

Towards socio-economic development: influence of culture dimension on intervention pathways in Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands in Tanzania

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Abstract

Implementation of development interventions has seen a shift from top-down expert-based approach to participatory community-based approach. Since the early 1980s local people, the prospective beneficiaries of the development interventions, have been involved largely through either farmer-group approach (communalism) or contact farmer approach (privatism) or a diverse combination of these two participatory approaches, hereinafter referred to as intervention pathways. While various studies have been conducted on the interaction between intervention pathways and socio-economic development, the bridging role of diverse cultural dimensions in between intervention pathways and socio-economic destinations remains unexplored. In fact intervention pathways are influenced by culture dimensions existing in various project target landscapes. Using the case study of Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands landscapes, this study shows how the culture dimensions in the two named landscapes influence farmer-group-based participatory approach (an intervention pathway). Thereinafter, the study suggests for appropriate participatory pathways based on the existent culture dimension of a particular landscape. It is recommended that studies on the interaction amongst culture dimensions, intervention pathways and socio-economic development should be furthered so that to have concrete recommendations on how the outcomes from such interactions could be optimized.

Keywords: culture dimension, socio-economic development, intervention pathways

Introduction

This article focuses on the interaction amongst culture dimension, intervention approaches and development. While studies have been done to establish the nature of interactions between development and culture and between culture and intervention approaches, there is a knowledge vacuum on the way culture dimension shapes interaction between intervention pathways and development. This is the gap the present study aims at contributing in filling. In this section theoretical background of the culture, development and participation including their interactions is given.

Development and participation

Development is defined in various ways. Some define it as process whereby well-being of majority in their societies is improved in ways which are sustainable socially, economically and environmentally over the long term (Cox and Atkins, 1979; Lappè and Collins, 1978; Latham, 1978; Perelman, 1977; Todaro, 1985). Others define development as the expansion of capabilities of human to be able to lead to the lives they value, and therefore as freedom not only economically

but also politically because politics and economics are inseparable as the political system defines economic opportunities available for individuals especially poor people (Sen, 1999). Development is also defined as outcomes-based process of which living standards are improved and self-reliance capacity is enhanced in economies which are complex and dependent on integration into global economy (Remenyi, 2004; Kingsbury et al., 2004). Another definition of development focuses on improvement of quality of lives of human through enhancing growth of economic processes so that to provide human being with food, income, medical services, education and so on; increasing self-esteem through creation of social and economic systems as well as institutions to ensure human dignity and respect; increasing freedom by expanding choice in terms of access to variety of goods and services (Todaro and Smith, 2003). In the present article development is defined in the context of development project whereby the aim is to increase food and income among the beneficiaries so that their capacity of engaging in various basic dimensions of life is enhanced.

Implementation of rural development interventions has seen the paradigm shift from top-down centralized to participatory people-centre approaches (Liviga, 1995; Hirata et al., 2002; Kopoka, 2005; Rwezimula, 2008). This in Tanzania has started since the early 1980s whereby local people have been involved in the implementation of development intervention through mainly group based approach, or contact farmer approach or a combination of the two (Rutatora and Mattee, 2001; Muhikambele et al., 2002).

Participation has been advocated since the 1960s. However, to-date there is no a single universally accepted definition of participation (Toan, 2012). In the perspective of development, participation can be defined as a process through which social actors are engaged in directing and executing various activities for the aim of improving their social-economic status and wellbeing (Paul, 1987). There has been a largely promoted view that participation is a prerequisite stage towards attainment of some predetermined developmental and environmental sustaining goals (Hoben et al, 1996; Oakley, 1991; Toan, 2012). This view has gained a pace especially after decades of centralized decision making had provided to be non-satisfactory. In this contextualization, participation is perceived as a means rather than the end (Oakley, 1991).

It is nonetheless argued in this paper that while participation of stakeholders, especially local people, is important for building their skills and capacity and enabling their ownership of various projects, it is not a panacea that participation will always on its own lead to positive expected outcomes. Other factors such as an approach used to operationalise participation and some cultural dimensions, among others, as will be seen in the latter sections of this paper, may undermine or boost attainment of the envisaged goals from participation endeavor.

