Local Livelihoods in a changing world
A minor field study from Bagamoyo, Tanzania

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ABSTRACT


Bagamoyo area in Tanzania is a place full of potential for development and big projects are about to start. A few kilometres outside of Bagamoyo town, the small place Makurunge is situated. Since Makurunge is located close to a big sugar cane project that is about to start and it is included in a development plan of Bagamoyo township, it will possibly be facing many changes in a near future. This thesis aims to explore the local livelihoods in Makurunge with focus on the local population’s perceptions concerning their present lives, visions and constraints. These thoughts are discussed together with the possible future impacts from the development projects in the area. To explore the objectives with this thesis a qualitative field study in Tanzania has been done. Semi-structured interviews, informal talks and focus group discussions have been done with local people in Makurunge. Interviews with people working at the district office, for the government and some NGOs in the area have been held. The results show that the livelihood situation in Makurunge is difficult and people want to improve their lives. Many people are small-scale farmers or charcoal producers, dependent of natural resources and their physical strength. Some also have small businesses and the economical situation is very hard for everyone. Bad roads, low education and lack of job opportunities together with limited access to modern tools, have been identified as obstacles for them to pursue good livelihoods. The presumed changes from the developments in the area could possibly contribute to a more active community with more money flow and an improved infrastructure. Together with empowerment and greater knowledge the people could hopefully get a more sustainable livelihood situation in the future.

Keywords: Livelihood, Sustainable, Future, Bagamoyo, Tanzania

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1. INTRODUCTION

A woman sits by an open fire, cooking food for people who are passing by on the big road. People are on the way, walking, riding bicycles or driving motorbikes. Some of them stop to get some breakfast from the woman. Others just say hello and continue. Close by, a man is weeding his rice plantation while his wife is mending their house that broke due to the heavy rains last night. A group of young men is sitting by the road, looking for something to do. It is a normal day in Makurunge in the outskirts of Bagamoyo, eastern Tanzania. In the city centre of Bagamoyo town, about 12 kilometres away, the township office is in the process of planning the expansion of that very area. Makurunge is in the transformation of going from a village to become more urbanised with more social services and residences. This development plan is needed since the area is expected to grow rapidly within the near future. Hence, at this place there are many things happening at the moment. Not only the administrative procedure of including Makurunge in the township, but also the construction of a deep sea port in the vicinity and the starting of a large agricultural investment (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28). The company Agro EcoEnergy Tanzania Limited (further referred to as EcoEnergy) has a plan to start a sugarcane business and produce sugar for the domestic market. One aim of the project is to contribute to a more wealthy community and provide the neighbouring villages and farmers with jobs (Carstedt, 2014-05-07). EcoEnergy is one of many foreign investors who see potential in investing in an African country. It is noted that around 29 million out of 56 million hectares of land sought after globally is located in Sub-Saharan Africa (Deininger et al., 2011, overview). This kind of interest in investing in big farmlands is called Large-scale Land Acquisition and has been discussed in media and been a topic for research over the globe the past years (Gurara Z. D. and Birhanu D., 2012, background). Reports and articles investigating the social and environmental impacts that large-scale land acquisition has on rural livelihoods in developing countries have been published by for example Bergius (2012), Cotula et al. (2009) and Sulle and Nelson (2009). Some risks that have been identified with this phenomenon are that the local market do not benefit from the investment and negative changes in for example access to basic resources, which can have an affect on people’s livelihood situation (Gurara Z. D. and Birhanu D., 2012, p. 5).

At national level, The Tanzania Development Vision 2025, states that the country is in the process of evolving from a least developed country to a middle-income country. By the year 2025, extreme poverty will be a thing of the past and attributes of the vision includes high quality livelihood and a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits (The Tanzania Development Vision 2025, n.d, p. 2-3). To be able to analyse the future and try to reach these goals it is important to be aware of the present situation and identify factors that could improve or hinder development. The importance of these kinds of analysis has been stressed by for example Chambers and Conway (1991) who introduced the concept of sustainable livelihoods, a tool useful for understanding people’s poor situations. This
thesis will explore the present livelihoods of families in Makurunge; the assets they posses, the activities they perform and their capabilities as well as their perceptions about the future. Thoughts about how the agricultural investment and development projects possibly can have an impact on the local environment will also be discussed from a district and national level. Will the same woman in the restaurant still be there in five years time, or has she been forced to sell her land and move someplace else? And will the man who is weeding his rice plantation today be dealing with sugar canes tomorrow? We hope that this thesis can contribute with more knowledge and a greater understanding for the complex situation local people in developing countries are in, and how they could be affected by changes in their environment.

1.1 Purpose and research questions
The aim of this thesis is to explore local livelihoods in terms of assets, activities and capabilities in the area Makurunge, Bagamoyo, Tanzania. This will be done with focus on the local population’s perceptions concerning their present lives, visions and constraints. These thoughts will be put in the context together with the possible future impacts from the development plans of Bagamoyo area concerning the sugar cane project of EcoEnergy and the township expansion. The research questions are as follows:

• What are currently the main livelihoods of households in Makurunge?
• What are the perceptions at local, district and national level of possible impacts on local livelihoods due to the development of Bagamoyo?
• What do the local population need in order to cope with challenges and benefit from opportunities they are likely to face due to the development of Bagamoyo?

1.2 Limitations
The thesis is about the people of Makurunge and their present livelihoods as well as their perceptions of the future. The focus is thus at a local level, and policies and acts have not been studied. However, to put the local situation in a perspective and to touch on the complexity of power relations we have also spoken to representatives from both district and national level. Concerning the scope and time limit of this essay it is however impossible to get a thorough understanding of the whole situation, and the results from this essay are to a great extent based on the thoughts and experiences of the individuals we have met. Livelihood is something that varies from household to household but we have tried to get a good representation of the people living in the study area. Development of Bagamoyo refers to the agricultural project as well as the developing plan for Bagamoyo township and the new port. The port will be mentioned but we have chosen not to put much emphasis on it due to the scope of the thesis. We are aware of the difficulties in studying possible future changes and we want to make clear that no one can tell exactly what the development of Bagamoyo will result in. What we have tried to do is put the perceptions, plans and challenges
from different stakeholders together to be able to have a discussion about its possible impacts.

1.3 Disposition
This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The following chapter is describing the theoretical framework used in this study to help understand and analyse the empirical findings. The third chapter consists of the methodology section, which aims at explaining the research process and the selections of methods. Chapter four contains background information about the study area and the factors that could influence the livelihoods of the people living there. An identification of local people’s livelihoods can be found in chapter five together with a discussion regarding the theoretical framework. In chapter six, thoughts about the future and the development of Bagamoyo is discussed from a local point of view, complimented by beliefs from district and national levels. Finally, in chapter seven the thesis is summarized and main findings discussed as well as recommendations for further research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework about livelihoods chosen in this study has been used to facilitate the collection and analysis of the empirical material. This chapter starts with an introduction to the livelihood framework and continues with a reduced and adjusted livelihood model that we have made ourselves to better fit the local circumstances. There will also be an explanation about how we define a household and we will have a short discussion about space and gender, which we have taken into account in the thesis.

2.1 Introduction to the livelihood framework
For studies concerning rural people’s poor situations, the livelihood framework has become a popular tool for analysis since the 1990s. One of the reasons is that through the livelihood framework one tries to see the issues from the perspective of the local people, focusing on what is most important for them, their everyday livelihoods (Hajdu, 2006, p. 56). Using a livelihood framework will help identifying what people are doing today and how they act to cope with risk and uncertainty. It is also a useful tool for making connections between elements that constrain or enhance livelihoods and identify means that could strengthen capabilities or reduce vulnerability (De Satgé, 2002, p. 4). The aim in using a livelihood framework in this study is thus to facilitate the identification on what assets and activities that are important for the people in Makurunge as well as providing a greater understanding concerning factors and possible changes that could have an impact on their future.

During the 1990s, Robert Chambers and Gordon R. Conway introduced a concept called the sustainable livelihood framework, which aims to combine the concepts of capabilities, equity and sustainability (Chambers and Conwell, 1991, p. 5). It became
big in the end of the 1990s, due to strong promotion by the Department for International Development, DFID at the British Development Cooperation Agency (De Haan, 2012, p. 346). A widely used definition for sustainable livelihood is based on a definition of Chambers and Conwell, but modified by DFID in 1999:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, whilst not undermining the natural resource base.

De Satgé, 2002, p. 4

The assets within a household are in the DFID framework divided into five different capitals, used to pursue livelihoods: natural capital, physical capital, human capital, social capital and financial capital, which will be described further down (Carney, 1999, p. 9). Activities are the actions that are undertaken in order to pursue livelihoods and to meet the basic needs. Capabilities on the other hand are about the behaviour and potentials of people, strongly connected to human capital. The capabilities can vary within the household depending on for example gender and age and the capability to meet a certain need is linked to vulnerability and poverty (Hajdu, 2006, p. 59, 62).

