

Örebro University
Department of Social and Political Sciences
Human Geography D
Instructor: Krister Persson
Jessica Edstorp
Fall 2006

Cooperation in Weal and Woe

Place perception, sense of self and project participation among women
in rural Tanzania



Maneno haya ni kwa ajili ya wapendwa wanawake wote wa vijiji vya Iseke na Nkhoiree. Mnaojituma katika kufanya kazi zenu kwa bidii na kwa moyo mmoja bila kushurutishwa na mtu. Mnafanya kazi kubwa na ya kushangaza mbele ya umma wa watu wote wa Singida na Tanzania!

This essay is dedicated to all the hard-working, loving and generous women in the villages of Iseke and Nkhoiree, Tanzania. You are doing a great work and your positive attitude is admirable!

ABSTRACT

Background: Tanzania is a country which faces several development challenges. The villages in this essay are located in a rural part of central Tanzania. The area experiences severe environmental conditions in addition to poverty and other related problems. Therefore, there are attempts to improve the situation by forming groups on local level. The two projects studied aim to improve the environment and the members' economy by planting and selling trees. The participants are women only, except the supervisors who are men in both projects.

Purpose and Question at Issue: The purpose is to examine if the project which the women participate in is affected by their sense of place. This is perceived through the examination of problems and possibilities faced by the women in their daily lives as well as in the project, and how these are managed and dealt with. The aim is to see if there is a correspondence between how different situations are dealt with by the individual and if this too can be related to the sense of place.

Method: The majority of the material was gathered through field studies but additional information was achieved through literature studies, earlier research, observations in field and informal conversations. Interviews were carried out with participating women in the studied projects. The method followed the guidelines of grounded theory and the interviews were designed with Dolbeare's and Schuman's three-interview series in mind. A minor quantitative study was also carried out by handing out a questionnaire to the women in the projects.

Theory: The theoretical framework builds on Tuan's development of the meaning of sense of place, which is made up of people's feelings, experiences and relations to a certain place. Closely related to sense of place is Bourdieu's structural theory of habitus, why this is also considered a part of the theoretical framework.

Analysis: The material gathered through the field studies is analyzed in relation to the purpose and question at issue. Sense of place is defined by using various categories of the concept, which aim to encompass several aspects and therefore give a more nuanced picture of the meaning of place for the individual. The women were found to relate the place first and foremost to their family, social bonds and daily chores and to a lesser extent with the environment.

Thank You for Your Help and Cooperation!

For the continuous work with and the completion of this essay I received help from a lot of people with many different perspectives and ideas of the issues dealt with. It has been an amazing experience and I have learnt very much through the work with the essay. You are all a part of this!

In Tanzania, my sincere gratitude goes to:

Mr. Andrew Yindi with family

Thanks for your hospitality; for opening up your house and your lives to me and for treating me as one in your family. You made me feel welcome from the first day. Thank you Mr. Yindi for helping me with many and long interpretations and for answering all my questions. Thanks too for sharing with me your experiences from the village and explaining all the things I did not understand or that were new to me. I also appreciate that you showed a big interest for my study and that you put a lot of effort into helping me making the best out of my work experience in your village. Thank you Mama Juliana for cooking “safe” food for me every day, so that I could go on with the work without any unpleasant interruptions...

Mr. Abungu with family

Thank you for welcoming me in your house and your family and for taking the time to help me with my study. I appreciate the time you put aside for answering my questions and explaining to me about the area and the project. I would also like to thank you for letting me carry out many and long interviews in your house and welcoming me to your VICOBA meetings.

The women, girls and neighbours who used to come by Hilda's tailor shop

No one mentioned, no one forgotten. Thank you for your great company, many laughs and trying your very best to communicate with me even though the language barrier often put us in confusing and/or funny situations. I really enjoyed the informal Kiswahili lessons even though I may have seem frustrated when I didn't understand. I will never forget the friendship and the hospitality you have showed me. It has been fantastic to get to know you in your daily lives! An extra thanks to Rachel for interpreting, both when you came around the shop and during the formal interviews.

Mr. Haule and the staff at the LAMP office, Singida

You made my life a lot easier by welcoming me to your office and letting me have my own desk with computer! You are all very sweet and you are doing an important work! Thanks, Mr. Haule for your hospitality and for many interesting conversations over dinner at Stanley's. I really enjoyed the exchange of ideas and the discussions related both to my essay and to other areas of life, work and science! Thanks too for useful information concerning environmental issues in the region and for the Kiswahili translation.

Ulla-Maj Jern at the LAMP office, Babati

Thank you for all your help and advise both before my arrival and during my stay in Tanzania. You have supported me with a lot of valuable information and material which has been a big help in my work. Thanks too for your hospitality and company and for taking me to the most important mzungu places in Arusha.

Barbro Finskas-Mushendwa at JM Tours

You helped me with advise before my arrival to Tanzania and with arrangements for my first days in Arusha. Thank you for always having a room for me in town and for welcoming me in your home.

Ernesti and Moses

For the great company and guiding in Arusha! I am also thankful for your help in making me a great bargainer when dealing with your fellow maasai!

Without the fantastic, hard-working and caring women in the villages none of this work would ever have been completed. Therefore, I would especially like to thank:

All the women in Iseke and Nkboiree

My deepest gratitude for sharing your thoughts, ideas and experiences with me. You are this essay and nothing would have been done without your cooperation. It has been an adventure getting to know you and I have learnt very much from you all. You have all been helpful, welcoming and understanding and very generous with your time and yourselves. I truly appreciate the openness and warmth I have met during my time in your villages. *Asanteni sana!*

In Sweden, my sincere gratitude goes to:

John, Gunnel and Timo at IBT, Trollbättan

Without you I wouldn't have known about Ihanja and the development issues in the region. Thanks for good advise, answering my questions, helping me prepare and establishing my first contacts in Ihanja. I would also like to thank you for showing interest in my study and helping me in any way you can.

Krister Persson, Örebro University

Thank you for once again being my instructor and helping me the best you can even though the distance and lack of communication opportunities made it difficult to be in regular contact. I appreciate your points of view and ideas and for answering all my questions as well as taking the time to read through the material I have sent you over the course of time.

Jessica Edstorp

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. OVERVIEW OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION IN SINGIDA RURAL DISTRICT AND TANZANIA.....	2
2.1 THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SINGIDA.....	3
2.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE LIVING SITUATION IN THE VILLAGES.....	4
2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS.....	5
3. PURPOSE, DELIMITATIONS AND DEFINITIONS	7
3.1. PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS AT ISSUE	7
3.2 DELIMITATIONS	7
3.3 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS	8
3.4 OUTLINE OF THE PAPER.....	9
4. METHOD	11
4.1 GROUNDED THEORY.....	11
4.2 SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS.....	12
4.3 THE INTERVIEW SITUATION.....	12
4.4 COLLECTION OF DATA.....	13
4.5 INITIAL INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS.....	13
4.6 THE QUANTITATIVE ELEMENT.....	14
4.7 THE QUALITATIVE ELEMENT.....	14
4.8 ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL	16
5. THEORY.....	18
5.1 THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF SENSE OF PLACE.....	18
5.2 THE CONCEPT OF HABITUS.....	19
5.3 CRITIQUE OF THE PERMANENCY OF HABITUS AND THE STATIC VISION OF SOCIAL LIFE ..	20
6. EARLIER RESEARCH.....	22
6.1 THE MEANING OF TIME, PLACE AND SPACE.....	22
6.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF BELONGING AND IDENTITY.....	22
6.3 HOW TO ASSESS SENSE OF PLACE	23
7. HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE PLACE.....	25
7.1 FORCES SHAPING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT-DAY TANZANIA.....	25
7.2 INDEPENDENCE AND THE FATHER OF THE NATION	25
7.3 THE UJAMAA POLICY	26
8. PROJECT FRAMEWORKS AND MEMBERS	27
8.1 IBT AND THE ISEKE TREE PLANTING GROUP.....	27
8.2 THE LAMP PROGRAMME AND THE NKHOIREE TREE PLANTING GROUP	28
8.3 THE WOMEN IN THE PROJECTS	28
9. REPORT FROM THE FIELD.....	31
9.1 CULTURAL ASPECTS OF PLACE AND GENDER.....	31
9.2 RELATION TO PLACE.....	32
9.3 BEING A WOMAN IN THE VILLAGE.....	34

9.4 COPING WITH THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.....	37
9.5 TACKLING SITUATIONS IN SOCIAL LIFE.....	38
9.6 ATTACHMENT TO THE GROUP AND ITS PLACE.....	40
9.7 ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES.....	42
9.8 THE PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION.....	44
9.9 DEVELOPING THE PROJECT.....	46
10. ANALYSIS.....	48
10.1 DEFINING A SENSE OF PLACE.....	48
10.2 A FRIEND IN NEED IS A FRIEND INDEED.....	51
10.3 UNITY ABOVE ALL.....	51
10.4 ALWAYS WORK HARD.....	53
11. CONCLUSIONS.....	54
LIST OF REFERENCES	
APPENDICES	

1. INTRODUCTION

Culture and place are closely entwined in a mutual relation of influence. Culture shapes place and vice versa. At a closer look, it may seem almost impossible to separate the two. Culture *is* place, and place is all that comes with it; the people, the nature, the aesthetics, the social relations, the experiences and emotions. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan describes culture as “*a physical process that changes nature*” (Tuan, 1993:6). To this, one could add that culture also is a process which can be changed by nature and the environment in which it occurs. To view culture as something static and unchangeable, something which is not affected by processes surrounding it and comprising it and therefore as something “pure” and closely related to a specific group of people seems quite outmoded. In a world where people constantly move over borders as well as change them, where influences flow across the world and space and time gets more and more bound up together, a revision of what culture means seems increasingly adequate. I agree that culture, to some extent, is place-specific. However, that does not mean that it is resistant to influences from the outside nor from the inside. Tuan continues by saying that culture is perception, speech and performance (Tuan, 1993:7). These factors all have ties to the local context (“the culture”) and to the social interactions which people take part in, actively or passively. What seems important to keep in mind, however, is that placing culture in a local context does not have to restrict it to the locality. One might discover that social relations stretch beyond the local area; people move and work somewhere else, and this brings new experiences into the place.

This paper deals with various aspects of culture and their meaning for people’s sense of place. The importance of this sense of place is then related to people’s involvement in development projects and focus is on the possible relation between the two. Thus, the emphasis is put on the interaction between culture and place. The field study was carried out in two villages in Tanzania, which in themselves form a quite specific framework. As any other place, the area is shaped by the surrounding culture and the traditions it encompasses. In addition to this, the inhabitants in the village do not have good access to infrastructure and transportation and people tend to live most of, or their entire life in the same area. The area is also very arid and people often struggle in order to obtain food for the day as well as other necessities. All this taken together is assumed to form a basis for the sense of place and its meaning for how one regards social relations and one’s own place in these. The following chapter serves as a background and deals with Tanzania’s general complex of development problems and particular aspects of life, with a special focus on rural population and the studied area.

Map 1: Tanzania’s location on the African continent.



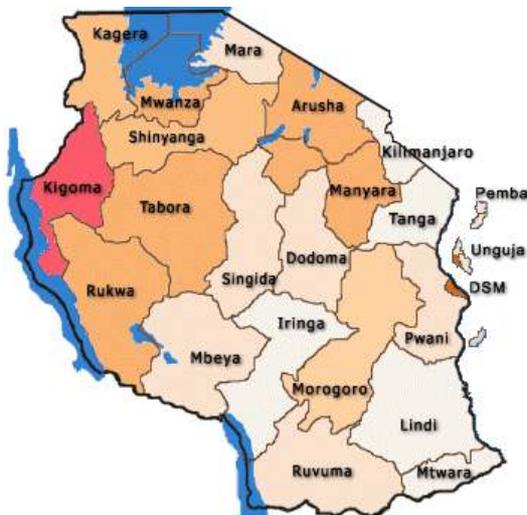
Source: IBT (<http://user.tninet.se/~yls836m/>)

2. OVERVIEW OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION IN SINGIDA RURAL DISTRICT AND TANZANIA

Tanzania is located south of the equator in East Africa. The mainland is dominated by plateaus with an extensive steppe landscape. The population is unevenly distributed over the country. Most densely populated areas are located around Mount Kilimanjaro and along Lake Malawi and Lake Victoria to the west. The inner area of the high plateau, where the studied villages are located, is sparsely populated. (Tanzania-Länder i Fickformat, 2003:3ff)

Singida region is located in central Tanzania. Singida is also the name of two districts and the capital within the region. The four districts which comprise the region are Singida municipal district, Singida rural district, Iramba district and Manyoni district (the first two may also be considered one district). Each district is administratively divided into wards¹. The villages where this study was undertaken are located within Singida rural district, which is made up of 28 wards. (Wikipedia 2007) The villages, Iseke and Nkhoiree, belong to Ihanja ward. According to the 2002 Population and Housing Census the total population in Ihanja ward was 13,590. The number of households was 2,752 with an average size of 4.9 members. (Population and Housing Census 2002) A map produced by IBT, one of the organizations which implement development projects in the ward, shows that the population in Iseke and Nkhoiree in 2002 was 1,957 and 3,365 respectively. The dominant tribe in the area is the *wanyaturu*, which subsists mainly on farming. According to LAMP (Land Management Programme), 40% of the population in *Singida district* are cultivators, 30% are cultivators/livestock keepers and 10% are mixed farmers. (LAMP 2002:30f)

Map 2: The Regions of Tanzania



Map 3: Singida Region



Source: 2002 Population and Housing Census Tanzania (<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/maps.htm>, <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/singida.htm>)

¹ A ward is similar to a district.

2.1 The Economic Situation in Singida²

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) remarks on the absence of recent data regarding Tanzania's poverty. However, it is stated that there is no doubt that the country's poverty is pervasive. Data from 1991/92 suggest that 27 percent of the population belonged to households where the total expenditure was insufficient in order to obtain food to meet nutritional requirements. 48 percent of the households were unable to meet basic requirements in food and non-food items. Updated estimates for the year 2000 show that the poverty rate may have increased to over 50 percent in mainland Tanzania. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:6)

Furthermore, the PRSP states that poverty is largely a rural phenomenon. In general, poverty is more widespread and severe in rural areas than in urban. The poverty rates in rural areas for 1991/92 were 57 percent in basic needs and 32 percent in food poverty. Estimates suggest that rural poverty may have increased since then. Surveys show that farmers are poorer than non-farmers in rural areas and in families where the head of the household works in an own farm the poverty incidence is even higher (according to 1991/92 figures). Farmers who grow cash crops have a higher income than those who do not. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:7)

The PRSP presents the causes to income poverty, as identified on grass root levels. Many of these causes are related to the agricultural sector, e.g. poor working tools and technology, poor roads and limited access to markets, adverse climatic conditions and no available credits. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:11) Unfortunately, in Ihanja the opportunities of making an income outside of farming are very few. Almost all households in the district as a whole grow crop as the dominant source of food and income. Productivity in agriculture is generally low, which is caused by different factors such as low soil fertility, low adaption rates of appropriate technologies, farming practices and unpredictable weather conditions. Land ownership is unevenly distributed among the population, which makes some clans and households landless but even farmers with access to land may suffer from the lack of reliable cash crops. (LAMP, 2002:31)

Singida District is generally poor but the more arid and densely populated the area is, the larger the proportion of poor people. The households in Singida District are somewhat larger than the national average. This indicates that there may be a larger number of dependants in each household. These households are usually poorer than the average. (LAMP, 2002:32) According to the Land Management Programme LAMP, (2002), the average income was TSH 144,000 per capita a year (including non-cash items). This can be compared to the regional average of TSH 168,000 and the national average of TSH 210,000³. The average *cash* income per capita was no more than TSH 55,000 and the poorer half of the population had access to less than TSH 35,000. Agriculture is the dominant source of income and the average household was found to receive 60% of its income from this sector. Poverty means an even heavier reliance on primary agricultural production and the poorest households combine day-labouring and small-scale agriculture for their living. Large households and day-labouring are more common in farming communities, like that of the wanyaturu. (LAMP 2002:31f)

² A substantial part of the material in the following two sections of the chapter is gathered through informal conversations and interviews. Therefore, any discrepancies or inconsistencies in the material as well as misinterpretations of the same are due to the author's understanding of the information.

³ These figures equal approx. USD 163, USD 190 and USD 238, calculated on the currency rates as of 2002-01-01. OANDA FXTrade (internet). <http://www.oanda.com/converter/classic?user=jordenrunt&lang=se>, 2007-01-05

2.2 Factors Influencing the Living Situation in the Villages

Malnutrition is common in Tanzania and poor people in rural areas, who produce their own food, are more likely to be malnourished. Food insecurity is common and the problem is reinforced by inadequate resources at the household level. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:8) The diet in the area mainly consists of *ugali*⁴, rice, beans or potatoes. Vegetables and fruits are scarce and meat is eaten occasionally. Access to safe drinking water is another indicator of poverty rates. In rural areas about 45 percent of the population has access to a safe water source. A large proportion of the population use unprotected water sources for their daily needs. In addition, many poor people rely on buying water from local vendors, who may charge heavily for the service, or they spend a lot of their time fetching water. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:8f)

In the studied villages, most of the water used is fetched by the women in wells which are located around the villages. Since rain has been scarce over the last years⁵ wells are often dry and women can spend a large part of the day waiting for the water to slowly trickle through the walls of the well. A woman can walk up to four km one way in order to fetch one bucket of 20 litres of water. Several buckets are needed for the household daily use. An average household may spend ten hours per day fetching water (LAMP 2002:31). During the dry season, if rain has been scarce, women may have to leave the house very early in the morning, while it is still dark, in order to go to the well. This in itself causes a potential danger for the woman since there are no street lights and roads and paths may be in poor condition. In addition to this there is the risk of being attacked by animals, although wild animals are not abundant nowadays, and are almost exclusively hyenas. However, occasionally cobras are seen and hyenas have sometimes been witnessed to attack humans.