For many externally-originated development projects, participation may often, if not always, be viewed as ensuring that a large number for stakeholders at a given arena take part in the implementation of activities which have been designed for them by the project team. The chance of the prospective beneficiaries to change the design or criticize the project framework and content may usually be low. Though the beneficiaries situated in a particular local space are well positioned to know their culture, problems and priorities, they stand a limited chance for influencing the project design (Toan, 2012) if participation is considered as more of representational (numbers) rather than the power to influence a change and control over decision making processes and use of resources in the way most appropriate and feasible under the local contexts. In this way, therefore, it is likely that a promoted project implementation approach may mismatch the dominant culture, an important instrument which could be used as a tool for facilitating and promoting project interventions.

Development and culture

Development of any society is influenced by the culture of that society. There are various interpretations of the concept “culture”. Some people see it as comprising of three attributes: values, beliefs and attitudes (Fayerweather, 1959). Others see it as entailing a complex of features which are a characteristic of a society at a particular point of its advancement including both tangible (materials) and non-tangible (non-material) aspects (Ukeje, 1992; Prah, 2011). This conception of culture emphasizes on its complexity and dynamic nature. Another definition of the concept is broad entailing language, education, politics, values, attitudes, traditions and customs (Nowotny, 1964). According to Mpopfu (2012), culture carries an attribute of collectiveness as it is shared by all members in a given society, it is historical as it transcends generational boundaries, and it is created through adjustments in the social setting meaning that what works in a particular context is not necessarily operational in another context. In this study culture is viewed as a norm that promotes or hinders associative and/or dissociative tendencies among the local people in the face of implementation of development initiatives.

Culture is an important dimension in developmental planning as a driver and enabler (or constrainer) of development (UNESCO, 2012). While in the past this dimension had been ignored, in the recent years, various stakeholders including intergovernmental and civil society organizations have been striving at mainstreaming culture in development concerns (UNESCO, 2010); policy makers are a part of these stakeholders (Olansunkanmi, 2011). In fact some (e.g. Mwanza and August, 2014) contend that meaningful and non-damaging development can be attained when the aspect of culture is mainstreamed in the development frameworks and actions. However, there has often been the problem of development actors, especially those from outside the local development environment, of viewing local project beneficiaries as objects of development rather than subjects of it. This conception considers local development environment, defined as a space where prospective project beneficiaries organize themselves and projects take place, as static. On the contrary, Mwanza and August (2014) have established that the local development environment (which can be explained by culture dimension of that particular context) influences and is been influenced by development meaning that the local context is dynamic. As such, this local context has the power to dictate which intervention pathway (communalist or individualist) is more appropriate in that space. In keeping with Mwanza and August (2014), Schein (1985) views culture as a dynamic entity. However, this scholar argues that culture comprises of two layers, the core and the shell. Whereas the core contains strongly held values that are harder to change, the shell is more manageable as it contains observable attributes including artifacts, behavior and symbols.

According to UNESCO (2012) culture has the transformative power on the existing development interventions and approaches and may broaden the existing discourse and agenda on development as well as making the development more responsive to the needs of the target people. Thus, development interventions which are responsive to spatial and social cultural contexts are likely to be more effective, sustainable, inclusive and equitable. This argument is also supported by Prah (2011) who contends that Africa’s underdevelopment is attributed to the bypass of culture in development planning as various development interventions are not constructed upon indigenous knowledge whose foundations are constructed upon the culture of the people in a particular geographic space. On the similar rails, Plessis (2007) argues that culture is a communicable knowledge instrumental for coping with challenges in a particular environment, and this knowledge is passed from one generation to another, so it carries historic connotations with it.

Mwanza and August (2014) thus conclusively assert that, for endogenous development to occur, there is always a need for in-depth knowledge of the interaction between culture and development. Social and cultural norms influence attitude and choices of the people. Strong correlation has been

established between culture of people and their perspectives towards life (Olasunkanmi, 2011). UNESCO (2012) emphasizes for more attention about and mainstreaming of a culture dimension in the future development initiative as its contribution in the realization of Millennium Development Goals especially in terms of reducing poverty and improving economic growth at various scales is pronounceable.

In agreement with the above argument, just like the above-mentioned scholars and agencies, other institutional agencies such as UNDP and FAO attribute the failure to attain development goals to the lack of attention on the role of cultural dimension of development (Mwanza and August, 2014). The rationale behind this contention is based on an argument that people may hardly actively participate in any development intervention if they are not sure as to how the intervention interacts with basic (cultural) aspects of their lives (Heymans, 1998). As such, Anderson (1996) concludes that the link between development and cultural dimension will lead to initiation of a process whereby all parties (project staff, local people, etc) exert an ongoing influence on one another.

