The Gambia CDDP baseline: rural household survey, qualitative survey, village network survey
(preliminary: please do not quote without permission)

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Abstract

This report summarizes the results of three baseline surveys undertaken as a first step in the impact evaluation of the Gambia CDDP.

Rural household survey. The baseline survey covered 1,951 households in 6 LGAs and 120 villages evenly split between villages that will and villages that will not be treated by the Gambia CDDP. Highlights of the findings include: (i) very poor access to healthcare, (ii) relatively poor nutritional outcomes for children under 5 years of age, with significant evidence of substantial numbers of underweight and stunted children, (iii) low levels of educational attainment for household heads, a low net school enrollment rate, but a relatively low primary dropout rate, (iv) relatively good access to drinking water with 90% of households having the source of their water within 500m of their home, (v) heterogeneous infrastructure and communications with 25% of villages being inaccessible by road for 6 months of

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the year, but 50% of villages possessing a telecentre, (vi) very low rates of paid employment (18%) and poor housing conditions, (vii) a near-total dependence on agricultural activities, with extremely low median levels of farm sales and access to credit, (viii) low levels of total food expenditures and bimodal distributions of remittance and public/parastatal employment income, which reflect a good deal of monetary income inequality, (ix) relatively low levels of empowerment with 75% of households never having had a member attend a Local Council meeting, (ix) water and agricultural tools and equipment being the most common development priorities of villagers. In almost all cases, there is no statistically significant difference in the means of all outcome variables between treatment and control villages, indicating that the randomized deployment—and thus the statistical validity of the ensuing impact evaluation—is probably secure.

Village network survey. The village network survey investigated the determinants of network structure in a sample of 60 baseline villages using unique data on social interactions along seven different dimensions. At the macro (village) level, income inequality is an important driving force in determining both social network density and social network compactness. Household-level analysis reveals that income per se plays a very limited role in determining an ego’s (i.e. a household’s) degree of centrality, with traditional social roles being the most important factor. Finally, it would appear that there is little interconnection amongst a given household’s various networks.

Qualitative survey. The findings of focus groups (for men, women and young people) organized in 29 baseline villages can be summarized in three key points. First, most focus groups expressed dissatisfaction with the public goods available in the village: most groups were easily able to come up with a ranked list of priorities for their village, and these lists differed by gender and by age. Second, focus groups are roughly evenly split between those who believe that public goods in their respective villages are fairly allocated to all villagers, and those who feel that a good deal of injustice is involved. It will be interesting to see whether, after treatment by the CDDP, villagers become less or more satisfied in the manner by which public goods are allocated and decisions taken at the village level. Third, the focus groups also revealed very little conflict within villages, with a few notable exceptions.

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1 Introduction

This report summarizes the findings of the Gambia CDDP baseline surveys. The report is divided into three sections, corresponding to the three baselines that were carried out:

- (i) the rural household survey (section 2),
- (ii) the village network survey (section 3) and,
- (iii) the qualitative (focus group) survey (section 4).

The worldwide and World Bank context in which the Gambia CDDP is operating is clear. Community Driven Development (CDD) in and of itself is very big business. Today, it represents approximately $2 billion in World Bank annual commitments worldwide (for a survey, see Mansuri and Rao (2004)). Given the absolute magnitude of CDD programs, as well as their very important share of development assistance at the global level, and given that it is unlikely that their importance will decline in the near future, it is of considerable interest to know whether, and how, they work. As such, the evaluation of the Gambia CDDP will contribute to this body of knowledge.

There is a growing controversy surrounding CDD, spurred by the presumption that they are not as "bottom up" as they are meant to be. Indeed, critics of CDD, as well as of similar "participative" approaches, argue that they are not community-driven or -based at all, and that they essentially furnish a thinly-disguised veil behind which local elites or opportunistic development entrepreneurs hijack resources that never reach their intended recipients (Platteau and Gaspart (2003)). This "elite capture" view of CDD operations has also been coupled with the critique that no existing evaluations of CDD
programs allow one to identify any significant gain to their participative element, with respect to "standard", top-down alternatives (Mansuri and Rao (2004)).

In light of these controversies, the Gambia CDDP provides a unique opportunity to assess the impact of CDD, for at least two reasons. First, the program is a randomized intervention at the scale of the entire country country: its randomized nature essentially solves the identification problem in terms of attributing effects of the program. Second, its sheer scale (roughly 2.5% of Gambia’s GDP) is in marked contrast to most CDD interventions, at least in relative terms.

2 Rural household survey

2.1 Sampling frame, questionnaires and lessons to be learnt for the follow-up survey

The sample used in this report corresponds to a total of 1,951 households distributed evenly across 2 wards in each of the six LGAs considered. The sample is evenly balanced between villages that will be treated by the Gambia CDDP (treatment villages) and those that will not (control villages). The total sample surveyed by GBOS involved 146 villages, though logistical problems means that we often have roughly 120 villages to work with. Nevertheless, and despite the extremely haphazard manner in which the dataset was coded by GBOS (which has implied close to 9 months of data cleaning on the part of several of the authors of this report), the statistics presented in what follow indicate that the surveys collected (i) reliable data that squares well with other Gambian sources, and (ii) successfully reflected the randomized nature of the CDDP intervention. The second point is important in that it is essential that there be almost no statistically significant differences between treatment and controls if the randomized nature of the program is to constitute the crux of the ensuing impact evaluation.

A copy of both the village and household questionnaires is included as an appendix to this report (in two separate documents), and was the result of (i) an attempt to harmonize our survey instruments with existing Gambian questionnaires and (ii) extensive field tests by our team. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that, apart from some notable exceptions, GBOS personnel proceeded at almost a snail’s pace in terms of the number of households surveyed by survey worker per day (data coding unfortunately followed the same pattern): in neighbouring countries, the number of households covered per day is twice and often three times as large.

One lesson to be drawn from the survey experience associated with the baseline rural household survey is that some form of structured external assistance will be necessary for the follow-up. This is confirmed by the ease with which the extremely cumbersome

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{Wassenich and Whiteside (2003) and Rawlings, Sherburne-Benz, and Van Domelen (2004) provide assessments of current Bank practices in terms of impact evaluation of CDD programs.}\]
network survey and qualitative data were collected, when we were allowed to (i) select the most competent GBOS survey workers (of whom there are several, and to whom we are eternally indebted) and (ii) pair them up with PhD students.

2.2 Outcome indicators

The outcome indicators provided below closely follow the template kindly provided to us by the CDDP team at the 2009 Addis Ababa World Bank CDD-Agriculture conference.

2.2.1 Social and infrastructure indicators

**Health** Table 1 presents summary statistics, at the village level, of access to three forms of health infrastructure: (i) health centers, (ii) hospitals and (iii) HIV/AIDS centers. We provide means (with the corresponding standard deviation in parentheses below) for treatment villages and control villages, as well as the \( p \)-value of the test of the difference in means between treatment and controls. If the randomization of the CDDP was properly carried out, and if our survey data accurately reflect this, there should be no statistically significant difference, at usual levels of confidence, between treatment villages and control villages. In concrete terms, this means that it is highly desirable that the \( p \)-value associated with the test of equality of means not fall below 0.05. In almost of the cases presented in this report, this is, thankfully, the case.

As illustrated by Table 1, rural Gambians have relatively little access to healthcare facilities (and this is reflected in the focus group discussions described later on in this report). 16.6% of CDDP treatment villages possess a health center, with the corresponding number for controls being 10.5% (the difference between the two is not statistically significant at the usual levels of confidence). Indeed, as indicated by the second line of the same Table, most Gambian villages are almost 8km from a health center.

Unsurprisingly, the situation is even more dire when it comes to hospitals, with 3% of villages having access to a hospital for the control group (the corresponding number being 0% for the treatment group), and the distance separating villages from a hospital is extremely large: 22km and 28km for treatment and control villages, respectively (again, the difference is not statistically significant at the usual levels of confidence).

The same is true for the presence of an HIV/AIDS center. Almost no villages possess one, and they are located far away.

The second measure of health reported in this report is devoted explicitly to children. As was noted in the original technical proposal, there are at least three reasons for collecting anthropometric data on children under 5 years of age:

- child anthropometrics are an extremely good synthetic indicator of household welfare; there are several reasons for this, which essentially boil down to the determinants of child health, which are: (i) household income/expenditures, (ii) maternal
Table 1: Access to health infrastructure. Village-level data. Number of observations in square brackets.

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<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Treatment − control p-value</th>
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<td>0.166 (0.375)</td>
<td>0.105 (0.309)</td>
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<td>[60]</td>
<td>[57]</td>
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<td>Distance to health centers (km)</td>
<td>7.840 (6.379)</td>
<td>7.990 (8.547)</td>
<td>0.460</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>0.000 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.035 (0.185)</td>
<td>0.927</td>
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<td>[60]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distance to hospitals</td>
<td>22.542 (16.386)</td>
<td>28.068 (36.144)</td>
<td>0.146</td>
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<td>[59]</td>
<td>[51]</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS center</td>
<td>0.033 (0.181)</td>
<td>0.035 (0.1856)</td>
<td>0.520</td>
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<td>[60]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distance to HIV/AIDS center</td>
<td>16.919 (14.139)</td>
<td>23.943 (36.261)</td>
<td>0.090</td>
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education, (iii) access to basic health services and potable water, and (iv) the relative power of women within the household; most CDD programs will affect all of these factors;

- since it is usually difficult to find direct measures of female empowerment using standard household survey instruments, child anthropometrics provide an intermediate indicator that will capture any intra-household changes in allocations induced by the program that might otherwise go undetected;

- previous experience suggests that CDD programs often generate benefits to households through female empowerment that do not translate into increases in household income.

In concrete terms, collecting child anthropometric data involves measuring the height and weight of all children under 5 years of age. These measurements are then translated into "z-scores" (based on a reference population of adequately nourished children that is available from the WHO —free software is available to perform these calculations), the most commonly used metrics being height-for-age (HAZ —also known as "stunting", a good measure of long-term nutritional status that depends upon the child’s entire nutritional and health history), weight-for-age (WAZ —also known as "underweight", a good measure of short-term nutritional status).
Figures 1 and 2 present the distribution of the HAZ and WAZ for children under five years of age in the baseline survey. The solid line corresponds to children in treatment villages and the dotted line to children in control villages. Two aspects of these figures are noteworthy. First, they are significantly shifted to the left of the zero: this means that a majority of Gambian children under five years of age are indeed undernourished in that their $z$-scores are negative. Second, the treatment and control densities display almost perfect overlap: there is little apparent difference in the distribution of child health across villages according to (future) treatment status.

![The distribution of HAZ in the baseline](image)

**Figure 1:** The distribution of HAZ in the baseline.

Table 2 provides summary statistics on these anthropometric measures, disaggregated by sex and by the severity of malnutrition. The average value of HAZ is equal to $-1.268$ with the corresponding figure being $-1.426$ for WAZ. This indicates that severe malnutrition of children in our baseline data is likely. That this is indeed the case in confirmed by the fact that almost one third of children have either a HAZ or a WAZ below $-2$ and roughly 10% are below $-3$ – an indication of severe malnutrition as reflected in anthropometric data. There are statistically significant differences between treatment and control villages in terms of WAZ below $-3$, but the magnitude of the difference
The distribution of WAZ in the baseline
Solid line: CDDP villages
Dotted line: Control group villages

Figure 2: The distribution of WAZ in the baseline.

is, from the physiological standpoint, marginal (the same can be said of the difference between treatment and control villages for male WAZ on average).

Another interesting aspect of the results is that the anthropometric outcomes tend to be better for girls than for boys. Contrary to popular belief, but in complete conformity with data from other African countries collected over the past 50 years, very young females tend to fair better, in anthropometric terms, than young males.\footnote{An important point to keep in mind for all of the individual- or household-level variables that follow in this report is that we cluster standard errors at the village level in order to account for common village shocks that affect all individuals living in a given village. This is crucial given that both the CDDP intervention itself and the randomization were carried out at the village level.}

**Education**  Tables 3 and 4 provide evidence concerning access to education at the village level and educational outcomes at the individual level. As should be obvious from the statistics presented in Table 3, access to lower basic school in the villages included in the baseline runs at approximately 40%, while access rates tend towards 90% for basic
Table 2: Child health. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child health</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Treatment − Control [p-value]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAZ</td>
<td>−1.268</td>
<td>1.466</td>
<td>0.072 [0.431]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAZ</td>
<td>−1.426</td>
<td>1.493</td>
<td>0.106 [0.244]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAZ (male)</td>
<td>−1.348</td>
<td>1.471</td>
<td>0.027 [0.797]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1,218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAZ (female)</td>
<td>−1.188</td>
<td>1.458</td>
<td>0.113 [0.333]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1,217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAZ (male)</td>
<td>−1.514</td>
<td>1.433</td>
<td>0.225 [0.026]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1,198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAZ (female)</td>
<td>−1.339</td>
<td>1.545</td>
<td>−0.012 [0.916]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1,226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAZ &lt; −2</td>
<td>0.299</td>
<td>0.458</td>
<td>−0.029 [0.314]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAZ &lt; −3</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.308</td>
<td>−0.014 [0.430]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAZ &lt; −2</td>
<td>0.344</td>
<td>0.475</td>
<td>−0.042 [0.168]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAZ &lt; −3</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.340</td>
<td>−0.048 [0.013]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 2,424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
government school. Basic private schools are almost non-existent, while basic missionary schools are available in roughly 10% of the villages that we surveyed.

As one moves up the educational ladder, access rates drop, as one would expect: for upper basic school, the access rate varies between 20% (for treatment villages) and 12% (for control villages), with this difference being statistically insignificant at the usual levels of confidence. For senior school the access rates drop even further, to around 7%. There are slightly significant differences between treatment and control villages in terms of distance to lower basic school (1.7km for treatment villages and 2.3km for control villages), but this difference of 600m would not appear to be particularly worrisome in terms of the validity of the underlying randomization. The same can be said for the distance upper basic school.

As displayed in Table 4, the educational attainment of rural Gambian household heads is relatively low (and is not surprising given their age profile—see the statistics reported in the village network survey portion of this report): roughly 10% of household heads have
Basic school attainment of household head (primary grade 6 or more) $N = 1,919$

Basic school attainment above the age 25 (primary grade 6 and more) $N = 6,264$

Children of primary school age attending primary school (net school enrolment rate) $N = 3,124$

Primary school dropout rate for children of primary school Age 7 – 12 $N = 1,227$

Table 4: Education indicators. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

completed primary grade 6 or more. Indeed, this is a characteristic of most of the adult rural population, as shown by the next line in the Table: 90% of the adult population of 25 years of age or more has not gone beyond primary grade 6.

More worrisome from the medium- to long-run perspective is that the net enrollment rate is relatively low: only 57.2% of primary school aged children are actually attending primary school. Those who do attend, on the other hand, would appear to stick to it: the dropout rate for children aged 7 to 12 standard at approximately 6%. This suggests that while around 40% of primary school aged children do not attend primary school, those who do at least complete that cycle of education. Note finally that there are no statistically significant differences, at the usual levels of confidence, between individuals in treatment and individuals in control village, in terms of educational outcomes.

**Water and sanitation** Table 5 provides evidence at the household level concerning access to clean water and to sanitation facilities. On average, 72.6% of the households in the baseline have access to an improved source of water. Access is slightly (10%) better for treatment than for control villages, with this difference being significant at the 7% level of confidence.

Table 5 also provides disaggregated information on the distance separating households from their drinking water. As is evident from the Table, more than 90% of households surveyed have water within less than 500m of their dwelling, though only 10% actually have access to water within their house or compound. Only 1.6% of households have
Table 5: Access to water and sanitation. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

to travel more than 1000m for drinking water. Though these numbers may appear worrisome to some, they do indicate that most rural Gambian households have to travel a relatively short distance in order to procure drinking water. It will be interesting to see, in terms of the projects chosen by villages that will be treated by the CDDP, how many actually chose to invest in water, rather than in some other form of basic infrastructure. By means of comparison, in neighbouring Senegal, roughly 30% of treated villages invested in a well or borehole.

Table 5 also reveals that 76% of households have some form of access to improved sanitation facilities for excreta disposal, and that only 15% of households do not have access to a toilet. Note, be it in terms of distance to drinking water or in access to toilet facilities, that there are no statistically significant differences between households residing in treatment and households residing in control villages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communication and Roads</th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>( p )-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tele centre</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td>0.5178</td>
<td>0.765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.501)</td>
<td>(0.504)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[60]</td>
<td>[56]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal service</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.187)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[60]</td>
<td>[56]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village has been accessible by vehicle for more than 6 months</td>
<td>0.766</td>
<td>0.803</td>
<td>0.683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over the last year</td>
<td>(0.426)</td>
<td>(0.400)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[60]</td>
<td>[56]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Communication and roads. Village-level data. Number of observations in square brackets.

**Roads and communications** Table 6 provides evidence on communications and road access for villages included in the baseline. While 45% of villages included in the sample possess a tele centre, only 1.6% have access to the postal service.

The last item in the table concerns an objective measure of the access by the village to the nation’s road network and the extent to which it is connected physically to the outside world: 76% of the villages in the baseline are accessible by vehicle for more than 6 months over the past year. The flipside to this is that approximately 24% of villages are not, and are thus largely cut off from the outside world during half of the year.

Note that there are no statistically significant differences, at the usual levels of confidence, between treatment and control villages in terms of roads and communications access.

**Employment and housing** Table 7 presents information concerning employment. Much more detailed information on this aspect of rural Gambian life is available in that the rural household survey was twinned with an employment survey (this was necessary in order to be able to carry out the survey before disbursement began). According to our survey results, 76% of individuals in our baseline data (this corresponds to adults) were economically active during the previous month. Though this number is encouraging, the prevalence of work for pay is much lower: only 18.5% of adults surveyed reported working for pay during the previous month. Note that this number may constitute an underestimate in that a significant proportion of prime-age individuals migrate during the tourist season to Banjul in order to seek out paid employment. However, the relatively low level of paid employment in rural areas does reflect the dependence on unpaid agricultural activities that will be highlighted below.

