on two levels, namely village- and household level. On village level, the impact of CCM became visible through physical development outcomes such as a water dam or a secondary school. Everybody who is able to use these facilities, is allowed to use them. However, on household level, CCM only has a clear positive impact when a person is part of an SG. These SGs function on a basis of weekly monetary contributions, which prevents different categories of people to be involved. For involved people, SGs help to increase levels of empowerment because of education and support from other group members. For non-involved people, they often fall behind and experience a bigger gap in development compared to involved people. This causes feelings of insecurity, negative self-awareness, and loneliness.

This research identified several other institutions who aim to support those in greatest need, for example TASAF and Pamoja Tuwalee. These institutions specifically target vulnerable groups, such as the poorest of the poor and children. Since targeting is part of the design of their development programmes, the chances are higher that those who are aimed to be supported are actually supported. Targeting is not part of the design of CCM, for CCM tends to be for everybody. However, Tearfund should then question their own slogan of 'following Jesus where the need is greatest'. This thesis found that an active collaboration between CCM and other institutions can increase the level of positive impact CCM can have in reaching those in greatest need.

Inclusion is not a choice. It is an ethos which should be an active part of the entire CCM process and beyond. Without awareness on the impact of exclusion, relationships will not be restored but even experience higher levels of social friction. Not including those in greatest need is not innocent. According to the theory of poverty adhered to by Tearfund, poverty can only decrease when relationships are restored. Tearfund should review the impact of CCM within a local reality in which more than just the church plays a role in creating 'society'. Without being aware actively starting to target and involve those in greatest need, Tearfund risks not only to increase poverty but also increase inequality.

When CCM would change its design to become more inclusive, it proves to be a programme that does empower active participants and helps them to discover their needs and resources. This is promising, especially because the local church is an institution that often stays in a village long after 'development professionals' have left the scene. When CCM would focus on a stronger collaboration between local churches, a greater reach and bigger impact will be made visible. It is a long process, and it does not go fast. However, this also gives CCM a big potential to be ranked high in term of *Umoja*, because it dares to take time for development.

9.2 Recommendations

This section aims to suggest some practical improvement as to how CCM could improve inclusion and empowerment of socially marginalized people. Also, it provides some suggestions on how CCM can collaborate more effectively with other local resources in order to achieve bigger impact. These recommendations partly flow from input given by respondents during the feedback session (September 9, 2017). During this session, people were invited to provide any suggestions on how to improve the impact of CCM. Next to their suggestions I provide some of my own, in the knowledge that these are based on only a short time in a particular field and thus lack a real profound understanding on how CCM could be improved. Therefore, I suggest that these recommendations are taken seriously and critically, especially when desired to be applied in a different context.

9.2.1 Recommendations flowing from villagers

- Since children and youth are the future generation, many villagers deemed it very important that they should be involved in CCM in an intentional way. Involving the current generation prevents knowledge of getting lost, and makes CCM more sustainable. An idea would be to design a CCM programme specifically targeting children and/or youth, so the education and practice is levelled to their imagination. It would also be great when CCM would collaborate more intentionally with nearby schools where children receive education. Important to understand that (unintentional) exclusion could occur, because not every child goes to school.

- A stronger collaboration between the different church-denominations would decrease the suspicion of villagers compared to when CCM mainly works via one church denomination. The latter slows down the process, and even causes some people to not participate. Stronger collaboration also provides an increased reach and more knowledge on who are the most vulnerable, and how they can be supported.
- The flow of information on facilitation or education sessions on CCM should go to all people, instead of only those already in SGs. An increased analysis and awareness of how information is shared within the villages, decreases the risk of exclusion.
- Education and mobilisation should not stop, but be a continuous cycle that allows people to grow and develop. Specific education: on values. Specific mobilisation: those in SGs should encourage non-included to join an SG. Also, those in SGs should assist money to non-included people, so that they are able to join an SG

9.2.2 My own additional recommendations

- In the beginning of CCM, a conversation should happen on village level as to whom are identified as being in greatest need. This conversation could fuel a context-specific social mapping tool that allows villagers to map out any (social) needs in the village, and also the presence of (social) resources such as other organisations already working with those in greatest need. Targeting should become part of the design of CCM, instead of making this a choice.
- More emphasis should be given to educating values, such as inclusion. This could either be a role of the church, but could also something being done by other local authorities, or a specific group championing values.
- Facilitators should be given structural support in order for them to better focus on mobilising and educating. This support could be given by SGs (would align with the vision of local needs are covered by local resources). To keep this support locally also prevents it from being quit after the 'contract has finished' (which often happens with development interventions).
- SGs have a great potential in taking care of those in greatest need, by supporting these people with a little amount of money from the savings account. This could increase 'other-awareness' and also could contribute to a feeling that poverty can be battled with on a local level.
- More local people should be trained to become CCM facilitators. These people should be a variety of people, not just pastors for example. Pastors often leave the village after serving for some years. By training more people on how to educate others on the vision of CCM, it ensures the sustainability of CCM on the long term for knowledge will remain within the village.

9.2.3 Recommendations for further research

- It would be interesting to investigate CCM's impact in a context in which the church is not the dominant religion. How would a church-based approach manifest itself in a context in which the church is a minority, or in a setting of conflict?
- It would be interesting to analyse the tandem of CCM and SHGs better. I was not aware that this was so strongly present in Tanzania, and therefore had to deal with this finding in a spontaneous way. However, a more profound analysis of SHGs in other countries, and in combination with CCM would help to understand the strengths and the weaknesses of this combination.

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