In Africa, limited culture-development studies have been conducted, on the role of the culture on development in particular (Olasunkanmi, 2011; Liang et al., 2013). Among them is that of Ogunbure (2011) who looks at the role of culture and technological development in the continent. This scholar argues that culture and development are directly related in that the evolution of culture should be used to evolve the development. However, the scholar wonders as to why the continent of Africa with multiple cultures and abundant natural and human resource suffers from underdevelopment. He points out that when exploited optimally and effectively, the culture has a great impact in terms of pushing and inspiring creation as well as sustenance and enhancement of development. Another research work conducted in Africa pertaining to culture and development, is that of Mpofu (2012). According to this researcher, the NGO's agenda and conditionalities, which are made without involving target people, end to be inimical to the sustainability of culture and hence to sustainable development.

Other studies that have been conducted in Africa on the role of culture on development are those of Liang et al. (2013), Olasunkanmi (2011) and Mawere et al. (2012). Liang and colleagues acknowledge dearth of knowledge on the interaction between culture and development. For them, culture means the way people make decision including their analytical and holistic thinking taking aboard cross-cultural ethnicities. On the other hand, while Olasunkanmi agrees with other scholars on the dearth of studies on the role of culture on development, he recommends development attempts in Africa to be culture-sensitive in order to enjoy popular support and participation. In their study on interaction between culture, development and environment, Mawere et al (2012) reveal the way development intervention affects natural and cultural landscapes. Using an example of Telecommunication Company that planned to install a telecommunication booster in a rural area in Zimbabwe, the authors demonstrate how government agencies, local people and traditional leaders get into conflicts as a result of opposing interpretations of concepts *development*, *environment* and *culture*. While the government agencies looked at telecommunication booster installation from the economic and service point of view, the local chief leaders opposed because of potential interference with and erosion of sacred functions of the site where installation was to be made.

Development, culture and intervention pathways

The link between socio-economic development, culture and development intervention approaches (termed as pathways in this study) remains unexplored though studies have been done substantially on the interaction between socio-economic development and intervention approaches (through farmer group and contact farmer) towards it (e.g. Muhikambele et al., 1997; Mattee and Rutatora, 2001; Okwoche et al., 2012; Liang et al., 2013).

This study aims at determining the interactions among development intervention, culture and socio-economic development using the case study of Matengo highlands and Uluguru Mountains landscapes. Culture in this study is operationalised in terms of existence or not of some traditions and norms within the community in favour of or against cooperative (farmer group) and individualistic (contact farmer) tendencies. In this view, culture is perceived as entailing the way farmers live together, interact and cooperate in the development process.

The Uluguru mountains and the Matengo highlands, the focus of this study, are located in Morogoro region and Ruvuma region respectively (Figure 1). Whereas the Uluguru Mountains are a part of the Eastern Arc Mountains, Matengo highlands form part of the Southern highlands of Tanzania.

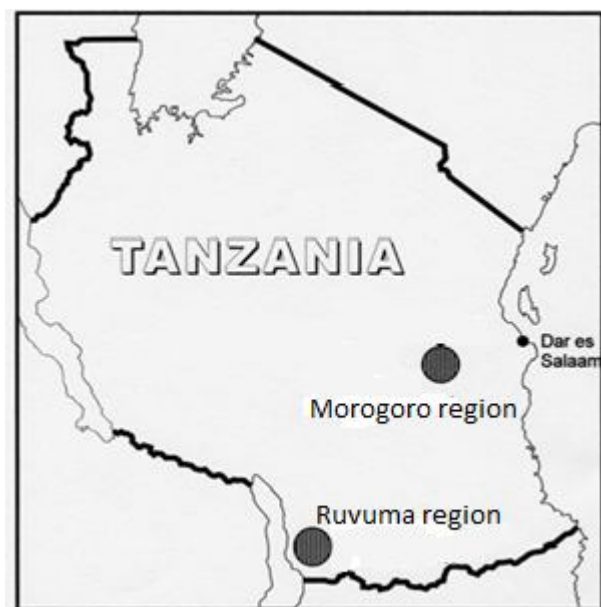


Figure1: Map of Tanzania showing Morogoro and Ruvuma regions where Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands are

In the two regions, SUA Centre for Sustainable Rural Development in collaboration with other departments of Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) such as Department of Agricultural Extension and Education has been implementing projects aimed at improving the livelihoods of the local people as well as sustaining natural resources integrity. These projects are: Sustainable rural development project (2000-2004), Prototype for rural development in a fragile Uluguru Mountain landscape (2005-2007), and Adapting Uluguru Mountains communities to climate change (2011-2004). The first project was implemented in both Matengo highlands and Uluguru Mountains whereas the second and third projects were implemented in Uluguru Mountains only.