The final section of the table indicates that the housing situation is relatively precarious: only 15.% of households reported living in a cement house.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment and housing</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Treatment − Control [p-value]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active over the last month</td>
<td>0.769</td>
<td>0.421</td>
<td>−0.032 [0.366]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 8,889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked for pay over the last month</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.388</td>
<td>−0.028 [0.315]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 8,874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement house</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td>0.364</td>
<td>0.006 [0.858]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1,936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Employment and housing. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

As with the previous sections, no statistically significant differences between individuals (or households) living in treatment and control villages was detected, at the usual levels of confidence.

2.2.2 Economic indicators

Agriculture  Table 8 reports summary statistics concerning the agricultural activities of households in the baseline. Unsurprisingly, more than 90% of the household in the survey are engaged in crop farming (the bulk of the rest are engaged in fishing activities). There is no statistically significant difference between treatment and control households in this respect.

The mean level of average household farm sales per annum stands at roughly 10,000 Dalasis, though this figure is misleading, and is pulled upwards by a relatively small number of large farmers who, in addition, belong to the CDDP treatment group. That this is case is reflected in three other statistics presented in the Table. First, median household farm sales per annum stand at 3,000 Dalasis (a much more reasonable figure): the mean is thus much larger than the median. Second, the standard deviation of household farm sales is enormous, and stands at 94,000 Dalasis: this too indicates that the mean does not reflect the conditions of the median household and is entirely an artifact of a small number of outliers. Third, when one explicitly tests whether treatment and control households are different in terms of farm sales, the mean difference is large (and stands at 10,665 Dalasis), but is in no way statistically significant. The upshot is that there is no statistically significant difference between treatment and control households in terms of annual farm sales, and that the median household in our baseline earns approximately 3,000 Dalasis per annum from farm sales.

The results presented in Table 9 provide one possible explanation for this extremely low level of agricultural productivity, at least insofar as this is reflected in the value of
### Table 8: Agriculture. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Treatment − Control [p−value]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household in crop farming</td>
<td>0.910</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.013 [0.660]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average household farm sales per annum</td>
<td>10,066</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>94,684</td>
<td>10,665 [0.339]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9: Finance. Village-level data. Number of observations in square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>p−value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village credit association</td>
<td>0.100 (0.302)</td>
<td>0.196 (0.400)</td>
<td>0.927 [60] [56]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to finance</td>
<td>5.840 (3.986)</td>
<td>12.402 (22.680)</td>
<td>0.031 [44] [36]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of village-level information, only 10 to 20% of villages possess a village credit association (the difference between the treatment and control villages is not statistically significant), and are located relatively far from the nearest source of credit. Though the difference in distance between treatment and control villages is statistically significant at the 3% level of confidence (with the distances being roughly 6 and 12km, for treatment and control villages, respectively), this difference is not particularly worrisome in terms of the future identification strategy upon which the impact evaluation will be based: the sample of villages concerned is much reduced (a total of 80 villages, 44 treatment and 36 control) given that many villages were completely unaware of the where the nearest source of finance was located.

**Household expenditures**  Figure 3 displays the distribution of total food expenditures (purchases and own production valued at market prices, over the previous month) for households included in the baseline survey (the expenditures are expressed in logarithms so as to avoid depicting a density that would be unreadable in that it is extremely skewed to the left if expenditures are left in levels). As reported in Table 10, the mean level of total food expenditures stands at 2,966 Dalasis, with the median being slightly lower, at 2,328 Dalasis. As should be obvious from the p−value of the test statistic associated with a test for the equality of the means of the treatment and control annual farm sales (self-consumption is also a major issue, which we shall deal with below).
groups, there is no statistically significant difference. This is also visually apparent in terms of the densities represented in Figure 3: the solid (treatment group) and dotted (control group) distributions are virtually identical. The ratio of own-produced to total food expenditures stands at roughly 30% and is not statistically different in the two groups of households. There is a slight difference (of 461 Dalasis, which is significant at the 4% level of confidence) in terms of purchased food between the treatment and control groups, though this is manifestly compensated by the difference (which goes in the opposite direction) in terms of own-produced food.

The second part of Table 10 provides information on three sources of household income: (i) remittances, (ii) public or parastatal employment and (iii) non-farm enterprises. Figures 4 and 5 provide the distributions (estimated, as done in the other figures, using kernel densities) of income stemming from these two sources (as with total food expenditures, these figures are drawn after transforming the variables into logarithmic form).

Three comments are in order concerning the second part of Table 10 and Figures 4 and 5. First, remittance and non-farm enterprise income are roughly similar, on average, in
magnitude (1,429 and 1,337 Dalasis, respectively), with income from public or parastatal employment coming far behind (364 Dalasis during the previous month, on average). Second, these distributions are bimodal. This is apparent in terms of the difference between mean and median values, with the median lying far below the mean. Third, this bimodality is all the more apparent in Figures 4 and 5: many households receive almost no income at all from remittances or public/parastatal employment, as evidenced by the sharp "bump" in the distributions of both variables at zero, while other households receive relatively large sums (as shown by the right-hand "bump" in the distributions).

Note also that, at conventional levels of confidence, there are no statistically significant differences between treatment and control households in terms of these three sources of income.
2.2.3 Empowerment and governance

Tables 11 and 12 present evidence on empowerment and governance for the villages and households included in the baseline. Table 11 reveals that roughly 60% of villages in the baseline are populated by inhabitants who are very eager to be informed about the public affairs of the village, whereas roughly 70% of villages have populations that are very eager to express their opinions about public affairs. Given that this information comes from village leaders, there is some doubt as to whether it reflects actual behavior.

That this is indeed the case is revealed in Table 12, which shows that while almost 90% of households declare being willing to participate in construction work for the community, only 19% of households have a male member who has ever attended a Local Council meeting. This number falls to below 5% when it concerns participating female members (76% of households report never having had any household member attend a Local Council meeting). Thus, while villagers would appear to be very eager to participate and express their opinions in theory, the picture changes once concrete behavior (involving the opportunity cost of actually attending a meeting) is taken into
Figure 5: The distribution of income from public and parastatal employment.

Such behavior will necessarily transpire into the level of transparency of local government institutions, and it will be extremely interesting to see whether treatment by the CDDP raises participation levels, especially amongst women. Note that households in treatment communities are slightly (6%) more likely to have participated in an LC meeting: this might be an early indication that treatment by the CDDP (given that many households at the time of the survey were aware that they were going to receive support in the future) does indeed strengthen participation in local political institutions.

In terms of social cohesion and participation in various networks, the reader is referred to section 3 of this report dealing with the village network survey, in which this issue is dealt with at great length.

2.2.4 Development priority indicator

Tables 13 and 14 present evidence on development priorities at the village and individual levels in the baseline. Two findings stand out. First, be it based on village or individual
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance, Participation and Empowerment</th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>( p )-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village level information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village whose habitants are very eager to be informed about the public affairs of the village</td>
<td>0.600 (0.494)</td>
<td>0.578 (0.498)</td>
<td>0.409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village where habitants are very eager to express their opinions about public affairs</td>
<td>0.683 (0.469)</td>
<td>0.736 (0.444)</td>
<td>0.735</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Governance, Participation and Empowerment. Village-level data. Number of observations in square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance, Participation and Empowerment</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Treatment − Control</th>
<th>( p )-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household level information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals are willing to volunteer for construction work for the community</td>
<td>0.979</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.140</td>
<td>−0.003</td>
<td>[0.545]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of participation in politics by gender: have you or anyone in your household ever attended a Local Council meeting?</td>
<td>N = 3,275</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.395</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>[0.002]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>−0.0006</td>
<td>[0.959]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households where no member has ever attended a Local Council meeting</td>
<td>N = 1,821</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.760</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.427</td>
<td>−0.066</td>
<td>[0.008]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Governance, Participation and Empowerment. \( p \)-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.
Table 13: Development priorities for household heads and villages. Standard errors clustered at the village level in parentheses. Number of observations in square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development priority indicators for village</th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>p–value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority No 1: water</td>
<td>0.333</td>
<td>0.192</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.475)</td>
<td>(0.398)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[60]</td>
<td>[57]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priority No 2: agricultural tools and equipment</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>0.140</td>
<td>0.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.375)</td>
<td>(0.350)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[60]</td>
<td>[57]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Development priorities for household heads and villages. p-value of difference between treatment and controls calculated by clustering standard errors at the village level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development priority indicators for individuals</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Treatment − Control</th>
<th>p–value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority No 1: water</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.409</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>[0.044]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 3, 293</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priority No 2: agricultural tools and equipment</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.317</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>[0.809]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 3, 293</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(adult) level data, all communities in the sample place access to water as their No. 1 priority, followed by agricultural tools and equipment. Second, there is a slightly greater tendency of CDDP treatment villages to place water as their number one priority, again whether one looks at this using village or individual level data.

3 Village network survey

Given the mobilization of social dynamics through the participative nature of the CDD programs is a key mechanism through which such programs are supposed to operate, it is of great interest to study how social network architecture, group membership, assortative matching mechanisms and other related components vary according to treatment status by a CDD program. The Gambia CDDP, because of its randomized implementation mechanism, provides an extremely promising context in which to study the impact of treatment by CDD on social dynamics in the West African context.
Our objective with the village network survey was to: (i) prepare a methodology to measure the CDDP’s impacts on social dynamics and (ii) to carry out the baseline data collection in accordance with that methodology.

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Sample

62 villages, mainly in rural areas, of the Gambia were selected from three groups:

- already eligible for the CDDP (first treated group);
- eligible for CDDP next year (second treated group);
- non-eligible for CDDP (control group).

2 villages were used for the field test of the questionnaires.

The procedure to select the villages was as follows:

1. Focus on wards with both treatment and control villages with a population between 300 and 1,000 inhabitants (according to the Gambia’s National Census 2003). Indeed, since randomization was done within wards we need a balanced sample at the ward level.

2. If some of the baseline villages fit those criteria, keep them and then randomly select villages within the same wards (either treatment or control) to get a balanced sample for those wards.

3. Complement by randomly selecting wards with such villages.

4. Randomly select villages within those wards.

The villages were surveyed in two rounds. The first in March-April 2009, were 15 villages of the first treated group and 15 controls were included. The second round was conducted between May and June 2009, were 15 villages of the two treated groups and 15 controls were interviewed. The first round of data collection focused on the second treated group (i.e., those villages in which project implementation was expected to start in late 2009) and the control group. The second round focused on the first treated group (i.e., those villages in which project implementation started in late 2008) and the control group. This additional data collection will allow us to get a sense of the preliminary project impacts on social dynamics.
3.1.2 Survey Instruments

Given the way the data were collected, we developed a basic survey questionnaire that captures the basic household characteristics and a set of matrices designed to measure the structure of different social and economic networks. In addition, we performed a series of Focus Groups in each village of the first round, with the goal to better understand qualitative aspects of the village social dynamic and the possible impacts of the CDDP. This qualitative work is described in section 4 of this report.

The survey instruments were pilot-tested on randomly selected households in two villages that are not included in the final sample. The final network survey instrument is included as a separate document alongside this report, but it may be useful to provide a brief overview:

The basic survey

- Basic household and household head demographic information. Wealth category, household size, age of household head, education of household head, whether household head is a woman, polygamous or monogamous household, amount of land owned, amount of land operated, ethnic group, religious affiliation, occupational/sectoral category, remittance, information source for government and politics; intensity in the use of cell phone (just for the second part).

- Taxation information: Compound Tax, Cattle Tax, Fire Insurance

- Membership in various village-level groups: extent of ties with traditional village authorities, extent of ties with elected village authorities, extent of ties with elected ward authorities,

- Official position of household head, household member, and relative

- Social status of household head, household member, and relative. Traditional medicine healer.

- Participation in CDD-linked activities;

- Village level information: Village population, land area, public goods amount and type, three major product market, land ownership system, GPS measure the actual size of the village and the number of households. This will allow us to calculate population density of the village as well as relative geographical position within the village.

The most innovative aspect of the village network survey is constituted by the "matrix census" of each village. This involves, for every household in the village, collecting information on 7 forms of interaction with other households. The matrices we considered were as follows:
• Matrix 1: Land lend-out or borrow-in among villagers in past year (2008-9)
• Matrix 2: Labor exchange with other villagers’ household and outsider.
• Matrix 3: Production means (tools & fertilizer, etc.) lend-out or borrow-in among villagers in past year (2008-9)
• Matrix 4: martial relationship of family members with villagers and outsider
• Matrix 5: kindred relationship of family members with villagers and outsider
• Matrix 6: public services inquiry and complain channel
• Matrix 7: money lend-out or borrow-in among villagers in past year (2008-9)
• Matrix 8: Immediate neighbour compounds (just second part)
• Matrix 9: Immediate neighbour agricultural plots (just second part)

3.1.3 Data Collection, inputting and cleaning

After the sampling frame and the survey instruments finalized, we collected the baseline data. The data collection was coordinated and undertaken concurrently as much as possible. The data were then cleaned and inputted in a digital form.

As mentioned before, there are two manners of studying social dynamics at the village level. The first relies on standard household survey data, in which a random sample of, say, 20 households is collected in each village. These data are of the type that was collected in the survey conducted as part of the baseline for the CDDP impact evaluation in The Gambia, and described in Section 2 of this report. As we will see, such data allow one to study those household characteristics that affect the likelihood of various group memberships.

The second method involves carrying out villages censuses, in which relatively coarse information— with a particular focus on social networks and group memberships—is collected on all household in each village. Given the cost associated with such data collection, standard survey methods cannot be used. Instead, indirect informant methods, commonly used by sociologists and anthropologists, are used. This approach has been successfully used by the principal investigator in Burkina Faso and Senegal (Arcand and Fafchamps, 2008) dealing with analysis of membership in rural producer organizations, revealing that the margin of error, when dealing with simple socio-economic household characteristics, is not great when compared to standard household surveys. Therefore, the method is a cost-effective manner of gathering essential information on a very large number of households.

In our project, we chose to use the second approach. The data collection has been organized as follows:
• the use of two informants-enumerators who spend several days in each village; 1 to 2 days per village are usually sufficient;

• the informants, with the approval of village authorities (and usually after offering a symbolic gift to the village), organize a series of meetings in a central village location in which a list of all households in the village is compiled; if census data exist on the village, this step is greatly facilitated;

• either one enumerator asks the questions, while the other informant simultaneously fills out the questionnaires, or the villagers are divided in two groups, one with each enumerator;

• relying on the social pressures induced by such a large-scale village gathering, the informants elicit accurate information on all households in the village;

More details about the data collection can be found in the Field Training Manual in Appendix A.

The original data were collected on large sheets of paper. The digitalization of this data was done by two of the enumerators that participated in the project, under the supervision of Dany Jaimovich.

3.2 Logistics and field work details

3.2.1 General observations

• Village census setting: As mentioned, the core of the village census is to utilize group pressure to reveal better information than regular individual survey. With this principle in mind, it would be optimal to gather all villagers at the same time while conducting the census. In practice, it is difficult to do so since village chefs may not be able to inform all the villagers even surveyors have made effort to notify the village chefs before they arrive. There are various reasons that villagers may not arrive to the village census on time. For example, the time concept for villagers may not be that accurate; as a result, consultants may need to start the census even not all household heads were presented in the meeting. Fortunately, most of the time, there are enough villagers to generate the social dialogues and keep the village census work. Also, some of the villagers may be out of town at that moment. In this case, we would have their wives to respond to the census and have given a note for these cases.

• Data collection strategy in the field: Due to the time limit of each village visit and the work pressure, consultants have been using two enumerators to conduct the census simultaneously. We found this way could not only speed up the village census but also enhances the dialogues during the census.

• Quality of the enumerators: This is a key factor. The human capital we found was above any expectation and helped us enormously in the implementation of
survey. The 10 candidates we interviewed after our arrival were very qualified and experienced. Even the selection process was somehow improvised, it helped in measure some basic skills we needed in the enumerators and the selection was fairly successful. Due to the quality of the enumerators, we changed the team composition and decided to work with two enumerators. Apart from qualified, the enumerators showed to be proactive and independent workers, that improved their performance from one village to another and helped us in modify the questioner and the planning of the work. The enumerators team was composed by:

- Saikou Jawara
- Pa Alieu Fye
- Antou Faal
- Amie Bojang

The details of the process to select the enumerators can be found in Appendix B.

- Logistics: The help of the CDDP people and GBoS was crucial. For the former, the participation of the CDOs in informing the villages and helping to find a place to stay for the team was very important. Even we had some problems with villages that were not informed, generally the communication worked well (and even if the alkalo was not informed, to gather the households head proved not to be a problem in this time of the year). The collaboration of GBoS in finding the enumerators candidates, the driver, and renting us an office and car was very useful. However, sometimes the maps we were provided were not precise. Sika Bajonki village did not exist anymore as a separate entity since it merged with the neighbourhood village to form simply Sika. Some villages did not actually belong to the indicated ward (Sare Louba and Sare Yero Tako do not belong to Bansang ward) so they were replaced (with Boraba and Toubanding).

- The village chief: the village chief, "Alkalo," is the key to the success of the village census. The village chief not only help to gather the village but also help to reveal some important village level information such as tax information and land ownership system. However, the present of the village chief may affect some of the questions accuracy. For example, when we ask “What are your TWO main sources of information about the government and politics?”, most of the respondent reported “village chief.”

- Proximity to the rainy season (second round survey): Although generally the people from the villages were willing to collaborate in an incredible manner, due to the upcoming rainy season – some people were difficult to find since they were already working in the field, cleaning up and preparing for the rainy season. Also, this may have caused the fact that we do not have a very reduced number of proxy answers – it was not rare that the household head was unreachable - working in the field.
Charity expectations (second round survey): Even though many precautions were undertaken in order to avoid creating charity expectations, we had some instances when there was a general delusion faced in the village when the people were precisely explained what the survey was about. A very good example of a notable influence of high expectations on the survey outcome was Sika village – where quite a few people were reluctant to reply at first, after realizing that we were not there to provide them with fertilizers or anything regarding their immediate and concrete needs.