The lack of electricity in the villages reduces the possibilities of starting different kinds of businesses as well as other activities, especially during night time. It gets dark between 6 and 7 pm and very few people can afford to have a generator. These are mainly restricted to schools and some small shops. The lack of electricity also means that people use charcoal for cooking and boiling water, which puts heavy pressure on the already strained environmental conditions. The distance women have to walk in order to fetch firewood increases as more and more trees are cut down and the re-growth is not rapid enough to keep pace with the population increase. Firewood can usually be obtained within 10 km of the home but many women have to walk a much longer distance (LAMP 2002:31).

Wanyaturu families traditionally consist of many members; families with 5 or more children are common. Since people generally are poor it may seem as a paradox that families have many children to feed and take care of. However, it is sometimes believed that one should not stop giving birth because the unborn child might be the one helping the family out of its poverty. The houses in the villages are of two types. In recent years more and more families build houses made of burnt bricks. The bricks are produced locally since sand is abundant all over the area. The roofing is made of sheet metal. However, some people still live in traditional low houses with flat roofs. These are built of sun dried bricks and do not keep the same standard as the newer houses. Most families have their own shamba, a plot where they cultivate food crops, for example finger millet. Some families also keep chickens or a smaller amount of cattle; cows, sheep and goats.

⁴ A dough-like staple food usually made of maize flour and water.

⁵ In the year 2006 there was no rain during the long rain period from February to June.

2.3 Environmental Problems and Solutions

The environmental problems in the area are many and the damage caused by the clearance of woodlands is great. The older generation can tell stories about past times when the area was covered with trees and one could meet elephants, giraffes and even leopards if going into the dense forest. Today there is almost nothing left of that forest and the big animals are long gone.

Since the wanyaturus subsist mainly on farming the need of land for cultivation has increased with the increase in population. The farming methods used are simple and not sustainable on a long-term basis. This, in addition to the great demand for firewood and, to a lesser extent, timber has caused people to cut down the forest in an alarming rate in order to be able to cope with their families' needs. Now most of the land is left bare and the majority of the remaining vegetation consists of low shrubs.

The roots of the trees keep the soil in place when the winds and rains are sweeping over the area but when the land is left bare there is nothing to prevent soil erosion from occurring. The result is serious environmental damage and in many places the bare rock, which once was covered by soil and grass, is visible. Heavy rainfall has created rifts where the water has made its way through the landscape. Today few other plants than shrubs can survive in the environment and even these will only last for some years. There is no soil left for plants to spread their roots in. The lack of trees also has many other serious consequences. People will find it more and more difficult to find firewood and timber and soil erosion makes farming problematic. Another very serious effect is the negative impact the bare land has on rainfall. Trees attract rainfall and when the humid winds sweep over the landscape the lower pressure in forest areas will allow rain to fall. However, when there are no trees the winds may just pass without rainfall since the pressure will remain high.



The dry and arid environment and the lack of trees cause severe soil erosion.

The unpredictable weather conditions have been a great challenge, especially in recent years. Food security has suffered severely from the adverse weather conditions that the country has

experienced since the mid-1990's. Famine has often been a consequence of either floods or drought. (PRSP Tanzania, 2000:9) In the area, there are two wet seasons during the year, one short and one long. The short rains start around late November-early December and goes on until February. Then there is a short break of around three weeks before the long rains start in March and continue until late May. At the time when this study was carried out, people were waiting impatiently for the short rain to come and worries about the scarce water were expressed by many people who said that the situation was particularly bad this year (2006).

The way back to a restored environment may be long but small steps are taken throughout the area, steps which may prove successful in the long run. Of course the needs are many and efforts are required at many levels and in different areas of society. Education, improved farming practices, increased awareness of health issues, incentives on grass root levels and improved opportunities to earn an income are just some factors which could contribute to an improvement in environmental conditions. One example of attempts at improving the situation are the tree planting groups which have been formed in several villages throughout Ihanja Ward. These groups can help restore the environment by planting and transplanting trees. The trees can then be used as timber and firewood as well as planted around the shambas for protection. Fruit trees can add to the family's food sources and also be sold to raise the family income. In addition, the selling of plants can be a source of income for the group.

3. PURPOSE, DELIMITATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

This chapter discusses the purpose and questions at issue as well as delimitations of the research and concepts which are of special interest for the study. The chapter is concluded with an outline of the paper.

3.1. Purpose and Questions at Issue

This essay deals with women's participation and engagement in local development projects. The purpose is to examine whether the project is affected by the women's sense of place. This is perceived through the examination of problems and possibilities faced by the women in their daily lives as well as in the project, and how these are managed and dealt with. The questions at issue are as follows:

- How can the sense of place of the women be defined and what factors contribute to shaping this sense of place?
- How do the women respond to opportunities and difficulties related to their sense of place?
- How do the women describe the cooperation and the roles and responsibilities in the project group?
- To what extent, and in what ways, do the women feel that they themselves can affect the outcome of the projects?

The questions are constructed in such a way so that the two first questions correlate to the two following ones. This division gives rise to a focus on the relation between the women's sense of place and their actions/reactions in local development efforts. The questions which underlie this study and its purpose are *“Is there a resemblance between how women apprehend their role and place in family and society and how they see themselves in the project?”* and *“Do women respond to situations related to place and to the project in similar ways?”*

3.2 Delimitations

The study is limited to encompass two development projects in two neighbouring villages in Singida rural district in central Tanzania. Both projects put the women's situation in focus but their prerequisites and progress vary somewhat. The group in the village Iseke is donor-initiated while the Nkhoiree group first started their work and then received external funding. In spite of this, the two groups have more in common than what sets them apart. However, since more time was spent with the Iseke group and more interviews were conducted with women there, focus is put mainly on this group. Nevertheless, interesting relations may be discovered between the two projects.

Since the study is concentrated around the interviews with the women in Iseke village, the interviews carried out in Nkhoiree can serve as an object of reference, which the main study can be related to. I got to know the interviewed women better in Iseke than in Nkhoiree and therefore it would not be fair to treat the gathered material in the two villages equally and let it constitute equal parts of the study. However, using Nkhoiree as an object of reference means that the information gathered in Iseke can be compared to and elaborated on in relation

to Nkhoiree village. In general, the answers that the women in the reference group give tend to agree to a great extent with the main group's.

Since the purpose of the study is to see if there is a relation between people's sense of place and the outcome of development projects a substantial amount of the time in the field was devoted to the understanding of sense of place in the particular area. To a certain extent I let the women in the study set the limits for the theoretical framework, insofar that they were free to talk about the aspects of their sense of place which were of particular importance to them. Therefore, much of the sense of place discussion in this report is associated with family situation, daily chores, work ethics and social relations within the village.

3.3 Definition of Concepts

3.3.1 Place and Space

According to the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan:

“what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we get to know it better and endow it with a value. [...] The ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, the place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.” (Tuan, 1977:6)

Tuan identifies place as a combination of one's sense of *position* within society and the sense of *identity* with the spatial location, which are related to the living experiences every person associates with place. Place is thus defined primarily in terms of human relationships; as one's relational position in society rather than as an understanding of a certain location in space. Since relationships constitute the fundamental framework to understand place, one's position in society becomes the shaping factor for understanding place, and lifestyles are merely a consequence of these relations. However, location is not unimportant but it gains importance only in relation to humans. Moreover, not everything can be considered to be a place. A place is a node, a non-directed homogenous space. Directed space is something else, therefore a street is not a place. To differ between a non-directed place and directed space one may once again think of the street. As long as people, cars and buses pass by on their way somewhere else the street is not a place, only a through-way, but if there is a street market the space changes into place; people and activity is concentrated within the non-directed space and thus becomes place. (Tuan, 1996:444ff) To develop Tuan's example of Queen Mary (*ibid.*) and that she is not a place, since she is not rooted in a location, the dining room at the same ship may be considered a place because it is a non-directional place within the (un-rooted) space.

3.3.2 Culture as Structuring Space and as Social Construct

According to Tuan (1977), culture is something characteristic for human beings and it strongly influences our behaviour and values. Cultures affect how we impose schemata on space, which is something we do with our mere presence in the same. This may be intentional

or unintentional but either way human beings tend to organize space in some way. Different cultures vary in the degree to which these spatial schemata are imposed and the sense of space and place vary between peoples and cultures. However, despite differences in appearance, spatial organization and value, all cultures have some universally common terms. Thus, Tuan argues that spatial organization is more dependent on the structure and values of the human body and less on culture. The importance of culture for the shaping of space is recognized rather through the emphasis on or distortment of these human dispositions. (Tuan, 1977:5f, 36f)

A people's culture can consist of a wide array of ideas, phenomena and relations. Deborah Pellow (2003) suggests that culture is made up of the norms, values, attitudes and symbolic representations of a people. It is manifested through social connections and structures, which can include the grouping of people, their statuses and relationships to one another. Furthermore she argues that culture, as well as social systems, are grounded in space because people carry out their actions in physically defined areas, which are of special meaning to them, and they also interact in particular ways. As an example Pellow mentions lifestyle, which varies with culture, but is also evident in the social organization of human beings. (Pellow, 2003:160)

3.4 Outline of the Paper

The majority of the material used for writing this paper was gathered through field studies, why the paper in chapter 4, after a background to the studied area and a presentation of the purpose and questions at issue, starts out with quite a detailed discussion about the methods used and the problems and opportunities these resulted in. Thereafter follows chapter 5 about theories where the concept of sense of place is developed further. The closely related concept of habitus is also elaborated.

Chapter 6 deals with earlier research in relation to the sense of place discussion. The research is divided into three groupings; research on the meaning of place, the importance of identity with and belonging to a place and how to assess sense of place. Since the concept is multi-dimensional it can be valuable to have a pre-set framework within which the concept can be elaborated and analyzed. Earlier research in the field can help set and delimit this framework.

Chapter 7 discusses aspects of Tanzania's history, which may be of importance for the understanding of the specific place. After discussing the place from a national perspective, the paper moves over to a focus on the specific project and their members in chapter 8. The two projects are briefly described in terms of organisational structure, members and the purpose of the projects.

The report from the field, chapter 9, constitutes a substantial part of the paper. The chapter builds exclusively on information gathered in the field and is presented in the form of summaries of interviews as well as on an extensive use of quotations. The different sections of the chapter are constructed with the purpose of the paper in mind, so that they correspond to the questions at issue.

The analysis in chapter 10 can also be referred to the questions at issue and the different sections correspond directly with the purpose of the paper. The first section of the analysis, which deals with sense of place, is dealt with by using Jorgensen and Stedman's three-

dimensional perspective of the concept. The last chapter, chapter 11, discusses the conclusions which may be drawn from the analyzed material in relation to the theoretical framework of the essay.

4. METHOD

The interviews were carried out in Iseke and Nkhoiree village in central Tanzania. The field studies took place in these villages because I was somewhat familiar to the area through the work on an earlier essay related to the place and the tree planting project. Thus, I knew about the place and the specific problems people there are facing, even though I had not visited the area before. I also found it interesting to study the sense of place in the villages since they are located a fair distance from any bigger town and the inhabitants tend not to travel very much. The villages also encompass a culture and traditions with a long history in the area.

Since sense of place is a multi-dimensional concept which depends on and is made up of a variety of factors I chose to use different methods in order to discover the women's sense of place. As a basis for analysis I relied on a qualitative method, based in grounded theory, although I added a quantitative element, which aimed to get a better view of who the women in the studied groups are and if there are any particular similarities/differences of interest. I carried out individual face-to-face interviews as well as interviews with focus groups and I also handed out questionnaires in the two groups studied. A lot of information was received through informal conversations and observations in the field. Additional information was acquired through literature studies.

4.1 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory involves the “*discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research*” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:2). Hypotheses and concepts are developed from the collected data and are further worked out in relation to these. Thus, theory is generated by a process of research. However, certain ideas or models can be collected from other sources than the data gathered in the field. The focus in grounded theory is on the *process* of generating theory and the *form* in which it is presented may well be independent of this process. The theory can be presented in different ways, either as a set of codified propositions or as a running theoretical discussion. The latter adds to the theory a form of continuous development, which makes it both richer and more complex. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:6, 31f) It is also this form of presentation which is used in this report.

The discovery of theory involves using evidence in the generation of conceptual categories, or their properties. The evidence is not necessarily accurate beyond doubt but the concept it generates can still work as a relevant theoretical abstraction of what is going on in the studied area. Grounded theory can be used in a comparative study with the aim to establish empirical generalizations. This helps defining the boundaries of the theory as well as broadening it, so that it is more applicable and achieves a greater explanatory power. Comparative data can also be used in order to specify a unit of analysis in a one-case study. This use involves a specification of the dimensions of the concept in question, which will be compared to similar units of the concept. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:21ff)

I chose to carry out my research within the framework of grounded theory because I wished to, as far as possible, get to know the place and the people on their own terms. Therefore I did not want to use a preset theoretical framework for the study. I believe the application of this method is beneficial for the aim and scope of the particular study.

4.2 Selection of Respondents

Selection of interviewees was based primarily on voluntariness because I felt it was important for the study itself that people participated out of free will and because they were interested in the research. Regarding the “background interviews” I was helped by my interpreter to get in touch with persons who had lived in the village for a long time and who were willing to share their experiences and help me understand the influence of culture on the society. The persons in this part of the study were selected according to age, willingness to participate and ability to speak freely about various subjects. These persons I met both in groups and individually. To get a background to the projects and the group organizations I chose to speak with the supervisors of each group, since they have been active in the projects since the very beginning and also ought to have a good insight in different aspects of the groups’ work.

The focus groups were put together on similar grounds as the groups for the “background interviews”. Participants were selected through word of mouth and by signing a list, which was placed at a location where many women of all ages passed by.

Interviews with women in the two projects were also based mainly on willingness to participate. Some women showed a particular interest in taking part in the study, which I believed to be beneficial, since they by their voluntariness may speak more openly during the interviews. As time passed by, more women contacted me because they were interested in joining in. After getting to know the women of the village better, some of them seemed to have something more to add to the study. For example it could be that they were not shy to speak with me or they were very active in the project or in the community. Therefore, I also asked these women if they would be willing to be interviewed.

4.3 The Interview Situation

As with the selection of interviewees my aim was to give the interviewees as much freedom as possible to choose themselves time and location for our meetings. However, the location had to be where we could speak privately so that there would not be any external disturbances, which could affect the interview and the result. The interviews in Iseke village were carried out in the tree planting group’s own office building, which was put to our disposal at any time preferred by the women. In a few cases the interviews were carried out in the home of the interpreter. No woman requested to do the interviews somewhere else. In Nkhoiree I met with the women in the home of the supervisor of the group, where we could sit undisturbed in one room. The house is neighbouring the tree planting project and the group also keeps other meetings there, so the women were all familiar with the place.

Each initial interview was opened with an account of the aim and purpose of the study and a summary of the topics to be discussed. I also explained why I had come to their village and why I wanted to speak with them. It was very important to be clear on these points and give the interviewees a good background to the work I aimed to undertake, so that they could feel comfortable answering the questions and also have knowledge of how the information would be used. Moreover, I explained that everything they say is confidential and no names will be used in the report. Thereafter, the women could choose whether they wanted to carry out the interviews with or without the use of a dictaphone. Each session was concluded with an opportunity for the interviewee to add anything they wanted to or ask any questions they may have. This helped to build up a mutual bond of trust and give and take.

During almost all of the interviews an interpreter was present. Only in exceptional cases the interviewee was someone who knew English. I had two interpreters, one man and one woman, and the situation and/or interviewee determined which of the two to choose. However, in the case of a series of interviews with the same person, the same interpreter worked every time.

4.4 Collection of Data

In grounded theory, data collection is determined by the emerging theory. How and where to collect the data is initially based on a general subject or problem area. It is *not* based on a preconceived theoretical framework. The research may be initialized by examining certain concepts, related to the study area. However, the relevancy of the concepts to the study is yet not known, they typically just work as a first step in the research. Further steps are based on emerging gaps in the initial theory, and therefore they cannot be decided upon in advance. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:45f)

In the study, this element was constituted by initial interviews where certain concepts thought to be related to sense of place, and how these were perceived by the women, were discussed. Thereafter, the following interviews were based on the information which was revealed during the initial interviews, both in the focus groups and individually. Since the questions, as far as possible, were designed so that the women had the opportunity to direct the interview towards areas of special importance to them, new information and additional data were achieved that way.

4.5 Initial Interviews and Focus Groups

The study was initialized by carrying out three interviews which served to give a better understanding of the social and cultural conditions in the village. These interviews were carried out with older women and men who had good knowledge about traditions specific to the wanyaturu tribe and also about the social changes which have occurred in the villages over the years. Two interviews were conducted in groups of five men and four women respectively and one interview was conducted individually with one man.

In addition to these interviews I also put together focus groups with women of different ages. The purpose of the focus groups was to get an idea of how women experience the place and the environment in which they live. My aim was also to see if there are certain ideas, experiences and thoughts which are common and recurrent. After a while, three groups of women were formed for group discussions. I met the women in groups according to their age; 20-29 years, 30-39 years and 40-50 years, to discuss their perceptions and experiences of the place where they live. The decision to form specific age groups was based on earlier research by Jorgensen and Stedman (2006), who claim that sense of place tend to vary between age groups. The women were both Christians and Muslims but Christians were in majority, which is a reflection of the conditions in Iseke village, where the interviews were carried out. I wanted to keep the discussions as open as possible in order to let the women talk about what is important to them in relation to place. All interviews at this stage took about 45 minutes to an hour.