2.2 Livelihood model used in this study
For this study we have chosen to create a model of our own (see figure 1). It is inspired by the DFID sustainable livelihood framework, as well as learning about livelihoods, which is another livelihood framework where the household is at the very centre of the model and together with the assets, activities and capabilities make up the core. This is put into a context together with positive and negative impacts from other factors, which are all connected at different levels (De Satgé, 2002, p. 15). What we want to point out, and what has been stressed from many authors, is the fact that livelihood is more than monetary measurements; the households develop complex, diverse and dynamic strategies to meet their needs (De Haan, 2012, p. 347).
Surrounding the household, illustrated with the symbol of a house, there are factors on different levels, which affect the household in one way or another. The arrows in the framework illustrate that the different dynamic elements of assets, activities and capabilities influence one another, for example; with good assets, the activities could perhaps be more efficient. Empowerment, to strengthen an individual’s ability to be independent, set up goals and control one’s own life (NE, 2014a) is something that could lead to reinforced capability and more sustainable livelihoods. As in the learning about livelihood framework, we have chosen to build up the core with the three elements assets, activities and capabilities since those are the ones directly connected to the household. Since the characteristics of capabilities are similar to what is meant by human capital, the assets in this model consist of the other four capitals from the DFID framework. The natural capital includes environmental resources such as land, water and wildlife, whereas the physical capitals are the basic infrastructure, equipment and tools that enable people to pursue livelihoods. Monetary means like savings or cash are represented in the financial capital and the social resources such as one’s personal network and relationships are called social capital (Carney, 1999, p. 9).

The factors surrounding the household environment can be means of improvement for the livelihood situation, but it can also have negative effects on it by exposing the households to shocks and stresses (De Satgé, 2002, p. 14). For the study area, the major factors that might influence the livelihood situation of the households are identified as the sugar cane project and the township development. The possible

Figure 1. Reduced livelihood model made by the authors.
future changes these factors can bring can affect the natural/built environment as well as the social situation of the families. Identifying visions and constraints of the households, as well as analyse these at different levels will be central for this thesis. Depending on the livelihood strategy of the households, different results and outcomes will occur, more or less sustainable. When a desired outcome is reached, this will have a positive impact on the assets and capabilities of the household, whereas less desirable outcomes will influence the household in a negative way (De Satgé, 2002, p. 15).

Although livelihood frameworks in many ways are suitable tools for analysing local livelihoods, there are also criticisms about using such frameworks. The neglect of power relations within the frameworks is one of these critiques that has been stressed and discussed by for example de Haan (2012). The risk of romanticising the poor by focusing on assets and being uncritically about their knowledge and activities is another criticism (De Satgé, 2002, p. 20). The critiques are something we have tried to have in mind during our field study and analysis. We have discussed broader issues like education, the partition of tasks and empowerment, with the local population and different stakeholders and we have tried to keep a critical eye to our findings.

### 2.2.1 Definition of a household

As the livelihood framework suggests, the main analytical unit that has been used for this thesis is the household. Within a household, activities are taken place and the relation between assets, capabilities and external impacts can be analysed. Household refers to a person or group of persons who reside in the same homestead/compound but not necessarily in the same dwelling unit, have same cooking arrangements, and are answerable to the same household head (National Bureau of statistics, 2013, p. xix). The member of a household are usually related which is why the word family also has been used for members of the household in this thesis.

### 2.2.2 Space and gender

Within each household different roles and responsibilities are shared and divided between the family members. Gender is one aspect that we have found interesting to highlight since it is a factor that could influence the livelihood strategies and the distribution of tasks and activities within the household. Gender is more than just biological differences between man and woman, it is how people are perceived, how they think and act and how they are related to the way society is organized (Hamdy, 2005, p. 39). Understanding gender roles, relations, and inequalities can help explain the choices people make and their different options (UN, n.d). What is also important to mention is the relation between space and gender, that the gender differences and power relations can be understood through a geographical perspective (Forsberg, 2003, p. 17). A space can be divided into a public and a private sphere, where the labour within production is mostly taking place in the public sphere and the unpaid household work (reproduction) within the private. This is highly related to the gender discussion, as traditionally reproduction has been bound to women and production to men (Lindeborg, 2012, p. 56, 58). In this thesis we will discuss the gendered view of
reproduction and production primarily when discussion the activities within the household and how the tasks are divided within the family in their everyday life.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the qualitative method that we have used is presented, from the selection of study area to interview procedures. Communicative challenges as well as the ethnographic approach that has been applied are discussed and it will finish with a description on how the empirical material has been analysed.

3.1 Selection of method

To explore the objectives with this thesis a field study of eight weeks in Tanzania has been done with funding from Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, SIDA. During these weeks from the end of March to May 2014 empirical material was collected and the main part of the thesis was written.

We chose to use a qualitative method since it was important for us to get an understanding of people’s thoughts described through their own experiences (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2013, p. 17). In a qualitative method the researcher gets to know the informants by listening to their dreams, fears and hopes and also learn about their work and life situations (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2013, p. 15). When using a qualitative method, a field study is an appropriate approach to get an understanding of a present situation and one of its strengths is that different materials can be collected through interviews and observations (Yin, 2007 p. 18, 23). For this thesis a qualitative field study was therefore a good option since it was vital for us to get an understanding of the local people’s livelihood situation and thoughts about the future, information that would not have been possible to gather if we would not have visited the study area.

To further elaborate on the fact that we wanted to see the world through the eyes of the people who experience it, we have been influenced of the ethnographic approach. Ethnographic methodology implies that the researcher enters a specific setting and gets to know the people in it. It is also common to participate in the daily activities that are performed as well as writing down what has been experienced (Lindeborg, 2012, p. 80). Through interviews, observations and visits to the informants’ homes we think that we got to know them fairly well. As a part in reflecting about the collected material, field notes were written and we always discussed the information and our impressions with each other as well as with our interpreter. In line with the ethnographic approach we wanted to be open and flexible in the research process and trying to adopt and focus on the issues that the people of our study found important.

To be able to describe the local population’s situation in a detailed and reliable way, it is not only important to build up a trustful relationship with the informants, but also to be clear about the purpose of the visit (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p. 431).
During discussions with other researchers who have been in the area we realized that it was very important to follow the local rules to gain their trust; as to pay a first visit to the village leader to ask for permission to visit the area. By doing so and by clarifying that we did not represent any company, the interview setting quickly became relaxed.

Semi-structured individual interviews was the main interview form used in this thesis, which means that questions and themes are prepared, but the interviewer adapts the questions to the informant. To follow what Kvale (1996) describes as an Interview guide, the interviewer creates rough topics with suggested questions and during the interview is trying to follow these themes and also adapt the questions to topics of the informant for the moment (Kvale, 1996, p. 129). We found this form of interview as a good way to be flexible and give the informant a chance to talk about what he or she found important. At many occasions we also had more of informal talks, which according to Fife (2005) are unstructured interviews that could be of value in further discussions and in more structured interviews.

In its simplest form, unstructured interviewing occurs every time a researcher participates in a conversation and, upon hearing a subject come up that interests her/him, decides to try to keep that particular conversation alive for a period of time.  
Fife, 2005, p. 101

In a qualitative method where the informant’s replies will be available in a public report it is important to protect the informant’s integrity (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2013, p. 89). For this ethical issue we have chosen to use fictive names of the household’s members in the thesis. We have however chosen to use some pictures of the people and the surroundings to provide an extra dimension to the written information. We always asked for permission to take photos. We chose to give small gifts or a photo of the family to show our gratitude for their participation.

3.2 Selection of study area
The actual field study took place in an area called Makurunge situated in Bagamoyo district, Tanzania (see figure 3-5). We chose Makurunge because of its close location to the big sugar cane project and that it is in a development phase due to expansions of Bagamoyo township. Due to these two major factors, Makurunge will possibly be facing many changes in the future, which can affect the people’s lives in different ways. During the field study we chose to stay in Bagamoyo city and we made four daytrips to Makurunge, which was around 1-1.5 hours away with a bus. The main reason for us to stay in Bagamoyo city was that we there had access to electricity and Internet, which made it easier to communicate with people and arrange meetings through phone calls and emails. We also had very good discussions and collaboration with a student from Swedish Agricultural Sciences who was doing a similar field study in the area. In Bagamoyo we were also close to the district and township offices,
which we visited a few times to get information about the area, the organizational structure and future plans.

### 3.3 Communicative challenges

Translation is never a straightforward process, since languages are constructed differently as well as words and expressions having different meanings and cultural connotations (Lindeborg, 2012, p. 72). One of biggest challenges to overcome during this field study has been the language difference between the informants and us. Since the people in Makurunge speak Swahili there was a need for an interpreter who knew both Swahili and English to be able to conduct the interviews. Lindeborg (2012) points out that there are consequences in not using the informants’ language when writing the thesis, since we want to describe and understand the world through the eyes of the informants. This means that when we are quoting an informant we are using our interpreter, Bernard P. Mwano’s words. We valued that Bernard had local knowledge and was available a few days here and there, as we only needed him to interpret when we visited the local population in Makurunge. All the other interviews were conducted in English, which was preferable since it was frustrating not to be able to speak directly to the informant. The language barrier made it harder to get to know the informant well and the fact that we are two young women from the Western world with a totally different background and education level created a distance between us. What helped in the situation was that we learned some basic phrases in Swahili and that our interpreter had a way of making friends with everybody and contributed to a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere.

According to Holstein and Gubrium (2003) there can be a problem to get the correct understanding of the informants’ answers when the interpreter’s perception can affect these. They also claim that it is important to consider the nonverbal communication, where the two concepts lack of comprehension and misunderstanding are noted (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003, p. 435). We tried to overcome these obstacles by having a good relationship with our interpreter. We carefully planned for the interviews together with him as well as discussed the material and people’s thoughts afterward. It was also an advantage for us to be two persons during the interview, where one could concentrate in asking questions and the other one on taking notes. The fact that we were three persons verifying the information and since the interpretation gave us time to take good notes, we decided not to use any recording device. We felt that the use of any technical device could make the informant feel insecure and also increase the distance between us.