Culture dimension and intervention pathway: A conceptual framework

The trajectory for operationalisation of development intervention can be translated through a simple diagram marked by intervention pathways of communalism and privatism that interact with a culture dimension (Figure 1). Whereas communalism connotes cooperative tendencies, privatism implies individualistic norm. Which pathway will win acceptability, where and when depends on a given dimension of culture (*internality*) overriding in a particular context. However, it is not always a guarantee that non-local based players will see, be aware of, or consider the internality of a given landscape while attempting to influence socio-economic shift using either of the two pathways or

specific combinations thereof. As such, the intervener is likely to externalize potential influences of the culture dimension in his/her operational vision. Sometimes such the overlook could be attributed to the fact that at the intervention outset the internality could be situated at the latent space. By all means however, such the overlook potentially creates barriers to the process of optimizing the selected pathway and therefore constricts the likelihood of achieving the planned development destination.

The culture dimension potentially serves as a strengthening or weakening agent of intervention pathways and hence may affect positively or negatively the envisioned socio-economic development targets. Advance knowledge on the existent culture dimension at a particular space may thus enable internalization of possible opportunities and turning of undesirable attributes into productive inputs. Though that could be a challenge at a pragmatic space, a pilot mechanism can be employed at the outset to gain an overview insight on strengths and limitations of a given socio-cultural dimension.

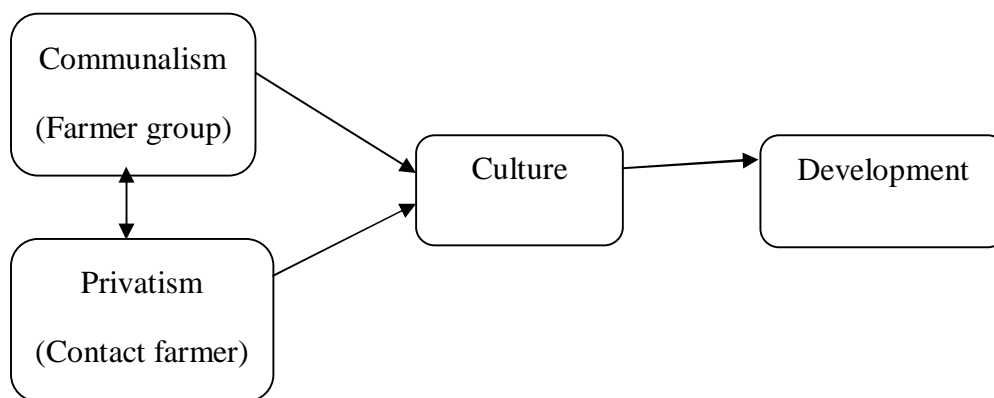


Figure 1: conceptual relationship between development, culture dimension and intervention pathways

By identifying the dominant culture dimension and underscoring and contrasting its potential positive and negative influences in advance, prioritization can be made of an appropriate pathway whether communalist or individualist or a combination of the two. Such the knowledge is an invaluable raw material in strategies towards avoiding potential wastage of financial resources and human efforts, and for enhancing effectiveness in terms of achieving the intended socio-economic development targets.

Therefore, in-between the envisioned socio-economic development targets and an intervention pathway towards it exists a culture dimension dominating a particular space shaping desirably or adversely the intervention pathway based on its compatibility to that dimension. This culture dimension should nonetheless by no means be viewed as static. While it may dominate a specific context for some span of time and place, it is liable to adjustments or change as shaped by various inducements.

However, analysis of such inducements is outside the scope of the present study. Instead, the study uses this conceptual framework to show how the interactions between intervention pathways and the envisioned development targets are shaped by heterogeneous culture dimensions in Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands landscapes. Consequently, the framework is used to suggest for an appropriate intervention pathway for the two studied landscapes.