In order to gain a better understanding of the work and organization in the two tree planting groups I performed interviews with the supervisors in each group. In the Nkhoiree group I met with the supervisor alone while the interview in Iseke was carried out with the supervisor, two members and an interpreter. I believe the composition of interviewees to be of less significance in this situation, since the questions mainly concerned the development, organization and work tasks of the groups and therefore were of a general character. These interviews were also carried out under rather informal circumstances.

4.6 The Quantitative Element

After a first general meeting with the two groups, where I introduced myself and the purpose of the study, I handed out questionnaires to the women (appendix 1). These aimed to give a general picture of the composition of the groups; the women's age, marital status, number of children, occupation and religious and tribal affiliation. There were also three short essay questions concerning the women's experiences of the village and their life situation. It was made clear that filling out the questionnaire was completely voluntary and the women could also choose to answer only the questions which they felt comfortable with. Moreover, they were free to either complete the questionnaire right away or bring it home and return it later. This was not a problem since the villages are small and I regularly met the women in their daily lives. The important thing at this stage was to make the women feel comfortable with the situation and for them to understand that every aspect of the participation was completely voluntary. Therefore, I wanted to stress their freedom not to answer the questionnaire as well as to answer the questions in the way the preferred.

In the Iseke group 20 members out of 27 completed and returned the questionnaire. Corresponding numbers for the Nkhoiree group were 8 members out of 13. The response frequency was therefore about 68% in the two groups taken together. All of the women had answered the multiple choice questions. Most of the essay questions were also answered. However, a few women had left some of these questions blank.

4.7 The Qualitative Element

After completing the first part of the study, which formed a basis for the following individual interviews, I began interviewing the women in the tree planting projects. I based the interview method on grounded theory but I also drew inspiration from Dolbeare's and Schuman's in-depth, phenomenological three-interview series, whose outline I followed briefly. I felt it necessary to get to know each other through the interviews so that the women could feel more comfortable and free as time passed by. It was of great importance that the women should not feel stressed or anxious during the interview, so that they would be able to speak freely. The interviews at this stage all consumed an hour to an hour and a half and an interpreter was always present.

A total of 25 interviews were carried out individually with 14 women. Thus, not all women were interviewed three times and several were interviewed only once. The number of interviews depended on the availability and willingness of the women, as well as on the information which was gathered during each interview. In several cases, according to the limited time available or other constraining factors, different steps in the series were compressed into one interview. I usually started out the interviews with a few "easy"

questions or repeated some of the questions from former interviews so that the respondent got some time to get used to the situation. Moreover, I did not follow the manuals (appendix 2-4) strictly; questions could be added to the interview while other questions I just asked a few women. This all depended on the situation, the respondent and the answers she would give.

4.7.1 The Three-Interview Series

The three-interview series method serves the purpose of the study well as it gives extensive information on the respondent's past and present life situation while it, at the same time, gives enough room for open questions and reflection. It also sets the informant's experiences in the context of his or her life and the lives of the people around them. The three-interview series consists of an initial interview which establishes the participants' experience. The second interview lets the participants reconstruct their experience in the context in which it occurs. The final interview encourages the participants to reflect on their experiences and what they mean to them. (Seidman, 1998:11)

Focused Life History

The first interview focuses on the informant's life story. The purpose of the interview is to let the respondent talk as much as possible about him/herself in relation to the topic, in this case in relation to the place and the project. This method lets the interviewer ask about the respondent's life from as far back as possible, within the time limit of the interview, and up to the time of the participation in the project. The questions should have a connection to the topic of the study. Since the focus of this initial interview is to reconstruct past experiences the questions are more in the form of "how" rather than "why", so that it leaves an opening for the respondents to talk about events in their past. (ibid.)

During the first set of interviews I drew briefly on the idea of focused life history. The aim was to establish a first contact and to let the women speak about what was central in their life and their participation in the project but they themselves were to set the boundaries for how much information they felt comfortable sharing. The interview was constructed in a way so that it could be divided into four separate sections, each concerning an aspect of the women's relation to place and the project. The first part of the interview related to the women's conception and experience of the place. The questions mainly concerned the women's daily life, the advantages and disadvantages which they attributed to place, social relations and their personal ties to the village. The three remaining parts of the interview focused on the interviewees' experiences in the project. I started out with questions regarding the initial phase of the project and why the women chose to join the group. Thereafter, I moved over to the expectations and to what extent they have been fulfilled. The interview was concluded with a section concerning the cooperation in the group and how this is described and experienced by the women. The questions in much followed the form of "how" instead of "why".

Details of Experience

The second interview in the series aims to concentrate on the details of the experiences of the respondents. Central here is to talk about the participants' experiences of on-going events, both in the project and in the society. The respondents are asked to reconstruct the details of their experiences and to talk about this in their own words. The purpose is not to ask about their experiences but rather about "real facts", e.g. what their role in the village/family and the project is. It is on these details that their opinions are built. (Seidman, 1998:12)

Also in the second interview I drew inspiration from Dolbeare's and Schuman's three-interview series. With the first interview as a basis it was easier to focus the questions around "real facts". The second interview was constructed in the same way as the first, with four separate sections, one regarding place-related experiences and the following three regarding project-specific experiences. The sections were divided under the following headlines: Sense of Place- Role of the Woman, Expectations & their Fulfilment, Cooperation & Role in the Group and Personal Influence on Outcome. The sections coincide to a large extent with the sections of the first interview.

This interview focused more on the woman herself and her role in different aspects of village and family life as well as in the project. The women were asked to talk about how they had acted in certain situations and also how they describe and experience their role in society. Regarding the project, the questions were focused on how they viewed themselves within the group and to what extent they felt they could influence the project outcome. The women were also asked to illustrate this with real examples if possible.

Reflection on the Meaning

In the final interview the participants are asked to reflect on the meaning of their experiences in relation to the area studied. Based on the information from the two first interviews the questions aim to focus on the intellectual and emotional connections between the place where they live and their experiences in the project. The purpose of initially letting the participants tell stories from their life experience draws upon the idea that the interviewees then will select events that are important to them and that have influenced their lives. (Seidman, 1998:12f) These events will contribute to their sense of place.

In the third and final interview in the series I constructed a set of questions where the women had to imagine various situations, both in the family and in relation to other villagers and in the project. Then they were asked to explain how they would handle that situation and why. The situations described were based on what the women had told me in the previous interviews, which facilitated the construction of situations that were familiar to them.

4.8 Analysis of the Material

As a basis for the assessment of sense of place I use a classification of sense of place into three sub-scales; place identity, place attachment and place dependence. These scales have been developed and further elaborated on by Jorgensen & Stedman (2006) and tested in a quantitative study about sense of place. However, since this is a qualitative study I will refer to these sub-scales as categories, under which I elaborate the meaning of sense of place through different aspects. Shamai & Ilatov (2004:470) argues that this type of multidimensional scale based on sub-scales of different but related attributes of sense of place aims to break down the the concept in order to achieve a more nuanced picture and a wider spectrum of the study. Throughout the analysis I have focused on keywords⁶, which have been used frequently by the women during the interviews. These have been put in relation to the questions at issue. The analysis is presented in the form of a running theoretical discussion, in line with what has earlier been said about grounded theory. The discussion continuously relates to the understanding of sense of place.

⁶ Some examples of words frequently mentioned during the interviews are: *kazi* (work), *nyumba* (house, home), *Mungu* (God), *upendo* (love), *ujamaa* (cooperation).

4.9 Validity and Reliability

The validity and reliability is less a problem in a qualitative study than in a quantitative. Since this study does not aim to measure some kind of representativity but rather to focus on the possible relation between different aspects of life in relation to place, the problem of validity and reliability has been reduced to some extent. (Holme & Solvang, 1997:94) However, some factors may have influenced the reliability of the study negatively. For example, the fact that I was an “outsider” in the villages and that the inhabitants did not have any pre-knowledge about neither me nor the purpose of the study may have affected the outcome. The problem observed by Emmison & Smith (2000), that people tend to give socially acceptable answers which not necessarily reflect what is on their mind, should be considered because of the unfamiliar situation the interviewees found themselves in.

A second factor which is likely to have affected the reliability of the study is the interview situation itself, where I had to use an interpreter. That way it is unavoidable that much of the data collected will be from secondary sources. It has also influenced the interview situation in other ways, which as well may have an affect on the reliability. The use of an interpreter means that the interview cannot go on as smoothly and undisturbed as it otherwise would. It also involves the loss of some information and difficulties catching nuances in the use of language, pauses, expressions etc. A third factor which possibly may have influenced the result is the use of a dictaphone during some of the interviews. However, this seemed to be less of a problem and my understanding of the situation was that the respondents were not disturbed by this.

The problems described above are likely to have been more obvious during the first part of the study. I personally noticed a big change in how the interviewees responded to the questions and their behaviour towards me as we got to know each other better. The problem of using an interpreter was also eliminated to some extent as I became more familiar with the language and the local culture. Even though it would not have been possible to carry out the interviews without an interpreter I acquired enough knowledge about the language in order to catch main points and ask some questions. This I believe helped in building a good relation and confidence between the interviewees and myself.

In the analysis, the purpose of the multi-dimensional scale is to break down the sense of place concept in order to achieve a better understanding and widen the spectrum of the study. However, as Shamai & Ilatov (2004:470) points out, the problem with the method is the selection of dimensions. There is a risk that the chosen dimensions limit rather than widen the concept. It can also be discussed whether the used dimensions are suitable or if others should have been chosen.

To sum up, the validity of the study may be considered to be high, since the purpose is to depict the relations in the two groups studied and not to give a general picture of how it is in other projects as well. The purpose is simply to illustrate a possible relation and its consequences. Thus, I believe the validity of this study not to be a prominent problem. The validity is also increased by the fact that the interviews were carried out with the people and in the places the study aimed to describe. The problems concerning the reliability, mentioned above, should be taken into consideration but my personal view is that they do not have to constitute a major impediment if the researcher is aware of the prevailing situation and the difficulties and challenges it may bring.

5. THEORY

In any kind of project, not the least in a development project, it is crucial to take many aspects into consideration for a successful implementation. The outcome will be a function of various factors such as financial means, engagement, organization, relevance of the project, previous experiences and a range of other circumstances. This also includes the more and more popular emphasis on people's sense of place, the specific meaning people attach to a certain geographic setting. Sense of place can be described as the identity and attachment to a locality, which people develop over time and through generations (Beyene, Gibbon & Haile, 2006:61f). Closely related to the concept of sense of place is Bourdieu's structural theory of habitus. In this essay, habitus is treated as one of the aspects of sense of place. While sense of place is the total of people's experiences of and feelings for a place, habitus focuses on the process of social interactions over time and the structures this results in.

5.1 The Multi-Dimensionality of Sense of Place

Sense of place is a concept which is increasingly used to depict the meaning of place from a multi-dimensional perspective. This idea describes aspects of relations between humans and their ambient environment, aspects which traditionally have been underrepresented in decision-making in various social and economic issues. By defining resources exclusively in economic terms other important aspects are neglected. These are factors like people's sense of place and its value for our feeling of belonging, our commitment to society, our cultural heritage and many other factors which are more problematic to measure. Thus, places are not meaningful solely from an economic perspective but the memories they awaken in people and the social relations and daily routines they convey are of at least equal importance and cannot be restricted to economic terms only. (Snyder, Williams & Peterson, 2003:109f)

According to Tuan (1996:445f), the personality of place has two aspects. It is either understood as an objective feature, something which "commands awe", like a physical place impressing with its beauty. The other aspect of personality is the one which provokes affection. This is not an emotion which appears instantly, at the same moment as one sees the place, it rather develops over time through a long association between humans and the physical environment. This association attributes characteristics to a place which cannot be limited to physical beauty alone. The beauty may as well lie in the familiarity one feels towards a place and the emotions which develop over time. Tuan sees the personality of place as a combination of both aspects; it is composed of the physical endowments and limits of the place and modifications created by generations of human interaction with the place.

Just as personality of place can be said to have two aspects, so there are two meanings of sense of place. The first one is that of the visual or aesthetic impression of a place. We can either train the eye to discover the beauty where it exists or we can create beauty in places where we do not find it. In a simplistic way, one might say that places are locations that have visual impact. Locations which draw attention to themselves, which may break the monotony, are considered to be places. The other meaning attached to place is based in hearing, smell, taste and touch. Just as the affectionate aspect of personality, this meaning requires a close contact with the environment as well as associations over long periods of time. This meaning builds more on familiarity with a place rather than on a visual appreciation alone. The personality and the meaning of place together shape the sense of place individuals carry in

their minds. However, Tuan remarks, *“it is possible to be fully aware of our attachment to place only when we have left it and can see it as a whole from a distance.”* (Tuan, 1996:445f) Sense of place is not restricted only to people who are settled in specific places. Also nomads can have a sense of place although this may be more attached to the camps than to the roads travelled. However, the relation between mobility and sense of place can be complicated in modern society. Most people reach a fairly stable position in life once they settle down and start a family. Life achieves a routine which encompasses certain, separate locations that all are of personal significance to the individual. Sense of place develops over time to become a network of places, a region of localities. This region will eventually earn status as a place for the individual, despite the lack of visible boundaries, because a sense of place will develop for different localities within the region. Thus, it becomes clear that it takes time to get to know a place and develop a sense of place based on the affectionate aspect of the personality of place. Knowledge about a place, on the other hand, can be acquired with a lot less effort. (Tuan, 1977:182ff)

5.2 The Concept of Habitus

Habitus is defined as

“systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations.” (Bourdieu, 1977:72)

Painter, as cited in *Habitus: A Sense of Place* (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002:5) describes habitus as

“the mediating link between objective social structures and individual action and refers to the embodiment in individual actors of systems of social norms, understandings of patterns of behaviour, which, while not wholly determining action... do ensure that individuals are more disposed to act in some ways than others.”

To put it simpler, habitus, as developed by Pierre Bourdieu, is a concept which builds on a structural theory where social relations are structured by and contributes to the structuring of the social relations of power among different positions in society. There is a dialectical relation between culture, structure and power. The structures shape lifestyles but are also shaped by the way humans live their life. Habitus can be interpreted both as an embodied and a cognitive sense of place. It defines the sense of one's own place and role in the society and environment in which one lives. (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002:4ff) Bourdieu explains habitus as history turned into nature. It is the link which connects history and nature, these two systems of relations, by producing practices. (Bourdieu, 1977:78f) There is a relation between Bourdieu's definition of habitus and Tuan's description of culture (see Introduction), where he compares culture to a physical process that changes nature. Habitus produces practices, culture *is* practices.

Our practices are often unconscious, that is, we do not reflect over why we act in a certain way. The way we act has become natural because we have repeated these actions over and over again in similar situations. Unconscious practices are thus only remnants of history; we behave in a certain way because our past has formed us to do so. This unconscious is so just

because, through time, it has settled in us and we do no longer think of it as something that influences our behaviour and thoughts. Instead, we are more focused on and aware of the present because this has yet to settle into our unconscious. In new and unfamiliar situations our strategic calculations can be fully conscious but over time, as we repeatedly face similar situations, the calculations become more and more unconscious. Thus, even though people are likely to choose a behaviour which will make it easier to achieve the desired outcome, their actions are not a conscious choice based on rational calculations. Rather, it is an intuitive reaction to former experiences, which implies that the actors' behaviours are predisposed by the dispositions of habitus. (Bourdieu, 1977:78ff)

As developed earlier, habitus is used in social sciences to describe a system of dispositions in our social and physical environment. These dispositions are thought of as (semi-)permanent structures of behaviour which, as such, structure our way of thinking, acting, seeing and being. Every individual has his or her own habitus but this can also be shared with other people with whom the individual shares a similar position in the social space. All the elements of a person's habitus build on a common ground, which is our position in social interactions. Based on this, Bourdieu argues that there is some sort of unity of human, that all the individual's actions and behaviour have something in common. This unity, however, is not based on logic but rather on practice. (Bourdieu, 2002:27f)

Bourdieu develops the discussion on the nature of habitus by saying that it in many respects is very similar to character but with one important exception: habitus is not something natural, something that we are born with. Rather, it is something that we are born *into*; it is made up of acquired characteristics which are the product of social conditions and history. Thus, it also becomes clear that habitus is not something completely static and unchangeable; as a product of history it can also be changed by history. Habitus tends to be long-lasting and repeating itself but it is not an eternal condition. Habitus is *not* the same as fate or destiny. It is constantly affected by experiences which reinforce or modify the structures which make up the habitus. (Bourdieu, 2002:29)

5.3 Critique of the Permanency of Habitus and the Static Vision of Social Life

Much critique of the concept of habitus has been aimed at what is considered as an underestimation of actors' abilities to analyze their own situations and the denial of any real, rational agency. In an article on the changing habitus, Roxana Waterson argues that the main problem with habitus is that it is always thought of as something that reproduces itself through history. Although she admits that Bourdieu to some extent recognizes the possibility of innovation, she accuses him for creating a too conservative model of society, which fails to acknowledge the potential for incompetent performance, resistance or change. (Waterson, 2002:321) Waterson thinks that this view of habitus implies that it may be seen as an almost static condition where human behaviour may be interpreted as monolithic and therefore possible to anticipate by understanding the underlying structures. Bourdieu himself answers to this critique by saying that human behaviour is very open and diverse but *within limits*. Human behaviour can take various directions which may not always seem rational or structured by limitations or calculations but this is only a consequence of the individual's personal experiences. (Bourdieu, 2002:27ff)

Furthermore, Waterson critiques Bourdieu's analysis of history as something reproducing the existing structures. She believes his view of history is a simplistic one, where history is

conceived in terms of “constancy” and “permanence”. In Waterson’s view, there is a neglect of great social transformations between individual and collective in Bourdieu’s habitus. She points out that it is impossible to neglect social change in any society, since this has been the object of continuous fieldwork. During the last century, society has been changing more rapidly than ever before. (Waterson, 2002:323)

6. EARLIER RESEARCH

Countless articles have been written about the meaning, importance, construction and assessment of sense of place. Below follows a short review of articles of particular interest for this study. The selection is based on the relation of the topics discussed in the articles with the purpose of this study, for example do they discuss aspects of women's sense of place, the meaning of place for the individual and the influence of cultural values on place perception and land use.