### 3.4 Focus group interviews

We organized three focus group interviews in Makurunge, one in the beginning of our field study and two in the end. This interview form was chosen to create a good atmosphere for discussion where the participants could speak freely and share their feelings and thoughts about chosen themes (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2013, p. 166). This can lead to agreements within the group and validation of the participants’
common experiences (Caretta and Börjesson, 2014, p. 5). We had the introducing focus group discussion to get to know the informants and to get an understanding of broader and important issues in the community. We asked for help from the vice leader of the central area in Makurunge to collect 5-8 people with different gender, occupation and age, as we wanted a diversity in the group to get a good representation from the people living there. The group discussion was held in the village office and the participants were three women and three men with ages between 30 and 63. There were two farmers, two people selling either charcoal or clothes, two restaurant owners whom one was the vice leader who also participated. We got the impression that the presence of the leader did not have an affect on the other participants and that everyone could speak freely. We discussed the topics livelihood and future for three hours and due to the number of participants we had help from two interpreters, Bernard and his friend Omari. The first part of the discussion we used a timeline and post-its and tried to get an understanding of their daily activities and what they needed to perform these (see figure 2). After a short break, we had a broader discussion about future visions and their thoughts about the agriculture project of EcoEnergy. It was challenging to run this first meeting, but we got good and useful information and the participants seemed to enjoy it.

![Figure 2. Focus group discussion 1. Photo by Omari Ally.](image)

We arranged the two last focus groups because we wanted to verify some of the information we had collected through the individual interviews and observations. We chose to have one group with men and one with women to reduce the power relation that might exist between men and women, so that everyone would feel comfortable to speak their mind. We also wanted to learn more how men and women think about the future. These discussions were held outside of the homes of two of the participants from the first focus group, who helped us arrange these meetings. There were four women in one group and three men in the other and both of the discussions lasted for about one hour and we were pleased with the arrangements and the outcomes.
3.5 Individual interviews
After the first focus group discussion we selected four of the participants with different gender and occupation to have individual interviews with about a week later. We asked to go to their homes so they would feel comfortable and since we also wanted to talk with more than one person from the same household. To visit their homes also helped us get a broader understanding about their livelihood situation, this by observing the area they live in, their assets and activities. All together we held eight individual interviews in Makurunge during two days, that all lasted between 30 minutes and two hours. Depending on the weather we either sat on water buckets or stools outside their houses or inside. We discussed three main themes: personal background, livelihood and future. Livelihood topics were for example their daily activities, what assets they needed to perform these and their possibilities and constraints to improve their situation. When asking about the future we wanted to hear their general thoughts, concerns and hopes about their future livelihood and also how the development of Makurunge and the sugar cane project could affect this. We got the impression that people were honest, but a majority found it difficult to talk about vision and constraints, which made us ask more specific questions than planned for.

To gather information about EcoEnergy and their plans for the local population, we had three semi-structured interviews with people working with these matters. We also interviewed three people working at the district office and two people at the township office to know more about the plans for Bagamoyo town. To get a broader perspective we interviewed a program officer working for the aid organisation Action Aid and one person working at the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development.

During the field study we also had informal talks, or unstructured interviews, with several people in the area, both officers and people directly affected by the sugar cane project of EcoEnergy. These meetings contributed to a more general view and a broader understanding of how different people think about the present situation in the area. EcoEnergy has hired a consultant company IDC, International development consultants, and we also had informal discussions with two people working for them. A list of all interviews is presented in Appendix 1.

3.6 Observations
An important part of the field study has been the observations we have made. Just living in Bagamoyo, spending time with local people in Makurunge and visiting people’s homes increased our knowledge about the local situation. One of the methods we have used is called direct observations, which can be used in either a formal or informal way. The more formal approach could be to register how frequent a certain event is occurring during a period of time whereas the more informal way is observations done during the whole visit (Yin, 2007, p. 120-121). Most of the observations we have made are of the informal type. When we visited the informants’ homes for conducting the interviews we either started or ended with walking around
their property and talking about what we observed. This sometimes took a longer time than the actual interview depending on how the conversation went and how big the area was. Through these kind of oral stories in field we could also complement some of the information from the interviews. For example we bought some doughnuts from one of the informants while having a look around and we then understood that she had spent two hours making them that same morning, even though she did not mention this when we had talked about the morning activities during the interview. These sorts of observations and informal talks thus helped us overcome the fact that we felt that the informants found it difficult to share details about their income activities and time spent on different tasks.

We also stayed over at one of the informant’s house one night. In that way we could see how the tasks were divided within the household and observe how and what assets they were using. Like Yin (2007) points out, it gave us the sense of an insider-look of the reality and the information lead to an even more thoroughly and understandable description of the situation (Yin, 2007, p. 122-123). Another tool that we have used for the observations is a camera to take photographs of important factors or features. The photos helped us reminding things when we went through the empirical material in the analysis, for example what material their houses were made of or how the kitchen area looked like.

3.7 Analysis of empirical findings
Kvale and Brinkmann (2013) describe the theoretical analysis as a tool where you can take advantage of new context for reflections for interview themes and new dimensions of known understandings. We have chosen to do a theoretical analysis of our findings from the interviews. By doing so, we categorized the answers into subgroups and themes suitable for the livelihood theory. Worth to mention is that this kind of analysis can result in that the empirical material are only seen through the theory and it is easy to miss other, new important aspects. Therefore it is important to analyse similarities and dissimilarities and be open to the answers the informant gives (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2013, p. 256-257).

After the interviews with the households the two of us sat down together and went through the notes and transferred them to a word document where we categorized the material. The themes were background, business, food and water, future, EcoEnergy, township and others. We also wrote down our observations and thoughts about the interview and the visit in the same document. After all the individual interviews we started analysing the material and identify assets, activities, capabilities, visions and constraints and compiled the informants’ answers. Through this method we realized similarities and variations of livelihoods and thoughts. For example, by doing this we also identified their lack of capability since we ended up with little information in that category.
4. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In this chapter an introduction to the country Tanzania and the study area of Makurunge, Bagamoyo will be done. Furthermore, information about EcoEnergy and other stakeholders connected to the sugar cane project and the development of Bagamoyo will be presented.

4.1 Tanzania

Tanzania is a country situated in eastern Africa, just south of the equator, (see figure 3). It has a population of about 45 million on a surface of approximately 950 000 km² (National bureau of statistics 2013, p. 2). The official language spoken by most people is Swahili but there are also many local languages as well as Arabic spoken in the country. English is the other official language mainly used for commerce, administration and higher education (Cia, 2014). Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world where around 30 % of the population live in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2012) and the majority lives on less than 1.25 USD per day. Bad infrastructure, weak financially services and low law security including corruption, are some of the factors that constrain the development of the country (UD, 2013, p. 2-3). Important income for the Tanzania includes tourism and gold mining, but a majority of the people, 80 %, is dependent on agriculture and small scale farming (Cia, 2014).

Tanzania is divided geographically and administratively into regions, districts, townships, wards and villages. A region consists of several districts, which in turn are made up by wards. Each ward consists of a few villages and hamlets, a hamlet cover about ten houses. A township represents a zone of which the main city is situated and

![Figure 3. Map of Africa with Tanzania highlighted (NE, 2014b).](image)

![Figure 4. Map of Tanzania with the location of Bagamoyo marked (NE, 2014b, modified by authors).](image)
within the township, there are no formal villages but there are so-called streets and sub streets (Abdallah, 2014-04-14).

4.2 Bagamoyo district
Bagamoyo district is situated in the northern part of the Pwani region, which borders to the Indian Ocean to the east (see figure 4). The history of Bagamoyo includes the presence of Arab merchants who dominated the area for over 1000 years and there are many mosques and structures still remaining from that era. In the 18th and 19th centuries Bagamoyo was used as the major slave trading post in East Africa and the name Bagamoyo literary means *lay your heart* which originates from the hopelessness felt by the slaves who arrived in Bagamoyo, the final stop on the mainland before they were to be shipped off to Zanzibar to get sold. From the 1880s Germany ruled mainland Tanzania and the colonial government used Bagamoyo as the capital for many years. It was not until 1919, when the British took over the country, that the capital was moved to Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo turned into a small town (Torell et al., 2006, p. 4). The administrative capital of today is situated in Dodoma and Tanzania has been independent since 1961.

Many of the people in Bagamoyo are fishermen, but further inland agriculture as well as charcoal production are main occupations. In the district are also several pastoralists who make a living trading cattle (Sese, 2014-04-01). According to the 2012 cencus, the population in Bagamoyo district is 311 740 with an average household size of 4.4 people and an average population growth rate of 2.2 % (National Bureau of statistics, 2012, p. 2). Bagamoyo town, the headquarter of the district, is situated 65 kilometres north of Dar es Salaam and has a population of approximately 44 000 (National Bureau of statistics, 2012, p. 66). Bagamoyo town has two wards, Magomeni and Dunda, where the four former villages Magomeni, Makurunge, Kaole and Dunda are included. These township boarders were declared in 2004, but the structures of the area have remained the same, where for example Magomeni that is situated close to Bagamoyo centre is like an urban area and the structure of the study area Makurunge is more like a village (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28).