3.2.2 Specific observation: general village census and GPS measurement

- Unit of measurement: household versus compound. Related to the relevant level of aggregation either in household or compound, in all the communities we visited we found that both units were almost synonymous, since usually very few compounds were in fact multi-households (usually just 2 or 3 per village) and if they were, rarely more than two households exited within a compound, and these households were closely related (mainly blood ties). Because of that, one of our main concerns, the relevant unit of measurement, was not relevant at the end and some questions designed to capture the potential interaction among households within a compound, like question number 19, “Is your household usually involve in collective farm work within your compound?,” will probably be uninformative.

- The use of GPS: our first attempt was to draft a village map with all the compound locations and measure distance to each other. But the work was too painful and time demanding. Instead, we decided to use the GPS to measure the village surface, so we can have population density. Since the villages in the sample were small (usually less than 1000 inhabitants and less than 100 households), an accurate measure of compound distances might not be too important to explain different social interactions. Nevertheless, to test if this is the case, in the second round of interviews we incorporated two additional matrices that collect information about direct neighbor compounds and agricultural plots.

3.2.3 Specific observation: Matrix census

- Matrix 1: lending and borrowing of land seems working fine. However, there also involved in the "land ownership problem" that some household reported that they does not "own" any land in the "general information section"; however, they could "lend" some land to others. It is because in some villages closer to the urban area, their brought land for their household but cultivate agricultural product in their compound which are not considered as "agricultural land." We have tried to capture these issues by having more detail village information from Alkalo.

- Matrix 2: In Matrix 2, even the original question was intended to the household head, we start finding that other household members (and more than one) can work
for other compounds. In order to capture this relationship, we told the enumerators to use as measure the unit number of days worked times number of household members working, meaning that if household X worked 10 days for household Y can be either one member working for 10 days or 10 members 1 day (or any combination).

- Matrix 4 and 5: The only problem is with the matrices 4 and 5 (marriage and blood relations with other households) is that the interactions with the outsiders were not properly captured, particularly for matrix 5. We realized this when we checking the answers and few interactions with outsiders appear. After talking this through, it seemed that mostly the enumerators mainly asked to list the blood and marriage relationship within the village, that is, anyway, the most important input.

- Matrix 6: Local public goods provision, people usually refer to "Alkalo" when they want to know some public services from government. It may be true, but not sure. We have requested the surveyors to ask more "alternative means" for public services and it seems that help reveal more information.

- Matrix 7: until the last moment, we had doubt about to incorporate this matrix. Since the villagers in the field test were willing to provide some information about borrow and lend of we decided to keep it. Nevertheless, the results related to this matrix must be taking with caution, since several villagers were reluctant or straightly refuse to give information. For the last villages in the second part, we decided to change the form of the question for this matrix, eliminating the request for the amount of money involved and just registering if the transaction happened.

- Matrices 8 and 9: No important problems in these matrices were registered, and people were very willing to reply. The only inconvenient was about the precise definition of “neighbor”, were we try to keep the one(s) that is(are) right next to the compound or plot.

In Appendix C we present the reports of different members of the project that provides more insights and details about the field work.

### 3.3 Preliminary analysis of the network data

#### 3.3.1 Final sample used in the network analysis

60 Gambian villages, mainly in rural areas, were randomly selected. In order to achieve a modicum of representativity at the national level, for each of the 6 Local Government Areas (LGAs) of the Gambia we randomly selected wards and then villages within those wards.

Our sample consists of 3,320 households. We were particularly careful to minimize selection problems by attempting to interview all households. When a household head
was not able (or refused) to answer, we allowed someone else to answer for him (or her), usually either another household member or a close relative.

Another issue concerns the level of aggregation at which responses are registered. Villagers in rural Gambia are usually organized into compounds, a concept which corresponds to a group of huts surrounded by a grass fence. Usually a compound can be identified as a household, meaning that people eat together and organize daily activities in common. Nevertheless, it is sometimes the case that some members of a compound declare themselves to be an independent household, with their own household head. This distinction was in most cases clear to the village chief (alkalo) and all other village inhabitants.

3.3.2 Literature review

In his pathbreaking article about the "embeddedness" of economic interactions, Granovetter (1985) pointed to a great divide in the economics literature of the time. On the one hand, the "undersocialized" view of neoclassical models, in which agents are treated as atomized entities where social structure plays no role. On the other, the "oversocialized" view of new institutional economics, in which institutionalized social structures dominate human actions. The real world must then lie somewhere between the two extremes, with rapidly changing social structures defined by apparently unstable interactions and multiple links among agents, thereby creating dynamic and overlapping mesostructures.

During the past two decades, the economics literature has advanced in terms of filling this gap, particularly with the development of game theory, behavioral economics, information economics and, especially, through the study of social and economic networks. Social Network Analysis (SNA) has been an important component of sociological research for more than a century, but economists have only recently started to incorporate it into their toolkit. While the concept of social capital proposed by Putnam (1995) called attention to SNA, it was the modeling efforts of Jackson and Wolinsky (1996) and Bala and Goyal (2000) that created the bases for the incorporation of networks in economic analysis. Since then, a growing body of theoretical literature has been developed, accompanied by an increasing number of empirical studies that address issues as diverse as job search, criminal activities and the use of the Internet.

In Development Economics, empirical studies of networks have been mainly confined to various forms of sharing arrangements and the diffusion of information. Concerning the former, there is a massive corpus of theoretical work on sharecropping from the 1970s, and important recent empirical studies such as Fafchamps and Gubert (2006) and Dercon and De Weerdt (2006) that have shown the importance of risk-sharing arrangements, while labour-sharing arrangements have been singled out by Krishnan and Sciubba (2009). In

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3In Granovetter (2005) there is a broad ranging summary of the sociological point of view concerning the influence of social networks on economic activity

4For a complete review of the history and recent progresses of SNA in economics, see Jackson (2009).
terms of social networks as the key factor in the transmission of information for technological innovations in agriculture, significant contributions have been provided by Udry and Conley (2004) and Bandiera and Rasul (2006), while Miguel and Kremer (2003) consider the use of various drugs in network-theoretic terms.

However, few studies have tried to understand the joint determinants and interaction of the different networks that overlap in rural economies. To our knowledge, the first empirical attempt to deal with the issue is Udry and Conley (2004). They use data stemming from 4 villages in Ghana to relate four different networks: information, credit, land and labour, finding some preliminary evidence of network interconnection.

Udry and Conley (2004) also explore the determinants of link formation in the different networks, an exercise that a growing number of studies have implemented recently thanks to the development of dyadic regressions techniques. Examples include Arcand and Fafchamps (2008) who consider the determinants of participation in Community Based Organizations in several hundred villages in Burkina Faso and Senegal, and Comola (2008), who examines networks of contacts for potential help in the case of an emergency in a village in rural Tanzania.

Comola (2008) is also related to our study in terms of expanding the concept of a network from a mere collection of dyadic interaction to a more careful analysis of network "architecture", emphasizing that the position of individuals in the network plays a fundamental role in link formation. Similarly, studying labour-sharing arrangements in Ethiopia, Krishnan and Sciubba (2009) note the importance of differences in the symmetry of networks in terms of economic performance, and show how differences in endowments of participants are key determinants of the structure of the network.

3.3.3 Descriptive statistics: population and villages

In Tables 15 and 16 we present descriptive statistics for the data collected using the first survey instrument – the general questionnaire. In the first of these tables we present village-level statistics (60 observations) while in the second we present the household-level data (3,320 observations).

The data on village population available in the 2003 Gambian Census (and which we used to construct our sampling frame) turned out to significantly out of date and, in some cases, very inaccurate. This explains that while we were targeting villages with populations between 300 and 1,000 inhabitants, in practice the smallest village has 202 inhabitants and the largest 1,402. The average population of the surveyed villages is 586 inhabitants. Population density, at least when the denominator is the inhabited area, is high, with an average of 6,900 inhabitants per square kilometer. In contrast, agricultural land was usually very abundant. In most cases, no formal land titles were owned by the villagers, with the exception of suburban areas. Rights over land usage are usually determined by the village alkalo or the council of village elders and, when land transactions
were permitted, land exchange (lending) was intense. The average amount of agricultural land per active worker was around two hectares, when land usage rights for the year of the survey were considered, with a great deal of variation given that the average standard deviation at the village level was 4.6 hectares.

Average household size, on the basis of the household data, is 12.6 members (see Table 16), and slightly lower (11.6) when we consider the mean of village medians reported in 15. While some households appear exceedingly large, we found that respondents were very clear in terms of their definition of a household as a group of people who live in a same compound, eat together and have a common head who takes most important decisions. The presence of households with more than 50 members (approximately 1% of the sample) is explained both by the polygamous nature of Gambian rural society and the existence of marabout households where the household is constituted by a mass of disciples and other followers. 45% of households declare being polygamous and there was at least one marabout in half of the villages in our sample. As is to be expected in West Africa, a very small number of household heads are females (6%), with most of these being concentrated in the peri-urban areas on the outskirts of Banjul (the national capital). These villages also accounted for the few non-Muslims in the sample (3%). As mentioned earlier, the unit of analysis inside the village can be either the compound or the household. In our sample, 84% of household heads were also compound heads.

The economic conditions in the villages in our sample correspond, by and large, to those of traditional rural societies. There is almost no access to electricity, with an average village-level access rate of 3%. 88% of households have no access to an improved source of water, while 38% lack access to a private toilet. 38% of the household dwellings are built with grass. 82% of the population declared having no formal education of any type, although a substantial fraction of the villagers receive some kind of coranic education and usually master basic Arabic language skills. The main economic activity is usually related to agriculture or fisheries, with relatively little variation within villages. Nevertheless, a Herfindahl index of sectoral heterogeneity shows a significant degree of diversity, driven mainly by the presence of inhabitants working outside the village.

Monetary income is very low. The average (self-declared) annual income per capita is 3,565 Gambian Dalasis (3,208 when the village level averages are considered), which corresponds to approximately 90 Euros. Approximately 16% of this income stems from agricultural activities. The distribution of income is, however, not necessarily egalitarian in all villages. Though the average Gini coefficient is 0.34, it reaches 0.5 in some villages. The higher level of inequality reported in some villages is driven by remittances, with around half of the respondents declaring having household members who work outside the village.
3.3.4 Descriptive statistics: networks

In Table 17 we present village-level descriptive statistics for the networks. The first and second columns display the means and standard deviations of the number of links and the density of the network, the latter being the former divided by the possible numbers of links in the network (if \( n \) is the number of nodes, \( \frac{n \times (n - 1)}{2} \) is the total number of possible links). In general, we found networks with very low density, with around 1% for land, labour and credit, 2% for inputs and marriage and 7% for kinship.

In table 18 we present characteristics of the networks at the household level. The basic notion of centrality in the network here is captured by the degree of each ego, the number of effective links over the possible set \((n - 1)\). On average, using the individual household data yields densities that are similar to what was observed when the complete village network was considered, but do display a great deal of variance, indicating that some villagers are more central than others. We also present the percentage of external links, here divided as "external-in" for links created to bring something to the village and "external-out" for lending-giving something/someone from the village. Apart from this decomposition, the patterns revealed using the household-level data resemble those gleaned from the macro-level networks.

3.3.5 Village network structure

We now turn to the analysis of the determinants of village network structure. Our approach will be to take a "network-village" as the unit of analysis, and to investigate the determinants of network characteristics, as summarized in Table 17, using different village characteristics, as summarized in Table 15. When we pool all 6 networks in 60 villages, this yields a total of 360 observations. We take advantage of the stratified nature of our sampling scheme, in which several (3 to 8) villages were drawn within each ward, by including ward-specific fixed effects. Wards tend to be homogeneous in geographical but heterogeneous in socio-cultural terms. We also include network-specific fixed effects, as well as for the predominant ethnic group in the village and the main economic activity (the coefficients associated with these dummies are not reported for the sake of brevity).

In table 19 we present the results when standard errors are clustered at the village level and we estimate over the pooled set of networks (column 1). We then divide our sample into economic networks (land, labour, inputs and credit) and family networks (marriage and kinship). Several different specifications were estimated (available upon request) though we confine our reporting to specifications that were robust to changes in the included explanatory variables.

A first, and unsurprising, result is that network density is decreasing in village population, while this village characteristic does not appear to be a significant determinant of clusterness and compactness. Household size appears to have a significantly positive
effect on network density (again an unsurprising result, since larger households will have more members who can potentially interact with other households in the village). Larger households also yield significantly more clustered networks, particularly when they are economic in nature. Population density has no effects, which is perhaps to be expected since most villages are very densely populated, with relatively little within-sample variation.

In terms of economic variables, income inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, seems to be an important factor in increasing both density and compactness. This is an interesting result that may be driven by the fact that differences in endowments provide incentives to create networks. Moreover, they will tend to be compact, and driven by asymmetric elements and the presence of hubs and spokes (see Krishnan and Sciubba (2009) for more details). Economic concentration initially appears to have a significant effect on clusterness, but the result does not hold when the networks are separated into the economic and family subcategories. Among the various indicators of poverty, the one with the biggest influence would appear to be the lack of access to a private toilet, the indicator which displays the biggest variation amongst villages. The results can be interpreted as follows: poorer villages have denser networks, and the networks are more compact when there is no access to electricity.

Another result that appears to be robust (at least in sign, but not always in statistical significance) is that the percentage of female household heads negatively influences density and clusterness. Semi-urban village networks are denser, a result that seems to be driven the fact that marriages within the village are more common there.

For the rest of the control variables, the results are either unstable or of marginal interest. A final result concerns the importance of external links: though such relationships are seldom statistically significant, they do appear to exert a negative effect on compactness (though the coefficient is not always statistically significant at the usual levels of confidence).

### 3.3.6 Determinants of household centrality

In this section we explore the micro characteristics of the network, using households as our unit of analysis. The main goal is to study the determinants of an ego’s centrality, as measured by the ego’s degree. We will estimate seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) for the six networks, allowing for the interdependence of the networks in terms of statistical inference. We include fixed effects at the village level, as well as for the household head’s ethnic group, educational attainment and economic activity. In the sake of clarity, the regression is presented in three parts: Tables 20, 21 and 22.

In Table 20 we disentangle the effects of external links by including a dummy variable which is equal to 1 if the household has external networks ("in" or "out"); we denote
this variable by $d_{ext}$. Interestingly, an ego's degree appears to be influenced both by the existence of external links in the network in question but also in the others. For example, in the land network, external land transactions in both directions yield a fall in an ego's degree, but external transactions in labour, importing inputs and giving credit have the opposite effect. We take this effect as a first piece of evidence concerning the interconnection of these village networks.

In Table 21 we study how a series of household characteristics impact in network centrality. In terms of monetary income, we divide households into quartiles: relative income appears to have no effect on a household's degree of centrality, with the exception of the middle quartiles in the input network. This result remains unchanged when we replace the quartile dummies with income per capita $\textit{per se}$. Land per worker is not statistically significant either. Household size, as expected, plays a significant positive role in centrality for most of the markets.

In Table 22 we show that the main determinant of household centrality appears to be the traditional role play by the household head in the village more than any measure of wealth. The $\textit{Alkalo}$ always has the highest degree, with the exception of the marriage market. Other heads who play an important social role in the village (such as the assistant-alkalo, the village doctor or the village policeman) also have a higher degree, except for the labour and land markets. Marabouts seem to be important in the credit market, and traditional healers are also well centered in various networks. There is also evidence that the village development council (VDC) head and the members of the VDC enjoy higher degrees of centrality.

3.3.7 The interaction of social networks

While previous sections provide evidence concerning the determinants of network structure, here we explore how interrelated the different networks inside a village are.

A simple first approach is to correlate the household level degrees of centrality, as shown in Table 23. As should be obvious, households that are active in some networks tend to be so in others as well. All correlations are positive and significant at the 5% level of confidence. Interestingly, the magnitude of correlation of the inputs, labour and kinship degrees is very high, a result in line with the high level of clusterness of these networks (see Table 17).

Though suggestive, the results from these simple correlations must be interpreted with caution because of the multiple common determinants of the degree of centrality. An alternative way to look these interactions is to think of the different equations in table 19 as constituting a system of equations. We estimate a 3SLS procedure of the system of equations of the degree of centrality in the network using the external links in each
network as the identifying exclusion restrictions (because of lack of data on external links, we do not include the kinship equation). The results are presented in Table 24, where restrict the reported coefficients to those involving the degree, while including the same controls as in Table 19. The positive relationships between various degrees hold, though some become statistically insignificant at usual levels of confidence, while some became negative, as is the case for the credit-land and marriage-labour interactions. These results leave some degree of uncertainty concerning the possible complementarity amongst the various networks.

Apart from the possible overlap in terms of centrality, it is important to investigate whether actors that actively create links with some villagers in one network maintain the same pattern in other networks. To explore this idea, we calculate the correlations between the vectors of partners for each household head across networks. The result are summarized in Table 25, where all means values are positive, but generally not statistically significant. If we take the median, it is possible to see that for all interactions, except land-inputs and marriage-kinship, at least half of the values are negative, a result that suggests an important degree of independence among the different networks.

4 Qualitative survey

4.1 Introduction

In order to complement the quantitative data collected by the rural household survey, we also organized a series of focus groups in 29 villages. In each village we conducted 3 focus groups: one for men, one for women and one for young people. For each group, we first collected some basic individual information. Then we asked the members of the focus groups 4 common questions. These were followed by 2 or 3 questions that were specific to the groups. In what follows we detail the questions that were addressed to each group. Appendix D provides the detailed focus group results.

Though it is difficult to summarize each and every focus group discussion, two points stand out. First, most focus groups expressed dissatisfaction with the public goods available in the village: most groups were easily able to come up with a ranked list of priorities for their village, and these lists differed by gender and by age. Second, focus groups are roughly evenly split between those who believe that public goods in their respective villages are fairly allocated to all villagers, and those who feel that a good deal of injustice is involved. It will be interesting to see whether, after treatment by the CDDP, villagers become less or more satisfied in the manner by which public goods are allocated and decisions taken at the village level. The focus groups also revealed very little conflict within villages, with a few notable exceptions.

4.1.1 Basic information

- Name of the household
• Age of the participant
• Gender of the participant
• Membership in various village-level groups of the participant
• Occupational/sectoral category of the participant

4.1.2 Four common questions

• Public goods provisions:
  - Do you think the public goods adequate to your community? If not, what will be needed the most? Why? Do you think the use of the existing public goods fair to all villagers? If not, why?
  - Is the current way of public goods provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed? Who (in the village or outside the village) will likely to affect the public goods provision decision making process?