6.1 *The Meaning of Time, Place and Space*

In the article *Enduring Landscape, Changing Habitus: The Sa'dan Toraja of Sulawesi, Indonesia*, Roxana Waterson attempts to uncover the relation between landscape, habitus and sense of place. "*The worlds of meaning that cultures create grow out of time and space*", she writes in the introduction. As life proceeds and generations come and go people become embedded in the landscape, giving it a sense of meaning beyond the physical. This is due to the constant interaction between humans and their environment, which shapes the landscape. People read into the environment the activity of ancestors, making the place full of meanings which become understandable in the light of history. Waterson argues that physical involvement, its processes and movements, is the starting-point for the understanding of the cultural specificity of sense of place. (Waterson, 2002:317)

A study by Beyene, Gibbon and Haile (2006:61f) shows the significance of considering both social, cultural and political factors in land management policies. The study was performed in Tigray, Ethiopia, and the findings indicate that historical processes and cultural values influence the farmers' land use, which supports the argument that land use is not a function of physical properties alone. The authors argue that the farmers in the study do not value the land only in terms of its agricultural value but other factors, such as inheritance, investments and sense of place also play an important role in the perception of the land. These factors may also account for local resistance to some policies and acceptance of others.

6.2 *The Importance of Belonging and Identity*

Women's sense of place has been discussed by Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon and Prats in the article *Women's use of public space and sense of place in the Raval*. For this purpose they have studied what they consider to be the main aspects of the building of sense of place; the use of public space and attitudes towards the neighbourhood in which the people are living. The purpose of the study is to assess whether these aspects are perceived differently according to socio-cultural background. In order to examine women's use and experience of a renewed neighbourhood in central Barcelona they carried out field observations and interviews in the area. (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon & Prats, 2004:219f) Their findings showed that sense of place is largely determined by age, gender and socio-cultural background⁷. They also found a certain pride regarding the place, shown by resident women, especially those who in the article are

⁷ However, another study carried out in Israel by Shamai & Kellerman (1985) showed no relation between the level of sense of place and age, years of residence in the region and ethnic background. Shamai, Shmuel & Ilatov, Zinaida (2004). *Measuring sense of place: Methodological Aspects*, p. 469

defined as “new arrivals”. However, the article also concludes that, due to the renovations, it will take a long time before the residents will fully appropriate the space, use it in their own way and identify with it. (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon & Prats, 2004:225)

Regarding the sense of place of the women, it differed in various ways between different groups of women. While “local” women identified less and less with the place, due to the changes which occurred in the environment, the “immigrant” women tended to feel more at home in the area, where there are many foreign influences. As for the “new arrivals”, which gave a generally positive picture of the place, they have not spent enough time in the area in order to develop a real sense of belonging, which is an important factor in the creation of sense of place. (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon & Prats, 2004:226) These results point to the importance of the feeling of belonging to, and the identification with, the place for developing a sense of place.

In a study of the sense of place of immigrant groups and Israeli-born people toward the town, the region and the country, Shamai & Ilatov (2004:472f) found that the level of attachment to the place increased with years residing in the place for the Israeli-born, while no such connection was found regarding the immigrants. However, there was no relation between years of residence and attachment to the country. Age also showed an affect on the feeling of attachment, with similar results for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Other factors which indicated a relation to the intensity of sense of place were education and religious affiliation.

Robert Hay (1998:5ff) analyzes the development of sense of place with starting point in residential status. Residential status is important in the study of sense of place because the concept is largely based in the feeling of being at home and secure in a place, as well as the feeling of belonging. He then develops the concept further by taking a life cycle approach, where sense of place is assessed through the examination of age stage and the adult pair bond. Through statistical analyses, Hay points out length of residence and degree of social belonging as key factors in developing a sense of place.

6.3 How to Assess Sense of Place

Sense of place builds upon the individual’s beliefs, emotions and behaviours related to the geographic location. It is therefore a multifaceted construct which takes many aspects of the individual’s experience into consideration. This view has the advantage of being able to reveal the more complex relationships between experiences and attributes of a place by differentiating between cognitive, affective and conative domains. For this purpose, sense of place can be seen as comprised by three facets; place attachment, place identity and place dependence and these correspond to the cognitive, affective and conative variables, respectively. Thus, sense of place can be thought of as “... *an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to place.*” (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006:316f)

Jorgensen and Stedman (2006:318) take a new approach to sense of place and highlight the different aspects of the phenomenon in a study on shoreline property owners in northern Wisconsin. In the study they further test and implement the theories about the multi-dimensional nature of sense of place. Instead of treating sense of place as a closed entity they study each of its dimensions in its own terms and observe the variations in relationships between them, working from the hypothesis that “*differences between place attachment,*

dependence, and identity in their relationships to a common suite of predictor variables, would highlight the need to recognize the multidimensional nature of the subjective experience of places.”

Much has been said about the relevance (and sometimes irrelevance) of treating sense of place as a measurable concept. Shamai & Ilatov (2004:468f) have in the article *Measuring Sense of Place: Methodological Aspects* compiled various aspects on how to measure sense of place. The following sections are a summary of that article and some of the views on sense of place, as reviewed by Shamai & Ilatov. Therefore, the following sections refer to secondary sources.

Citing Relph, it is important to emphasize the experience of living in a place in order to reveal the essence of place. Properties which may influence sense of place are, according to Relph, location, landscape and personal involvement. However, for the development of a sense of place, long and deep experience of the place in question is required, preferably in addition to involvement in the place. Rituals, myths and symbols also help creating a deeper attachment to place. Besides the natural and cultural environment, other attributes which develop the affective bonds to a place are family and social activities, history and traditions, argues Kaltenborn. Entekin argues that the experience of place is affected by the language of collective narratives and public discourses. Allen *et al.* suggest that we think of place “*in terms of social relations... with internal relations of power and inequality*”.

The holistic nature of sense of place has been noticed by Eisenhauer *et al.* Their study suggests that the concept is made up of two main parts, the physical and the personal/social interaction with the place. The latter consists of the interactions among family and friends, family activities, traditions and memories which all are associated with the people of the place in question. Particular attention is paid to the importance of culture in shaping sense of place. Culture can be compared to a screen which shapes the personal and social interactions with the place. Other studies also emphasize a consciousness of both social and geographical belonging, as well as residential status for the development of a sense of place. Rural populations have shown a higher level of sense of place than urban residents, according to Shamai & Kellerman.

The multitude of articles on various topics, all related to sense of place, shows on the importance of and the wide spectrum of applicability of the concept. However, it also indicates the difficulties of narrowing down the concept and define it within strict limits. In much, the concept can be interpreted in different ways by different authors and researchers. The one factor which seems to shine through all the analyzes of sense of place is the feeling of belonging to a place. This feeling, however, can be defined in a variety of ways, depending on what the individual considers to be of more relevance.

7. HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE PLACE

Tanzania's more recent history is shaped by a great number of explorers, imperialists and missionaries. During the past 1000 years Europeans and Arabs have had a major influence on Tanzania's development. Below follows a review of historical events of the last centuries', which may have contributed to the sense of place of the people in the studied area.

7.1 Forces Shaping the Development of Present-Day Tanzania

19th century Tanzania is characterized by the arrival of missionaries, explorers and imperialists. Christian missionaries spread the religion far and wide despite obstacles like Islam and indigenous religions. By the 20th century Christianity was not only one of the leading religions in Tanzania but on the entire continent as well. (Encyclopaedia of Twentieth-Century African History, 2003:83f)

The Germans were the first to colonize Tanzania, then called Tanganyika, in 1895. However, the discontent with the German rule was widespread and several revolts took place but it was not until WWI that the German control ended. (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 3, 2005:1536ff, 1543) Despite this, Tanganyika did not win its freedom but instead the country came under British control which lasted until WWII. The principal of "indirect rule" was followed and the aim was to let Tanganyika keep its pre-capitalist structures and develop on its own. When this proved not to be enough to get the economy back on its feet the British tried to implement modernized production methods. This, however, tended to disrupt traditional social organization in the villages and the discontent with the British grew and was particularly flourishing in the many cooperative farmers' movements that appeared throughout the colony. (Hydén, 2004:302)

7.2 Independence and the Father of the Nation

In 1953 Julius Nyerere was elected president of TAA (in 1954 the name changed to TANU, Tanganyika African National Union), an opposition group to the British rule (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 3, 2005:1547). The first and most important goal on TANU's agenda was independence and the catchword was *uhuru na kazi*⁸ (freedom and work) (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 2, 2005:1166). TANU's importance and influence grew and Tanganyika became independent on 9 December 1961 and the following year, on 9 December 1962, the republic Tanganyika was established with Nyerere as president. (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 3, 2005:1547f)

Nyerere has been immensely influential in his efforts to shape African politics based on traditional African values. He clearly questioned Western societies' superiority in building peaceful, healthy and prosperous societies. TANU's message was populist and the party opposed the British attempts to modernize the economy. Pre-capitalistic patterns still existed at all levels in the society and TANU wanted to revive these traditional African values in the economy. (Hydén, 2004:296, 303)

⁸ According to another source, the slogan was "*uhuru na umoja*" (freedom and unity). Lonely Planet, 2005:20

Julius Nyerere became known as the Father of the Nation or simply as *Mwalimu* (Teacher). He is perhaps the one person who has had the greatest influence on the shaping of modern-day Tanzania. The spirit of pan-africanism, which was made popular through Nyerere's leadership, still leavens through the society on every level. Nyerere stressed the importance of the rural majority, racial harmony and cooperation. His philosophy built on socialism and self-reliance but he meant that the ideology must be enforced on the population for their own good. (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 2, 2005:1166) Criticizing the Western form of government, Nyerere advocated a one-party state with the argument that a multi-party system isn't a prerequisite for democracy and rather leads to political dishonesty. The requirement for united party politics means that some voices will be silenced and the freedom of speech will be limited in favour for party unity. The opposition parties must also be united in the parliament and hold a united front even though political disagreement may exist. According to Nyerere, this feeds the view of politics as leavened by dishonesty and cynism. (Hydén, 2004:296)

7.3 The Ujamaa Policy

Nyerere combined his philosophy with traditional African values placed on community and family. Emphasis was put on a puritanic lifestyle, which encompassed not only the rural population but also the political leaders and government employees. Nyerere wished to build a socialistic society on African pre-capitalist grounds and during his tenure, the policy of the *ujamaa* (familyhood) village became widely spread. (Hydén, 2004:298, 304f)

The *ujamaa* was in practice an agricultural economy of scale, which would replace the small village and provide opportunity for peasants to raise their living standard. In the *ujamaa*, resources were common and shared in times of need. The concept of *ujamaa* built on what Nyerere considered to be traditional pre-colonial values: respect, common property and the obligation to work. Cooperation, public control, self-reliance and self-sacrifice for the common good were values which were emphasized in the *ujamaa* programme. At first, *ujamaa* was intended to be a voluntary process. However, this did not happen and the government under Nyerere implemented forced movements of the rural population into planned villages as a step towards modernization of the agriculture. Another problem of the *ujamaa* was the shortage of resources and the *ujamaa* village was typically that of poverty and low expectations, the opposite to the program's goals. (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 3, 2005:1550)

Socialist Tanzania under Nyerere turned out to be both a success and a failure. Improvements occurred in education and health care but agriculture did not become more productive and the economy stagnated (Encyclopaedia of Twentieth-Century African History, 2003:544). The strict regulations of the Tanzanian system brought with it little incentive and possibilities for businesses to develop and the country was urged to liberalize the economy and change its politics of finances. However, Nyerere stood out against the reforms until there was little left of Tanzania's economy and he decided to resign. (Hydén, 2004:298, 305)

Despite his authoritarian leader style Nyerere won great respect for uniting Tanzania. Nyerere was also a strong advocator for African unity but he meant that it should be approached cautiously through regional groupings like the East African Community. His involvement in peace efforts lasted until his death 1999. (Encyclopaedia of African History, vol. 2, 2005:1166f)

8. PROJECT FRAMEWORKS AND MEMBERS

Tanzania has since the 1980's been reforming the economic sector and emphasis has been put on development of the rural area. The development of a sustainable management of natural resources together with local communities has been an important part of the reform process. (LAMP 2002:13) Both projects studied are in line with the national development guidelines.

The two projects both receive external funding. The tree planting group in Iseke receives economic means through the Swedish, non-profit association IBT (Ihanja Brunnar och Träd) while the project in Nkhoiree largely has been financed through the LAMP programme (Land Management Programme), which is a bilateral collaboration between SIDA, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and the Tanzanian government.

The projects in Iseke and Nkhoiree address poverty related issues in similar ways but within somewhat different frameworks. The IBT project is founded by private donors and works independently from other organizations and projects, even though there has been an exchange of experiences and knowledge with other similar groups. The project in Nkhoiree, on the other hand, has been incorporated in the LAMP programme, from which it has received additional support. However, both IBT and LAMP wish to move much of the responsibility for implementation and management of the projects to the local and village level.

8.1 IBT and the Iseke Tree Planting Group

IBT started out its development project by building wells in Ihanja Ward. The association helped construct 48 wells in the area, starting in 1997. In 1998 the association also started a tree planting project, based on agroforestry. This method involves a combination of tree planting and agriculture. The plot is cultivated as usual but in between the crops, rows of trees are planted. The profits of planting like this are many; it provides natural fertilizers, the trees provide shade so that the soil won't become dry and they also work as a wind shield to protect the plants. In addition, organic material from the trees can increase the quality of the soil. (Ihanja Brunnar och Träd 2007)

The tree planting project, just as the well project, was implemented by the donors together with the villagers in Iseke but is managed by the villagers themselves. The current group was formed at a village meeting with the donors but a small tree planting group existed in the village even before that. The tree planting group, called Akina Mama, consists of 27 women and one man. Within the group there is a chairwoman, a treasurer, a secretary and a supervisor, who is the only man in the group. The group has been divided into different sub-groups by the members, each with specific responsibilities. The members meet regularly with their sub-groups and a general meeting with the whole group is held once every two months. However, members also meet each other during collective work tasks.

The group works within the area of Iseke village with the main purpose of helping the members of the group economically and improve the environment on a long-term basis. Secondary goals are that also people in the village who are not members can benefit from the group's work as well as gradually spreading the benefits of the project over the surrounding area.

8.2 The LAMP Programme and the Nkhoiree Tree Planting Group

The LAMP programme was initiated in 1989 in Babati region in northern Tanzania. In its initial phase the programme was mainly concerned with community-based management of natural resources. Singida rural district received its first support through the programme in 1991. (Havnevik, Rwebangira & Tivell, 2000:6)

In 1999 the government of Tanzania and Sida/Embassy of Sweden agreed on an extension of the programme starting in 2000. It was decided that the programme would continue working in line with the concept of sustainable use of natural resources as a means to achieve an increase in district revenue. However, added to this was also a focus on poverty alleviation. The overall objective of the LAMP II programme is defined as: *“Improved socio-economic situation of the people, poverty reduction, improved natural resources management and equitable utilisation for sustainable development”*. (LAMP 2002:13f, 30) At the time the study was carried out the programme was at the end of its second phase.

LAMP explicitly states that *“every effort should be made to avoid the creation of new structures and the bypassing of existing ones”*. The responsibility for planning, implementation and financial management should to the greatest extent possible lie on the community in which the activities are taking place. (LAMP 2002:75)

The tree planting project in Nkhoiree started in 2002 with six members. The group also farms food crops and cash crops. In 2005 the number of members increased and today there are 13 members in the group. The leadership is divided between the chairwoman, the vice chairwoman, the secretary, the treasurer, the project master and the discipline master (supervisor). Of these, all except the latter are women. Responsibilities in the group are distributed between the members and leaders are elected every three years. The group received external funding through LAMP, starting in 2005, after they had initialized the building of a dam for collecting rain water.

The group meets twice a week for gardening and other activities, for example discussions/studies related to business and family. There is also a VICOBA (Village Community Bank), managed by the supervisor of the tree project, and several of the women in the tree planting group are also members of the VICOBA.

8.3 The Women in the Projects

A short questionnaire was handed out to the women in the tree planting groups with the purpose of giving a brief background to the following interviews, which in much were based on the women’s social, personal and economic situation. In the Iseke group 20 members completed the questionnaire and in the Nkhoiree group 8 members completed and returned the questionnaire. In total, 28 questionnaires out of 41 were completed, which means that the response frequency was about 68%.

The women, in Swahili *akina mama*, in the two tree planting groups vary in age but what they all have in common is that they are mothers. Most of the women who completed the questionnaire are between 41-50 years, followed by the age interval 31-40 and a few who are older than 51. None of the women is under 30 years of age.

Out of the responding women 25 are housewives and two are running their own businesses. Almost all of the women are married, except three women who are widows and one who defines herself as single. No one is divorced. The majority of the women has 4-6 children, while some have more than 7. A smaller number of the women has 1-3 children.