4.2.1 Bagamoyo at change
Today, Bagamoyo is an area full of potential for new businesses and during the last couple of years several foreign investors have started up projects in the region in cooperation with the government (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28). China has invested ten billion US dollars in building a big port in Mbegani, south of Bagamoyo. This is a part of making the east African seaboard to a major trading zone in Africa and in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (The United Republic of Tanzania Planning Commission, n.d.), it is mentioned that the port can help ease the congestion in Dar es Salaam and transform the country’s ports into world class (Voices of Tanzania, 2013). Together with the big sugar cane project of EcoEnergy, Bagamoyo will turn into a big export and economic processing zone (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28 and Mesiak, 2014-05-02). For the people working with development of Bagamoyo these changes imply a
need of guidelines, which is why the town planners together with the Ministry of Land started to work on a Master Plan for Bagamoyo township in 2011. The Master Plan includes identifications of the current situation in the area together with future plans concerning for example socio-economical matters as settlements, influx and job opportunities in both central Bagamoyo and surrounding area (Elijah, 2014-04-09 and Mtobesya, 2014-04-28). The Master Plan was supposed to be finished within two years time, but it has been delayed due to economical problems. However, they are now in the final stage of making the draft and on April 17th 2014 there was a meeting in Bagamoyo where around 100 people participated. It was held for all stakeholders with an interest in the development of Bagamoyo such as Non-Government-Organisations (NGOs), aid organisations and ordinary people to have a chance to give feedback on the Master Plan (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28). It is anticipated that the Master Plan will be approved by the end of the year (Misigaro, 2014-05-08).

4.2.2 Action Aid
One of the organisations active in the district is the international NGO Action Aid. They have been in Bagamoyo since 2004 and their main focus is empowerment and to reduce poverty. The program officer of Action Aid Bagamoyo is well aware of the future plans and expansion of Bagamoyo, but he thinks that many people do not understand how that could have an affect on them. He therefore thinks it is vital that the people receive information and prepare for the future changes so they will be able to adjust and benefit from the development. Empowerment and solidarity, together with training in campaigning are key factors according to him in preparing people for this (Mesiak, 2014-05-02).

4.3 Introduction to the study area Makurunge
Approximately 12 km northwest of Bagamoyo, the place of our study, Makurunge, is situated. There are 1 762 people living there and since it covers an area of 30,6 km² the houses are spread out (Mzamilo, 2014-04-09). The project area for EcoEnergy’s sugar cane project starts approximately six kilometres from the centre of Makurunge, stretching north towards Wami River within the Razaba Ranch. A small part of the project land is thus included in the Makurunge area. The centre of Makurunge, called Mkwajuni, is where most of the shops can be found is conveniently located at the junction of two big roads, Msata and Sadani road (see figure 5). This is where a group of men with motorbikes usually hang out; others play pool just behind one of the little shops that sells snacks and vegetables. The atmosphere is relaxed and due to the surrounding green fields, it feels like you are on the countryside (observations from field, 2014). However, Makurunge is theoretically a part of Bagamoyo township, and the organizational structure of the leadership is in a process of change (Mzamilo 2014-04-09). Instead of a village executive officer to represent the whole Makurunge village, there will be one street leader and several sub street leaders who will have the authority to make local decisions. Even though Makurunge is not very populated and no practical changes have been implemented due to the township, some
transformations can be seen today. The value of land in Makurunge has increased in the last years and is expected to keep doing so in line with the development of Bagamoyo and the start of the sugar cane project. This has resulted in many people selling their land to more rich and opportunistic people from Dar es Salaam who see the potential in the area (Mwati, 2014-05-01).

The majority of people living in Makurunge today are poor and have no formal jobs. Many are dependent on small farmlands or minor business like cooking food or selling charcoal and local vegetables (AfDb, 2011, p. 17 and observations from field, 2014). Living in the area are also several Barbaig pastoralists, who generally settle wherever they find grass and water for their animals. The Barbaig are usually polygamous and live in temporary houses with many wives and children. Very few speak Swahili, they have their own language and the illiteracy among them is high (AfDb, 2012, p. 8).
4.4 EcoEnergy

EcoEnergy is a Tanzania-based agribusiness company in a joint venture with the government of Tanzania (AfDb, 2012b, p. 2). They are aiming at producing sugar in a sustainable way, with respect to economical, environmental and social factors. They want to be the engine for development (Carstedt, 2014-05-07) and the project is designed to generate inclusive growth in the surrounding communities (EcoEnergy, 2014a).

EcoEnergy originates from a Swedish ethanol producer called SEKAB, and it was SEKAB who initiated a request for land in Tanzania for ethanol production in 2006. In June, a year later, the Government of Zanzibar agreed to allocate 22 000 hectare of the Razaba ranch to the Swedish company (ORGUT, 2008, p. 16). In the end of the 00’s, SEKAB suffered from the financial crisis and was also accused for not taking the negative environmental and social impacts seriously (Benjaminsen, et al., 2009 and Feuk, 2009). Havnevik et al. (2011) have for many years analysed SEKAB and the Bagamoyo sugar cane project, and based on research between 2008-2010 they conclude that SEKAB’s ethical standards should be questioned and state that they have failed in important areas to deliver in the direction of the recommendations proposed by research institutions and UN agencies (Havnevik et al., 2011, p. 53). Today it is the project company Bagamoyo EcoEnergy Limited, with its Swedish executive chairman who is managing the Bagamoyo sugar cane project. The focus of the project has changed from ethanol production for exportation to sugar production for the domestic market (Oscarsson, 2014-04-07). The executive chairman, Per Carstedt (2014-05-07), describes that additional to sugar the factory will also produce electricity and ethanol from the molasses. The electricity is anticipated to be enough for the industry to be self-sufficient and the surplus will be distributed to the electricity grid.

The time frame for the project has been changed since the financial closure of the project has still not been reached, which means that the implementation of the project has been delayed (Carstedt, 2014-05-07). Carstedt (2014-05-07) says that one of the biggest challenges is the bureaucracy in Tanzania and he is waiting for the government to sort out some issues before all final papers can be signed. In the mean time they have, together with the consultants IDC and the Outgrower team, described in the following sections, started with Project Early works. That includes for example preparation of nursery cane land and land clearing for bulk water canal. Once the whole Bagamoyo project is up and running it is estimated to create over 2000 direct new employment plus 1500 - 2000 new jobs for outgrowers. EcoEnergy furthermore expects the project to generate between 10 000 and 15 000 indirect jobs (EcoEnergy, 2014a).

4.4.1 Outgrower programme

One part of the Bagamoyo project is to incorporate an Outgrower and Community Development Program, which is a program designed to provide a new source of income to farmers in neighbouring villages to the project area. That means that the
people, outgrowers, will have the possibility to start their own companies and work together running a commercial sugar cane farm. To do so they will take part of a training program, which includes three steps where they work on Attitude, Competence and Application. The whole training is like a cycle and should not be seen as a straight line. However, the first part is about social training and motivation where the participants learn to work together and how to handle conflicts that might arise in group work (Schram, 2014-05-07). According to Robert Schram (2014), the project manager of the Outgrower Development, this is the hardest part since most of the farmers today are subsistence and are used to farming on their own plot just to get food for themselves. It is thus important that they learn how to cooperate and start working together for their businesses to succeed. In the second part, the competence is developed; the outgrowers learn how to set up a business, make plans and how to grow sugar canes in a good way. Then it is time for application, which is the phase where they have mentoring and do the financial and farm management. Once the companies have their farms up and running they will sell the sugar canes they produce to EcoEnergy according to agreement. That is also how they will pay back the loans necessary to take for starting up the business (Schram, 2014-05-07). It is anticipated that approximately 300 000 - 400 000 tonnes of sugarcane will be supplied to the mill each year from the outgrowers (EcoEnergy, 2014b).

4.4.2 International Development Consultants
To deal with the resettlement of people living in the project area, EcoEnergy has hired the consultancy group International Development Consultants, IDC. IDC operates worldwide but have a focus on Africa where they specialize in Resettlement Action Plans and Environmental and Social Impact Assessments among other things (IDC, 2014). There is a team of 19 people who are working at IDC in Bagamoyo for EcoEnergy, at the moment focusing on early measures and livelihood development. This includes preparing the project affected people with courses in empowerment and the opportunity to undertake vocational training of their choice. The time delay of the sugar cane project is something that is frustrating for everyone involved and IDC are doing their best to minimize the negative effects for the project affected people and to prepare them for resettlement. They are also working with the surrounding communities, including Makurunge where they had a youth empowerment project last year and trainings have also been held with Barbaig pastoralists (Mwati, 2014-05-01).
5. LIVELIHOODS IN THE STUDY AREA

In this chapter a description of the livelihoods identified in the study area, Makurunge will be done. The empirical results are presented and analysed in the terms of the theoretical livelihood framework with assets, activities and capabilities and how these influence each other (see figure 1). To be able to understand the situation and thoughts of the people we have met in Makurunge, we will start by a brief presentation of them and the household they represent.