Methodology

Data were collected from two regions of Morogoro and Ruvuma from Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands respectively. In these regions project interventions had been implemented since year 2000 in which the author of this paper participated. In the Uluguru Mountains, the following projects were implemented: sustainable rural development project (2000-2004); establishment of technical prototype for rural development activities in the fragile Uluguru mountains landscape (2005-2007); climate change project to increase resilience of the local communities (2012-2014). In the Matengo highlands, project on sustainable rural development as well as tracking of the continuation of the activities in the post-project period were done. The sustainable rural development project covered livelihood improving activities of fish farming, beekeeping, crops farming and environmental improving activities of tree planting, soil erosion control, and water conservation. The project on establishment of technical prototype dealt with conservation of watershed through restoring fertility of abandoned farm plot so that to check encroachment of forest areas for agricultural purposes. Climate change project aimed at enhancing the capacity of the local people to adapt to climate change through improved farming practices, natural resources governance, beekeeping, fish farming, improved fuel-saving stoves, and tree planting. For all these activities farmers' group approach was prioritized in the implementation process.

As such, data collection was based on mainly case study operationalised through participant observations of what took place during implementation of various development interventions at different times in the Matengo highlands and Uluguru Mountains. The focus point was on how cultural dimensions affected positively or negatively on the farmers participation in the project activities. Focus group discussions were used to complement data collected through observation.

Case studies of Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands

Tanzania has been promoting rural development through community-based approach since the late 1980s as a move from top-down expert-based approach. Operationalisation of this paradigm shift in Tanzania normally goes through farmers' groups and/or contact farmers. There is often a trade-off between the use of farmers' groups or contact farmers or both by projects implemented within the rural communities. Farmers' groups are usually preferred for hastening adoption and out-scale processes because of preconceived slow dissemination of the adopted technologies from a contact farmer to other farmers (Rorhbach et al., 1997; Okwoche et al., 2012). Effective operation of contact farmers approach also depends on the readiness of contact farmers to pass on the technologies. In the present section, experience-based account is provided as to the existence of two cultural dimensions that negatively or positively influence collaborative development efforts. The account represents communities in two highland landscapes of Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands. These cases indicate how the culture dimension is contextually heterogeneous and its implications on development intervention which in Tanzania is, in the present years, promoted through farmers' organization (group) approach.

Uluguru Mountains

Experience observed through researcher's participation in the implementation of projects from year 2000 to 2014 indicates that in the Uluguru Mountains exists a cultural dimension termed as *Kazopata* (Figure 2). *Kazopata* is a *luguru* word; it portrays a tendency whereby individuals in the society are characterized by an envious behavior over someone else's possession, achievements and advantages. It consequently brings into being dissociative tendencies. This norm has been observed to adversely affect cooperative attitude in the form of farmer groups during the implementation of three projects: Sustainable Rural Development Project (2000-2004); Establishment of prototype of

rural development activities in the fragile Uluguru mountains landscape (2005-2007) and climate change project for adapting rural communities to climate change (2012-2014). Formation of farmer groups was often intended to organize local people in the Uluguru Mountains into stable frameworks for sharing knowledge, skills and capacity in their villages. However, during all these project periods, farmer groups often appeared to exist physically but not functionally. While local people could mobilize themselves when an external based project staff was in their presence, they operated as isolated entities at other times. *Kazopata* norm appeared to adversely influence cooperative tendencies.

Interrogation on awareness of local people on factors behind lack of or weak cooperative tendency amongst them revealed *Kazopata* as the main attribute behind this shortcoming. During focus group discussion in Kibungo village in Matombo division, a youth in a group of beekeepers asserted about the longtime existence of a norm of envying someone else's success in their society. Making reference to a beekeeping group of which he was a member, the youth estimated the group age of eight months since its formation but it had never met nor had it elected leadership. Individualistic tendencies dominated. For example, the group discussants revealed, a project on climate change introduced in the area by Sokoine University of Agriculture provided the group with beehives hoping that the hives would be managed communally but immediately group members divided the 10 beehives amongst themselves wherein each of them started managing one beehive and practicing beekeeping in isolation of others. Another case was observed in three villages of Londo, Masalawe and Luale in the Luale Ward, Mgeta division. In these villages, thirty three beehives were provided to the villagers by the climate change project; these villagers had expressed the interest to engage with beekeeping. While the project had suggested that the villagers should form three beekeeping groups (one for each village), during the provision of the beehives, members from these groups struggled each to possess one hive; the hives were installed at independent sites. There was expressed individualistic norm amongst the local people.