The dominant religious and tribal affiliation is Christianity and wanyaturu respectively. However, the results from the questionnaires vary somewhat between the two villages. While all the respondents in Iseke Tree Planting Group are Christians, the majority in Nkhoiree are Muslims. This may or may not be a reflection of the total ratio of the group. All the respondents in Nkhoiree belong to the wanyaturu tribe while 17 out of 20 in Iseke belong to the same tribe. The other three are wanyiramba (2) and other (1).

There were three short essay questions in the questionnaire. As with the multiple choice questions, the women could choose whether they wanted to answer these or not.

Describing their living situation, many of the women respond by saying that they live a hard or difficult life⁹. The explanation is often that it is difficult to earn money and the prospects of starting any kind of business are poor. The shortage in food and water is also a frequent explanation. Often these two answers are related to each other; the difficulty in food is a consequence of the difficulties in earning an income. In the same way, the problems of earning money make it harder to obtain sufficient food when farming is difficult and water has to be bought. Some of the women explain that the shortage in money makes it difficult for them to pay their children's school fees. The replies almost exclusively relate to the own family situation and not to the village life in general. Other difficulties, mentioned less frequently, are poor housing, poor education and little assets, e.g. tools for farming.

The problem of finding enough food and water is very prominent in the women's definition of their village. The water problem was particularly immediate during the period when the interviews were conducted and this may have resulted in an even greater emphasis on this aspect of village life. Out of the 22 responses to the question "*How would you describe your home village?*", nine mentioned the shortage in water and food and the scarce rainfall in order to describe their village. Six women focused on the problems of finding money or a project which could generate an income, in addition to the general poverty problem and difficulties in farming and development. The positive aspects most commonly mentioned in the description of the home village was that "it has a good life", that it has the tree planting project and particularly that people in the villages cooperate and live in peace, something which was mentioned several times.

The answers to the question "*Has your involvement in Akina Mama changed your living situation in? How?*" made clear that the opinions of, and feelings for, the projects differed somewhat in the two groups. While the opinions about the project were almost exclusively positive in the Nkhoiree group, the feelings varied in the Iseke group. The positive attitude in the former group had much to do with the profits they had gained through the external funding, for example that they had been able to finance the building of a dam and they had also got tools for farming. Especially the importance of the dam was highlighted, since it saved the women a lot of time and effort when fetching water. Some women also mentioned

⁹ This question was not translated correctly into Swahili. The questionnaire read: "*Describe your living situation! Which problems/difficulties do you face?*" The original question read, in English, "*Describe your living situation! Which problems/joys do you face?*". The misinterpretation is likely to have made the outcome of this question to be more focused on the negative aspects than it otherwise would have been.

the benefit of learning modern farming methods. Only one of the respondents in the Nkhoiree group said that she had not seen any benefit at all in the project.

In the Iseke group, out of 19 respondents to the question, 11 said that they had seen little or no benefit in the project. The positive aspects pointed out were in particular that they had learnt how to cooperate as a group and how to plant trees. A few women mentioned that the selling of trees had benefited them and that they now had fruit trees which improved their diet.

9. REPORT FROM THE FIELD

This part of the study is based on interviews carried out in the villages Iseke and Nkhoiree during the period October to December 2006. Interviews were carried out with focus groups and women who take part in the tree planting projects in the two villages. Interviews took place between one and three times with each woman.

The quotations in this chapter reflect what the women have said during the interviews. However, these are not their exact words but *how the interpreter translated* what was being said. All names throughout the chapter are assumed. When quotations from women in the reference group in Nkhoiree are used, this is noted specifically.

9.1 Cultural Aspects of Place and Gender

The vast majority of the wanyaturu tribe are farmers and still lead a somewhat traditional life. The culture advises people to obey certain rules in order to lead a righteous and good life. For example, one rule tells the people to be patient and never hurry with anything because this may put them in trouble. Another rule says that women should always obey their husbands. It is especially important that the woman follow the rules because if she doesn't the family will fall apart. In much, these rules can be compared to the ten commandments of the Bible. God will punish those who do not follow the rules but those who do obey will be successful in life.

Marrying outside the tribe was traditionally prohibited but nowadays this has changed. One man explains that the change came about during the Nyerere period because he advocated unity and said "*use one language, use Swahili*". Therefore, it is also more common today that young people do not know how to speak their tribal language. The man continues by saying that Nyerere has had a great impact on the feeling of unity. Today people live as one nation and help each other when in need. Traditionally, relations between people and tribes were stricter. A man and a woman may not have been allowed even to shake hands if they met and foreigners were looked upon with suspicion. Today, people are more open regarding these things.

Before *uhuru*¹⁰ the tribe applied certain rules for young people in order to prepare for marriage. Women were locked up inside the house for up to a year. During this time the woman was taught how to take care of the husband and the household and she was not allowed to be seen by a man. She also had to learn how to work hard, to be a good farmer and generally how to manage all tasks that apply to the role of the woman. The woman should be polite, not use bad language and always be ready to be taught. She should not pretend like she knows more than she does and she should always obey her husband.

The man was prepared for marriage in a similar way as the woman. He would be assigned certain work tasks in order to prove that he was strong and a good worker. During this time certain rites were also performed. Boys, in order to become men, had to go through three rites: circumcision, piercing of the ears and/or the pulling out of one or both of the lower front teeth. Some of these rites could also be included in the woman's education.

¹⁰ In English *uhuru* means freedom. This started in the 1960's with the country's independence from the British and the rule of Julius Nyerere.

It is very important for a woman to be married and to be a good and righteous wife. If a woman gives birth to a child without being married it is very bad for the family because this child is thought to grow up to become a lazy, troublesome person. It is also thought that this child, if a boy, will try to overrule the family as an adult.

Men and women should stick to their respective work chores. This is important because if a woman does a man's job other people will think that she is being treated badly by her husband. Conversely, if a man does a woman's work people may think that he is being suppressed by his wife.

9.2 Relation to Place

When asked about their feelings for their village, the interviewed women often found the question somewhat problematic to answer. In most cases it did not seem as they did not understand the question. The problem seemed to lie simply in the fact that they did not reflect over their life in the village in that sense. This is illustrated by one of the older women, Elisabeth: *"I have been here all my life, I'm born here. I don't know what is good or bad with the village. Nothing is good or bad to me, it's just a normal life"*. Pendo says: *"It's just a normal life, not too many problems or joys. I feel happy sometimes and sometimes not. [...] Life is normal here and I am satisfied according to the situation."*

The women often referred to their life in the village as "a normal life". However, according to the rather harsh living conditions in the area it is easy to focus on the negative aspects of rural life. Therefore, many women described their feelings toward the village in terms of poverty and the difficulties in farming, development and earning an income.

"I know that around this village so many people want to do progress... but they fail because there are no resources." (Josephine)

"We got difficulties with the way of living. There are water problems, transportation problems and other small problems. My life has no insurance of what I will eat today or what I will get tomorrow. It's like guessing life." (Anifa)

"Life here is somewhat difficult because most people here... [can't] get enough food and other cash crops in order to improve their lives. And people have got very little business here." (Rita)

"Business is very difficult because development is very slow. The knowledge of people is very little which is an impediment to their own existence. Another problem is that educated people who are born here move to work somewhere else... So the people who have knowledge about how to improve the place come from the outside. They don't work for their own good or for the best of the people." (Harriet)

"One disadvantage [of the village] is in farming, this year we have got no rain. [...] Life is difficult because we don't have any project in order to raise the income for the family. There is no employment. [...] I always struggle... in order to get something to feed the family or clothes and school fees for the children." (Magdalena)

The access to food and water is something which often affected how the women experienced their life in the village. *“If there are good conditions or any possibilities that I can get food and water. Maybe then sometimes I enjoy life”*, says Anifa. Priska, Nkhoiree, agrees: *“The joy in my life is when I get something to improve my life, food or money.”*

Even though the women mentioned several problems related to life in the village few expressed a wish to move somewhere else. Reasons for staying were often family-related. Some women said that they are married in the village and therefore it is their place. The women’s feelings towards the place seem to have less to do with whether they like it in the village or not and more to do with the fact that it is the place where they are married and where they are raising their children. During the interviews with focus groups some women expressed their feelings towards the village like this:

“When I leave my family I miss the place but if I leave with my family I will not miss the place.” (Mwanaidi)

“When I leave I will miss my whole house, the things in my house. My family, my goats, my chickens, my utensils.” (Rita)

Many of the interviewed women were born in the village and had lived there their whole lives. When asked to describe their life in the village and their feelings towards it, the women frequently started out by saying that this is the place where they are born or that they are used to the place. Josephine explains: *“This is the village where I am born. All my life, from childhood, up to now. I have been to school here. Although sometimes I have gone to other places, this is my village.”* Matilda says during the first interview that she has no difficulties in the village because she has a house where she lives with her family. Some women point out the difficulties in starting all over again.

If I had to choose whether to live here or to go somewhere else... I would choose to continue to live here... rather than to go somewhere else to start over, that would be very difficult for me.” (Rita)

“I’m just used, I can’t shift to somewhere else. I’m just coping with it because I married here, so what can I do?” (Pendo)

“I’m very used to living in Iseke and I don’t expect to move somewhere else some day.” (Matilda)

“I wouldn’t move because I’m born here and married here and because I also have my family here. If I moved I wouldn’t know how that place would be.” (Selina, Nkhoiree)

Tatu also points out that she is used to life in the village. *“I’m used, even if there are problems, I’m used to them.”* Rita says, during another interview: *I’m coping with the environment and because I’m married here and I have children, there is no way out.”* Julia says that she could agree to move somewhere else if that place is better than the village but that the decision should be made by her husband.

On the positive side of the sense of place-scale can be mentioned the good relations between people in the village and the peaceful life there, something which was commonly referred to. The cooperation between neighbours and the help people can give each other are highly valued by most of the women. *“People cooperate and help each other. It is good, there are no bad problems”*, says Matilda when describing the social relations in the village.

“There is peace in the village and we cooperate well with our neighbours. [...] In difficulties you can get help from your neighbours. There are no conflicts.” (Julia)

“The relationships in the village are not bad. There is help to get from others.” (Harriet)

“There are no problems between neighbours, we cooperate. [...] When somebody is sick we can contribute with money to send that person to the hospital. And when he is well we can contribute again in order to bring that person home.” (Elisabeth)

No one mentions any serious problems regarding the relations in the village. However, some conflicts are experienced but these are mostly associated with people who do not respect their neighbours or who cause trouble in the village. Men who tend to drink too much or cattle keepers who let their animals graze on other people's fields are considered to disturb the otherwise good relations between people. Matilda also says that sometimes there are conflicts between families or others in the community but she underlines the importance of being able to forgive each other. *“Complications can arise...but people can sit and give forgiveness person to person and things will be settled. They just keep on helping each other and cooperating”*. Although people can sometimes be a little reluctant to help each other in financial matters, Magdalena emphasizes that in more serious cases the villagers always cooperate and help each other. *“Some problems are within families, some within the community. If someone has died, the whole community has to help that family”*. Only one woman, Anifa, thinks that the cooperation between people and the help you can get is very little in the village. She is also one of the few Muslim women interviewed in the village and she moved to Iseke because she got married there. However, she says that the little help is because of the economic problems most people have to tackle.

9.3 Being a Woman in the Village

Sense of place has to do with how you live your life; your occupation, your living standard, your family relations and so on. Most of the women are housewives and their daily chores all have to do with taking care of their families. This, as well, affects their feelings towards the place and how they relate to their home village.

To work hard and to be somewhat independent from their husbands is of great value to most of the women. Even though they say that the work tasks and responsibilities of the woman are many and time consuming, they generally think that the role of the woman is good and don't have anything against the division between male and female daily chores. The women are aware of the importance of their work for the family and often point out the responsibility of the woman to keep the family well and together. *“It is ... my very great responsibility to take care of the family. Maybe sometimes if I'm away the family will have trouble”*, says Matilda. According to Priska, Nkhoiree, the woman should *“be hard working, show respect to other*

villagers and teach the children how to behave in the community.” However, it is the husband who is the head of the family.

“The woman should have a good habit in the family first of all, and also, such a woman should regard her husband first. She should respect the marriage, [...], that is how she will gain respect from the society. [...] The role of the woman is not very bad because we just struggle to get our own earnings and not always beg from our husbands.” (Julia)

“[As far as] I know [the] women’s responsibilities are bigger than men’s. But fathers have the last say in the family. Even if other people don’t like it, they have to follow.” (Magdalena)

“Last decisions, they lie on the men only, not women.” (Matilda)

“The role of the man is to order the woman to do activities in the family.” (Selina, Nkchoiree)

Some of the women feel that their responsibilities are greater than those of their husbands, while others think it is on the contrary. A third part says that the responsibilities vary between men and women but are equally valued. The differences in how the women understand their situation within the family may be a consequence of the personal experiences within each family.

“The cooperation within the family is not bad because we agree on most things. So my responsibilities are no problems. The husband’s responsibilities are more than the woman’s, bigger and stronger. One is that fathers have more heavy work than women. He has got wider ideas. He has got more responsibility to take care of the whole family.” (Julia)

“The Mama has heavier responsibilities than the father. Maybe it’s a bad example but if the father dies when the children are little the mother can still take care of them until they are grown up. Maybe the father will marry another woman and she will not take care of the children because they are not hers. Fathers cannot carry the children on their backs when working on the shamba but a woman can.” (Matilda)

“The responsibilities are not equal between man and wife. There are special responsibilities for women and other for men.” (Magdalena)

Elisabeth highlights that it is the duty of the woman to pay visits to relatives and neighbours. Anifa too says that the responsibility to take care of visitors lies on the woman only. Both Magdalena and Matilda point out that the woman should first and foremost always show love to her family. *“The wife takes care of everything... Sometimes the men are just carefree. It is only the woman who shows love to the family.”*, says Matilda. It is also important that her good habits are seen by other people and families. *“Any woman who is able to counsel, use polite language and exchange ideas will be respected.”*, explains Harriet.

A good woman takes care of her family first of all but she is also engaged in other work tasks. Some women have managed to start small businesses to improve the family situation. “...

Some women make small projects or pombe¹¹. The role of the woman is to look for water, firewood and take care of the children”, says Tatu. To be engaged in the community and show their abilities to cooperate in common work tasks are other things, which are highly valued by the women themselves. As Pendo explains about her daily life:

“In the village I have the responsibility for small children. I am also one of the members of the social sciences group in the village. And I am the secretary for the village newspaper, we have just started. I’m also a farmer. I’m married with eight children.”

However, Pendo thinks that the role of a village woman is very poor. This is because the woman is assigned too many duties in the family, while she at the same time has to bear a lot of children. Pendo says that the woman can bear up to ten children even if there is no food in the family in order to feed them all properly. With so many children it is difficult to take good care of all other duties as well. Herself, she is engaged in issues regarding birth control and the role of the woman and would like to see a change. She adds that these conditions depend on the culture, which prescribes many children, and that it is mainly the fathers who want to have big families. She is disappointed with men because she feels that so many of them do not help their wives.

“So many men here are alcoholics, they don’t want to work, they just want to sit at the local brewery all day. When they come home at night they just require food. Very few men in the village take care of their families. [...] Everything the children need is always arranged by the woman.” (Pendo)

Rita, who talks out of personal experiences, is also disappointed with the situation. She says that in her family there is no hope, no peace and no happiness and life is always hard. She sometimes feels dejected because her husband doesn’t work and just roams about the village all day but when he comes home at night he demands food and hot water for bathing.

“Men, who are heads of the families, they don’t do anything. [...] It’s just the wife who goes around trying to find things for the family. We don’t like it that way but the men do nothing. This makes life very difficult. The woman has to tolerate all these difficulties otherwise the family will suffer. So she always has to tolerate hard work.” (Rita)

“Especially here, those men who are always drunk, they are torturing their wives because they don’t understand what they are doing. Sometimes he can just come home from I don’t know where, and just demand things. [...] Most of the women here are very tortured by their husbands in that way.” (Josephine)

Matilda agrees that men can sometimes be very irresponsible when it comes to the family situation. If the family has an income, the husband may sometimes hide money from the wife or spend it all on pombe. This is especially bad since, according to Matilda, the husband’s duty is to be “the founder of all the family’s resources”; he has to get everything that the family needs.

¹¹ A local beer.

The importance of cooperation is often emphasized and something which helps maintain good social relations at the same time as it also works as a kind of safety net for the women. The cooperation between women and the special bonds this brings is mentioned as a positive aspect of the role of the woman:

“There are some small things between mothers. They can help each other, with money or food, without the knowledge of their husbands. [...] They can also get help from other women, with problems in certain matters. There is no need for the husband to know this.” (Harriet)

“We (the women) help each other also outside of this project by inviting each other to do shamba work. I can invite my neighbours, they come there and help me and we cook food, we share together. That is one way we cooperate within the neighbourhood, around the village.” (Josephine)

“... as with our neighbours, we can share to help each other, different types of work or maybe problems of all sorts.” (Anifa)

9.4 Coping With the Economic Situation

Because of the harsh environment and the difficulties in earning an income the women are very occupied with how to make money, so that they can support their families. During one of the focus interviews one woman explains: *“The lives depend on money in order to be different. We need money to have a good life. Because you get everything for money, if you need water you need to pay money, everything.”* Rita points out the particular difficulties with rural life: *“It’s different here because here we depend more on agriculture. When we don’t cultivate we don’t get money. In other places you can do some business, maybe in town you can get money.”* A few women have succeeded in starting small projects which generate some income but for the majority this is still just something that they are wishing for. The importance of development and progress is commonly mentioned, whether it has to do with farming, business, family or education.