5.1 Presentation of households

The individual interviews in Makurunge were held with four people from the first focus group (2014-04-03) and some of their family members. In the first household we talked to Rajabu, Mwanahawa and Mohammed. Rajabu is a respected man in his 60s who lives with his wife Mwanahawa in a concrete house at a farm with cows, donkeys, goats and chicken a few kilometres from the Msata road. They also have another farm further away, by Wami River where they grow maize. Every morning Rajabu goes up at four o’clock to pray and then he continues on taking care of the animals or working on his farms. Mwanahawa and him have a total of ten kids, and even though only five of them still live at home, people tend to come and go quite often. Mohammed is the name of one of their kids who has moved to Bagamoyo to pursue secondary school, but whom we met since he had holidays from school.

Sadick is a 54-year-old farmer who cultivates rice together with his wife Juma. We interviewed both of them and also met their children and Sadick’s mum, that all together represent household 2. They moved to Makurunge from Bagamoyo three years ago when they were given a piece of land by Juma’s brother, the chairman of Mkwajuni, the central hamlet in Makurunge. The land close to their house where they grow rice also comes from Juma and her family. Just like Rajabu, this family too have another piece of land further away from Makurunge where they cultivate rice.

In household 3 we met Mwanaidi and her son Amiri. Mwanaidi is a woman of 37 years who calls herself businesswoman. The house she lives in is small and consists of just one bedroom and an entrance, which works mostly as storage. It is made out of sticks and mud with a tin roof just a few meters from the hut that serves as her restaurant where she cooks and sells food (see figure 6). She lives with her husband who is a motorbike taxi driver, so called pikipiki driver, and two of her four kids. Her oldest daughter just got married and Amiri, her first-born son from a previous marriage, lives in a house approximately 100 metres away.
We also interviewed a Barbaig, Erasto who is a 26-year-old man living with his wife and baby in a very simple hut close to the rest of his family. Together they are about 15 people that all live and work together as one household, representing household 4. They are pastoralists who live with their cattle approximately one kilometre west off the Msata road.

The people participating in the last two focus groups (2014-04-30) will not be presented as households, but will be described shortly as they contributed to the empirical findings. They all live in a community within the Razaba Ranch, a few kilometres northeast of Makurunge centre. They live there, outside of the project area, in houses owned by the government of Zanzibar, still remaining from the time when the cattle ranch was operating. Most of the families living there today are working in the forest producing charcoal, but many also cultivate pumpkins and maize at farms close by their houses.

5.2 Assets

In order to analyse the livelihoods of people in Makurunge, we start by identifying the assets of the people that we have met. The importance of the four capitals used in our model: natural, physical, social and financial capital are discussed, as well how changes could affect their livelihoods.

5.2.1 Natural capital

Water is something that is not distributed in Makurunge so everyone is dependent on rainwater for his or her cultivations, and water from the Ruvu River for domestic uses and drinking. However, during the rain season, the rainwater is collected in big buckets and natural ponds are created here and there which makes it easier to get...
access to. The farmers are the ones most dependent on land suitable for cultivation and since they do not have any irrigation system, the right amount of rain at the right time is crucial for their crops to survive (Rajabu, 2014-04-10). The Barbaigs need a lot of grass and water for feeding their cattle so they are also highly dependent on the environment they live in. Sometimes they have to walk far with their animals to feed them, but in the Makurunge area they have easy access to both grass and water, especially at the end of the rain season (Erasto, 2014-04-11). All the informants are accordingly in one way or another highly dependent on the rain, the soil and the forest which all could be identified as natural capitals. It is from the forest they collect their own firewood, which they use for cooking and many people in the Makurunge area are also working as charcoal producers so for them the forest is a vital asset. If the natural environment would change this would thus imply a change in their livelihood situation (interviews and observations in field, 2014). Since most people are dependent on the weather, they are vulnerable for climate change. If the weather would become more extreme with severe droughts or flooding, especially the farmers could get affected in a negative way if they do not learn how to handle it (Carstedt, 2014-05-07).

5.2.2 Physical capital

Strongly connected to the possibilities to take advantage of the natural capitals are tools, infrastructure and knowledge. To be able to benefit from the environment they live in, knowledge about cultivating or managing the land is needed, as well as tools to do so. Like some women from a focus group (2014-04-30) expressed, their situation would improve very much if they had access to a chainsaw since it would shorten the time to cut down trees for charcoal production. Today they use axes and saws and it is both hard work and very time consuming (focus group, 2014-04-30). One of the most important tools for farmers is a pickaxe for digging and removing weed (Sadick and Rajabu, 2014-04-10), so they would also benefit from more modern tools since it would make their work easier.

All households need kitchen tools for cooking food to the family, and for Mwanaidi in household 3 it is also important for her business. Something she wishes to have is a glass container to be able to show her food in, as well as a better roof for her restaurant (Mwanaidi, 2014-04-10). The actual kitchen space, which for Mwanaidi and a majority of the homes we have visited in Bagamoyo area, is situated outdoors and is very simple. There are rarely chairs, benches or cupboards and often the women just stand up and are bending over to reach the pots or do the dishes. A mobile fireplace is kept on the ground under a roof to protect it from wind and water. All people we have met during our field study eat with their hands, often from one shared big plate so cutleries are rarely used (observations in field). The tools described above are part of the informants’ physical capital and are used in their everyday lives.

Other physical capitals include vehicles and animals, which for the Barbaigs in household number 4, the latter is the most important asset. Cows, donkeys and goats
are what bring them both income and food and according to Erasto (2014-04-11), taking care of cattle is also a big part of his identity. Vehicles such as bikes and motorbikes are important assets for many of the men we have met. They use it to go either to their farms, to Bagamoyo for business or for taxi-business. If they do not have their own motorbike, it is common to use someone else’s, and the uncertainty in not knowing if that is possible is frustrating. If they would have access to a motorbike of their own they would be able to plan accordingly and their livelihood situation could improve (focus group, 2014-04-30). None of the women we have spoken to know how to drive and are therefore dependent on their husbands or other men if they need to go somewhere far. The public sphere is thus something which the men has easier access to whereas the women mostly spend their time in the private sphere, close to home. Improvement of roads is something that could have a positive impact on everyone’s livelihoods since the accessibility to different services and the mobility of people would increase.

5.2.3 Social capital
Communication in general is something that could be a means of improvement for all of the informants. It is through talking to other people and neighbours that many of the people find small jobs and gain some extra money. Mobile phones are therefore a significant asset that facilitates the process of both socializing and finding jobs and most of the informants had mobile phones. Charging the mobile phones are however not that easy since the access to electricity is very limited (interviews in field, 2014). Vouchers to use electricity from solar panels are bought to solve this (Mwano, 2014).

Face to face communications and relationships are valued highly and many of the families help each other out when needed. The trust between the people in the area is high and something that has been identified as very important. For example, the Barbaig (2014-04-11) explained that it has never been a problem when they are feeding their cattle at other people’s land and the vice leader of Mkwajuni, Hadija (2014-04-10) told us that there is no need in locking the door in Makurunge when leaving the house. The social capital in terms of one’s network, friends and contacts around the area, is also important for all the small temporary jobs many of the men is looking for, either on a seasonal or a daily basis. Hang around by the road in the centre of Makurunge is what some of the young men do, there they hope to meet people passing by and find connections to different jobs (Amiri, 2014-04-10). This is again connected to the theory about men being active in the public sphere, whereas women are more likely to stay closer to their homes (interviews and observations, 2014).

5.2.4 Financial capital
There is not much money circulating in Makurunge today. The money that is earned from the livelihood activities is barely enough to cover the households’ basic needs, and for the majority of the households it is impossible to save any money at all (focus groups, 2014-04-03 and 2014-04-30). Among the informants it is only the Barbaigs,
household 4 that has access to small savings at a bank account. To deal with the tough financial situation, people sometimes borrow money from a friend or relative for unforeseen expenses, or buy things from the local shop on credit (interviews in field, 2014). One of the informants states that:

It is all about the money, it takes so much time to get money in the charcoal business and all money we earn we have to spend on food or clothes for the kids, there is nothing left to start a business.

Woman from focus group, 2014-04-30

This statement concludes what many people in Makurunge feel about their poor present situation and they also have a hard time to see any way out of it (interviews in field, 2014).

5.3 Activities

Following the livelihood framework, this section will present and analyse how the assets are used and what activities that men and women are performing to meet their basic needs. The themes are domestic activities, money generative income and farming and livestock keeping.

5.3.1 Domestic activities

An everyday activity shared by all informants is fetching water for domestic uses. Depending on season and the location of the household this takes between 10 minutes up to a couple of hours each day. Rajabu in household 1, who lives several kilometres from the Ruvu River goes there on his motorbike every second day to bring home around 100 litre of water to the family. Mwanaidi in household three, who lives closer to Makurunge centrum walks to a well 500 metres away around five times every morning to fetch 50 litre of water all together. When the well is dry she buys water from people coming by her house, something that also the Barbaigs are doing. The majority of the informants purify the water from the river by boiling it, but Sadick and the Barbaig family from household 2 and 4 do not see any point in doing that since they claim they have never been sick from drinking it. The informants biggest concern when it comes to health issues is malaria and most of them use mosquito nets for protection. Diseases and malnutrition could result in a degenerated situation for both men and women since they are all performing physical livelihood activities demanding bodywork (interviews in field, 2014).
All informants and the field observations have established that the women are responsible for domestic activities such as cooking and cleaning and not before those activities are taken care of, they can do something else like helping out at the farm or in the forest for example. The only exceptions for men to do those domestic activities are if they are young men living on their own. Normally the women spend several hours of the day to prepare and cook food for the family. Rice and beans are common food that requires a lot of preparation since they need to be cleansed and cooked for a long time. Since none of the informants has access to electricity they use either firewood or charcoal, which takes between 15 and 30 minutes to get hot and it is possible to only cook one thing at the time (see figure 7). The fumes from the fires are hard to escape from and the smell of smoke is something that is constantly present during the course of cooking (interviews and observations in field, 2014). Spending time cooking is a part of many women’s lives (focus group, 2014-04-30) and the smoke they are being exposed to is not good for the health. If they would have access to a source of energy that does not produce as much smoke and take as long as charcoal and firewood, the livelihoods could improve significantly. Their health would not be put at the same risk and more time could be spent on something but cooking.