• WDC/VDC questions:
  - Do you think the WDC/VDC is helpful and unbiased toward the need of your community? If not, what is the problem? Is it because of the decision making process or some implementation problems?
  - Do you think the election of the member in the VDC is fair? Do you think that some groups/ kinds of people always elected? Who (in the village or outside the village) will likely to affect the election process? Why?

The followings are the two group-specific questions for four focus groups

4.1.3 Men (aged 30+)

• What are the relationships (or conflicts) between households, between village groups, between the chiefs (administrative and traditional), or between your village and the neighboring villages? What are the causes? Taking examples about the conflicts and disputes.

• What do you think about the evolution of these relationships since 5 years? And what public goods can improve these relationships within the village and between villages?

• (just if any business men present) What do you think about the evolution of the conditions for the development of business since 5 years? And what kinds of public goods are in need to improve the conditions for business development?
4.1.4 Women (aged 30+)

- Taking examples to show the actual state of intra-household life (children learning and living conditions, housework sharing among the members of the household, husband-wife (wives) relationship, health care, etc.)? Asking the question about their awareness about the public goods projects and the means by which they got to know the projects, and the role of the women in the decision making and the implementation of the projects (via, for example the villages groups),.

- What do you think about the evolution of the conditions for women since 5 years? What kinds of projects are in need to improve the most women condition?

- (just if any business women present) What do you think about the evolution of the conditions for the development of business since 5 years? And what kinds of public goods are in need to improve the conditions for business development?

4.1.5 Youth (both men and women, aged 18-25/30)

- Taking examples to show what is the actual conditions for the young people (in intra-household relationship, the condition of life and work of the young, the level of difficulty to find a job, and the facility of access to infrastructures for young (sports, music, discotheque, library, etc.))? What is the role of the young in the decision making and the implementation of the public projects in the village?

- What do you think about the evolution of the conditions for young since 5 years? And what kinds of public goods are in need to improve the conditions for young people?

4.2 Guidance for enumerators

4.2.1 About the two common questions on public goods provision

1. By public goods, we mean all assets to which all villagers have equal rights. These assets in the disposition of all villagers may be owned by the village, by ward or by the state, but never by any individuals. The most important of them are public school, roads, bridges and common land, public sources of water, hospital, house property of the village for meeting and for handling official business, the equipments for collective welfare or for productive purposes owned by the public, etc.

2. About the question 1, some more concrete examples are: among public goods what are not enough? What are lacked the most? What are enough but badly managed (how and why? And finally are villagers equally treated in the use of these public goods (are some in need prevent or limited to use them)?

3. About the question 2, some of the concrete aspects are, for the provision decision of public goods, are there divergences between the villagers (sometimes represented
by villages groups) and the VDC, and (or) between the villagers and the WDC, and (or) between the VDC and the WDC? If yes, what are these divergences? How these divergences have been treated? Which level (grassroots, the CDC or the WDC) is more important and who are the most influent persons for the final decision?

4. In all the six questions, you should try to incite them to explain why. By “why”, we ask them to take the examples or to invoke some phenomenon in the village which can be considered as the consequences or the impact of their judgments (for example: as the consequence of the lack of one more school, some children cannot go to school).

4.2.2 About the two common questions on WDC/VDC

Question 1 concerns the more general judgment about the utility and the impartiality of the VDC and the WDC. In general their bad performance can be analyzed from three points: the election process, the bureaucratic behavior and the information communication process. The first point is clearly expressed in question 2, while the question 1 focuses on the bureaucratic behavior and communication process. Some of the concrete aspects of this question and the question 2 are: Do the members of the VDC and the WDC work hard? Are they often present in village (dialogues with the villagers, rapidity of treating official business, etc.)? Are there some incentive mechanisms to their performance? If they are unfair in their decisions or in corruption, what are the means villagers can use to reclaim, or to correct them? On information communication process, are there enough meetings in the presence of the grassroots? If a villager wants to let the WDC know something, concretely how he processes it? And conversely if the WDC or the VDC wants to let the grassroots know something, concretely and most often how they process it?

4.2.3 About the group-specific questions

These questions have been prepared in more concrete way. The focus for the male group is on conflicts within and among the villages. The focus for female, young and businessmen groups are 1, On their actual conditions, their difficulties in social and economic lives; 2, Their views about the evolution of these conditions during recent 5 years; 3, On their roles of participation in village projects; 4, Their opinion about the public goods in need in the village.
A Field training manual for the enumerators working on the village network survey

A.1 Introduction

The aim of this research project is to study the network of social interactions inside each village and its implications in economic outcomes and possible effects of development projects. Since the subject of study is not typically captured by the standard household surveys, the strategy of the present survey will be different to previous work done by the enumerators.

The methodology of data collection selected for this project involves carrying out village censuses, in which relatively coarse information—with a particular focus on social interactions and group memberships—will be collected on all households in each village. Previous research reveals that that the margin of error, when dealing with simple socio-economic household characteristics, is not great when compared to standard household surveys of the LSMS type. Therefore, the method is a cost-effective manner of gathering essential information on a very large number of households.

In this kind of surveys, compounds/households heads are gather in a meeting point of the village and the questions are asked in groups instead of privately. Relying on the social pressures induced by such a large-scale village gathering, the informants elicit accurate information on all households in the village; the drawback of the strategy is that some information that might be revealed in private will not be released in public.

A.2 Steps to collect the data

The particularities of each village must be recognized at the moments of implement the data collection strategy, and we must be flexible in adapt to the circumstances. Nevertheless, the data collection follows should follow the next basic steps:

1. We will have two teams working in parallel in previously paired (ideally close) villages. Each team will be formed by two enumerators who will spend 1 to 2 days per village.

2. We will always try to sensitize the village before our arrival using our contacts with the Community Development officials at different geographical levels. The village chief (Alkalo) must be informed that all compound and household heads must be gathered in the village meeting point (bantaba).

3. Upon arrival to the village, the working team will have a brief meeting with the Alkalo. In the meeting the gifts to the village (colanuts and mints) will be given, the main idea of the research project must be explained and the village information will start to be collected. We will ask Alkalo for the taxation list (that he must keep by law) and to assign villagers to start gathering the compound/household heads.
4. After finishing the meeting with Alkalo, the team will go to the bantaba. While waiting for people to come, a list of the village must be done, assigning to the compounds heads an identifier number (id) related with his/her number in the taxation list and adding the household heads that do not own a compound. Alkalo and the rest of people arrived to the bantaba must be asked about the accuracy of the taxation list, to avoid problems with the names, recognize empty plots, migrated or deceased villagers and other possible problems.

5. Together with the names, the taxation information contained in the list must accurately be registered: district tax, fire insurance, cattle tax and numbers of grass and corrugated huts. For some districts, the strange farmer tax must be added.

6. When the village roaster is completed, each numerator will take half of it (divided by even and odds numbers) as the list of the people that he/she must interview. Be sure to always have the roaster of your partner enumerator in order to have the ids of all households in the village and avoid overlap in the enumeration. If new households are added, be sure to inform your partner, so each household has a unique id.

7. When enough people is gathered (at least 10 compound/household heads), the general goal of the survey and the way data will be collected must be explained, ideally with the help of Alkalo or some other village authority previously identified (like the VDC head, griot, Alkalo assistance or the imam). We might take some time answering villagers questions. Even we have to try to address all the questions, we must be very cautious in order to do not raise any false expectations.

8. After the explanation, each enumerator starts calling the names in its own list. When a group of 5 to 7 compound/heads of the list are indentified, the simultaneous survey to them can start. Be sure that you are close enough to your partner enumerator to share information and far enough to do not interfere his job. Be sure that all the interviewed are sitting facing you and each other in the most comfortable way possible.

9. The interview will start with few general questions related to household characteristics, then the interaction matrices and finally the rest of the questioner. See below for more details. Be sure to explain each question to all the group of respondents, so you do not waste time explaining the same thing to each one.

10. As other people are coming to the bantaba while you are interviewing be sure to assign them to the right enumerator and incorporate him/her to the interview or tell to wait until the next group if you are too advance or too many people are in the current group.

11. When the interview to one group is finished, an exercise book and pencil must be given to each respondent and the names for the next group must be called. If the
person is not present, try to ask the villagers why they think he is not there and if it is possible to go for him/her.

12. If the village is not finished and the end of the day, and to go back the next day is necessary, a list of the missing respondents must be prepared and give to Alkalo or another village authority so they can try to call this people.

A.3 Survey instruments

The surveys instruments are designed to capture two sets of information that are important for the project. The first is general information about the compound/household. The second is the network of social and economical interaction of the villagers, with the goal to build a “matrix of interaction” (“the matrices” henceforth).

A.3.1 Household information

Consists in a set of 35 questions that aim to capture the basic social and economical characteristics of the household/compound. The first 10 questions must be asked before the matrices and the rest afterwards (as a way to keep the attention of the respondents during the matrices data collection). Some important considerations and specificities about the questions are:

Whenever the alternative “others (specify)” is selected by the respondent, be sure to register the mentioned answer

- Questions 1, 2 and 4 will be filled out from the taxation list, before the interviewed appear.

- Question 3 will capture the differences between household head that are compounds owners and those that are not. Be careful in make the distinction and identify multiple-households compounds and any contradiction or actualization with respect to the taxation list.

- For question 10, the unit must be hectares. If any other unit is mentioned, converted to hectares.

- Questions 13 and 15 might appear similar, but are different in essence. 13 is about OFFICIAL position hold by the respondent while 15 is about non-official, mainly traditional, position hold.

- Question 16 about group membership is very important. Take the time to collect as many answers as necessary.

- Question 24 about household income is usually complicated, either because the respondent does not remember, does not want to reveal or cannot be accurate. If any problems appear or the question seems to be bizarre, you can ask for total expenditures. If he/she does not remember the annual expenditures, a weekly
or daily amount can be asked (and the annualized). If the respondent does not remember amount, you can ask use bags of rice as unit.

- The answer of Question 25 (agricultural income) cannot exceed the amount of question 24.

A.3.2 Matrices

- This is the most important part of our study. Be sure to do your best effort in collect this information. Some important considerations and specificities about the matrices are:
  
- Try to collect as much interaction in each matrix as possible. If there is not enough space you can keep recording the data entry in the back of the paper.
  
- Be sure to exhaust all possible interactions inside the village before record interaction with outsiders.
  
- Each matrix has its own particularities. Be sure to accurately follow the instruction about the format when filling the information.
  
- The answer in matrix 1 might implies to change or update the information in question 10, this two are closely related (and must be asked sequentially).
  
- Some of the questions in the matrices are sensible (Matrix 7 e.g.). If the respondent refuses to answer, you can give him/her the alternative to answer in private later.
  
- Be aware of the reactions of the group to the respondent answer. The reactions can reveal fake or inaccurate information.
B Enumerator selection for the village network survey

There were ten candidates to fill the two positions. All candidates were contacted by the Gambian Bureau of Statistics (GBoS) among the workers that use to work in similar projects with them. The first round of the selection process was done in the facilities of GBoS in Serekunda on Monday 16th of March, 2009.

B.1 The selection process

The selection process was based in two instruments: a general test applied to all participants at the same time and a personal interview of around 10 minutes with each of the candidates.

The selection process consisted in three questions. The first question lasted for 15 minutes and consisted in a dictate in Wolof, where the applicants had to translate into English two sentences related with questions similar to the ones we will ask in the project. In the second question (15 minutes) we asked the candidates to describe in Mandinka a problem that had happen in their own villages and how it was solved, they had to translate the text to English. The last question (7 minutes) aimed to measure some basic quantitative capacities like dealing with the concepts of averages, percentages and measurement applied in the context of village description.

In the personal interviews we asked each one of the candidates to tell us about their previous experience in related studies, the experience in different jobs that can be relevant for the study (like teaching or in agriculture), their proficiency in the different local languages and other personal questions that wanted to measure communicative skills, level of spoken English, approach as field worker, computational skills and the ability to process data.

B.2 The selection criteria

We gather a small dossier for each candidate containing the collected information and compare them in order to select those that were closer to the desired worker. For the three questions of the test a score was assigned, and from the personal interviews the profile of each applicant was ranked according to the desire characteristics. The main selection criteria were:

- Test scores.
- Experience, particularly related with qualitative work on the field, but also considering the experience in quantitative studies.
- Experience in jobs different than surveys, but related with the study.
- Languages skills. Proficiency in the use of English and knowledge of the local languages.
• Knowledge in data processing.
• Other relevant personal skills.

B.3 Pre-selected candidates

Based on criteria stated above, we pre-selected the following candidates:

• Saikou Jawara
• Pa Alieu Fye
• Antou Faal
• Amie Bojang

The candidates participated in the training conducted between March 16th and 17th, 2009.

B.4 General comments

The general level of the candidates was very high and the selection decision was difficult because most of the candidates were very capable to perform the required tasks. Most of them had vast experience and very good personal skills. The final selection was based in the particular necessities of the project to be implemented. It is important to remark the help of GBoS, since without them the success of the selection process would be very unlikely.

On the negative side, some of the candidates diminished their possibilities because of lack of some basic abilities like the use of computer software or the communication in spoken English during the interview. Also, was very surprising that candidates with this very long experience do not have a curriculum vitae to summarize their previous jobs and basic skills, something that can be easily solve and would enormously help in future hiring process. Also will be useful to have a list of emails of all possible enumerators, to facilitate contact in the future (even it is understandable that not all of them have adequate access to Internet). About the knowledge of local languages, could be interesting to think for the future about a standardized test to measure and certificate the proficiency of each candidate. Finally, the lack of experienced female enumerators imply difficulties in finding workers for tasks that ideally might be performed for women, but at least two candidates were female and seems to be that some improvements in the issue are happening.

B.5 Enumerator test

• Translate the following text from Wolof to English (text dictated by Mame Cheikh)
• Write a short text (10 lines) in Mandinka describing a problem that happened among inhabitants of your village (or another village that you know) and the way the problem was solved. Translate the text to English.

• For any village that you know, describe the following information:
  – How many households are in the village?
  – How many inhabitants are in the village?
  – How many inhabitants per household (average)?
  – How many inhabitants are in the biggest compound?
  – How much land is owned by each household in the village (average)?
  – Take any household of the village that you know:
    – What products are produced by this household?
    – How much of each product is produced by the household?
    – How much of this production is for sale (quantity and percentage)?
C Field reports for the qualitative and network surveys

C.1 Observations of Yong HE

During my stay of about 20 days (12/03-02/04) in Gambia, I have been concentrated in the implementation of the Qualitative Survey. My general remark is that I am really impressed by the performance of the formed two teams and in particular by Dany’s remarkable ability of direction and coordination, and I feel that the results of the qualitative survey should be satisfactory.

Judging that a good qualitative survey depends on three factors: a good questionnaire, a good team of enumerators, and finally the surveyed people having a lot to say, I present some observations following this order.

First, is the questionnaire enough good? During the construction of the questionnaire, we were well conscientious about the trade-off between the necessity of the generalization of the questions in order to allow the surveyed people free to talk, and the concretization of the questions to incite the surveyed people to take the examples. Also we have taken into account nearly all most important qualitative aspects of village life. Field tests reveal that we could not do better. There are not important questions that we do not pose in the questionnaire. Also the way to select the focus groups is enough stochastic. The only deception is that we have to suppress the businessmen focus group due to the lack of business activity in the village.

Second, is the enumerators enough good? Generally, I am quite satisfactory about the quality of the enumerators. They are well experienced and have a good English level to write their focus groups. Also during the training period, we have sufficiently emphasized to the four enumerators that the qualitative questionnaire is just guidance and their job is to orient and incite the villagers to tell their stories. But the realized results may be limited by the following fact: During the survey, the quantitative survey is a really heavy task and their good implementation risks to have a negative impact on focus groups survey. During our stay in Gambia, we have visited four villages and we have paid attention to give enough time to focus groups. But the fact is that finishing the task in two days is the deadline for the enumerators and they have no way to economize their time in quantitative survey, but they can find this economy in qualitative survey. This more probably risks to happen after the departure of Dany. I clearly told the remunurers that I’ll refuse to accept their reports if there are only some general judgments in them. But I am not very optimistic about how to avoid this possibility.

Finally, have the surveyed people a lot to say? Firstly I observe that the villagers like to talk. This is a good thing. But this is just a necessary, not sufficient condition for telling good stories. In this survey, we focus on conflicts in their social economic life. I feel that they still stay in a traditional life that has not encountered enough shocks coming from markets. At least I feel that they have much less conflicts than in most Chinese villages. Their lands are abundant and have little commercial values. Politically they believe in their well-loved president and traditionally they respect their village chiefs.
and imams. To take an example, talking with a women focus group, I felt having been treated as an idiot when I asked them what happens if they disagree with their husbands to marry another wife. Their religion and tradition rules insure them to rule out many conflicts that we observed in modern society. Vincent and me, we have participated in a VCD meeting of one day in a village. I feel that this meeting remained rather “ritual” or “procedural” about the well functioning of the VCD (just as the rural China during the Cultural Revolutions under Mao, in village meetings, one talked about too many “political principles” but few concrete everyday-life problems). Probably with the implementation of CDDP projects, more conflicts may appear. I take another example. Vincent and me have given money to a village to buy some public goods (ex. Footballs of good quality, one costs around 30 Euros). Quickly the members of youth group came to ask us how much we have given to the village chief, since the amount of money the village chief gave them is not enough to buy a good football.

C.2 Observations of Yiu Por (Vincent) Chen

Below show my observation and reflection after the village census pretest. We have highlighted the important information of Village background:

Land ownerships, distance to major population center and there major market to sell villagers’ product. I have discovered that the compound taxation (and composition) record may have important information and have asked the surveyors to record it for all villages.

We have also tried to reduce the number of question in the census from 36 to 33. We also modified some questions and answers. For example, we have added an answer "non Gambian" in question 7, ethnic group to capture the immigrant to Gambia. We also modified the on social status at question 14; we clarified and expanded the answers in a great extend.