“I like to develop myself but sometimes I fail because the income that I get is very little. I’m living with my parents and other family, most are depending on me. After work, when I come home, I don’t like to waste time. I trouble myself to do small jobs that can increase my income.” (Josephine)

“I like farming... if enough rain comes for the land here. If I farm and get enough crops I can improve the living.” (Rita)

When times are tough and the personal efforts are not enough, many of the women rely on God for coping with the difficult situation. Harriet says that your chances in life depends on the family you come from and your economic prerequisites but in order for the general conditions in the village to improve she hopes that God one day will bring his miracles, so that there will be a change. Matilda would try her hardest to solve any problem she may have but if her efforts are not enough she would pray to God for a change to come about.

That hard work is a virtue is a belief shared by all the women. Selina, Nkhoiree, points out that that the Bible says that *“if you don’t work hard you shouldn’t eat.”* The only way to

improve the living situation is by "... work[ing] hard to start a small project", says Julia. Others agree:

"The only thing is to work hard, especially in the field, to expand it and get more crops. In that way life can be improved a bit." (Magdalena)

"Hard work will improve life." (Jeremia, Nkhoiree)

Only by working hard you can harvest the fruits of your labour and only then will you be rewarded by God. Some women hope that their children will help them with family-related work, and maybe even contribute with an income, once they have finished their studies. What could help improve the living situation is often specified in terms of material things; farming tools, cattle and money. Almost all the women wish to start some kind of small business so that they can raise the living standard for the family. Loans are regarded to be a first step to improve life but loans are also hard to get. Of all the women asked, everyone said that if they had a capital they would start any small business or project, which could generate an income. This money would go towards school fees, clothes and anything else which could help the family.

If the woman would have an idea on how to improve the situation for the family in some way, they say that they would discuss this with their husbands before they do anything. If they have older children the second step would be to involve them too in the decision. Magdalena says that it is important to sit down and discuss all together and if everyone agrees there will be no problem to make the changes. However, if her husband does not agree she will let the idea be for the time being. She will go on and ask and remind her husband about it and hope for him to change his mind. Sometimes she may try to get help from the outside, if her family does not agree with her in important matters. Matilda would deal with the situation in the same way as Magdalena, although she says that if her husband does not agree she may just leave the idea. She says: *"Sometimes I can just leave it if my husband doesn't agree because if he doesn't agree I wouldn't do it freely, it would be very hard for me to do it alone. So the only way is to leave it."*

Julia also points to the importance of involving the family, especially the husband, in decision-making. Cooperation within the family is favoured by most women and Julia thinks it is important to discuss things and exchange ideas before any decision is made. However, she says that if her husband refuses to agree she could implement the idea on her own, if she thought it necessary. Julia talks from experience, since she had an idea on how to improve the family income, but her husband did not agree with her. She started her project anyway and today she says that her husband has seen the profits and do not have any objections. Even though Matilda is somewhat opposite to implementing an idea without her husband's consent she says that if it is a simple thing, she may just go on and do it herself, and hopefully her husband and others will see and appreciate her good example.

9.5 Tackling Situations in Social Life

When it comes to problems regarding the family situation or anything personal, the women usually respond that for help they would first go to their husbands. *"[I would first turn to] my husband because he is the owner of the house and he will know how to solve it"*, says Jeremia, Nkhoiree. They would sit and discuss the issue within the family, and if that doesn't help, the

women would turn to their neighbours. Especially if the problem needs money to be solved they would go to their neighbours for help but also in order to be helped with good ideas. Magdalena prefers to try to solve the problem herself but if she would fail she would go to the neighbours and ask for help. Rita, who also spoke about her personal problems regarding the family situation, did not mention her husband as a person she would go to if she had a problem. Instead she says that she would turn to the village chairman, or if that doesn't solve the problem, she may go to the police. However, she adds that traditionally family problems are considered to be each family's private business: *"Sometimes when things are sent to the police there may be more problems after that. [...] Because if the man says that they can't keep the family business within the family there may be more quarrelling."*

Concerning problems within the family, most women suggest that discussions between spouses, and sometimes also including other family members, is the first step to take. Being open, for example regarding money, is important. Magdalena and Julia emphasize the importance of joint decisions when it comes to the family and how money should be spent. If the discussions with the family do not lead anywhere, or if she can't agree with her husband, Julia will pray to God for help.

Pendo says that if she would have a problem between herself and her husband and they are not able to solve it on their own, she would contact the village chairman in order to get help. The village chairman is also considered the first person to be contacted in legal matters. Next step is the police but in general the women feel that there is little help to get. The neighbours as well can help sometimes, especially at night time when there is no other help to get. A problem mentioned by several women is that even though you may get some help from the village chairman or the police, first you have to pay them in order for them to listen to your problem. Therefore, some women don't take the case further than to the neighbours and put their trust in God. As Julia explains:

"Because I love God I am saved. If somebody has done something bad I can just forgive that person without taking the problem further. Because if you take it to the village chairman, first you have to pay something for them to listen to your problem. If you take it to the neighbours there is no need to send the problem further, to the police or so, because they can help you solve the problem."

Generally, the women would tackle any incidents between themselves and other villagers in the same ways as they handle problems within the family. To talk about the problem in a calm and polite way is an essential first step. In case of a situation where a child may be involved, Magdalena says:

"... If they are old enough to understand what I am saying, I could go and talk to that child and say that this behaviour is not accepted by the community. If the child is little I could go to the parents and talk to them in a polite way, not harsh, so that the problem could be solved."

Other women express themselves in similar ways:

"I have to think of the problem first before I go and try to solve it, not just rush away and use bad language. If people talk politely the problem can be solved easily." (Julia)

“Just understanding each other and [use] polite language. Once this happened to me. Once someone ordered their children to slaughter a chicken of theirs but they took one of mine instead. So I just went to them and said ‘you slaughtered one of my chickens’, in very polite language, so they said they will find me another one. It was no problem.” (Matilda)

Also when it comes to problems regarding the physical environment, for example wells that do not function properly, the emphasis is put on discussion. The women feel that it is their responsibility to engage in issues regarding the well-being of the village but decisions should be taken jointly.

“Such problem I would first send to the village leaders if they are not already aware of it. Maybe they can gather the villagers so we can discuss together, maybe the problem would get a solution.” (Magdalena)

“I would try to counsel others to improve (the well), to improve it by cooperating together.” (Julia)

“Such a problem you can just go and explain to the village leaders. They can call to a village meeting to discuss how to attack this problem together.” (Matilda)

9.6 Attachment to the Group and Its Place

That there are some internal problems and issues in the group became apparent when talking to the women about their experiences in the project. Mismanagement, no transparency or information and little profit were problems often mentioned during the interviews. Although she admits that the group has some internal problems, Magdalena says: *“I have a special core, I love the group, I love the project. I won’t be discouraged. I always counsel my friends so that they won’t get completely discouraged”*.

While also discussing some of the things they find problematic in the group, other women agree with Magdalena’s words:

“I participate eagerly in any work which is given by the leaders.” (Anifa)

“When I’m told to do something I just come freely. Yesterday we were told [by ‘the leader’] that the plants are dry and need water. I just went happily to do the work.” (Elisabeth)

However, not all women agree that the situation in the project is difficult, and almost all of them enjoy their participation and do not consider leaving the project. This may also have to do with the time and effort they have put into the project over the years. The women are proud of what they have accomplished and may see it as a failure not to be able to proceed with the work, after building the foundation for the project. A concrete example, which many of the women speak vividly about in one way or another, is the office building that they have built together. The house, on which the women themselves have done almost all the work, forms a platform for the group and makes them grounded in the society.

“I think that although there are some conflicts within the group, to leave or to say this is the end, just go away... I would find that to be very hard... because this building... maybe three quarters of the work we have done ourselves, with our own hands; bricks and a lot of things we did ourselves.” (Matilda)

“... we got a permanent thing, the house, it gives us the strength to go on towards new goals.” (Harriet)

“Some women in the village who are not in the group, they were saying that the group will always lose, no benefit. But when we got this new building other women wanted to join too.” (Tatu)

“The project has got the new building. Therefore, I still believe that more things will be implemented there. I still believe that I will get good things out of it.” (Magdalena)

Another thing, which may prevent the women from leaving the group is what they believe or hope that it can do for their families. The women all wish for the project to generate some profits so that they can use the money to pay school fees, clothes, food and other necessary things for the family. To make progress in the family is important and something they all strive for and it occupies a lot of their time.

The importance of cooperating in the group and working together as a unit towards common goals is mentioned frequently. Many women say that they have benefited from the cooperation in the group because they have learnt new things and they help each other. Some of the respondents also add that there has to be love and understanding in the group and that one has to respect one another.

“It’s the unity of the group that will improve cooperation. [...] The cooperation should be firm so that we work as one unit.” (Julia)

“If we love each other we will work together but if there is hatred between us... there will be conflicts.” (Josephine)

“[For good cooperation is required] to understand each other and unity... To arrange things together, to decide together.” (Matilda)

“I chose to join this group because I know that unity is stronger than a single person. I know that in a group we can help each other and that is good because you can do a lot of good things together, cooperating.” (Anifa)

“When we are cooperating together we can make a very big work within a very short time.” (Rita)

“If we cooperate and understand each other we can do any task in front of us.” (Elisabeth)

All the women point to the significance of maintaining good relations within the group and most of them say that they have no problem in that regard. The women cooperate and help each other both in the project and outside of it. For many, the project may function as a

meeting point, where they can discuss any problem that they may have and maybe get help or good ideas from their friends. Thus, the project means more to them than just the prospect of gaining economic profits. It is also of social value, something which the women mention frequently. The importance of social bonds is noted by Elisabeth: *“I joined [the group] because I just like to get company from my friends.”* Selina in the Nkhoiree group speaks about the same thing: *“I get benefits from the group because I get new ideas on how to improve the living situation. I get ideas on how to take care of the family but also in tree planting.”*



Akina Mama, Iseke, planting trees together.

9.7 Roles and Responsibilities

In general, the women describe their role in the group according to specific tasks that they may have in the project. Some of the women say that they have been allotted certain responsibilities but that these are not recognized by others in the group, something which makes it difficult for them to manage their duties properly. Those women who don't have specific duties usually say that their role in the group is to take part in discussions, be a good worker and counsel other women if needed.

Although some members are considered lazy by the other women, all the respondents say that they themselves work hard in the project and that they take care of their responsibilities. To have a positive spirit, to encourage other participants, to be a good example to others and to be responsible and patient are characteristics which are valued in the project as well. Being a good example is emphasized by Harriet: *“... for those who are lazy or spoil the group, they can just be left alone to understand themselves, by seeing the others hard work.”* Selina, Nkhoiree, also emphasizes the importance of being a good example: *“I should be an example by working hard and also be responsible for the difficulties in the group.”* Julia, who says that her responsibilities are to see that what they have implemented together in the group is followed and that everyone participates, also adds: *“I will do all my duties as if it is my own personal work. I will do everything I can.”* Magdalena says: *[My role is to] work hard and be*

a good example". Jeremia, Nkhoiree, is of the same opinion: "First of all I have to show the members that I work hard so that they will follow my example."

The purpose of all common and individual work tasks is to generate results that are visible. Thus, not only the individual needs to be a good example to others. The same thing is expected from the collective as well. The group has decided to divide itself into four smaller units, each with a specific responsibility. This is something which is commonly talked about during the interviews and many women are of the opinion that this will make the project more efficient and that it will be easier to generate an income. As in other aspects of life, hard-working is one of the characteristics which are most highly valued in a person.

"Every group... must work hard to show that what they are doing is productive. There will be a special day when all groups will be called to show what they have done." (Josephine)

"I tell my group that the only thing is to work hard. When you work hard there will come a time when you will succeed and then we can share the profits between us." (Pendo)

"When we divide [the group into] these small groups they will be given their own responsibilities. So it will be easier for the leaders to investigate or to know which group is making trouble and which group is not good because they have to do something productive." (Josephine)

Those of the women who say that they are regular members of the group consider their role to be the hard-working, positive-spirited member who eagerly participates in any task in front of them. Some feel that the educational level of the regular group members is too low to do anything else. Therefore, they rely on their leaders to do a good job and to lead them in the right direction. The leaders are supposed to counsel the other members and settle any conflict that may arise. The reliance on the ones in leading positions to be able to make just judgements seem to be high among some members.

"The leaders should be in the frontline, bring good ideas and see so that they are followed." (Magdalena)

"The chairwoman and the secretary [should] call the members and give some reports and some new ideas on how to run the project. That is the only way..., to put the members together as a unit." (Josephine)

"When we are gathered we are told by the leaders the good way to cooperate." (Julia)

In general, the expectations on the leaders to be better suited for certain tasks seem to be somewhat high. A regular member, on the other hand, is expected to follow the regulations and the advises of the leaders.

When asked to value their own participation in the group, most women say that their work is important. Even if they sometimes feel it difficult to put into words what their participation means for the project, they do tend to say that they matter for the group.

“I have participated in all the activities that have taken place; planting trees, making bricks, building the house, fetching water. In all activities I have been there and participated fully. [...] I know that if I decided to leave now the members wouldn't agree because they know that I have brought a lot of profits to the project.” (Magdalena)

“My participation has done a lot because it has brought a lot of money. [...] If I leave, the project will get a very big loss.” (Julia)

“I participate eagerly in any work which is given by the leaders.” (Anifa)

9.8 The Problems and Possibilities of Cooperation

A few of the women say that there may be some smaller differences of opinion but that these things can usually be worked out by talking and counselling. The importance of loving one another in the group is often stressed. When discussing the cooperation in the group it becomes apparent that many women feel that the problem lies in the divide between the regular members and those who are in leading positions. This divide is regarded as the cause of many of the problems, for example that some women have lost hope in the project and therefore do not come and work together. Several times the so-called leaders are accused of making decisions above the heads of the other members and not giving reports on how money is spent. *“The leaders take responsibilities without involving the members. Sometimes regular members can see things happening without knowing the purpose, budget or why the work is being done”*, explains Anifa. Matilda, who says she has a specific position in the group but that this is overseen by the leaders, agrees: *“I love the group but sometimes there are problems because the leaders interfere with the responsibilities. I find that these leaders take all the responsibilities from the others but they shouldn't”*. These women also have other complaints about the leadership, something which they share with several other group members:

“Sometimes the leaders confuse the members, only a few will know, it is hidden from the other members. Sometimes it just happens that we are told to do things by the leaders, we are just commanded to do things without discussion in the group first.” (Anifa)

“Another thing which is demoralising the members is the leadership of the group. Sometimes when they want to introduce a new thing to the group they don't do that. They just call in three people and decide something and [other] people will just be told to implement the thing but they will not be involved to cooperate and agree together.” (Matilda)

“When [the leader] wants to write a report I'm never involved, she writes it alone and sends it to the donors.” (Rita)

Rita is very disappointed with how the project is managed by the leaders. She says: *“Sometimes the members have good ideas about how to improve something but it is the leaders who decide, it is like a dictatorship- do this, do that...”*. Another cause of bad feelings in the group is that several members feel that the people in leading positions don't listen to the other members. Anifa gives an example:

“Recently the members got money from somewhere. [The leaders] started to buy a lot of things to orphans. The members were called to be informed about this and we asked the leaders: ‘Where did you get this money?’, ‘How much did you spend?’ Then [‘the leader’] got angry and just answered by words, no written report. [...] We were told by [‘the leader’] that we would be called to a meeting but nothing happened.”

Other women tell similar stories:

“When we started to build this house the members wanted to look for workers in the village themselves but this was prohibited by the leaders. Instead the leaders went to Singida to arrange this – to the double price. The members did not get any report on what had happened with the money.” (Rita)

“I’m supposed to be one of the people who are allowed to sign and withdraw money. The former one left her responsibilities three years ago but she is still used when they withdraw money. It was asked by all members why, instead of me, when it is my responsibility. All members asked [‘the leader’] why this is still going on but she couldn’t give an answer, just kept quiet.” (Julia)

“Other members are not cared about by this committee of leaders. So even if a member has a good idea for the group she doesn’t know how to start it. She will just keep quiet and leave the thing like that. [...] Members will keep complaining but they don’t know where to send their complaints. So they just leave these things in the air because nobody will listen to what they feel, to talk to or to cooperate.” (Matilda)

When asked if they have experienced similar situations in other parts of society the women vary in answers. Rita says that other groups she knows of or takes part in cooperate nicely. Anifa, on the other hand remembers a situation in another group in which she participated. The group had received funding but instead of using it for a common cause some members divided the money between themselves. Anifa says that this behaviour is common because of poverty and lack of knowledge among leaders. She points out that being in a group is all about cooperation and says that she was very sorry about the situation but that she didn’t do anything about it. Matilda also explains that these situations sometimes can occur in society but that problems are solved just by settling things together.

When the leaders of the group are considered to be failing in their supervision and management of the project, some members would like to turn to others for advice and counselling. For example, Rita suggests that the people who initiated the project and who are also those who donate money for its continuation could intervene in the situation. She believes that the lack of education in the group makes it easier for those in leading positions to manage the project the way they want, above the heads of the other members. Rita thinks that it would be good if the donors could give the group directions on how to cooperate and that they could also elect more supervisors for the project. When it comes to the internal problems of the group, she says: *“I don’t think it works without help from outside.”*

It is everyone’s responsibility to work as hard as they can in the project. The women often consider one of the biggest problems in the group to be those women who, according to them,

do not show up for common work tasks and generally do not cooperate with the rest of the group. As in society, of the worst trouble makers in the group are those who are considered to be lazy.