5.3.2 Money generative activities
Household number 3 has a restaurant business and a taxi driving business that both generate a monetary income. Mwanaidi has her restaurant open basically everyday, cooking chapatti in the mornings and serving rice or ugali, a dough made of maize flower for lunch. Her husband is away most part of the day trying to get customers by the centre of Makurunge. Their oldest son, Amiri, also spends his days by the centre trying to find small temporary jobs, and the rent from a family living in the same house as him also contributes to the economy of the family (Mwanaidi and Amiri, 2014-04-10). According to the theory of reproduction and production it can be seen that the members of this household also demonstrate the differences between who is active in the private and public spheres. However, in this case it is the woman who is performing the main money generated activity. She is thus active within the

![Figure 7. Mother and daughter cooking ugali. Photo taken by authors.](image)
economical sphere which traditionally is connected to production and therefore included in the duty of men. What we have realised is that small part time businesses, for example making and selling doughnuts, or homemade carpets are common activities undertaken by many women as a complement in working at a farm or cutting trees for charcoal. However, these part time activities do not seem to count even though it contributes to the survival of the household. The main job-related activities people tend to talk about are the activity pursued mainly by the men (interviews and observations in field, 2014).

5.3.3 Farming and livestock keeping
All farmers work almost everyday with their cultivation, but with different tasks depending on the season. Working with farming requires a lot of bodywork since one of the main activities is digging and weeding. The male farmers we have met are also taking extra temporary jobs at other, wealthier people’s farms when they get the chance, whereas the women sell snacks or other hand made products (Sadick, Juma and Rajabu, 2014-04-10). To only depend on one’s own farm is very hard since the land is often not big enough and the technology and knowledge is too low to make it more effective (Sadick, 2014-04-10 and Schram, 2014-05-07).

The male pastoralist who is dealing with livestock keeping spends his days taking care of the cattle, which means milking the cows in the mornings and grazing them during the days. It is also the men who have the responsibility of buying and selling the animals as well as taking care of them if they become sick (Erasto, 2014-04-11). One pastoralist woman (2014-04-30) said that all wives in her household help each other out with the domestic activities so sometimes they have time to also go away with the cattle during the days. Erasto (2014-04-11) was however clear about how the different tasks are divided between men and women, in his household the women do not move the cattle but are responsible for the chickens and sometimes help with the milking. The private sphere is thus strongly connected to the activities that the women are responsible for.

5.4 Capabilities
To be able to perform the activities and take care of the assets within a household, capability is needed. That is also the third and last cornerstone within our livelihood model described in section 2.2.

Most of the families we met have a good health; they feel strong physically and are able to use their body for performing their daily activities. However, the level of education is low and many of the informants had only attended a few years of primary school. The lack of knowledge and skills are evident, for example the farmers do not have access to things like irrigation and modern tools, which implies that the knowledge in how the use of such tools could increase their production is not there. The skills that the people do have are skills they have learnt themselves or by other members of the households, like cooking, taking care of animals or farming the land. The fact that some of the informants do not purify the water from the river is also a
sign of lack of knowledge and even though some people are concerned about health issues, they do not seem to know how to avoid it (interviews and observations in field, 2014).

Today, some people we have met have expressed a feeling of being powerless, that they themselves cannot change their situation and therefore need help from the government or an NGO. The one who is thinking a little bit further about solutions and means for expanding his business by himself is Rajabu. He gives the impression that he can come far by himself, as long as he works hard and come up with good ideas (Rajabu, 2014-04-10). A better education together with vocational training and empowerment has in other words been identified as two very important things for the people in Makurunge, needed in order for them to be able to improve their lives. Vocational training within their field of practice could result in more efficient ways of utilising the assets and increase the effectiveness of activities (focus group, 2014-04-03 and observations in field), resulting in a more sustainable livelihood.

6. POSSIBLE FUTURE CHANGES

Presented in this chapter are the dreams and goals of the people in Makurunge as well as what hinders or helps them in reaching those goals. The section will also include a discussion about how the development of Bagamoyo town and the sugar cane project can affect their future livelihood situation. To put it in a broader perspective thoughts from stakeholders at both district and national level are presented.

6.1 Visions and constraints

In this section the visions and constraints that have been expressed by the informants in Makurunge will be described through the concepts a better life, a permanent job and deficient infrastructure.

6.1.1 A better life

The visions of all the people that we have spoken to living in Makurunge include improvement of their current standard of living in one way or another. A nice house to live in, or simply to live a good life, is something that has come up when discussing the future. These basic dreams are complemented by a wish for all parents, especially the mothers, that their kids will get a good education. Women from the second focus group (2014-04-30) hope that a better education also will lead to equal and improved possibilities for their sons and daughters to choose how to live their own lives. The low level of education has been identified as one of the biggest constraints for the local people to improve their livelihood. Also, the fact that most livelihood activities are very time demanding and takes a lot of effort hinders the progression (focus groups, 2014-04-03 and 2014-04-30).

The way of reaching their visions are thought of differently depending on the present state of the informant, but also by how they perceive the world and the
environment they live in. For the subsistent farmers, like Sadick in household 2, it is hard to imagine how his farm could improve; he says he is very dependent on the weather and on his own health. As long as he could eat nutritious food and stay healthy, he feels he has all possibilities to keep working and build a new house (Sadick, 2014-04-10). The 27-year-old Barbaig man represents a man who understands that the world is changing. A permanent house for him and his family in Makurunge as well as a place for the cattle are dreams he hopes to fulfil within the near future. Taking care of cattle, breeding them and making a living out of the animals is however something that he has always done and do not want to change doing (Erasto, 2014-04-11).

6.1.2 A permanent job
For many of the younger people we have met, their visions are about getting the job they want, which for Amiri is to be a driver and for Mauli to become doctor. Mauli from household 1 has his vision set high, but to get there he is dependent on the economy of his family so he can go to university. Financial support from one’s social network or government has been identified to be a solution to the economical constraint in the eyes of him and others we have spoken to when no jobs are available (Amiri, 2014-04-10 and Mauli, 2014-04-11). A permanent job is thus something that is seen by them as an important part in reaching their goal, which is to get enough money to pursue an education or training to get the job they really want. For the restaurant owner, a permanent job for the next generation is something she would want the future changes to bring. As for herself she would also like to do something else since spending time cooking by the fire is not good for the lungs. She explained that she has her restaurant in lack of other jobs but would rather open up a shop selling local vegetables (Mwanaidi, 2014-04-10).

To have your own business is seen by a majority of the informants as something desirable. In Makurunge, small businesses, more or less successful, can be found almost everywhere, whether it is selling or making charcoal, food or vegetables. When people thus consider possible occupations, those are things the majority come up with, since it is an occupation they know of. One of the women we have met wants to start a charcoal business and also move to town (focus group, 2014-04-30). This indicates that she would like to increase the space she is active in and get more access to the public and economical sphere. It is only the 17-year-old Mauli who has expressed a wish to become something completely different, but they all face the same constraints concerning money. One of the business men living at Razaba, realises that being employed at a company, like EcoEnergy, would be good even though his dream is to open up his own shop. Working for someone else means that at the end of the month you know you will get a salary. A regular income would thus make it easier and it would be possible to set up a budget and plan for the future (focus group, 2014-04-30).
6.1.3 Deficient infrastructure
There are not only monetary constraints or insufficient education that are hindering the local people from reaching their visions. The physical environment like the infrastructure has also been identified as a big obstacle. The time of our field study was during the rain season, which meant that many roads were flooded several times, including Msata road (see figure 8). Flood protection does not exist which means that the road often closes and you have to walk several hundreds of meter in water, sometimes up to your chest, to go between Bagamoyo and Makurunge. Since Makurunge is still a place where big shops or social services are not present, many people need to go to Bagamoyo to do certain errands or for business. When the road is flooded it is very difficult to transport goods and it takes much longer time than normal. For the men driving pikipikis the bad road is also a problem since less people tend to travel and when they do, it could be very difficult and sometimes dangerous to drive the customers where they want to go. To make the roads better would therefore result in a significant improvement for the people’s livelihoods (interviews and observations in field, 2014).

6.2 Thoughts about the development of Bagamoyo
In this section, the thoughts and perspectives concerning future changes, possibilities and challenges due to the development of Bagamoyo will be discussed. This will be done from the perspective of both the local people in Makurunge and representatives from the district, the company and other stakeholders. The section is divided in the parts increased population, township development and large-scale sugar cane project.