Of the villages that we have visited, I have the following general observations:

• Alkalo usually present during the village census and some time during the focus group. I am not sure if it is optimal to reveal information.

• Alkalo may not be able to get all the villagers to the meeting usually. Since we have to finish all the census in two days, it is a daunting task to wait for villagers to get together and start the census. Instead, we derive several strategies to cope with this situation. We have also modified the matrix to match the answers more close to the ideal.

• Matrix 1: lending and borrowing of land seems working fine. However, there also involved in the "land ownership problem" that some household reported that they does not "own" any land in the "general information section"; however, they could "lend" some land to others. It is because in some villages closer to the urban area, their brought land for their household but cultivate agricultural product in their
compound which are not considered as "agricultural land." We try to capture these issues by having more detail village information from akalo.

- Matrix 6: Local public goods provision, people usually refer to "akalo" when they want to know some public services from government. It may be true, but not sure. I have requested the surveyors to ask more "alternative means" for public services and it seems that help reveal more information.

- Matrix 7: it seems the borrow and lend money is pretty extensive in the last four villages we visited. We are encouraged about this result and decided to keep this matrix for actual census.

C.3 Observation by Dany Jaimovich

C.3.1 General Observations

The subject of the study that we are implementing is different to the regular household surveys and rural economic analysis, particularly in the implementation of matrices of social interaction inside the villages. The heterodox nature of the survey implies risks in terms of the implementation and final outcomes.

Before my departure we finished the data collection for 14 villages, with 16 villages remainder1. For most of the villages we collect information for around at least 90% of the household heads.

I have to say that, up to now, the implementation of the study has been very successful, and this is related with different factors:

- Quick adaptation of the data collection process to the real field circumstances: the field test implemented in the first two villages revealed (as usual) impossibilities in the content of the questions and the way the information was planning to be gathered. The experience allowed us to adapt the questionnaire and to find an optimal way to distribute the tasks between the enumerators of each team. Particularly critical was the optimization of the data collection process for the information in the matrices, preparing a village list with the name of compound heads that was divided between the enumerators for data collection (but with each one having the list of names and assigned id of the other enumerator). After the field work in two or three villages, the division of work inside the team became very efficient and the data collection process flexible enough to adjust to the circumstances in each village.

- Quality of the enumerators: This is a key factor. The human capital we found was above any expectation and helped us enormously in the implementation of survey. The 10 candidates we interviewed after our arrival were very qualified and experienced. Even the selection process was a bit improvised, it helped in measure some basic skills we needed in the enumerators and the selection was fairly successful. Due to the quality of the enumerators, we changed the team composition
and decided to work with two enumerators in each, instead of one, a change that helped to improve the process. Apart from qualified, the enumerators showed to be proactive and independent workers, that improved their performance from one village to another and helped us in modify the questioner and the planning of the work. Still is to be seen if they keep this performance after Mame Chieikh and my departure, but I’m optimistic in that sense.

- Logistic: The help of the CDDP people and GBoS was crucial. For the former, the participation of the CDOs in informing the villages and helping to find a place to stay for the team was very important. Even we had some problems with villages that were not informed, generally the communication worked well (and even if the alkoal was not informed, to gather the households head proved not to be a problem in this time of the year). The collaboration of GBoS in finding the enumerators candidates, the driver, and renting us an office and car was very useful.

- Villagers collaboration: Even was usually not necessary to hire villagers to help us (except in the case the enumerators were not proficient in some of the languages spoken as Jola or Fula), the participation of villagers was very important. First, apart from some exceptions, they were very keen to answer our questions and to help us gathering the household heads and groups for the focus groups.

C.3.2 Specific observations

The questionnaire In addition to the taxation information mentioned by Vincent, starting in the second couple of villages we added number of grass and corrugates huts, also additional “free” information that was already in the compound heads list held by each alkoal. This additional information allows us to have an accurate measure of wealth.

In the question related to social status (number 15), it is important to mention that the original attempt to include some caste information was dismissed since is a sensible information (particularly for low castes members) that people was not prone to reveal. Instead, we added several non-official positions in the village that bring some sort of social status.

Related to the relevant level of aggregation either in household or compound, in all the communities we visited we found that both units were almost synonymous, since usually very few compounds were in fact multi-households (usually just 2 or 3 per village) and if they were, rarely more than two households exited within a compound, and these households were closely related (mainly blood ties). Because of that, one of our main concerns, the relevant unit of measurement, was not relevant at the end and some questions designed to capture the potential interaction among households within a compound, like number 19, will probably be uninformative.

Most of the questions worked pretty well, but the usual problems of revealing income happened, maybe with higher downward biased values because of the social exposure of our data collection methodology. Usually when the numbers given were out of reality,
the enumerators asked for expenditures instead of income, sometimes calculating the expenditures in bags of rice.

**The matrices** In general, matrices worked pretty well. At the first villages was complicated for the enumerators to collect this information, not surprisingly since is a novelty, but after the first couple of villages they mastered the technique and were able to get very appealing data. I was very emphatic in that for each matrix was important to have as much interaction as possible, even if this implies to write in the back or the bottom of the paper sheet.

In Matrix 2, even the original question was intended to the household head, we start finding that other household members (and more than one) can work for other compounds. In order to capture this relationship, I told the enumerators to use as measure the unit number of days worked times number of household members working, meaning that if household X worked 10 days for household Y can be either one member working for 10 days or 10 members 1 day (or any combination).

For Matrix 7, as Vincent mentioned, we were getting information and seemed to be worthy to keep in the questioner, but still the data must be taken with care since some people were refusing to answer (usually the ones that were lending more). The reason this matrix works is that (according to Antou Faal, one of the enumerators) in Islam if you give monetary help you are blessed but if you lend money you are double blessed, because you help when people have real needs (the transaction must imply no interest rate).

**Village information** As mentioned by Vincent, we started collecting some basic village information (see attached). Just before to come back (and after discussion with the enumerators) I realized about potential important information that we were not asking about the public goods available in the village, stuff like how many wells and other. I told the enumerators to ask this for the remaining villages (16).

About the use of GPS, our first attempt was to draft a village map with all the compound locations and measure distance to each other. But the work was too painful and time demanding (also, since the villages were small and everyone was close enough to each other, I’m not sure about how important are compound distances to explain interaction or something else). Instead, we decided to use the GPS to measure the village surface, so we can have population density.

**Qualitative Survey** Even I generally share Yong’s optimism in terms of the success of the focus groups, some observations must be made.

First, to gather the groups was a difficult task. The original idea of randomly collect people in lists while wandering around the village was not efficient, because the enlisted usually did not showed up, particularly if the list was done one day in advance. The final strategy to gather the people varied from village to village, but usually involved some youth and/or woman leader collecting their respective group, something that was efficient but likely to have some selection bias. As for the men, we usually took some household
heads that were finishing the qualitative questioner. In the three cases, we always tried to add some randomly selected people, or arbitrarily select among the gathered group.

It is difficult to avoid having authorities or their relatives in the focus group, both because the way we selected people (was not easy to ask the leaders to do the job and not participate) and because in small villages everyone was somehow related. Nevertheless, for what I could get without knowing local languages, usually people was quite free to talk and criticize even in front of authorities or their relatives.

I disagree with Yong in his point number 3 (that is mainly based in observations in a Jola village, the less modernized Gambian ethnic group and the one with the simplest organization). Even different to those of modern societies, the conflicts inside the villages were important and people usually disagree with their authorities and public services provision. In some villages the problems were very deep and complex. Even the land is usually abundant, the rest of resources are not, and the tragedy of commons and other economic problems clearly affect village’s life.

About the questions, even we had long discussions with the enumerators about the local adaptation of technical concepts like public goods, and they understood and said that local version was possible, I think that we have to wait until the reports arrive to see if people was talking about the things that we were concern about.

Even we eliminated the focus group intended for businessmen, we add an additional question in that sense to the group of men and women, that must particularly encouraged to discuss when business men/women are present.

Finally, the enumerators asked me for formal certification of their work. A World Bank certificate was provided later.

C.4 Observation of Slavica Zec (second round)

C.4.1 General Observations

After completing the second part of the survey, my overall conclusion is that it was rather successful. There were no major problems, the survey was completed within the programmed deadline and all of the villages were completed with more than 90% coverage (the unusual exception was Sololo Mandinka).

Due to the first phase acquired experience, the enumerators were well organized and able to get the most of the information in shortest possible time. They developed some useful strategies to complete the questionnaires while having the most of the villagers around, and they had particular attention (and patience!) with completing the interaction matrices. Again, it was very important to adapt data collection process to real field circumstances – so if it was necessary to move from the usual meeting point to another in order to obtain the higher coverage rate – it was done. Also, the usual two-per-village strategy was abandoned if the circumstances were imposing the change in plans. The collaboration within the group was exemplary and this made the process of me fitting in the group very smooth and easy.
C.4.2 Specific observations

Nonetheless the successful completion of the survey, we had to deal with several difficulties.

**Village info provided by the GBoS** Sometimes the maps we were provided were not precise. Sika Bajonki village did not exist anymore as a separate entity since it merged with the neighbourhood village to form simply Sika. Some villages did not actually belong to the indicated ward (Sare Louba and Sare Yero Tako do not belong to Bansang ward) so they were replaced (with Boraba and Toubanding).

**Proximity to the rainy season** Although generally the people from the villages were willing to collaborate in an incredible manner, due to the upcoming rainy season – some people were difficult to find since they were already working in the field, cleaning up and preparing for the rainy season. Also, this may have caused the fact that we do not have a very reduced number of proxy answers – it was not rare that the household head was unreachable - working in the field.

**Charity expectations** Even though many precautions were undertaken in order to avoid creating charity expectations, we had some instances when there was a general delusion faced in the village when the people were precisely explained what the survey was about. A very good example of a notable influence of high expectations on the survey outcome was Sika village – where quite a few people were reluctant to reply at first, after realizing that we were not there to provide them with fertilizers or anything regarding their immediate and concrete needs.

**The definition of the statistical unit** The usual way to proceed was to enumerate all the compound owners that were listed on the tax list provided by the village head (alkalo), and then ask to the villagers directly if there are any household heads that are not compound owners. However, there were occasions when it was rather difficult to establish whether the person was a household head because any crucial decisions about the whole compound were the responsibility of the compound owner (this occurred in certain cases when the household head was a young son or a wife of the compound head).

**Crucial importance of interviewing the villagers all together** The enumerators experience has proved that more information comes out if many villagers are assisting at the interview, since the process of recalling retrospective information was easier (especially for completing the marriage matrices). However, this was not always possible: if some people were hard to reach, the enumerators had to move to their household in order to interview them separately.
Difficulties in obtaining precise data for some questions

In many occasions it seemed to be difficult to approximate well the land in possession or the annual income. Also, I have a suspicion that there might be some understating of income because of the charity expectations. For instance, when we were doing the survey in Fula Bantang, there was a very influential man from the parliament who was advising the villagers not to inform us about all the income they had.

Matrices and new questions

The newly inserted question and added matrices seem to work quite fine. The only problem is with the matrices 4 and 5 (marriage and blood relations with other households) since my suspicion is that the interactions with the outsiders were not properly captured. I realized this when we were checking the answers the enumerators gathered at the end, and it appeared strange that there were a very few or none interaction with the outsiders. After talking this through, it seemed that mostly the enumerators only asked to list the blood and marriage relationship within the village.

Sololo Mandinka situation

The information and the maps we were provided seemed to be non precise. The village owns a large amount of land (see the Mr. Faal and Pa Alieu village info). The main settlement is about 7 km from Bansang, it consists of 51 households. There is another settlement of around 30 households 1.5 km far from the main settlement, and its geographical boundaries are not clear. It seems to form a geographical unit with other two villages (Sukuru Kunda and Allatentu ). Since these two villages are really big (more than 100 households) it was not possible to do the survey in the whole geographical unit.

After completing the interviews in the main settlement, the general idea was that there is no much interaction with the peripheral one. However, since our schedule was accommodating, we decided to interview the people we found on the Sololo Mandinka tax list. The turnout in the second settlement was not good (since the alkalo didn’t inform them) and we had the situation that some villagers were declaring that they should be on the tax list whilst they actually do not appear on it. Since the situation in the second settlement was not very clear and it seemed to be a very time consuming – we decided to abandon the idea of completing it, and moved to the next village. Therefore the information that was collected in Sololo Mandinka village has to be treated with caution.
D Qualitative survey: the detailed focus group results

D.1 Balingho

D.1.1 Men

- Number of participants: 11
- Ages: 69, 50, 36, 39, 52, 43, 40, and 28
- Membership: Imam, ordinary villagers.
- Occupational Situation: mason, fisherman.

Participants were enthusiastic to give their views and the discussion was lively.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1: On the question about the public goods, the men of Balingho said that they were not adequate. The most needed things are: a steady source of potable water, a good road, a vehicle to transport the people and their wares to and from the big towns as the village is a very remote one, a bridge to the women’s rice fields, farming implements and fishing gear as this is a farming-cum fishing community, a milling machine. There is fairness in the usage of the existing public goods. No groups are favoured at the expense of the others.

- General Question 2: The current way of public goods provision decision is fair and its implementation is fairly distributed. Everyone has equal say in it and there is no one who has total control over the decision-making process regarding the provision of the public goods.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3: The WDC has not been helpful to the needs of this community. Those elected to the various positions are there for their own ends. They are not doing their job accordingly. The WDC officials are helping their places of origin only who do not even need that help, not the whole ward. Actually, we the people of Balingho do not see any benefit when it comes to the WDC / VDC. If they are rendering any help, then they are verily biased. The VDC officials are doing their job, though. They engage themselves in developmental works and do call upon the people who join them en mass. In short the VDC members are working for the development of the village, while their WDC counterparts are not there for the entire ward. When the people want to communicate anything to the WDC, they do it via the VDC.
• General Question 4: Election to the VDC is fair. Everyone takes part in the election process. Whoever occupies a VDC post has been put there by the people themselves, not through the dictates of anyone against their will.

• Specific question 1: This community is a peaceful one. The relationship within and between households, between the different village groups (Men’s group, Women’s group and youth group) between the chiefs or between the village and the neighbouring villages has been very cordial. There has never been an incidence of conflict between them.

• Specific question 2: These relationships have improved these five years. But Balingho is a very remote community and to help improve these relationships within the village and between this and other villages, assistance in all its aspects is welcome. This community needs a school, a good road, a milling machine, farming implements & fishing gear, an ice plant and a vehicle for easy transportation of their fishing produce. Electricity is also a felt need for this community.

• Specific question 3: Business has gone down these five years. This is mainly a fishing community where all the fishermen engage in business activities. Should they be assisted with an ice plant, fishing gear and a vehicle for ease of transportation, business would thrive.

D.1.2 Women

• Date: 11th April 2009

• Number of participants: 14

• Ages: 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 48, 60, 65, 70,

• Membership: None of the women mentioned being a member of any group. They are all ordinary villagers

• Occupational Situation: All of them are engaged in farming.

• Selection was made from different sections of the community. All the tribes that make up this community were represented.

• Every one of the participants was eager to answer the questions posed.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. All of those taking part in the discussion asserted that the public goods are inadequate. Asked what will be needed the most, they replied the following are the most pressing ones:
1. ROADS. The roads, especially those leading to their rice fields, are in a very poor state. There is need for a good road network.

2. BOREHOLE. The villagers do not have easy access to potable water. Should they be assisted in having access to clean water supply, they’d appreciate it.

3. MILLING MACHINE. This is a most needed item for this community, as they cultivate millet for consumption.

4. GARDENING PROJECT. Having a gardening project in their midst is also a felt need.

5. ACCESS TO CREDIT. Another important thing for the women of this community is access to credit.

Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the public goods, none of the villagers is experiencing or has ever experienced any unfair treatment regarding their use. All have equal access to them.

- General Question 2. On to the question about the decision-making regarding the provision of the public goods, they maintained that it was fair and implementation of that decision is fairly distributed. Every villager’s decision was welcome and no one has absolute control on the decision-making process.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The VDC is helping this community in all aspects and this help is not one-sided; everybody in the community benefits.

- General Question 4. Election to the various positions in the VDC is fair. No particular group is favoured at the expense of the others and no one influences the election process. The VDC, according to the women, are doing their job as expected of them. The community is satisfied with work of the VDC.

- Specific question 1. There is a cordial relationship within household members and between households. Up to this point, there is no problem regarding the children’s schooling and their living conditions. Housework is shared in relation to what one can do best. Husband / wife rapport is at its best and when it comes to health, all is fine.

- The womenfolk asserted that they are aware of the public goods through the Alkalo who summons a meeting whenever anything comes in their midst. Asked about their role in the decision-making and the implementation of the projects, they said that whatever concerns only women is left for them (women) to decide.
Specific question 2. Life, for the women of this community, has been very hard since five years. Asked what kinds of public goods are in need to improve the conditions of women, they put forth the following:

1. Gardening Projects;
2. Good road;
3. A steady source of clean water, for instance a borehole;
4. A seed store;
5. A market for their produce and
6. Farming implements.

D.1.3 Youth

- Date: 15th April 2009
- Number of participants: 18 and all of them are males.
- Ages: 25, 24, 28, 27, 20, 21, 18.
- Membership: Secretary in the fishermen’s association, PRO of the youth group and members of the youth group.
- Occupational Situation: Driver, fisherman, students.

There was a lively atmosphere and everybody was participating fully. No-one was talking more than the others.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The available public goods are not enough. The things that are most needed are a good road network to link Balingho with the big towns, a wharf, a seed store, fishing gear (as this is a predominantly fishing community), a borehole as there is only one well that provides the community with potable water, an ice plant to preserve the fishing products, a hospital to care for the sick, additional teachers for the school, farming implements. All the villagers have equal access to the existing public goods.

- General Question 2 Regarding the provision of decision-making on the public goods, there is no total fairness. The youth, especially, are not involved in the affairs of the village.
WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The youth of the village do not see any benefit when it comes to the VDC. If the VDC is rendering help in any form the youth are not cognizant of it: for the youth the VDC is not helpful to the community; there is absolute partiality in the dispensation of its services. The youths are not represented at the VDC. This is due to the fact that those at the helm are not doing their job accordingly. They are filling the positions for their own ends.