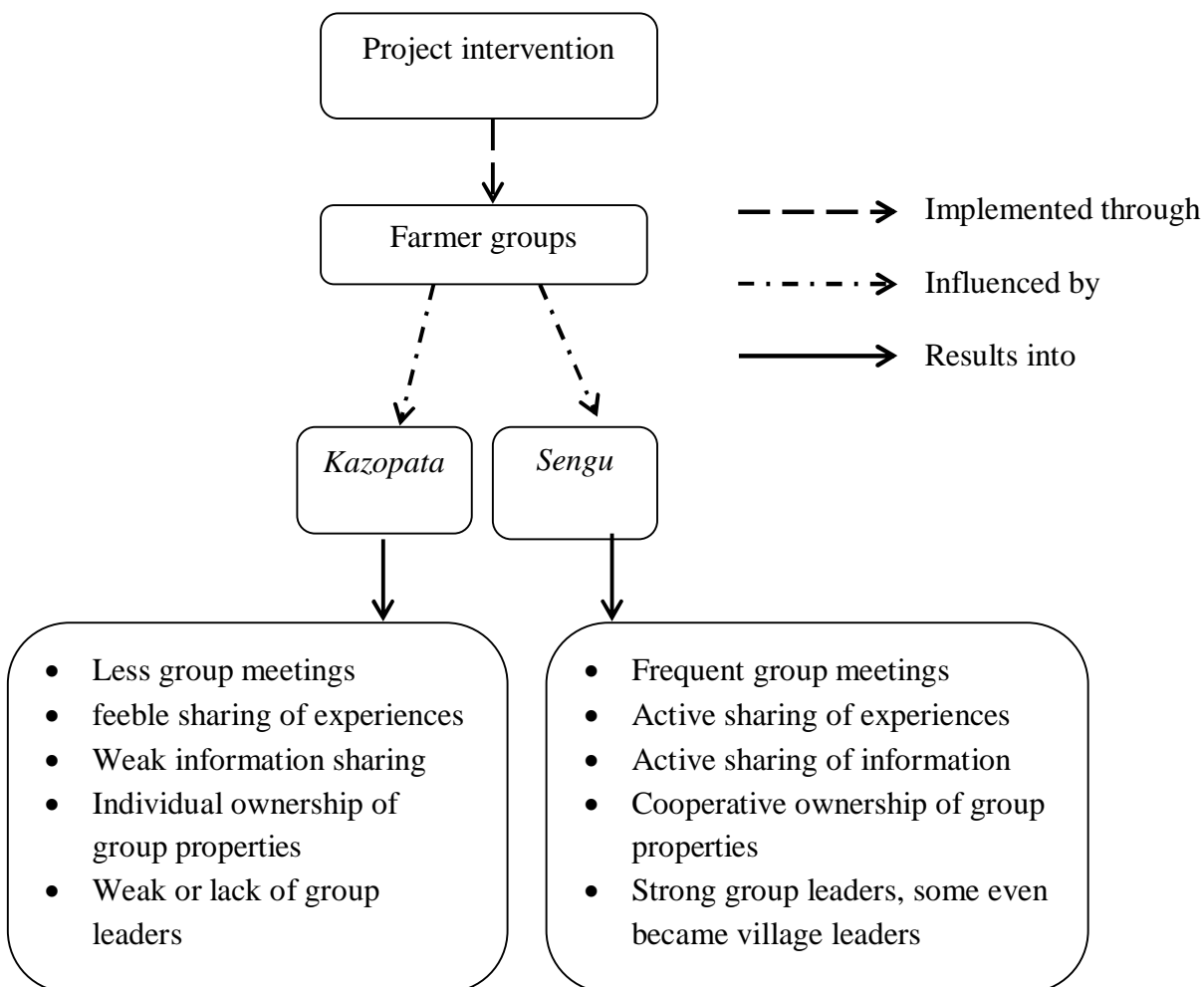


Figure 2: influence of *Sengu* and *Kazopata* cultural norms on group-based implementation of project intervention in Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands

On the contrary, some exemplary individualistic tendencies have been observed. During the implementation of climate change project (2012-2014), individual farmers proved to have the capacity of being role model farmers. For instance, one farmer from Konde village promoted pineapple contour strip farming in a way that increased his income and at the same time controlled soil erosion on a steep slope. Another farmer from Luale village was innovative by integrating improved fruit tree production, use of natural (solar) energy, and creating a visionary map of the development level he wants to attain. These model farmers were proposed by the rest of the communities to represent their villages before various visitors that paid study excursions to their villages. However, there were generally no model experiences regarding spontaneous sharing of efforts and cooperation between successful (model) farmers and the rest of farmers in their communities. This calls for project interventions to plan, as an integral component, for the mass sharing of experiences from pilot farmers to the rest of the communities during the project cycle as a way of going around the *Kazopata* norm.