6.2.1 Increased population
The fact that Bagamoyo is seen as an area full of potential has made town planners and stakeholders realise that things are changing and Bagamoyo is expected to be more populated within the near future (Mtobesya, 2014-04-28). The perception on what an increased population will mean in practice is seen differently depending on what level the informant is representing as well as it can be seen differently even within a household depending on social factors such as age and level of education. At the local level in Makurunge, most people at first gave us an impression of ignorance; they did not think they would be much affected by any of the changes that Makurunge
is about to face (observations in field). Many of the informants however said that with more people in the area, it would be easier to find small part time jobs or to start your own business. The negative thoughts people have concerning an increasing population are mainly the concern of social aspects. People are afraid that theft would increase and that the trust between the people would decrease. As of today, people feel comfortable leaving their homes without locking the door, but with more people coming here that would probably not be the case (interviews, 2014). As the older man pointed out, the need for services like a police station would be necessary. One young man however said that when people from other places move to Makurunge, they would probably bring new knowledge and different perspectives. The opportunity to sit down with new people and learn from one another would thus increase (Amiri, 2014-04-10).

Other thoughts of a more positive character shared by some of the informants in Makurunge, was that as more people will be attracted to come here it can be easier to take loans, they might build new schools, get better infrastructure and a new market will be available. None of the informants declared any thoughts about selling their land, but some of them wished to move to Bagamoyo so they would have access to more services and hopefully improve their business and livelihood situation.

At district level, many people think that the ones living in Makurunge today will sell their land to more rich people coming from Dar es Salaam or other regions (Mzamilo 2014-04-09, Manase 2014-04-09, Mesiak 2014-05-02). The increased value of land as well as harder competition will make it tough for the people in Makurunge to stay and benefit from the development (Mesiak 2014-05-02). The IDC consultant expresses similar thoughts: unfortunately the poor families of Makurunge will have to move, either to Bagamoyo town to try to get a job or further away to adjacent villages to be able to continue cultivate (Mwati, 2014-05-01). Both him and Samuel Mesiak from Action Aid state that empowerment, solidarity and knowledge about the changing situation are crucial factors for the local people to keep up with the future changes. Mesiak also expresses his concerns about how women and children are very vulnerable when it comes to land deals. The women are rarely involved in the process of selling land and indeed they get very affected of the outcomes. Mesiak (2014-05-02) finds it very important that the women learn about their land rights and get more involved in the sales. He also states that the land itself is potential and valuable and something you should not just sell when you are in need of cash.

### 6.2.2 Development of Bagamoyo town

Talking about future effects of the urbanisation of Makurunge has lead to discussions about both personal development and infrastructural changes. All informants agreed on that the development of Bagamoyo and Makurunge can lead to an improved infrastructure with better roads and easier access to water and electricity. The building of a pipe from Wami River to Makurunge is currently in process, but no one in Makurunge or at district level knows so much about it or when the water will start running (interviews, 2014). When it does, the people do not have to spend so much time and effort fetching water from the Ruvu River so that is something positive for
their livelihood situation. Improvements of the roads could as mentioned earlier facilitate most of the informants’ work since the flooded roads is a big obstacle for them. For the Barbaigs on the other hand, the change of the natural and physical assets can have a negative effect on their livelihood. With more houses and people it can be harder for them to get good access to grass and water for their cattle and maybe they will have to move around and keep living in temporary homes (Erasto, 2014-04-11). The biggest anxiety one of the families vented had to do with right to land and a fear that the township might want to build a road or something where they live which would force his family to move (Sadick, 2014-04-10).

In the Master Plan there is a proposal for a commercial centre at the junction of Msata and Sadani road and residential area around it (Misigaro, 2014-05-08). People living close to the big Msata road will probably get good access to electricity and water. Once the Master Plan is accepted, there will be new rules for the people building houses in Makurunge, for example they will have to follow certain standards for the measurements of their plots and the location of the houses. If the people do not follow the plan it could lead to scattered houses and it will make it harder to arrange water and waste systems for example (Sese, 2014-04-01). One of the biggest challenges according to Misigaro (2014-05-08) at the Ministry of Lands, is the government’s lack of money since it delays the plans, which makes the people start building and selling plots before the plan is finished.

6.2.3 Large-scale sugar cane project

On a district level all of the people we have talked to perceive the sugar cane project as a good opportunity for Bagamoyo that will contribute a lot to the development of the area. EcoEnergy aims at working with wealth creation instead of poverty reduction but realises that it is a fine line in helping just enough so that the local population can manage themselves; the company cannot do everything for them (Carstedt, 2014-05-07). Shram (2014-05-07) who is responsible for the outgrower project share these thoughts and thinks that with the right education and training, step by step and trying to help the people to understand how they can benefit from working together, it will help them in improving their livelihood situation. The head of the Department of Land, Natural Resources and Environment (2014-03-31) hopes that the outgrower project can lead to a win-win situation for the people living in the area to get jobs and the company to get workforces. Carstedt (2014-05-07) also mentions that EcoEnergy is planning not to build new residences for their workers inside the project area, instead their employees will live in the surrounding area which is profitable for the local communities.

On a local level most of the informants know about EcoEnergy and that the company has started a project in Razaba Ranch, but most of them do not know much more than that. They claim that the company never share any information with them, they only see cars passing and they are frustrated about this. They think everything is taking too much time, nothing happens and most of them have given up after being quite positive and happy about the project in the beginning (focus group, 2014-04-03).
The leader of the hamlet Bozi in Makurunge, partly situated within the project area, explains that they have been waiting for three years to move somewhere and they still do not know when or where they will go. Still, he thinks that his life can improve if he stays close to the project area since he thinks the project will come with better services to the people (Hassan, 2014-04-30). Other thoughts mentioned by the informants are increased conflicts between people due to money issues, more diseases and also negative effects on the environment as air pollution. Hadija (2014-03-31) also expressed a fear that EcoEnergy will not keep their promises. She utters that EcoEnergy says they will treat everyone the same, even if they have an education or not, but I think they will privilege people with higher education (Hadija, 2014-03-31). This is something that Mesiak (2014-05-02) from Action Aid agrees on, he thinks that the local people from the area will not be the ones getting the jobs, as they need technical skills that they do not have. These issues could be identified as shocks and stresses that would have a negative impact on the people's livelihoods and make them more vulnerable. Thoughts from the local population in Makurunge that were a little bit brighter were the fact that the project could bring new job opportunities, especially for the next generation. When asked specifically if they could see themselves working for EcoEnergy, most of the people answered yes, with whatever they need help with (interviews in field, 2014). The women mention cooking and the men driving when we asked what they would like to do, again the typically division in gendered activities can be identified.

7. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This final chapter aims to summarize the thesis and answer the research questions. The discussion is about how the local people’s livelihood situation is today and what is needed for them to cope with the challenges and opportunities they are likely to face due to the development of Bagamoyo. It also emphasizes how different stakeholders at local, district and national level perceive the situation and what they think the future changes can mean for local livelihoods.

7.1 Livelihoods today

The men and women from Makurunge participating in this study are people who are struggling to get food just for the day. Their livelihood situation is modest and their options limited. They are dependent on natural resources, like rain for their crops or grass for cattle. Many of the people’s houses, as well as the roads in the area, are not resistible to heavy rains as they break and get flooded. The assets and capacity to cope with these kinds of shocks and stresses are poor and their livelihood situation gets affected in a negative way. Living in houses that barely holds together and not being able to access a food store because of the bad roads makes the people exposed and does not imply what Chambers and Conwell (1991) refers to as a sustainable livelihood. The daily activities as collecting water, cooking food and performing their
labour, are all taking very much time, as their physical assets such as modern tools are scarce. They all have to work very hard, but they get so little out of it. Both men and women are very dependent on their physical strength, so if they get sick it makes them vulnerable since they will not be able to perform their livelihood activities. In Makurunge, the domestic activities, undertaking in the private sphere, are under the responsibility of women whereas men in general are more active in the public sphere. Like Forsberg (2003) does, we put this gendered relation to activities into a geographical perspective and realise that the geographical space of men is larger and more accessible than that of women. As a consequence they have uneven opportunities for networking and finding jobs. Men’s livelihood activities are valued higher, even though many women have small businesses of their own located close to their homes. None of the female informants drive their own vehicle and are therefore dependent on others for transportation. Not having easy access to the public sphere makes it hard for their business to grow and become more profitable. To be aware of this kind of gender relations helps understand men and women’s different options and livelihood activities (UN, n.d. and Lindeborg, 2012).

Obstacles to sustainable livelihoods also include lack of job opportunities, low education and financial constraints, where the latter has been recognized as the most crucial factor by most informants. The families are hindered by their economical situation, which is according to most people the reason they cannot develop and reach their visions about a better life. For them to accomplish a sustainable financial situation their businesses must improve and more permanent jobs are needed. However, to get there, knowledge and confidence are necessary capabilities, which is why empowerment has been identified as a vital factor for the improvement of people’s livelihoods in Makurunge. Today, many families are stuck in their present situation where they struggle to get through the day, thus reflecting about the future and dreaming about big improvements are not prioritized. We have gotten the impression that the families do not make plans or have sustainable livelihood strategies. It has been challenging for them to identify what factors that could help or hinder them in reaching their goals. As has been stressed, empowerment and also improved knowledge about what is possible to do are according to us vital. If people never have seen an irrigated farm, of course it is hard to wish for it.

This section has focused on the core elements of our livelihood model, and we will now proceed with discussing the possible future impacts from the surrounding factors.