- General Question 4. Election to the VDC is not fair because the members that were there ten years ago are the ones still in office. Only one group / kind of people are selected all the time, but they maintain that nobody affects the election process.

- Specific question 1. Intra-household relationship is cordial. The youths of this village are very hard-working but there is a great difficulty in finding a job for them. The remoteness of the village may be the very reason for the difficulty in finding jobs. The populace does not have easy access to recreational facilities like music houses, discotheques and sports facilities. The football field at the school is the only one the youths go to. There is no library in the whole vicinity; and there is no community centre when they want to entertain themselves with music, they just go to a street corner and open up their music set. There are some rare instances when the youth are called upon to decide on matters relating to the development of the village, though this is not always the case.

- Specific question 2. The condition of the youths, since five years, has shrunken to its lowest ebb. To help alleviate the sad state the youths of the village are in, they need to be provided with adequate farming implements, a good gardening project, and a community centre.

D.2 Bati Khai

D.2.1 Men

- Number of people: 10
- Ages: 43, 52, 37, 45, 61, 57, 39, 44, 40, 40.
- Membership: Mosque Committee: 2 Village Group: 8
- Occupation: Farmers: 10

- In the village we lack farming implements in order to improve our farming production and we can use the animals for transportation. We are also living with sickness and do not have either a health facility or ambulance to take our sick to the nearest health facility.
• Our agricultural land is low in fertility and without fertilizer you make a very poor harvest. The public goods available in town are fairly distributed and the public good provision is fair. The VDC is very helpful to our community. They coordinate the village activities effectively. There membership includes all the villagers irrespective of gender or tribe. Conflicts are inevitable but we have council of elders to result any conflict outbreak. And thank God we never have any conflict that is beyond the control of the council of elders.

• We had a dispute with our neighbouring village Bati Njoll concerning farm land. In fact, the case had to be taken to the district tribunal for resolving. The cause of the problem was that the numbers of people living in their village is more than the available farm land and therefore, they decided to invade some of our farm lands. But the God, the case was rule in our favour. Infact, they had to send some of their members to our village in other to seek apologies. And now the relationship is smooth and we continue to work together in any national development.

• This village needs a milling machine, because members of this village walk kilometres to mill there coose. We have so many people using the machine, as a member of anther village; we are not given the privilege to mill our coose. Therefore, most of them are kept there till late. This has brought lot of incontinences and constraints to the people of this village. We would definitely appreciate, to have our own milling in order to resolve this menace.

• Moreover, the level of illiteracy is in the increase, as we had no educational school. We have neither English school nor Madarassa in this village. And many parents are facing financial constraints in paying there child’s school fees who will either be attending schools in another village or in the urban centres. Education is a basic necessity and a great concern for the people of this village and parents in particular. We will therefore, be very much grateful to have our own lower basic school where our children will be attending.

• In conclusion, all the participants were eager to give their sentiments concerning the development of the village.

D.2.2  Women

• Number of peoples: 7
• Ages: 43, 35, 42, 30, 50, 32, 40
• Membership: women group:
• Occupation: farmers: 7
• The women of Bati Khai said that they have public goods but are not adequate because they have one hand pump, a store and a mosque. Among the public goods
available, water is the most important thing they need. They mentioned water because the well available can’t serve the whole populace; it takes long time for a person to get water due to the number of peoples fetching water at the same time whilst there are other house hold chores to do at home. The few available public goods are equally use by anyone.

- The public good provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed and the Alkalo affects it decision making process. Money was collected from the villagers for the construction of a public good which was not mentioned but still now nothing is seen.

- VDC members were selected by the whole villagers. Since its establishment the same people are the VDC. The eldest lady in the village by the name Oumie Njie affects the selection process because she approves whoever is selected.

- This woman mentioned that they are living peacefully within themselves and outsiders because they help each other during farming and they share the same rice fields with other women. They are involves in decision making in the village.

- These women said that they have improvement especially last season because an organization called ATM provided fertilizers for them and this has increase their harvest.

- They said if they are provided with good roads their transportation would be easier. The provision of a market to sell our farm produces quickly. Business ladies need loans to improve their business. They need farm tools and maintenance of their roads to their rice fields because during heavy rains they use canoes to go to their rice fields. If they can have a bridge reduces their hardships during rainy seasons and would increase their harvest. More clean water supply to ease their way of getting water.

### D.2.3 Youth

- Number of peoples: 9
- Males: 4  Females: 5
- Ages: 20, 23, 28, 20, 25, 18, 24, 24, 18
- Membership: Youths group: 6  Women group: 3
- Occupation: Farmers: 5  Tailor: 1
- Businessman: 1  Carpenter: 1  Apprentice drive:1
• The youths of Bati Khai mentioned that they have public goods like the mosque, hand pump and a store but these are inadequate because they need more like a milling machine, market and farm tools. The most important public good they need is water because it’s very important in human life and the village have only one hand pump. The available public good are equally use by all villagers.

• Public goods are equally distributed if available and the Alkalo and VDC head effects its provision decision making because they have the final say in the village.

• To these youths, VDC is not helpful because they are not aware of any development they have brought in the village whilst the committee is said to be formed for the development of the village.

• The VDC was selected by the whole villagers. That is villagers gather and identified the people they believe are hard working and can propose or initiate good ideas for the way forward of the village. There have been no changes since its formation. According to them, no single person can eliminate a VDC member on his own consent, without the agreement of the villagers.

• These youths said that they are living happily and peacefully within themselves and other villagers. They said that its difficult to have a job in the village even those with skills is difficult to have contracts and if available they are paid little money. The youths elaborated for the provision of job centres to reduce rural-urban migration as most of the youths in this village are in the urban areas working or in search of jobs. They need a permanent football field because anywhere they identified as a football field will later be taken away from them as a farmland and also they also need football kits but they have the talents but can’t execute them.

• According to these youths there has been no improvement since 5 years back and would like public goods like job centres to earn income. We need a skill training centre to learn and up-grade skills. Farm tools and fertilizers are needed to increase their harvest and income. Good roads to ease their transportation and to be link with other towns. They also pledge for the provision of a bridge to their rice fields because if they are at the mid of the rainy season, they find it difficult to reach their fields because of plenty water and also this has lead to the low cultivation of their rice grown. The businessmen mentioned that if loans are provided for them to increase their businesses the better the profit would be.

D.3 Bintang

D.3.1 Men

• Date: 24th April 2009

• Number of participants: 17
• Ages: 57, 70, 75, 60, 73, 55, 42, 50, 54, 49,

• Membership: Council of Elders, religious group leader, women’s group adviser.

• Occupational Situation: Fishermen, farmers and a businessman.

Everyone was fairly represented. All the men present are from the three kabiloos that make up the village. The discussion was lively and everybody took part.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. The existing public goods are not adequate. A lot of public goods are needed. Asked what will be needed the most, the men replied that the will need assistance in the form of wells, a good road, a seed store, fishing gear as this is mainly a fishing community, a wharf for their pirogues to dock, farming implements, electricity to lighten up the whole village, an ice plant for their products, a milling machine for the women and also renovating the mosque.

• General Question 2. There is fairness in the decision provision on the public goods and their implementation is fairly distributed. All the three kabiloos (segments) are called upon whenever there comes a public good. After much deliberation, a resolution is always arrived at through consensus. No one dictates to them what to do and what not to do against their will.

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The former officers of the VDC were not doing their job satisfactorily. The community then saw it fit to remove them from their posts. They were occupying their positions for their own ends and were not helping the village in any way.

• It is only recently that there has been a total reshuffle and a new membership has been elected in their stead. The new VDC in place is verily helping the people of Bintang; and this help is not partial towards one single facet of the community only: everyone benefits from it.

• General Question 4. People occupying the various positions at the VDC are elected democratically without the influence of anyone from within or outside the village. No single group or kind of people are elected all the time. All the three kabiloos that make up the village have their representatives therein. And the new brooms prove to be sweeping well; they are not just square pegs in round holes. Whatever deliberations they come with from the WDC meetings are instantly communicated to the villagers.
• Specific question 1. There is total harmony within and between households. This village is renowned for its pacific nature. The three groups in the village (Men, Women and the Youth) are coexisting happily together with mutual respect towards each other. There is no conflict between the groups, no generation gap. There is a cordial relationship between the village and the chiefs and the amity that existed between Bintang and the surrounding villages in the olden days has augmented through the years. There has not been any conflict between them.

• Specific question 2. The evolution of these relationships, since five years, has increased and there is total peace and harmony. Asked what were in need for these relationships to improve, they replied that there is the need for a good road, a ready and steady market for their agricultural products, an ice plant as Bintang is partly a fishing community, farming implements, construction of a new wharf or renovation of the old one and a hospital. The availability of these things in this community will help increase the existing relationships.

• Specific question 3. Business has gone down these five years, according to the only businessman in our midst. For him, the only way that business can thrive is through providing the farming and fishing community with the public goods they need. If they have what they need, they will patronise his business more.

D.3.2 Women

• Date: 24th April 2009
• Number of participants: 19
• Ages: 30, 40, 50, 35, 69, and 60
• Membership: One is the leader of the women’s group, another her assistant. All the others are members of the group
• Occupational Situation: All the womenfolk taking part in this discussion are farmers.

The women were met at the women’s horticultural garden where there was an impressive turnout. Everyone was eager to take part in the discussion.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. About the public goods situation, the women said that they are not enough; they are almost inexistent. Asked what will be needed the most, they replied that the most pressing of their needs are:

1. A well or even a borehole to cater for their gardening needs; the women find it very hard to draw water from the deep and nearly dried up wells;
2. A ready market for their horticultural produce will be welcome;

Owing to the position of the village by the River Gambia, there used to be a lot of tourist activity here in the olden days. But now that the wharf is dilapidated, tourists do not come via the river anymore; a wharf is needed for pirogues to dock; Farming implements are also needed for this farming-cum fishing community; A seed store and cereal bank are also needed; To ease transportation of the people and their wares, they are cherishing the idea of having a vehicle; Most of their catch from the sea get spoilt due to the fact that they do not have an ice plant at the riverside: one is badly needed; They will also like to get assistance regarding pesticides and insecticides against harmful pests and insects on their farms. Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the public goods, there is fairness in their use; everyone has equal access to them.

- General Question 2. Decision-making for the provision of the public goods is and its implementation is fairly distributed. When a public good arrives in the village representatives from all the kabiloos (segments) converge at the alkalo (village head)’s residence to discuss about it. No one is sidelined; all are equally represented. The decision-making process regarding the provision of the public goods is not influenced, in any way, by anybody in or outside the village: everything is arrived at by consensus.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The VDC is helpful towards the needs of the community. They engage in all work that is beneficial to the people of Bintang, and this help is not in any way biased.

- General Question 4. Election to the posts at the VDC is fair and transparent. Selection is not done from one group / kind of people all the time, everyone is represented and nobody, inside or out of the village, affects the election process. Those elected to the offices of the VDC are doing their job accordingly. The outcome of all meetings is adequately communicated to the people. They are not just square pegs in round holes.

- Specific question 1. There is a friendly atmosphere in inter-household and intra-household life. Children’s learning is going on smoothly and their living condition is fine. Housework is shared in relation to what can do best. Husband / wife relationship is excellent as both help each other out and the health situation at the household level is improving.

- Specific question 2. Women’s conditions, since five years, have been better. This is because the womenfolk here are very hardworking. Asked what kinds of projects are in need for the improvement of their conditions, they said they need help in any way, be it financial or otherwise. They will need a skills training centre, access to credit, a borehole, a market, fencing for the women’s garden, pesticides and insecticides for their crops.
D.3.3 Youth

- Date: 24th April 2009
- Number of participants: 8 males and 6 females
- Ages: 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28 and 29
- Membership: Water management group official, members of the youth group and a housewife.
- Occupational Situation: teacher, student, farmer, manager of the salt project, fisherman,

The discussion was lively. Everybody participated fully and the outcome was satisfactory.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The available public goods are not adequate. The road leading to the village is not in a very good state and there is need for its maintenance; revamping the salt plant is also a felt need; there are not enough taps in the village and additional ones are needed; electricity is also needed to lighten up the village; fishing gear and farming materials are in short supply. The village needs a seed store, rehabilitating the old wharf or constructing a new one, a hospital or a standard health post. Although the public goods are in short supply, their usage is equally accessible to all and sundry; there is no favouritism.

- General Question 2. Public goods provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. Everybody from all walks of life, so to speak, are equally represented when it comes to decision-making and implementation regarding the public goods and nobody (in or out of the village) has absolute control over the decision-making process.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The former VDC was not answering the needs and aspirations of the commonalty and had to be rooted out of office. The new VDC in place has been very helpful to the needs of the community and it is not in any way prejudicial to anyone party.

- General Question 4. The process regarding the election to the various VDC positions is fair. Selection is made from three kabiloos that make up the village and everyone is represented. Selection is not made from one kind / group of people always and nobody affects the process. The officials are doing their job as required: whenever they come from a WDC meeting, they convene a meeting and communicate everything to the community. If the villager wants to put something across to the WDC, there is no setback as the VDC is helping them in this respect.
Specific question 1. Intra-household and inter-household relationship is smooth. The only setback is the hardship in the living condition for the youth. There is a great difficulty in finding job, as the bulk of the youth do not have skills; they are engaged in farming or are in the fishing industry. Accessing infrastructures (like sports centres, music houses, discotheques and libraries) is very difficult or even impossible. The only football field in the village is that of the school. There is not a community centre here for the youth to use when they want to organise dances; they use the nursery school’s classroom. There used to be a library, but now it is no more; termites gnawed all the books, only the structure remains standing. The youth are not left behind when it comes to decision-making; they are at the forefront. The views of the youths are respected.

Specific question 2. The condition of the youth has, since five years, deteriorated. This is mainly due to the low employment rate the youth are experiencing. Of all those who graduate from school each year, only ten percent or less are able to land jobs; and if this trend goes on, there will be more jobless young people in the village in the future. As everybody cannot have white-collared jobs, if there are skill centres in the vicinity, the youth can develop skills and acquire jobs, which will improve their conditions. Most of the young people in this village are either in the fishing industry or farming and should they be assisted with fishing gear and farming implements, they will engage themselves fully. Any project directed towards positive development will be highly welcome. Skills centres to acquire more skills are also needed for the conditions of the youths to improve.

D.4 Bisandugu

D.4.1 Males

- Number of people: 10
- Ages: 65, 69, 57, 75, 60, 60, 57, 38, 34, 37.
- Membership: Imam: 1  VDC: 3  Youth group: 1  Council of Elders: 3  Villagers: 2
- Occupation: Farmers: 9  Marabout: 1

- We need school so that our children can be educated. We have open wells which are about 40meters depth and it is very much difficult to fetch water using a pulley for both our house hold need and watering the animals. We need healthy water that will be much safer and that our kids can use to water the animals.

- We need agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizer and implement in other to increase our production where by earn more income and enough food for the house hold. We did not have enough seeds to store in the seed store which is not very useful.
• We have constructed a mosque to replace old one but we did not have fund to complete it and if completed it will save us from trekking to the neighbouring village to perform the Friday prayers.

• We need milling machine to save us from as far as three kilo meters to mill were you join a long queue before getting the services because is the only one around the area.

• The VDC is very helpful in the village administration because we never have a case within or outside the village that they cannot handle. They really lack support from out side to help them with fund to be able to do their development activities in the village.

• They were selected by the villagers and it includes both the genders. The selection of the VDC members is fair. The few public goods in the village is fairly distributed among the villagers and the provision decision of the public goods are fair only that getting the funds are our problem.

D.4.2 Females

• Number of people: 12

• Ages: 39, 50, 45, 60, 40, 70, 70, 40, 40, 50, 45, 43

• Membership: Women Group: 7 VDC: 4

• Elder Council Group: 1

• Occupation: Farmers: 12

• Women in this village didn’t hesitate to mention the public goods available in their village but they said that the ones available are inadequate.

• They said water is the most important public good they need because the villagers use only one well and the well is deep inside. They would like to have a pump well or a borehole to supply the taps if available and this would ease their way of getting water. The few public goods available are equally use by villagers. The store is not in use at the moment because nothing can be kept there during the rainy seasons. The mosque is under construction but the resources are scarce for its completion.

• The public goods provision decision is fair and no single person effects its decision making process.

• The VDC is helpful to the village because since its establishment, a large number of people do participate in voluntary village activities. The VDC is also trying to bring some developments in the village like searching for resources to fix a pump to the well.
• The selection process of these VDC people is done by allowing all families in the village to have a representative in the VDC. No individual has the right to dismiss or eliminate any VDC member on his/her own consent though the VDC executive has never been changed since their selection.

• The women mentioned that they have good relationships within them and outsiders. They help each other with household chores like pounding. These women said that they are involved in decision making and their opinions are highly considered.

• These women said that there have been no improvements in their lives since 5 years. The women said that they would need public goods like farm tools and fertilizers. They mentioned farm tools and fertilizer because they believe that if these materials are provided, their harvest and income would increase to ease the up keeping of their families. They also mentioned the provision of good roads to ease their movement because their roads can’t be use during rainy seasons, milling machines to reduce the burden of household chores, and a school for education of their children because the young ones (i.e. 3-5) can’t walk to the next village for schooling.

D.5 Dandugu

D.5.1 Men

• Ages: 42, 40, 37, 75, 72, 33, 44.

• Occupation: all farmers, 1 doubles as a businessman.

• Group Membership: all members of the Village Association

• The only public goods are the village well (uncovered), a seed store, an unpaved road that bisects the village, a mosque and a garden whose fence needs a lot of repairs. In their collective opinion, these are far from adequate. However, everyone in the village has equal access to them, without discrimination. Decisions concerning the provision of public goods are taken by all the villagers together, without anyone affecting them.

• Although there is a VDC elected at a meeting of the whole village, everyone seems to be indifferent to it. One man said the only thing the VDC had done was to initiate a sesame farm. Then it became inactive. He urged the women to harvest the farm. The harvest was kept in his home until it got infected by insects.

• According to them, conflicts (inter- and intra-household) are rare. Whenever they occur they are easily resolved by the village elders.