Matengo highlands

In the Matengo highlands the society possesses a *Sengu* characteristic (Figure 2). *Sengu* is the word that comes from Matengo tribe; the word symbolizes cooperativity or cohesiveness leading into associativity (togetherness). This characteristic of the Matengo people was observed during the implementation of project on sustainable rural development by Sokoine University of Agriculture (2000-2004) and during monitoring of what took place after the end of the project (2005-2014). A group approach was seen to operate effectively among the Matengo people as a way of promoting technologies and skills transfer from a section of the community to the wider community.

The implementation of sustainable rural development project in the *Matengo* highlands started with mobilization of farmers' group formation. Based on their inherent *Sengu* characteristic, one group that practiced fish farming and tree planting was formed, and this group influenced formation of other many groups that summed up to more than thirty distributed over various sub-villages in their respective villages (Kindimba and Kitanda villages) (Nindi et al, 2014; Mahonge, 2013). Contrary to the situation in the *Uluguru* Mountains, farmers groups in the Matengo highlands met regularly regardless of presence or absence of externally-based project staff. In fact, every Saturday was used as a day when groups would meet and evaluate the progress of their activities, and share experience and recommendations. As the age of the group advanced, plans were established to ensure flow of benefits from group-projects to the household level. The turn arrangement was used whereby group members mobilized their labour towards individual household levels until all members' households were covered. A group fish pond was used as a source of seeds (fingerlings) for fishponds at individual (household) levels. Then, the group-project became a classroom where members would learn and share experiences then bring their new lessons back to the projects at the household level. As groups became many, a network of farmers' groups was formed. Coordination of groups' activities, provision of practical assistance, facilitation of registration of newly born groups and drawing plans for diversification of group activities became the role of the farmers' network in the Matengo highlands.