7.2 A changing world
Due to the development of Bagamoyo, there will be more people and more business in Makurunge area in the near future, that has been agreed on by all the informants. Everyone we talked to also believe that more business would lead to more job opportunities, which implies money flow in the area, more financial capital. This again can facilitate the starting of new business and a positive spiral could be entered. However, more businesses also mean more competition, which makes it important
that the people in Makurunge feel confident and prepared enough to cope with this challenge and turn it into opportunities. The trainings organised by IDC and EcoEnergy is an example of a step in the right direction to accomplish this. People also believe that the increasing population will to a great extent consist of rich people moving to the area, and on district and national level, there is a fear that the local population of today will sell their land too quickly and move to adjacent villages. Unfortunately this could mean that if they do not see the land’s potential value, they will miss out on the future opportunities that are connected with the development of Bagamoyo. Their capabilities need to be improved and again more knowledge and empowerment is needed. It is nevertheless important to consider the fact that people are different and what could be a means of improvement for one household, could be something negative for another (De Satgé, 2002, p. 14). Like the pastoralists for example: they are dependent on the big space and access to grass and water, but with an increased population and the sugar cane project, this space would probably decrease, possibly leading to negative impacts on their cattle business.

The biggest fear at local level concerning the development of Makurunge is regarding social aspects. It is thus important that the stakeholders who are working with the development of the area take these things into account. Social services are needed for people to feel safe; schools, hospitals and better infrastructure such as roads, electricity and water distributions, are factors that would improve the people’s livelihoods of today. These services could be implemented due to the development of Bagamoyo town and the sugar cane project, but big projects like these take time. The delays connected to both these projects are challenging for everyone involved and have left the local people in Makurunge doubting the fact that things will ever change. These development plans can be a step in right direction to fulfil the goals about high quality livelihood and a competitive economy from the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025, but then they need to get started. The biggest challenge is lack of resources, especially money, from local level in Makurunge to national level in Tanzania.

7.3 Conclusion
To conclude, the living conditions in Makurunge are difficult and everyone wants to improve their livelihoods. Like we discussed in section 2.2 and what other authors have stressed (De Haan, 2012 and De Satgé, 2002), livelihood includes many factors and can be influenced by changing environments. The situation in Makurunge is complex with many people pursuing different livelihood activities and it is hard to create a win-win situation where everyone can gain from the changes. Big projects are about to start which could have both good and bad effect on livelihoods. The presumed changes could possibly lead to a more segregated community, with more crimes and decreased trust between people. However, the development of Bagamoyo could also result in a more active community with more jobs and improved infrastructure. Together with empowerment and greater knowledge the people could get better lives than they have today and hopefully the development plans of
Bagamoyo will contribute to more sustainable livelihoods for the local population and facilitate in reaching their goals. However, the situation is complex and only the future that can tell how the livelihood situation actually will look like for the people in Makurunge.

### 7.4 Further research
During the work with this thesis many interesting topics connected to the people’s livelihoods have been brought up that we did not have time to elaborate further, especially concerning the physical capitals and capabilities. As mentioned briefly, the education system in Tanzania is not very good and the education level is low. It would be interesting to explore this more and make connections to the empowerment discussion we have started in this thesis. The physical capitals in terms of infrastructure has been discussed briefly, but has been identified as an important factor. Access to good roads, water and electricity and in what extent it can affect the people’s livelihood situation could be subject for further research.
REFERENCES


cooperation between the Nordic Africa institute, the University of Agder, Norway and Sokoine University of Agricultural Sciences, Tanzania.


The United Republic of Tanzania. Planning Commission. (n.d.) The Tanzania Development vision 2025


Electronical sources


**Interviews**

See Appendix 1

**Maps**


Department of Land, Natural Resources and Environment (2014-04-08) Bagamoyo, Tanzania.
# APPENDIX 1 TABLE OF INTERVIEWS

## At local level

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<th>Title/Occupation</th>
<th>Interview form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014-03-31</td>
<td>Hadija Rashidi</td>
<td>Vice leader of Mkwajuni (central part of Makurunge)</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014-04-03</td>
<td>6 participants</td>
<td>People from Makurunge with different occupation, age, gender</td>
<td>Focus group 1</td>
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<td>2014-04-10</td>
<td>Mwanaidi</td>
<td>Chef, business woman</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amiri</td>
<td>Different non-permanent jobs</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sadick</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rajabu</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juma</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Informal talk</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hadija Rashidi</td>
<td>Vice leader of Mkwajuni</td>
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<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>Student</td>
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<td>Erasto</td>
<td>Barbaig</td>
<td>Interview</td>
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<td>Women from Razaba</td>
<td>Focus group 2</td>
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<td>3 participants</td>
<td>Men from Razaba</td>
<td>Focus group 3</td>
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<td>Hassan</td>
<td>Leader of Bozi, another part of Makurunge</td>
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<td>Young man</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Informal talk</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Masai</td>
<td>Informal talk</td>
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## At district and national level

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<td>Nady El-Shai</td>
<td>Junior consultant at IDC</td>
<td>Informal talk</td>
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<td>2014-03-31</td>
<td>Mr. Mkusa</td>
<td>Head of Department of Land, Natural resources and Environment, Bagamoyo</td>
<td>Informal talk</td>
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<td>2014-04-01</td>
<td>Patrick Sese</td>
<td>Land valuer at the Department of Land, Natural resources and Environment, Bagamoyo</td>
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<td>2014-04-09</td>
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<td>Town planner at the Department of Land, Natural resources and Environment, Bagamoyo</td>
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<td>Linda Engström</td>
<td>Researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden</td>
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<td>Jumanne Abdallah</td>
<td>PhD Senior Lecturer Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania</td>
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<td>Mtobesya</td>
<td>Principle Town Planner at the Township Council, Bagamoyo</td>
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<td>Kizito Mwati</td>
<td>Field technician at IDC</td>
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<td>2014-05-02</td>
<td>Samuel Mesiak</td>
<td>Program officer at Action Aid Bagamoyo</td>
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<td>2014-05-07</td>
<td>Rommert Schram</td>
<td>Project manager of the Outgrower Development</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Per Carstede</td>
<td>Executive chairman of Agro Eco Energy</td>
<td>Interview</td>
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<tr>
<td>2014-05-08</td>
<td>Anna Misigaro</td>
<td>Assistant Director Master Plan at Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements Development</td>
<td>Interview</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 2 INTERVIEW GUIDE – LOCAL LEVEL

*Introduction about us and the purpose of the study, and tell what the interview will be like.*

**Background information**

What’s your name?

How old are you?

Where are you from? How long have you lived here for?

How many people live in your household?
  - Who are they?
    - How are the household tasks divided within the family?

Have you gone to school?

Is there anything that you miss in life? (What do you need, that you don’t have today in order to improve your life?)

What do you value most in life?

**Livelihood**

*Activities, assets and work*

Please tell us about your day. What activities do you do?

What do you do for a living?
  - Do you work everyday?
  - Do you enjoy it?
  - What do you get from it? (Food, money)
  - How much do you earn, what’s your income? Can you save anything for unexpected expenses?

What do you need to perform your tasks? (Tools, fertilizer, water, animals)

Is there something else that you would like to have or do?

*Food and Water*

How do you get food?

Who is responsible for the food in the household?

What do you eat?

How much time is spent on cooking everyday?

How do you get water for your household?
  - From where? How far away is it?
  - How much?
  - How much time is spent on collecting water every day?
  - Who in your household collects water?

For what purposes do you use water?

Do you purify your water (for drinking)?

What are your main concerns about your livelihood situation?
Thoughts about the future
What do you think will happen in your life within five years?
   - What do you want to happen?
   - What are you most afraid of?

What hinders you from reaching your dream?
What are possible solutions for these limitations?
What external stakeholders do you think can affect you and how?

Town planning - urbanisation
Do you know about the Bagamoyo township expansion?
What do you think will happen?
Do you think this can affect your livelihood situation in any way? How?

EcoEnergy
Do you know about EcoEnergy and the project at Razaba Ranch?
Do you think that the project can affect you in any way? How?
Would you be interested in working for them? Why?/Whynot?
   - Doing what?
APPENDIX 3 INTERVIEW GUIDE – NATIONAL LEVEL

Introduction about us and the purpose of the study, and tell what the interview will be like.

Background about informant and Master Plan
Please tell us briefly about yourself and you background.
Can you explain about the Master Plan, what it is for and what it contains.
  - How do you work with it?
  - Where in the process are you now?
  - We have heard it is delayed, why is that?
  - When do you think it will be finished and the implementation can start?
What are the major changes when a village become a part of a township?

Local level - Makurunge
Why is Makurunge going to be a part of Bagamoyo township?
What will this mean for the people living there now? (Infrastructure, settlements, employment, farmers, water, social impacts)
  - How will it affect their livelihood situation?
  - What will happen to the people who want to keep farming?
How will you inform them about the new regulation and about what will happen?
Have they had any chance to influence the Master Plan? How?

What do you think will be the biggest changes in Bagamoyo/Makurunge within 5 years?

Infrastructure
Who is responsible for the distribution of water in Makarunge?
We have understood that a water project has started but there is still no water, do you know anything about that?
  Do you know anything about the big Masata road and when it’s supposed to be finished?

Bigger perspective
Is the sugarcane project that EcoEnergy has in the area somehow included in your plans? How?
  - What do you think about it?
What are your visions concerning the development of Bagamoyo?
What are the biggest challenges? How can they be overcome?
Do you think this development of Bagamoyo town can help to reach the vision of 2025 to become a middle-income land? How?