“Most conflicts arise because of those lazy people who don’t like to work together. [...] Most problems arise because they complain, ‘we want to know how much we have earned and how the money is spent’. [...] They just want to know how much they have earned while they are not working.” (Josephine)

“The main cause of the problems is that people don’t come and work as required. They need to be called to a meeting so that we can discuss how to go on.” (Rita)

9.9 Developing the Project

That gaining profits from planting trees takes a long time is emphasized by many women, simply because the trees need years to grow and therefore fruit, timber and firewood cannot be harvested right away. All members have to be patient and work as good as they can in order to, in some time to come, benefit from the project. Most women are aware of the situation and discuss the project in relation to this. However, at the same time, many members cannot hide their disappointment that they still have not gained anything which can help them improve the family situation. Since they may not have any money, some of them are disappointed that they have to buy the trees that they themselves have planted, instead of being given these for free. For the development of the project, encouragement to go on is something which is emphasized by Rita: *“Since the members don’t have any say there is nothing we can do. If the leaders could give something to the members after doing some work together maybe the cooperation could be improved.”* Magdalena agrees: *“People will be attracted and cooperate well even if they produce very little, if they could get something for their own use, even if very little.”*

Improvements are often measured in material things, for example farming tools, equipment and other things which could help the group generate an income. Except material things, new ideas are considered to be the one factor which could help develop the project the most. However, many women rely on the leaders of the group to be responsible for introducing new ideas. Anifa says that she does not have any suggestions on improvements but if she did she would introduce the idea to the group to be discussed. The group then has to agree on a decision in order to implement the new idea. Several members underline the importance of discussions and meetings within the group:

“Ideas can just be shared when we sit in meetings, to discuss what achievements we have reached since we started. If no achievements, we can discuss why and how to reach these goals.” (Anifa)

“It’s only by meetings, certain members can raise their hand, say their idea so that it can be discussed and agreed upon.” (Matilda)

“If somebody has got a certain idea on how to improve the project, that idea is brought to the committee. If the committee thinks it is a good idea, then they can discuss with the group how to implement it.” (Pendo)

“... things can be dealt with when we meet together. [...] If it is agreed within the group it could be implemented...” (Magdalena)

In general, for each and everyone's chance to influence the project, the emphasis is put on meetings, cooperation and understanding. It is a common opinion that new ideas should always be introduced to the whole group when they are together and not only to a few people. Everyone should have equal chances of expressing their opinions and rejections. Anifa also adds that in order to develop the project everything must be transparent and everyone should know what is going on.

About their own influence on the development of the project many women say that the main thing they themselves can do is to bring new ideas and work for a better cooperation in the project. *“I will continue strongly so that people can follow me. I would try to be an example for others. I will introduce new ideas so the things will not be left as they were before”*, suggests Julia. Anifa says: *“I will always persuade the leaders to call to meetings so that we can discuss, agree and judge together, there should be cooperation within the group.”* Rita would do as Anifa; she would turn to one of the leaders and ask her to call to a meeting. At that point she would introduce the ideas she may have. Matilda too, points out the importance of cooperation and respecting each other for developing the project: *“I would suggest telling the group to love each other and to work together, not to do bad things.”* She continues by saying that she herself has introduced ideas to the group, which she hopes they can benefit from: *“I can talk within the group about new ideas. Once we had a general meeting here and I tried to point out suggestions to the group. The other members agreed and said that we should forgive each other and forget the past in order to get good cooperation.”* As Anifa, Matilda thinks that the most important thing the individual can do in order to develop the project is to bring new ideas which can be discussed. However, Julia believes that if other members will listen to the idea depends on the person who is introducing it.

For the group, the main way to progress is through good cooperation. Magdalena points out: *“We should like the project and cooperate, in that way we could improve it very much.”* Julia thinks that it is difficult for the individual to influence the project; it is the unity that counts: *“For individuals it's very difficult but together we can share ideas on how to run the project properly.”* Rita says: *“The only thing I can do is to encourage members to stay with the group. I don't have anything else I can do in order to improve the group.”* Although unity is emphasized by all members in one way or another, Rita is of a somewhat different opinion: *“... maybe we can convince the group to plant trees and sell them, without the leaders”*. She says that the regular members' opinions are ignored by the leaders, something which she is very upset about. She adds that she doesn't know why it is like that but that it may have to do with the lack of education among members. Harriet, on the other hand, believes that the shortage of education in the group has the consequence that few members dare to say anything during the meetings or introduce new ideas. This is exemplified by Tatu: *“I have got ideas but I am afraid that if I tell [the group] some will ignore me. If I have a good idea, when some people hear this, sometimes it can cause conflicts because of those who don't like it.”*

10. ANALYSIS

10.1 Defining a Sense of Place

To an outsider, trying to define the sense of place of a village, a town or an area poses some challenges to the interpretation. First of all, the interpreter has to become familiar with the area and the people who live there. Secondly, the definition will most likely depend upon the interpreter's "luggage"; that is, the pre-knowledge and prejudices the interpreter brings to the place and into the analysis. However, defining your feelings for your *own* home area may be even more difficult. How can you really put words on what you feel for the place where you may have lived your entire life? During the course of life, a person will undoubtedly experience countless emotions, events, joys and sorrows related to their home place. The question is, how can all this be reduced to only a few sentences or words while still offering a fair reflection of the image the person bears in his or her mind?

The interviewed women tend to describe their sense of place in terms of their actual life in the village and the advantages and disadvantages it brings, and not according to their feelings towards their environment. Sense of place thus is closely related to the duties of the woman; taking care of the family, finding water and food, working hard in the field and so on. Positive and negative feelings towards the village depend on factors related to the family situation; if there is plenty of food life is good, if there is not, life is hard.

10.1.1 Place Identity- Knowing One's Role

The society described in this paper shows that it has somewhat firm guidelines on how to behave in various situations that may occur in daily life. The women do not have to doubt about what their responsibilities are and how they are supposed to answer to opportunities and difficulties related to the place because all this is prescribed by the culture and the traditions. From childhood the women are taught their responsibilities and the great emphasis on family life may leave less space for other ways of life. The options are less and therefore it may be easier for the women to identify with the place and their role.

To identify with the community seems to be an important part of the women's sense of place. The discussions on proper behaviour in the family and among members of the society confirm this. The women all share similar views on what is good and bad behaviour and those people who do not follow the regular norm are looked upon with some degree of deprecation or suspicion. Being a part of the social community may therefore be seen as important for the development of place identity. For the women this often has to do with taking part in social activities in the village and being able to support and respect others. As Harriet explained: "*Any woman who is able to counsel, use polite language and exchange ideas will be respected.*" Once you are respected by other members of the society it may also be easier to identify with the place.

The respondents identify with the role of the woman and do not have any objections to the different responsibilities of men and women. As in other areas of life, you reconcile with your situation and make the best out of it. To be hard-working is highly regarded and maybe not only because this is seen as the main way to do progress in life but also because it is

something which is valued by the religion and the society as well. Thus, to work hard may be another way to identify with the place.

If working hard should be considered a contributing factor to the identification with a place, this may also explain why the women seem to care so much for the project. However, the project also has similarities with other aspects of life, which are of importance to the women. Just as the household or the shamba, it is not something which has been created over a day. Rather, it has developed over a longer time and the women have put a lot of time, work and effort into it. Therefore, it may be easier for the women to identify with the project and feel that they belong there. Identification with the project may also be facilitated by the commitment to and identification with the group.

Religion plays a big role for the identification with the place. Religion constitutes a bond, which keeps people united and together. Many of the women often return to the fact that they rely on God's help in difficult situations and church attendance is often regarded as mandatory. The church is not only a place for worship but also a meeting point and a place where news are announced and ideas exchanged. It is a place where help is found when in need and also where you can do your duty and help others. Although there are Muslims in the village the Christians are in majority. Even though there are no serious conflicts between people of different religious alignments it is interesting to note that the woman who most clearly expressed that there is little cooperation between people in the community is the only Muslim woman interviewed individually.

10.1.2 Place Attachment- Just Learn How to Cope With It

Attachment to the place seems to be high among the women, regardless if they say that they like the village or not. Women may feel attached to the place simply because that is where they are married and where they are raising their children. As Rita put it, even though she often expressed dejection when it came to her family situation: *"When I leave I will miss my whole house, the things in my house. My family, my goats, my chickens, my utensils."* The village is where they have their family, their house and their friends and these are some of the main factors which shape their sense of place. Life is first and foremost about taking care of the family and therefore the place in which they live seem to be of less importance. The women often say that they have learnt how to "cope with the environment" and thus the attachment is more related to the habits which they associate with the place and less with their feelings towards the same. This is in accordance with Jorgensen and Stedman's statement that place attachment is more related to the cognitive aspect of sense of place, while identity is related to affections. Because of the same reason, most women are also reluctant to move somewhere else, even though they can see the advantages of living in another place, for example in town.

The attachment may also have to do with the fact that infrastructure and communications are poorly developed in the area. You attach to the place because there is nowhere else to go. In the developed parts of the world we may consider moving somewhere else, maybe even to another country, if we aren't happy with the situation where we are at. However, moving is most often not an option for these women. In order to move, money, transportation and knowledge about the new area are required, things which the women usually do not have access to. Therefore, the solution is to learn how to cope with the situation.

The social bonds within the village may function not only as a factor which stimulates place identity but also place attachment. As explained by the women, the social networks are well developed and the common notion seems to be that friends and neighbours are the same. The words are used equally and the women tend not differentiate between these. Even though life can often be tough in the village because of the environmental and economic situation, this may be somehow compensated for by the help, support and comfort one can find in friends/neighbours. As in other parts of the world where the social safety net is poorly developed on the governmental side, the social community takes on a greater role and functions as insurance for the citizens.

10.1.3 Place Dependence- Farming and the Social Bonds

The vast majority of the inhabitants of the area belong to the wanyaturu tribe, which has a long tradition of farming and cultivating the land. As most people still live as farmers today it is easy to say that they depend heavily on the place and its physical environment. This dependence may have both positive and negative effects. On the positive side can be mentioned the role farming plays for place identity. As discussed above, how people identify with the place may be related to how they see themselves and their own role in society. With clear guidelines on how to lead a proper life it may be easier to identify with a specific place. However, the great dependence can also result in difficult situations, as happened during the period when the study was carried out. When rain is absent hunger may be widespread and this adds to the other difficulties in the daily life of the people.

The dependence on the environment is intensified by the fact that any other opportunity of making an income is rare. The women often talk about the difficulties of starting up a business in the area and therefore the dependence on farming is even greater. This may literally often be the only way for the women to support their families with food and if the crops can generate some income this will almost certainly be used for family needs. The dependence is exemplified by Anifa: *“If there are good conditions or any possibilities that I can get food and water. Maybe then sometimes I enjoy life.”*

Place dependence may also be affected by social relations. While some women say that they would not object to move somewhere else if that is what their husbands decide, they cannot bring with them the relations and social networks they have built up in the village. As discussed in previous section, this network may add to the women’s attachment to the place. However, it may also make them more dependent on the place. If they were to move somewhere else they would lose this insurance and they would have to build new relational networks. The new network may not ever be as firm and extensive as the one in their home village since this is something which is developed over the course of life.

A third aspect of the place dependence may be what the women so frequently referred to as “coping with the environment”. Once you have learnt how to cope with a certain situation and this takes up most of your day and your thoughts you develop some kind of dependence on the place. Therefore it would be very difficult for the women to move somewhere else. They have adapted to their environment and have become a part of it. Even if they were to move to another place with greater prospects, they may not know how to deal with that new situation. This does not only hold true for the women in the study but we all adapt to a lesser or greater extent to the prerequisites of our environment. To go to a new place sometimes means that we have to learn all over again how to cope with daily life. Although this may be less a challenge

for people in Europe or America, since we are usually more used to travelling, this may be a very big step for the women in Iseke, who experience less opportunities to visit other places.

10.2 A Friend in Need is a Friend Indeed

During the interviews the women tend to focus more on the difficulties related to the place than on the opportunities. This is most likely because the rural life they live presents more obstacles to their living situation than possibilities to improve the same. In accordance with the discussion above, the guidelines which their sense of place provides through culture, traditions, experiences and social norms also set the framework for how to deal with various situations. The focus on family-life means that the women usually concentrate on how different opportunities and difficulties affect their family situation. When asked what they would do if they had access to capital they all answered that they would do something which would improve the situation for the family. The lack of money and income in the area may also contribute to the focus on the improvements material things can bring.

When dealing with problems the women usually respond that they first of all seek help within their family and thereafter among their neighbours. Here as well, there is an emphasis on social bonds rather than on institutions in society. The women frequently mention that it has become custom that one has to bribe civil servants in order to get help. Therefore, in such cases, they prefer to turn to their friends, since what they will ask in return is something which most women are able to offer: respect and the mutual agreement to help each other in need. However, the family is the most important unit in the society and problems should, if possible, be solved between family members. The strong influence the family has on their sense of place means that most women do not question this course of action. They are accustomed to regarding their husbands as leaders of the household and do not see anything wrong or strange in that relationship. However, this does not mean that they do not consider their own work important; several women are highly aware of their importance for the family. As Matilda explains: *“The wife takes care of everything... Sometimes men are just carefree. It is only the woman who shows love to the family.”*

The little prospects of moving somewhere else may also contribute to the common opinion that problems should be dealt with in the best way the women know, that is, by working hard. As in other aspects of life, hard work is the key to success. Obeying one's husband comes first but if the women feel that there is a disagreement between the spouses, being patient and continue to work with one's best efforts is required. To give up or to run away from the problems are usually not considered to be solutions. The place and the circumstances associated with it require that people make the best of their situation because they have little or no possibility to move somewhere else. The same circumstances may also be one of the reasons why the importance of maintaining good relations within the community is so commonly stressed. These are relations which will most likely last over a lifetime and thus it is even more important that conflicts are reduced. Possibly, the great emphasis on unity, discussion, forgiveness and agreement is a consequence of this aspect of sense of place.

10.3 Unity Above All

Cooperation is heavily stressed by all women also when it comes to the project. Although they do not question the dividing up between leaders and regular members, they emphasize

that there has to be open discussions and cooperation between all participants in the project. The leader's role is to show the other members the right way to go, to introduce new ideas and to maintain the good relations in the group. The leader also has an overall responsibility for the well-being of the group and the progress of the project. He or she is often regarded to have a special ability to solve problems. As explained by Magdalena and Julia: *"The leaders should be in the frontline, bring good ideas and see so that they are followed"* and *"When we are gathered we are told by the leaders the good way to cooperate."*

This reliance on leaders may be compared to the reliance on other authorities on different levels, for example the husband in the household and the village chairman in the community. Even though these authorities are not always considered to be right or have the best ideas (some women even show little trust in that these "leaders" could solve any problem they may have) they respect the order and the division of responsibilities and do not usually mention that they would like a change. Once again this may be related to their sense of place. The place and the role of the woman are deeply grounded in the society, through their culture, traditions and former experiences. Even though traditions like the ones described in the first section of the field report may not be practiced very often anymore, they may be well-known and have an indirect influence on the women's behaviour and opinions.

Whether the reliance on and respect for the leaders mean that the women are more reluctant to take action if they consider something to be wrong is more difficult to judge. As Anifa said, when she had encountered a similar situation in society, where members were disappointed with the behaviour of the leaders, she just left the case and did not take any action. If this had to do with lack of time, a worry not to be on good terms with authorities or something else was not clarified. However, it can be compared to what Magdalena said about just leaving the idea she may have if her husband doesn't agree and Matilda, who said: *"Sometimes I can just leave it if my husband doesn't agree because if he doesn't agree I wouldn't do it freely, it would be very hard for me to do it alone. So the only way is to leave it."*

Regarding their own role and responsibilities in the group it is in much the same as their role in the family and in society. The woman should be hard-working, respectful, a good listener and an example to others. Unity and good cooperation are highly valued in the project as well as in other aspects of life. Therefore the women are in favour of open discussions, general meetings and the opportunity for everyone to participate on equal terms. The leaders should take the greatest responsibility and they should guide the other members at the same time as they respect the cooperation in the group and the other members' opinions. The women are often very clear on this point and there seems to exist a shared opinion about how roles and responsibilities should be divided. The answers the women give are quite similar, regardless of age, religious affiliation, marital status or other.

There may be several explanations to how this strong emphasis on cooperation and unity has come about and it is difficult to say what has had a greater influence. One factor that almost certainly has affected society immensely is the rule of Nyerere. As in Tanzania in general, the Nyerere policy line's strong emphasis on peace, cooperation and unity in all parts of society has probably had a tremendous influence on people's feelings of fellowship. Nyerere is highly respected in society and people in the village do refer to him both directly and indirectly from times to times. Even though his ujamaa experiment was a big failure he is regarded as a national hero and his opinions are shared by most or all of the villages' inhabitants.

People in the villages tend to cooperate in various kinds of groups and the projects in this study are only two examples, even though they may be the bigger and more well-known groups. This study does not take into account if the starting-up of projects like these is a somewhat new phenomenon or not but it is possible that cooperation in groups has become more popular as the environmental situation has become more and more severe. Thus, the place and people's more recent experiences of it, has necessitated the villagers to join together in order to re-create the environment. This is a great undertaking and not something which can be done individually.

A third factor which has most certainly helped to shape people's sense of place and also their sense of unity is the great influence the religion has had, and still has, in the area. This especially holds true for Christianity, since Christian missionaries have been present in the village for much of the 20th century and have left profound marks in the society, in the form of churches and schools. The women in the study are almost exclusively Christian and during the interviews they often refer to their belief in God.