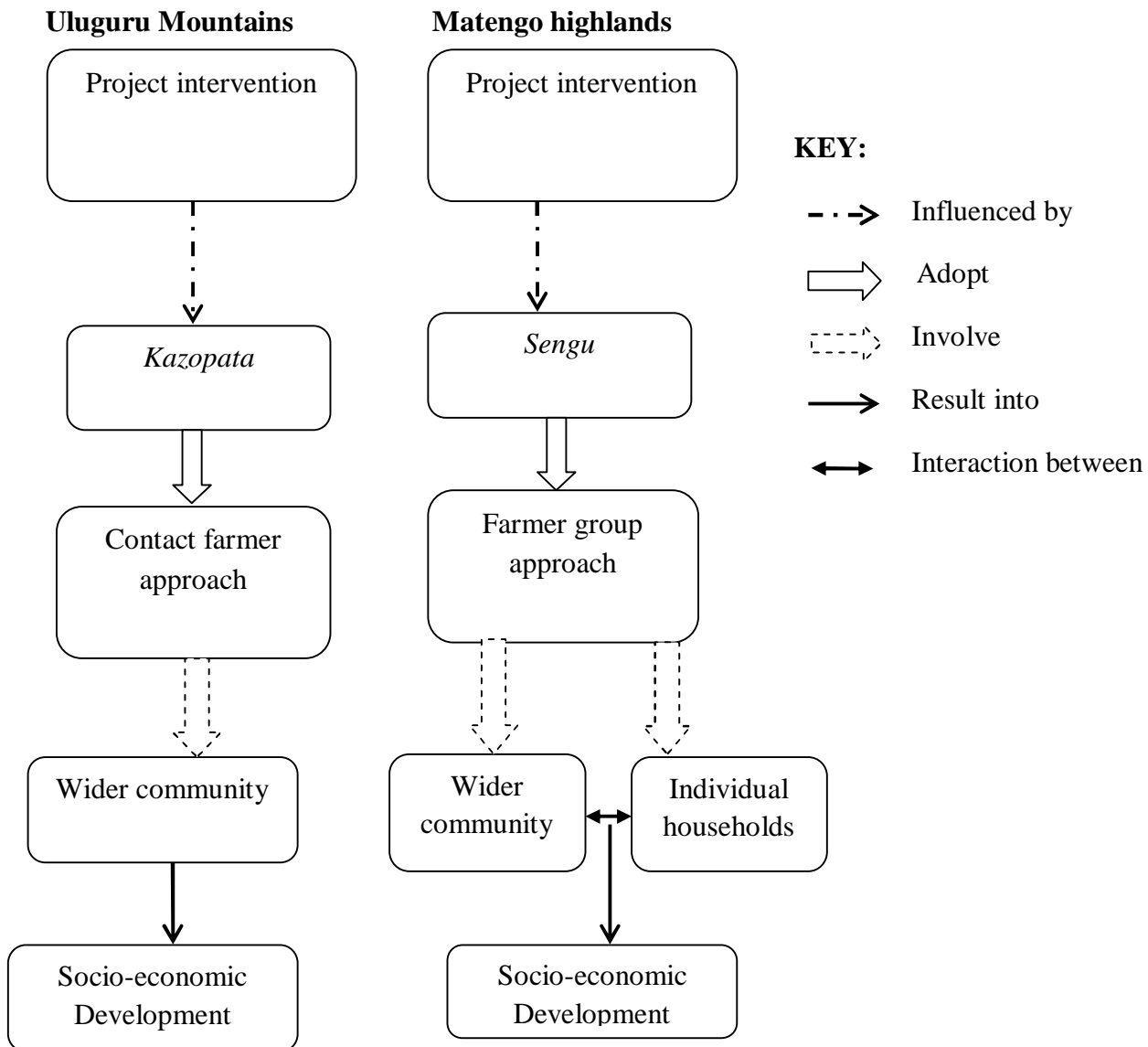


Figure 3: Suggested trajectories for development project intervention in Uluguru Mountains and Matengo highlands.

Proposed project intervention approaches based on *Kazopata* and *Sengu* dimensions

Based on the two culture dimension cases, it seems that among the Matengo community, communalist (farmers’ group) approach appears to be appropriate for development intervention and farmers would thereafter adjust and organize cooperatively to ensure out-scale of benefits towards individual household level. On the other hand, for the Uluguru Mountains the private-based (contact farmer) approach seems to be the appropriate approach for development intervention. Figure 3 therefore shows what this study suggests to guide the development interventions in the two study landscapes.

As indicated in Figure 3, from the Uluguru privatism (individualistic) intervention perspective (using the contact farmers), the project may at latter stage plan to bring a mass of farmers for knowledge sharing with successful private/contact farmers so that the acquired knowledge gets

disseminated to others in the community. On the contrary, for the case of Matengo highlands, from farmers' groups not only a move is made towards households but the groups also influence the birth of new groups and at latter stage the network of parent-offspring groups is established for nurturing and mentoring as well as for sharing experiences (wider-community).

The dominant culture dimension of a specific space of time and place dictates an appropriate mode of intervention by a project. This experience suggests that externally imposed projects need to allocate some resources in terms of time, human and finance to ensure that they seek to identify that dimension prior to massive project implementation. In other words, whereas the project during its planning phase may prioritize an approach for involvement of prospective project beneficiaries, such the approach should be regarded as tentative one. Its confirmation should be made at the pilot phase of project implementation. Some degrees of flexibility should therefore be allowed by the project so that to accommodate potential modifications and adaptations of the project intervention approach in order to enhance the chance of using project inputs efficiently to reach the intended outcomes effectively.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Projects often come with their implementation philosophy and in the contemporary world at projects' disposal are two options of using contact farmers or an organization of farmers such as a farmer group. What seems to be feasible and appropriate for one socio-cultural landscape may not be so for another context. The case of use of farmers' groups approach in Uluguru Mountains and Mbinga highland landscapes both found in Tanzania has substantiated heterogeneous culture dimensions that tend to orient (or disorient) the project interventions. Farmer group approach has appeared to be appropriate for Matengo highland whereas contact-farmer approach seems to be feasible for project intervention in Uluguru Mountains based on different culture dimensions of *Sengu* and *Kazopata*.

This study challenges the existing trade-offs rationale of using either farmer group (communalist) approach or contact farmer (individualist) approach or a various combination thereof based on relative shortcomings and strengths of the two approaches or a project philosophy. It argues that the decision as to which of the two approaches (intervention pathways) should be used has to be dictated by culture dimensions which are dominant within some social-cultural landscapes, identification of which should precede an intervention stage.

It is recommended therefore that before massive project intervention is carried out, it is imperative to carry out a pilot phase for the aim of identifying the dominant culture dimensions of target project implementation landscapes. This will be instrumental for enabling avoidance of potential wastage of scarce time, human and financial resources in the course of actual implementation of the project intervention. It is further recommended that because this study did not rationalize drivers for the observed disparity in the feasibility of farmers' group approach in the two communities of Uluguru and Matengo highlands, future research should take that direction. Similarly, for concrete recommendations on the interaction between project intervention approaches and dominant culture dimensions of different landscapes, there is a need of carrying out further research on this field in Tanzania and elsewhere.

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