• Due to the deteriorating rainfall patterns, their condition has not improved over the last five years. To improve their lot, they need more public goods they need a borehole that will provide running water, a properly fenced garden with adequate
water and a milling machine to help the women who mill their grain by hand using a mortar and pestle. They also need a tractor to ease the arduous labour of ploughing their fields. They need a good road to link them to the outside and an ambulance to evacuate their sick to hospital.

- The one businessman among them blamed high transportation costs for the high price of goods available. He felt good road can help a long way. The discussion was lively and frank.

D.5.2 Women

- Date: 23rd March 2009
- Number of participants: 17
- Ages: 30, 50, 55, 35, 40, 31, 32, 70,
- Membership: Member of the health group, member of the VDC
- Occupational Situation: All the women present are farmers

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. Here, the public goods are not enough. For them, the public goods are limited to only bed nets and sugar that the president distributes to the villagers. Asked what were needed the most, they replied that they needed taps for easy access to potable water as there are not enough wells in the village, a school for their children to go to, a milling machine and a garden for the them to earn an income.

- General Question 2. These women say that the decision-making regarding the provision of public goods is fair and they always rally behind the Alkalo and accept whatever he says.

- General Question 3. The VDC has not in any way helped them; they know that the VDC has been formed, but they do not know what for.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 4. Election to the VDC is fair. The Alkalo identifies the person to be selected and they all agree; there is no opposition here. They all look up to the Alkalo and trust his judgment.

- Specific question 1. Intra-household relationship is cordial and the children’s learning is going on relatively smoothly without hindrance. Living and health conditions are fine. There is absolute mutual love between husband and wife / wives. Though they are not major decision-makers, whatever pertains to women is left for the women alone to decide.
• Specific question 2. The women’s lot has gone down dramatically these past five years, and the only way to elevate their conditions is to assist them in income activities to enable them earn a living and supplement the effort that their husbands are making.

D.5.3 Youth

• Date: 23rd March 2009

• Number of participants: 11 males, 4 females

• Ages: 19, 20, 27, 28, 29 and 30.

• Membership: All the respondents are in the Youth Group (KAFFOO)

• Occupational Situation: Most, or nearly all, of those present are farmers; one is a baker and one is a student: both are males.

Participants were selected at random by the survey team from the only two ethnic groups that constitute the village: Mandinka and Fula. All the male youth showed enthusiasm in taking part in the focus group discussion; but on the other hand, nearly all their female counterparts were shy in answering questions.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. When asked about the public goods, all of the youths replied that they were not adequate. For others, there are no public goods in the village. As to what will be needed most, the over-zealous future leaders of Dandugu village pointed out that easy access to potable water, a good road network, a school, electricity supply, a hospital and gardening projects are the most pressing ones. As to why the cited items are the most needed, the youth asserted that easy access to potable water will enhance the health conditions of the villagers; the poor conditions of the roads make life very unpleasant for the sick when they need to have access to the hospital located in Basse, which is ten (10) kilometres away; a youth in her early twenties posited that they need a school in their midst because people in this village are not exposed to the outside world due to lack of proper education: according to her, it is only through adequate formal education that they can come by that exposure; for them the existence of a steady supply of electricity will make life very comfortable for the villagers; health is an essential commodity and if the indigenous people of this area have a hospital nearby, they will have a peace of mind and can concentrate more on their daily chores, thereby boosting production; finally, the presence of a gardening project in the village will help create more jobs for the youths as they are all ready to do anything productive that come their way. When asked about the fairness of the use of the existing public goods, they said that the only unfairness about them is that they are inadequate. This results in a very few of the villagers benefit while the multitude do not.
General Question 2. As for the decision-making regarding the provision of public goods, they maintain that it is fair and its implementation is fairly distributed. The Alkalo always affects the decision-making regarding the provision of public goods: to them, this is normal and they do not feel cheated.

WDC / VDC questions

General Question 3. The youths are of the opinion that the Village Development Committee (VDC) is not helpful towards the needs of their community. They have not noticed anything beneficial that the VDC has brought to the village. The VDC chairman never attends Ward Development Committee meetings even when informed about such meetings: he is not doing what is expected from him. There is a flaw in the decision-making process which needs to be addressed.

General Question 4. Election to the various positions is fair, though, because two people are selected from every KABILOO (segment) in the village. There is a fair representation of the whole village: no group or groups of people is or are favoured at the expense of the others. The Alkalo always affects the election process. But to them, this is normal because he is verily trusted and he has never in any way shown dishonesty to the villagers.

Specific question 1. Living conditions of the youths is smooth when it comes to intra-household relationship: there is a very good rapport among members of the household. Family members are living happily together. But when it comes to the condition of life and work, and also the difficulty in finding a job, things look as though they have fallen apart. The youths are willing and able to work, but they have no implements to help them realise their dreams. To them, the football field they have here is below standard, which is why they do not see it as a football field. They do not have access to a discotheque or even music sets to listen to music from. Only one or two know what a library actually is, as they are unlettered.

Specific question 2. The youth have recognised that their condition has deteriorated in the last five years. Some have skills but lack the materials to work with. Others do not even have those skills. It will be ideal if projects for the youth were initiated in the village. The introduction of skills centres for them to acquire skills and trades will be very welcome. With the provision of these, the conditions of the youths are likely to improve dramatically.

D.6 Duta Bulu

D.6.1 Males

- Number of people: 10
• Membership: VDC: 42, Village Group: 6
• Occupation: Farmer: 4  Steel Fixer: 1  Mason: 1  Herdsman: 4

• The water is in a very poor state and the available water supply is not enough. In the rainy season, we use rain water as a supplement but during the dry season it is very difficult. The demand of water causes a lot of break down to the hand pump quickly due to the high demand and no immediate alternate source.

• When the hand pump got a break down we go to Farefenni 1.5km, Samataba 1km, or Kubandarr 3km to get water for the people and animals. We did not have a nursery school in the community and the closest facility is 1.5km from the village which is very difficult for our kids to trek particularly during rainy season. We cannot avoid over working the hand pump because of the high demand. We have over 1000 cattle in the village.

• They all express their dismay about lack of sufficient water facility. We really need agricultural inputs like fertilizer because even if you cultivate kilometers of land without fertilizer, your out put will be insignificant.

• The VDC is helpful and are working for the interest of the village. They knew that the village is their village and no one is going to develop it for them. There is a cordial relationship between us and our neighboring villages, we borrow land from them to cultivate.

• There were years that the salt normally appears in the grazing land, the animals roam about around the rice fields and at times destroyed the rice fields. Another problem is that the grazing land is now cultivated therefore we find it very difficult or impossible to reach good water without passing through the crops fields. We do our best to compromise the cases with our neighbors when our animals destroy their crop fields. We thank god that we always succeeds.

• The public goods in the village are fairly distributed amongst us. Business is now going down. Normally Bartering may pay little bit of profit but now if you want to sell you will fine out the market value and sell exactly that price so trading is no longer profitable. Any shop keeper who wanted to do business shall do the bartering system i.e. we will give you grains and you will give us the commodities otherwise we take our grains to Farafenni to sell and buy commodities. We really need water which is our main constrain.

D.6.2 Females
• Number of people: 11
• Ages: 35,37,30,30,60,30,37,30,35,40,42.
• Membership: Women Group: 11

• The group first claim water which they said is not hygienic. They used the water of the hand pump mostly to do domestic work and fetch drinking water at distance open wells. Which they said is not hygienic for drinking. They said they need a bore hole that has a solar system so that they can have water points in the village to ease queuing and easy access to water without problem. They specifically demanded the bore hole with solar system that will be easy to managed but the one with the generator would be very difficult to managed.

• They said they also need a skill center to be able to acquire lively hood skills like sawing, tie and dye, soap making etc., to increase their earnings. Their farms are last shown and last weed by their males. They have access to farming implements lately that affects their production. They said they need their own farming implement so that they can also make better harvest. Their low level of income creates an impact in their children’s schooling because they are the one giving out lunch money to their children.

• We also need an expert on this upland rice to come and train us on the cultivation of this variety so that we can use it as a supplement to the coose we consume sell to buy rice. The village VDC is selected by the villagers and it include both male and female. The few public goods in the village are fairly distributed amongst the people of the village. They also spoke about the Pre School children’s in the village since Farefenni is 1.5 km from the village. They also said they need milling machine to mill our coose.

• They said the few public goods in the village are equally distributed amongst the villagers and the provision decision and implementation are fair. We are also involved in all the activities of the village.

D.6.3 Youth

• Number of people 10

• Male: ages: 27, 25, 26, 23

• Female ages: 18, 26, 28, 18, 20, 22

• Membership: v d c: 1, Sport Group: 3, Credit corporation: 6.

• Occupation: Farming 4, Petty trading 2, House wife 4

• Our main problem is water and the only hand pump in the village gets break down all the time due to pressure. The alternative sources are 1.5km to 3km apart. The herders also have lot of problem to take the animals for grazing and bring back the animals for watering. The people and the animals all sharing the same water facility is unsafe. All the groups were concern about the poor water situation.
• The youths also talk about pre schooling nursery. The lack of football field is also a concern. We were unable to secure a field from the elders. We wanted to improve sports in our community.

• The VDC is accountable in all the village projects e.g. water management have committee. We need enough water so that we can also involve in gardening, we also need fertilizer to improve crop production. We need musical instruments as a means of entertainment for our ceremonies and can use it for income generating for hires in the village and out side the village which will also improve relationship with our neighbors.

• Now the youths of this village schooled and some of them are now working which was lack some years ago which is a development for the youths. We also need football field as a means of entertainment for the youths to reduce drift due to search for enjoyment.

D.7 Ghana town

D.7.1 Men

• Number of people: 9

• Ages: 30, 35, 35, 45, 39, 30, 37, 50, 37

• Membership: No membership in any group.

• Occupation: fishermen: 6  Teacher: 1  Businessmen: 2

• The people of this village were participating fully though there was translation of languages.

• In this village, there are only few public goods namely a nursery school, churches, mosque and the road. So these being the few public goods available they see them as inadequate for them and they need taps and a school as their first priorities. They said they need taps because they have only wells which are even uncovered ones are their only source of water available in the village. And these can be unhygienic and are owned by albeit the owners don’t restrict anyone from getting water from them. They also said about having a school in the village so that their children would be educated within the village and this would reduce the expensive on education by parents (i.e. there would be no payment transport by children to go to school. The few ones available are use equally by villagers and the distribution is fair.

• For this village, there is no VDC but they have an elder Council committee which has also brought some development to the village because they have built a community centre for the villagers.
• The villagers also said that they are living peacefully within themselves other vil-
lages because they even have some friendly football matches with other villages due
to the unity between them.

• As said by them their has been no improvement to them because they are no more
getting more fish when gone for fishing due to the lack of enough fuel or gas to
navigate to far areas to get more fish, no more loans to buy fishing tools nets,
machines etc.

• The men stress on having the provision of loans to buy the amount of fuel or fishing
tools needed to get enough income to take care of their families needs.

• The businessmen also added that if fishermen are given loans to improve on fishing
their business would also proceed. For the teacher, he did talk of having sponsors
to go to College so that he would be a qualify teacher and earn better salary.

D.7.2 Women

• Number of People: 11

• Ages: 35, 30, 30, 50, 42, 48, 40, 40, 32, 30, 32

• Membership: NGO: 2       Council Elders: 1       Village: 8

• Occupation: Teacher 1, Fishmongers: 7       Seamstress: 1, House Wife:2

• The women of Ghana Town were quick to mention the lack of toilet facility and
drinking water. One Woman said she bought a barrel of water every day at D30
which is not ever very hygienic. There is very few house hold that has toilet facility
and as a result they go to the bush to ease themselves. She said one day she wanted
to ease her self at night and told her sister to accompany her to the bush as they
were on the way they saw a snake and they were frightened and decided to go back
and stay uneasy the whole night till in the morning which was so horrible.

• They said that they experience a king of sore throat which they suspected to be
course by poor water quality that they drink. This they said kills, particularly
children and is very terrible to adults, they said since their husbands have less
catches now they do not have money to go to other fishing sites like Tanjay or
Katong to look for fish to prepare it (smoke, dry, etc) and sell. They need credit
facility to be able to get capital to work on their fish trade. Another woman said
because of this situation four of her kids have to drop out of school and feeding is
now a big problem. Some of their people migrated to Cassamace in Senegal to look
for a better fishing site. They urgently need credit facility, toilets and clean water
to improve their life and living condition of their facilities. The few public goods
they said are fairly used by the community it is only that they did not have enough
and they are not involve in the decision making of the village simply because they
are not the first settlers.
• The condition of women is really bad nowadays because due to the poor condition at the sea. Some of their husbands who came from Ghana to hustle here went back and leave them with the kids to take care of since living here is no longer beautiful as it used to be. Some migrated to better fishing sites in Senegal and some would miss their husbands for months before coming back from sails at other fishing sites.

• We are really living peacefully despite that we did not have an association. We are here for a common purpose although most of us are Ghanaians but we respect each other.

D.7.3 Youth

• Number of people:
  • Gender: Male 18, 18, 27, 18, 29.
  • Female: 21, 23, 25, 28, 28.

• Membership:
  • Occupation: Students: 4, Hair dressers: 2, Trader: 1, Teacher: 3

• The youths of Ghana town were quick to speak about the poor toilet facility and poor drinking water. They lamented about the rates of school dropouts which was cause by lack of catches at the sea as a result the parent earnings cannot feed and pay for school fees. They said they need scholarships to continue on their education. They also need electricity to earn them an engagement on making ice blocks and other ventures that cannot go without electricity. They also need fishing project to support their parents who are either fishermen or fish mongers

• They said they were exempted in the decision making of the town because according to the youths the first settlers say they came first so they should decide which is quite frustrating. They are never aware of the selection of the VDC or their work in the town. One of the youths said, they are excluded in the participation on national issues because they are treated as a foreigner and can only be teachers or fishermen or work in a private enterprises. Despite all there negative developments the public goods available are equally distributed among them.

D.8 Gui Jahanka

D.8.1 Males

• Ages: 33, 40, 53, 60, 55, 35, 38.

• Occupation: All farmers. In addition, 5 are fishermen.
• Group Membership: All belong to the village Association, 3 belong to the Forestry Group.

• These were the only ones who volunteered for the focus group discussion. They agreed that the public goods are not adequate, that the few in the village were available to all equally. They assert that the one well (with hand pump) is a cause for much discord among the women. The decision concerning the provision of public goods is taken by the whole village without any one person being able to affect such a decision.

• Their first need is for more wells with pumps to ease the pressure on the one village well. They also need a co-operative consumer store to provide goods at reasonable prices.

• A large proportion of the men are also fishermen, but their potential earnings from fishing are constrained by the lack of good boats and fishing nets.

• They would like to have credit facilities to be able to meet their needs in the area.

• The group is not aware of the existence of a VDC as such and, therefore, cannot talk about it.

• As for their intra-household relationships, they say that although conflicts do occur, they never get out of hand. Such conflicts are easily resolved by the village elders. Their relationships with other villages in the area are harmonious and conflict-free.

• They claim that their condition has improved a little during the last five years. There is more understanding and co-operation among them.

**D.8.2 Women**

• Ages: 50, 60, 53, 45, 40, 43, 32, 31.

• Occupation: All farmers

• Group Membership: All members of the Women’s Association.

• The public goods are not adequate. There is only one well in the village for all their water needs. The wells in their garden were fitted with pumps which have all broken down and they have to draw water by hand, which is slow and time-consuming. The whole village takes part in the decision-making process concerning the provision of public goods.

• They are not aware of a VDC.

• As to intra-household relationships, they claim that the men tend to leave much of the burden of their children’s education and healthcare needs to them.
• They have registered tremendous improvements in their condition over the last five years. Their garden has made a big difference in their lives. They are able to earn money to take care of some of their needs, especially their children's education. They said when they used to take their groundnuts to the buying points, they were given an IOU and it took several months to receive their money. Now they receive cash immediately on delivery.

• The public goods they cited to further improve their condition include more water pumps in the village, pumps for their garden wells, easier means of getting to hospital in emergency situations as well as markets for their garden produce.

• Some of the participants spoke in Fula, which was then translated into Wolof by one woman who dominated the discussion.

D.8.3 Youth


• Occupation: All farmers. In addition, 1 driver and 5 fishermen.

• Group Membership: All members of the Youth Association.

• The village needs more public goods, especially water. Decisions concerning the provision of public goods are taken by a committee which comprises men, women and youths. The decision of the committee is then brought before the whole village for approval or amendment. No one person can affect decisions.

• They claimed there is a VDC, though most of the villagers are unaware of it. This shows that there are serious shortcomings in the election of such a VDC.

• Youths have complete freedom in the pursuit of their youthful activities, like dancing and football. However they lament the lack of a field set aside for football. Through their activities, they are able to foster amicable relations among themselves.

• They said their condition has deteriorated over the five years. As farmers, they depend on the rains, and shortage of rain means less produce. They used to be able to buy sheep, goats and even cattle from their savings, but now they can barely feed themselves, much less save anything.

• To improve their condition, they said they needed credit facilities to start small businesses and to buy boats and fishing nets. They also need a skills centre to acquire trades to ease their unemployment. They need a milling machine for their women who have to mill their grain by hand. They also need a better variety of rice (like the high-yielding all-terrain “NERIKA” variety) to make them self-sufficient in food.

• The discussion was lively with both men and women making contributions.
D.9 Jakoi Sibrick

D.9.1 Men

- Number of people: 10
- Ages: 49, 33, 60, 80, 53, 35, 100, 80, 70, 56.
- Membership: VDC: 3, YouthsGroup:1 Forest Group:5 Alkalo:1
- Occupation: Farmer: 6, Baker: 1, Fishermen: 2 Carpenter: 1
- We need electricity to improve our business and agricultural inputs to improve our farming. We need inputs like fertilizers and implement to increase our earnings and household food. Our agricultural are not fertile now and without fertilizer we cannot make much gain.

- The decision making process is very fine but the problem is how to secure a project but the management at our village is fine. Although most of our VDC members are illiterate but they are transparent in their dealings.

- We respect the view of our elders particularly the Alkalo. When we have problem in our household or farms land, we will invite the elders into the issue and thank god we never have a problem that we cannot solve in our traditional way. We also want market for our products we need fishing materials in order to make our river productive to the villagers.