10.4 Always Work Hard

Once again, when it comes to how the women feel that they can influence the project outcome, they tend to focus on their role as hard workers and patient participants. They say that they can also contribute with new ideas but few women say that they have actually done this. This was confirmed by Harriet who said that the lack of education may lead to the fact that few members say something during meetings and usually don't bring any new ideas to the group. Tatu spoke about herself when she said: *"I have got ideas but I am afraid that if I tell [the group] some will ignore me. If I have a good idea, when some people hear this, sometimes it can cause conflicts because of those who don't like it."* The women seem to feel that it is better to be quiet and tolerate the situation than to risk to cause a conflict. However, there is the risk of over generalizing because several women in the Iseke group also expressed great disappointment with the management of the project on the local level, and some also said that they had tried to bring this up to discussion. The problem was that they were let down by the fact that they felt they weren't listened to.

If the women have former experiences of not being listened to or are used to taking a secondary position in family or society they may as well feel this would be natural in the group. They are aware of their importance for the project, as well as for their families, but they tend to put their role in relation to the hard work of rest of the group and not focus on specific achievements they have reached themselves, for themselves. As Julia said: *"My participation has done a lot because it has brought a lot of money. [...] If I leave, the project will get a very big loss."* What she says is rather that her work and participation in common tasks have helped the development of the project but she doesn't point out specific characteristics or good sides that she has. It is her work in and for the group that is important.

11. CONCLUSIONS

That there is a sense of place, and a rather strong one, among the women in the study became apparent when discussing their roles and responsibilities in society. Even though the area is developing, many of the traditional values shine through in daily life. Great emphasis is still put on family, community and cooperation and sense of place is largely made up of these parts. The women in this study exemplify with their words the importance of place not only in economic terms but also in relation to social and cultural bonds. Despite the hardships they face trying to earn an income and providing food for the family there is an attachment to the place which cannot be ignored. The women agree that the place where they live may not, objectively seen, be the best there is but for them it is a place of familiarity, security and experiences. As they say, they have learnt to cope with the environment and the situation and this in itself offers a somewhat safe platform in life. The place has become their world so moving cannot, in most cases, be an option.

In relation to Tuan's definition of the personality of place, the women's sense of place builds more on the affectionate side of the personality. The physical appearance of the place stands back for the benefit of the familiarity of the place. The long and close association with the environment has resulted in deeper emotions towards the place; people have shaped the environment and through this process it has become something more than just a place which "commands awe". To draw further on Tuan's discussion on what makes up the sense of place, the meaning of the place as well builds more on the women's familiarity with it. Even though the women may sometimes mention the physical beauty of the place, most of what they say is related to other feelings. These feelings may be more difficult to define and analyze than feelings which are just based on physical observations, simply because they have become embedded in the person.

If one wishes to interpret the women's sense of place by using Bourdieu's discussion on habitus, the study shows that there is a rather strong connection between culture, structure and power. Bourdieu argues that we behave in a certain way because our past has formed us to do so. Thus, the culture sets the rules for behaviour and power relations. In many ways it works as a framework within which social relations can be structured. That way, no one really has to feel the need to question these power relations because they have become a part of each and every individual's habitus. The women have learnt that they should obey; it is not something foreign or unjust to them. The father or the husband is the head of the family and the one to make important decisions. Not only husbands and elderly people should be obeyed; God stands above all and the presence of religion permeates every aspect of life.

Bourdieu said that habitus is history turned into nature, and much of the history of the wanyaturu is shaped by their culture. The culture's great emphasis on farming has not only shaped people's way of life but also how they interpret their environment. The inhabitants of the villages see the place differently than an outsider; their eyes catch things which others may overlook and the meaning of the environment itself develops and is shaped in relation to cultural and historical processes. When the women say that they have learnt how to cope with the environment it can be seen as a consequence of their habitus, since habitus is the link which connects history and nature by producing practices. Thus, habitus offers a welcome familiarity which is valuable in itself and not only because of what it may bring in terms of economic means.

Through the arguments of this discussion it may seem a natural consequence of sense of place and habitus that the women deal with problems and opportunities in more or less similar ways. The culture and the physical attributes of a place set the framework within which all actions occur. By working hard the women feel that they can influence their situation but important decisions are left to the authorities. Therefore it may be that many women are said not to share their opinions or contribute with ideas during meetings with their project groups. This may well be a new situation for many of them, something which hasn't before been encompassed by their habitus. Several women say that instead of themselves bringing new ideas to the group they consider this to be the responsibility of the leaders.

The great emphasis on cooperation and social networking may also be closely related to sense of place in the same way as other occurrences discussed above. Environment and culture shape each other through a mutual relation of influence. The physical properties of the place may have forced people to cooperate, or vice versa; the cultural emphasis on unity may have influenced how the place has developed. However, something that one can be almost sure of is that history has played a great part in shaping people's sense of place. Traditional values of unity and cooperation have existed for a long time but were revived and made even more popular through the rule of Nyerere. To ignore the importance of these values for the people's sense of place would be a mistake. Identity is often defined through social relations and the *wanyaturu*, as many other societies, have well-developed and extensive social networks.

To sum up, it can be said that the women in the study seem to have a strong sense of place which affects their lives, their behaviour and the decisions they make. For example, it may seem logic that many women are attracted to a tree planting project since the culture, and thus also the habitus and sense of place, is so closely interacting with the physical environment. Furthermore, many women show similar behaviour, actions and ways of thinking both in the project and in other aspects of life related to place. The emotions and experiences attached to sense of place affect various situations in life in similar ways. Thus, the place has a structuring power on the actions of the inhabitants and these structures encompass more than only those situations most closely related to the women's sense of place. However, to further discuss what has already been noticed by Tuan, sense of place develops over time and is therefore not a static phenomenon. Locations that once are new to the individual can, over time, earn status as places and that way *a sense* of the place can develop as well. The project in Iseke seems to have earned the status of a place and, as many women mentioned during the interviews, the office building contributes to the feeling of the project as something firm and grounded. The building is a place; people don't just pass through there but meetings are held and the place has become associated with special feelings, experiences and relations.

Sense of place cannot be ignored; it will develop and continue to exist regardless of living situation, standards, history, culture or belief. Everyone carries a sense of place for at least one, sometimes many, places. Often people from the same area show many similarities when it comes to their sense of place, as in the case in this study. At the same time everyone's sense of place is unique as are our personal experiences and emotions. However, because of the fact that sense of place exists regardless of conditions outside of the individual it is of such importance to acknowledge the meaning places have for people.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Printed Sources

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Emmison, Michael & Smith, Philip (2000) *Researching the Visual – Images, Objects, Contexts and Interactions in Social and Cultural Inquiry*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Fitzpatrick, Mary (2005) *Lonely Planet Tanzania, 3rd ed.* Lonely Planet Publications Pti Ltd.

Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, Anselm L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Hillier, Jean & Rooksby, Emma (2002) Introduction, p. 3-25. Bourdieu, Pierre (2002) *Habitus*, p. 27-34. Waterson, Roxana (2002) Enduring Landscape, Changing Habitus: The Sa'dan Toraja of Sulawesi, Indonesia, p. 317-338. Hillier, Jean & Rooksby, Emma (eds.) *Habitus: A Sense of Place*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

Holme, Idar Magne & Solvang, Bernt Krohn (1997). *Forskningsmetodik- om kvalitativa och kvantitativa metoder*. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Hydén, Göran (2004) Kenya och Tanzania. Lindahl, Rutger (ed.). *Utländska Politiska System*, p. 295-319. Stockholm: SNS Förlag

Pellow, Deborah (2003) The Architecture of Female Seclusion in West Africa. Low, Setha. M & Lawrence-Zúñiga, Denise (eds.) *The Anthropology of Space and Place – Locating Culture*, p. 160-183. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Seidman, Irving (1998) *Interviewing as Qualitative Research – A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. 2nd ed. New York & London: Teachers College, Columbia University

Shillington, Kevin (ed.) (2005) *Encyclopedia of African History, Vol. 2*. New York & London: Fitzroy Dearborn

Shillington, Kevin (ed.) (2005) *Encyclopedia of African History, Vol. 3*. New York & London: Fitzroy Dearborn

SIDA (2002) *LAMP Phase II, Plan of Operations, 2002-2005, Singida District*. Stockholm: SIDA

Snyder, Robert, Williams, Daniel & Peterson, George (2003) Culture Loss and Sense of Place in Resource Valuation: Economics, Anthropology and Indigenous Cultures. Jentoft, Svein, Minde, Henry & Nilsen, Ragnar (eds.) *Indigenous Peoples*. p. 109-110. Delft: Eburon Delft

Tiyambe Zeleza, Paul & Eyoh, Dickson (eds.) (2003) *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History*. London & New York: Routledge

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1977) *Space and Place – The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1993) *Passing Strange and Wonderful – Aesthetic, Nature and Culture*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press/Shearwater Books

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1996) *Space and Place: Humanistic Perspectives*. Agnew, John, Livingstone, David N. & Rogers, Alisdair (eds.) *Human Geography – An Essential Anthology*, p. 444-457. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Utrikespolitiska Institutet (2003) *Länder i Fickformat- Tanzania*. Stockholm: Utrikespolitiska Institutet

Internet Sources

2002 Population and Housing Census Tanzania:
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/districts/singidarural.htm>,
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/maps.htm>,
<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/singida.htm>, 2007-01-05

Beyene, Atakilte, Gibbon, David & Haile, Mitiku (2006) Heterogeneity in land resources and diversity in farming practices in Tigray, Ethiopia. *Agricultural Systems*, vol. 88, p. 61-74. Elsevier, www.elsevier.com/locate/agsy

Havnevik, Kjell J., Rwebangira, Magdalena & Tivell, Anders (2000) Land Management Programme in Tanzania (Sida Evaluation 00/4):
<http://www.sida.se/shared/jsp/download.jsp?f=utv00-4.pdf&a=2213>, p. 6

Hay, Robert (1998) Sense of place in developmental context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 18, p. 5-29. Academic Press

Ihanja Brunnar och Träd: <http://user.tninet.se/~yls836m/brunnar.html>,
<http://user.tninet.se/~yls836m/agrofor.htm>, 2007-01-05

Jorgensen, Bradley S. & Stedman, Richard C. (2006) A Comparative Analysis of Predictors of Sense of Place dimensions: Attachment to, Dependence on, and Identification with Lakeshore Properties. *Journal of Environmental Management*, vol. 79, p. 316-377. Elsevier, www.elsevier.com/locate/jenvman

Ortiz, Anna, Garcia-Ramon Maria Dolores & Prats, Maria (2004) Women's use of public space and sense of place in the Raval (Barcelona). *GeoJournal*, vol. 61, p. 219-227. Kluwer Academic Publishers

PRSP Tanzania (2000) <http://www.tzonline.org/pdf/FinalPRSP25.pdf>, p. 6-11. Dar es Salaam: Government of Tanzania

Shamai, Shmuel & Ilatov, Zinaida (2004) Measuring sense of place: Methodological Aspects. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol. 96, p. 467-476. Blackwell Publishing, <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com>

Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singida>, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singida Rural](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singida_Rural),
2007-01-05

Interviews

”Anaïs”, Nkhoiree, 9 November 2006, 15 November 2006

“Anifa”, Iseke, 25 October 2006, 16 November 2006

”Charles”, 14 October 2006

“Elisabeth”, Iseke, 15 November 2006

Group of Men, aged 63-83, 24 October 2006

Group of Women, aged 20-29, 16 October 2006

Group of Women, aged 30-40, 11 November 2006

Group of Women, aged 40-50, 19 October 2006

Group of Women, aged 65-75, 7 November 2006

“Harriet”, Iseke, 10 November 2006

”Jeremia”, Nkhoiree, 9 November 2006, 15 November 2006

“Josephine”, Iseke, 25 October 2006

“Julia”, Iseke, 10 November 2006, 20 November 2006, 7 December 2006

“Magdalena”, Iseke, 20 November 2006, 7 December 2006

“Matilda”, Iseke, 26 October 2006, 16 November 2006, 7 December 2006

“Pendo”, Iseke, 15 November 2006

”Priska”, Nkhoiree, 9 November 2006, 15 November 2006

“Rita”, Iseke, 26 October 2006, 12 November 2006

”Selina”, Nkhoiree, 9 November 2006, 15 November 2006

Supervisor, Akina Mama, Nkhoiree, 16 November 2006

Supervisor and two members of Akina Mama, Iseke, 17 October 2006

“Tatu”, Iseke, 18 November 2006

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire Akina Mama

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|----------------|--------|
| 1. Age | | | |
| 20-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51- |
| 2. Occupation | | | |
| Housewife | Employed | Business Woman | Other |
| 3. Marital Status | | | |
| Married | Divorced | Widow | Single |
| 4. Number of Children | | | |
| 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7- |
| 5. Religious Affiliation | | | |
| Christian | Muslim | Pagan | Other |
| 6. Tribal Affiliation | | | |
| Wanayaturu | Wanyiramba | None | Other |
7. Describe your living situation! Which problems/difficulties do you face?
8. Has your involvement in Akina Mama changed your living situation? How?
9. How would you describe your home village?

Appendix 2. Interview Manual 1

1. SENSE OF PLACE

- Tell me about your life here! How would you describe your home village?
- Describe your daily life! Problems/joys!
- What could make your daily life easier? How can you personally improve your living situation?
- Have you lived here your whole life?
- How would you describe your life here up to today? Has anything changed?
- How would you describe the social relations between people in the village?
- Do you see any conflicts between people in the village?
- If you could choose, would you like to stay here or move somewhere else?

2. REASONS FOR PARTICIPATION

- When did you join Akina Mama?
- Why did you want to join? What were your reasons?
- How would you describe your participation in the group? Is there something which has been good/not good?
- What do you think are other women's reasons for participation or not?
- If the group opened up for new members today, do you think many women would like to join? Why/not?

3. EXPECTATIONS AND THEIR FULFILMENT

- What are your personal goals with the participation?
- Have you found anything to be problematic with the participation, e.g. time aspect?
- How would you describe your participation up to today? Do you feel that there is any problem for you personally in the group?
- Do you feel that you have learnt anything in this project?
- Do you feel that you have gained anything from this project which you first didn't expect?
 - Something which you expected but yet not have gained?
- Has the project been what you expected it to be?
- Do you think there is anything which could be improved?

4. COOPERATION

- How would you describe the cooperation within the group?
- How do you cooperate today? Do you think the cooperation works efficiently?
- What do you think is the prerequisite for good cooperation?
- Can the cooperation be improved in any way?
- Do you think there is any impediment to good cooperation in the group?
- Did you know the other women before you started this project?
- Do you cooperate in any other way outside of the project?

Appendix 3. Interview Manual 2

1. SENSE OF PLACE-ROLE OF WOMAN

- What are the advantages/disadvantages of living here?
- How would you describe your feeling for the place?
- What is the role of the woman in family/society?
 - What do you think of that role? Advantages/disadvantages?
- What are the expectations/demands on a woman (from society)?
 - Do you think it is easy/difficult to live up to the expectations?
- If you have a problem, who would you first turn to (husband, family, other women...)?
- If you feel like you have been treated unfairly, could you in such a case receive help from any institution in society?
- In life in general, do you feel that the problems and setbacks are few or many?
 - How do you handle the setbacks?
- How do you regard your own chances to improve your living situation?
 - What can you do?
- Is there anything which is in the way for/facilitates self-fulfilment?
 - Do you feel that you live a full and rich life here? Why/not?
- If you had a capital, what would you do with it?
 - What would your expectations on it be?

2. EXPECTATIONS & THEIR FULFILMENT

- Do you feel that you have gained what you expected from the tree planting project?
- Do you have any suggestions on improvements so that the goals could more easily be reached?
 - How would you do that?
 - Do the prerequisites exist within the group or does anything have to be changed?
- What can the group do in order to reach the goals?
- What can you do in order to reach the goals?
- What do you want to gain out of this project?

3. COOPERATION & ROLE IN THE GROUP

- Among those women who are not in leading positions, how would you describe the cooperation?
- Do you feel that there is a big divide between leaders and other members?
 - In which way?
- Do you recognize the relation between leaders and members from any other situations in society?
- Is this divide for you new or have you experienced it before?
- How would you describe your role in the group?
 - Do you ever get any special tasks? What do you do then?

- Do you personally consider that you have new ideas which can add something to the group?
 - If so, what do you do with these ideas?
- Do you ever personally feel overlooked by the leaders?
- Do you feel that your influence on the project is big or not?
- What encourages/is in the way for your influence?

4. PERSONAL INFLUENCE ON OUTCOME

- Is there any way in which you feel that you personally can influence how the project is managed?
- Is there any way in which a single members can influence the project? How?
- In which way, if any, can the members influence the project?
- How do you think that the project should be organized?
- At this moment, how would you consider your possibilities to improve what you don't think works that well?
- What do you think about the members' possibilities to influence the leaders actions/decisions?
- Would you like to change the organization of the group in any way? How?
- Do you think the type of leadership that the group has is good?

Appendix 4. Interview Manual 3

- Do you feel that you personally can influence the way the project is managed and developed?
 - Do you have any suggestions on how the project could be improved?
 - If you feel that something is mismanaged in the project, what would you do?
 - Do you feel that you are responsible for managing the project?
 - What would you say that your role in the project is?
-
- Let us say your husband hid money from you, or behaved badly in any other way, what would you do in a situation like that?
 - If you had an idea on how to improve the situation for the family in some way, how would you introduce that idea to your husband and family? What happens if your husband doesn't agree with you?
 - In the family, how would you estimate your responsibility? To what extent do you feel that the responsibility is shared between husband and wife?
 - If a problem arose between you and another villager, for example if her child accidentally killed one of your chickens, how would you tackle that situation?
 - If you encountered a problem in the physical environment, for example lack of water in the village wells, would you try to solve that problem? What would you do?
 - If you value your own participation in this group, what do you think you have done for the project up to today? What do you think would happen to the remaining group if you decided to leave the project? Would anything change?