- The lack of fishing materials makes fish to be scarce in the community. We also need a health facility because the road condition is bad from the village to Sibanor or Bwiam.

- The few public goods available are fairly distributed among the villagers. The VDC was selected by the entire villagers and it includes both males and females. Through they were there since inception , we can change them if we see it necessary.

D.9.2 Women

- Number of people: 11
- Ages: 30, 40, 50, 45, 60, 100, 35, 30, 40, 45, 35.
- Membership: Women Group/ Village Group 11
- Occupation: Gardiner 8, Farmer 1, Firewood Seller 2. 2 were late, one said the child was sick and the other said was busy.
• The public goods in the village are not adequate because they fine it difficult to transport their sick people and even those in labor to the nearest health center due to lack of transport and bad road condition. There are very few carts in the village which are mostly not in order due to the cost to maintain and the owner take great care mostly in the rainy season.

• Their vegetable garden which is the main source of most of the women earnings is not properly fenced and the soil condition is so bad that they experience crop failure which does not happen before.

• The few public goods in the village are properly managed and distributed fairly among the villagers but access to fund to up grade or make new public goods is our problem.

• We belief that it is right as a Muslim man to marry up to 4 wives, so when ever our husband wanted to take another wife, they will come plain to us, we discuss and make agreement. If there is also a conflict he will call elders to make their judgment which is highly respected. The women are respected in Jakoi Sibrick because we are never excluded in any activities of the village especially in the construction of the public goods we supply them with water.

• During the selection of the VDC, we were there and even some women were selected in the VDC. The selection involved all the villagers and it was fair and all the house hold were represented during the gathering.

• The relation ship between us and the male improved very well, before we do not participate in the village decision making but now we are highly considered and respected.

D.9.3 Youth


• Female: 20

• Occupation: Driver: 3, Apprentice driver: 1, Unemployed: 2. membership: All Members of the Youth Association.

• Only six youths turned up for the focus group discussion.

• While noting that the village had a primary school, women garden, milling machine, and water pumps, they all agree that this was not enough for them. They said they needed a good road to link them to the out side, electricity and income generating projects to help them earn a decent living at home.
They said although they didn’t always participate directly in the decision making process, due to custom and tradition, their views are sometimes taken on board. As far as they knew, decision taken collectively and no one person can in any way affect them.

On the question of the VDC role in the community, they all agreed that it has helped foster closeness and co-operation among the people of Jakoi Sibrick. They felt the VDC election process to be fair, although some said the same people have been on the VDC since its inception three years ago. No single individual can influence election of the VDC.

Their relationship with other members of their house holds are conflict-free, save for the occasional family disagreements which are always resolved amicably. Unemployment is high among them since they can’t find jobs after finishing school. They do engage in youthful pursuits like sports (mainly football) and dancing. They organized disco nights and young people from the surrounding villages join them and they also go to other villages when they have youth activities.

Over the past five years, their condition has grown worst. Every year more young people leave school without finding jobs. They suggested that the establishment of commercial farms and the provision of a good road to take their produce to markets can go a long way toward alleviating their plight.

D.10  Jamwelly

D.10.1  Men

20th April 2009

Number of participants: 11

Ages: 45, 47, 50, 51, 55, 57, 65 and 68.

Membership: None of the men is a member of any group or association.

Occupational Situation: 1 driver, 2 carpenters, 1 fitter. The rest are without jobs.

Public goods provision  General Question 1. In answering this question, the men of Jamwelly asserted that the public goods in the village are far from adequate. The people of the village are in dire need of a school to lessen the distance travelled each day by their small kids to attend school; a hospital to cater for their medical needs; a skills centre for their youths who have completed grade 12 and are sitting without jobs; electricity to brighten up the whole village; additional taps to provide more potable water to the community; sports facilities for their youth. Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the public goods, all have equal opportunity in their utilisation.
General Question 2. Whenever something comes for the village, a group of people, called the Committee of Elders, come together to see how this should be adequately distributed to all. In a nutshell, according to the men present, there is total fairness in the provision of decision regarding the public goods. The people gathered said that they trust the Alkalo and whenever there is misunderstanding, he always intervenes and his word is final.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. There is no VDC in place and they are yet to benefit from anything that the WDC is providing.

- General Question 4. Answering to the question on the VDC election, the men replied that there is no VDC in the village and they are looking forward to having one.

- Specific question 1. Intra- and inter-household relationship is cordial and each one is his brother’s keeper. Relationship between groups in the village is smooth. The village is situated in such a way that it deals with all the surrounding villages daily and this rapport has brought about a cordial relationship between them. The same atmosphere reigns between the village and the authorities.

- Specific question 2. There has been positive improvement these past five years. To further improve these relationships, there is need for the following public goods to be in place:
  1. A macadamised road;
  2. A proper daily market structure;
  3. A hospital or a health facility.

D.10.2 Women

- Ages: 46, 60, 56, 50, 35, 45, 31, 32, 38,

- Occupation: 1 vegetable seller, 1 seamstress, 2 milk sellers, 3 food sellers, 3 charcoal sellers

- Group membership: All are members of the Women’s Association

- Jamwelly is a village that is rapidly losing its character. The ever-expanding Greater Banjul Area has eaten up all the land. The land that used to be farms is now carved up into plots for compounds and a once farming community has to look for other means of survival. This has led to a precarious existence which is the context within which this discussion took place.
• The women, all citing their extreme poverty, said the four standpipes in the village are far from adequate. They really have a hard time getting enough water for their household needs. The once main road that links them to the outside is a dirt road that becomes a river of mud during the rains.

• They said their is a VDC. In fact they hardly meet to discuss village matters. They hinted that the men were more interested in their personal pursuits than calling meetings to discuss village affairs.

• In their households, they struggle day and night to help their men-folk make ends meet. Some of them gather firewood which they burn to make charcoal. This is hard, back-breaking work as a result of which their health suffers. One of them wondered how they could have good health if they “work like donkeys and eat like cats”.

• They maintain good relations both among themselves and with women from the surrounding villages.

• Over the last five years, their condition has gone from bad to worse and they need urgent assistance. They need more standpipes in various parts of the village. They need a proper market, a good road and, at least, a health post.

• The provision of small, low interest loans will make a big difference to their lives.

• From the initial 10 women, the discussion gradually attracted a large crowd which agreed with everything the participants said.

• It was truly a meeting of the wretched of the earth.

D.10.3 Youth

• 20th April 2009

• Number of participants: 17 males, 6 females.

• Ages: 21, 18, 20, 21, 22, 26, 29, 23,

• Membership:

• Occupational Situation: driver, tile man, student, technician, musician, to-be-soldier
Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The public goods for these youths are not adequate. The community would need a school, a market, a football field, a good road, a skills centre, a community centre, electricity; enough taps, expanding the cemetery, a hospital. Despite the inadequacy of the existing public goods, there is absolute fairness in their usage.

- General Question 2. The decision provision regarding the public goods is not fair and implementation is not fairly distributed as the youths are totally excluded. Only a fraction of the villagers (about five elders only) decide what to do and what not to do. But this problem cannot be put on the shoulders of the elders alone; the youths are equally to blame, according to one of the youths because they are not united. If those in charge of the affairs of the village perceive that there is unity among the youths, there is the likelihood that the latter would be included in the decision-making process of the village. The decision-making process and implementation regarding the public goods is entirely in the hands of one person together with four of his cohort, which are the Alkalo and his group.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. There is no VDC in place and the WDC is not helping the community in any way. For them this is mainly due to the fact that there is disunity even among the elders themselves.

- General Question 4. As regards the question on the election of the VDC officials, the youths replied that there is no VDC in the village.

- Specific question 1. Intra-household relationship is cordial; the conditions of life for the youths are very hard as most of them are jobless and finding nowadays is very difficult. Most of them are so skillful but they do not have the opportunity to put their skills to good use. The youths do not have easy access to infrastructures like sports centres, discotheques and libraries. Whenever they want to organise dances or parties, they either borrow someone’s empty plot of land (chances are that the owners may refuse) and sprinkle water thereon or go to the next village. The youths do not have any say in the decision-making and implementation of the public projects in the village.

- Specific question 2. The conditions of the youths of Jamwelly have deteriorated drastically since five years. Their joblessness is the sole reason for this downfall in their living conditions. Those who have skills do not have the means to exercise what they acquired. The public goods needed to help improve the conditions of the youths are: a skills centre, a sports field, a market, a horticultural project, a school and a hospital.
D.11 Janack

D.11.1 Men

• Number of people
• Ages: 51, 35, 35, 39, 35, 38, 60, 49
• Membership: Sport group: 3, Men group: 5
• Occupation: Farmers: 6, Businessmen: 1, Carpenter: 1

• The males of Janack village said that they have few public goods but these are not enough for them. When it’s come to water they did mentioned that the will with pump is far from other homes and the water is not enough for all villagers. The village has a farm land but the land is very low in quality and no enough farm tools. There is a health centre but there are neither nurses/doctors no drugs. Among all the public goods mentioned they pointed out farm tools and fertilizers as the most things needed. Because they said that if provided with one of these mentioned above, their harvest and income would increase and this would ease the up-keeping of their families as most of them are farmers.

• The provision decision of public goods and implementation is fair. Also all villagers have equally use right to the public goods available.

• The VDC is helpful to the village because they have been searching for resources to repair the village wells and there has been more unity between villagers and other village’s villagers. The VDC executives are selected fairly by all villagers and no single individuals has the power or right to remove anyone on his/her own consent.

• There has never been any conflict between them and other villages.

• There has been improvement since 5 years ago because most of their children are going to school, there is a mosque in the village now.

• The men insisted on the provision of public goods like farm tools to increase their harvest and income. A doctor/nurse and drugs for the health centre structure in the village.

• The Businessman mentioned that the business is not growing faster as in previous years due to the bad roads, because its costly to transport goods from one place to another. The profit is also very low because customers see some of the prices are high. The goods are also expensive due to the inflation. For these being the cases the business man said that if good roads are provided the transportation of goods would be easier and goods would be cheaper for customers. Also if farm tools and fertilizer is provided to villages there would be income for them to buy goods they need and this would make the business grow faster. The FGD was interesting because these men didn’t hesitate to talk.
D.11.2 Women

- Number of people: 11
- Ages: 60, 43, 30, 45, 55, 60, 30, 53, 60, 52, 30
- Membership: Women group: 8, Credit group: 11
- Occupation: Farmers: 11

Public goods are not enough in this village they said. They need more taps to ease their way of getting water because some homes are very far from the hand pump and the village populace is high for the pump available. Lack of nurses or a health personnel and drugs in their health centre which is about 3km from the village.

- They complained that the health centre is far and some women do delivered on their way to the health facility and this can be harmful to their health. The public goods available are fairly use by villagers and public goods provision decisions are fairly made and implemented fairly. The Alkalo affects the decision making for their provision.

- These women said that the VDC is helpful to the village because they’ve tightened relations between villages and they motivate people to come and join villagers in communal activities. The VDC executives are selected by all villagers and no single person has the right to select or dismiss any selected person by villagers.

- There has been improvement in the status or lives of these women because they’ve now got a farmland which they farm during rainy season and the harvest from it is keep to help any family which finds it difficult to feed its people at difficult moments, also some of the harvest is sold and the money is use in any development for the village.

- The women mentioned the provision of public goods like farm tools to increase their harvest. A skills centre to train on other skills like sewing, tie and dye and soap making to engage in other income earning activities during the dry seasons. They need a garden project to engage in horticultural activities especially in the dry seasons to help them feed, cloth and school themselves and their children.

- The FGD was better because only 5 of them were willing to speak

D.11.3 Youth

- Number of people:
- Ages: male 19, 19, 20, 19, 18, 20.
- Female 20, 20, 19, 18
- Membership: sports group; 10
- Occupation: farmers: 3, apprentices: 3, unemployed 4
- The youth said they need clean water facility for the villagers and their animals. They said they need a garden to supplement the farming which is not giving many benefits for the village. As results of this the male students drop out of due to lack of fees. The parents cannot afford to pay their children school fees.
- They also need scholarship in order to continue their schooling.
- They also said they wanted their health post to be upgraded to have drugs and a permanent staff to ease them from the boarding of commuting from the village to Sibanor (10km) or Bwiam (18km) which is very difficult for them since they do not have transports. They also need agricultural inputs like tractors and fertilizer.
- They emphasized on having village garden to serve as a source of employment for the youths so that they can also help their households and can even eat part of the product to save them from going to the nearest village to look for vegetables.
- The youths were eager to say their needs and buttress that the public goods are fairly distributed among the villagers and the VDC is working towards the interest of the village. They said that the VDC was selected by the whole village and it includes both males and females.

D.12 Jigimarr

D.12.1 Men
- Ages: 40, 47, 45, 65, 68, 37, 52.
- Occupation: 1 social worker, 1 builder, 1 carpenter, 1 butcher, 1 donkey cart driver, 1 businessman, 2 farmers.
- Group Membership: All members of the Village Association, 1 VDC.
- Jigimarr is a village whose status is bound to change over the next few years. It is virtually a neighbourhood of Farafenni, a sprawling town that has swallowed up the surrounding land and still spreading. All the available farmland has been carved up into plots for residences. The group was selected from the first people who turned up. A few were enthusiastic about the discussion, the rest mere spectators.
- The discussion kicked off with everyone agreeing that the public goods in the village are far from adequate. The one hand pumped well is not enough for the village. The village garden has a few wells that dry up and need to be redug every now and then. However, use of the public goods is free and equitable. Decisions are taken by the VDC and are approved or disapproved by meetings of the whole village. No one has more say than anyone else.
• The VDC (20 members) is elected by all the village. The election is fair and transparent. This one is just about two years old and members are elected on the basis of competence. The VDC was instrumental in getting the village a garden and it has also set up a village Fund to which contributions are made by all households.

• Relationships within and between households are cordial and virtually conflict-free. This appears to be a tradition-conscious society where social hierarchies are still respected. The Alkalo is held in high esteem and he, in turn, acts as a primus inter pares.

• According to the group, the last five years have seen improvements in the life of the village. Inter-household relationships have improved greatly since everyone realised that in unity lay their strength.

• However, everyone agreed that they needed more public goods to further improve their lot. Their first need is for more water points (stand pipes or hand-pumped wells). They also need electricity, which has stopped just at the gates of the village. They would also like to have a tractor to transport sand and gravel to generate income for the village fund. A milling machine will also go a long way in easing the domestic labour of the women who travel a long way to have their grains milled.

• The discussion started with everyone trying to get the others to start it off, but once it got underway, ideas started flowing albeit from a few people.

D.12.2 Women

• Ages: 46, 38, 48, 36, 33, 70, 52, 32.

• Occupations: 1 vegetable seller, 1 soap seller, 2 fish sellers, 2 firewood sellers, 3 food sellers.

• Group Membership: All members of the Women’s Association, 1 VDC member.

• The one hand-pumped well in the village is not adequate for the water needs of the whole village, though every effort is made to ensure that its use is fair and equitable. Being the only water point in the village, squabbles are inevitable over its use. But such squabbles never get out of hand.

• The decision-making process concerning the provision of public goods involves everyone without discrimination and no one person can affect decisions.

• They assert that the VDC is useful since it was instrumental in bringing the hand-pumped well to the village. The VDC’s election was fair and transparent. Everyone in the village participated in the election.
• Inter-and intra-household relations are smooth. Women play an important role in the upkeep of their households, both financially and otherwise. They also maintain cordial relations with women from the surrounding villages.

• They all maintain that over the last five years there has been some improvement, however little, in their condition. Co-operation among them has improved greatly.

• They, however, need more public goods. They said the provision of adequate potable water is their first priority. The single hand-pumped well is insufficient for their needs. They need to have their garden properly fenced to protect it from animals who destroy their crops. They also need to have wells equipped with hand pumps in the garden. Currently, the garden has only two wells which serve more than 60 women and these wells dry up frequently. They need means of reaching hospital in an emergency, especially for pregnant women. They need a milling machine to ease their domestic burden; they either travel a long way to mill their grain or do it by hand, which is very time-consuming. They need a skills training centre where they can be taught skills like sewing and tie and dye to supplement their earnings.

• The discussion was dominated by one woman who turned out to be the leader of the Women’s Association. However, everyone ended up pitching in.

D.12.3 Youth

• Ages: 30, 29, 28, 21.

• Occupations: 1 soldier, 1 teacher, 1 electrician, 1 bricklayer, 2 students, 1 adult literacy facilitator.

• Group Membership: All members of the Youth Association, 2 VDC members.

• This lively discussion started with everyone asserting that the public goods in the village are very inadequate. They said water, which is the source of life, is not adequate. The only hand-pumped well serves not only the village, but sometimes the residents of Farafenni when their taps run dry. However, they said decisions concerning the provision of public goods are taken by the whole village and no one person can override or affect decisions.

• The VDC, which is 2 years old, is, in their view, useful. They claim the VDC brought the village within the CDDP. It also set up a village fund to which everyone contributes. Its election was done in the presence of the majority of the villagers, with everyone participating.

• Young people have developed a strong spirit of co-operation and they have a good rapport with all age groups. Through this co-operation, they recently finished building a house for the Alkalo for free.
• They always get together to enjoy youthful pursuits like music and football. However, they lamented the fact that they do not have a football field since all the land has been given away. They cite their new-found spirit of co-operation as proof that their condition has improved over the last five years. They, however, expressed needs which could bring them more improvements. They mentioned a skills centre where they can learn trades to ease the unemployment among them, which is very high. They need a football field where they can play at all times. Other needs include a health facility, electricity and more hand-pumped wells or even stand pipes to provide clean drinking water.

• Only seven youths took part in the discussion. The rest of the youths were either at school or trying to make ends meet in Farafenni. Everyone present seemed to defer to the soldier who apparently belongs to one of the wealthiest families.

D.13  Kaimu

D.13.1  Men

• Number of people: 10
• Ages: 80, 43, 55, 47, 62, 57, 49, 53, 59, 50
• Membership: VDC:3 Village Group: 7
• Occupation: Farmers: 9 Businessman: 1

• Kaimu comprises of 3 settlements, the other two are 1.5km and 1km respectively away from the main settlement which have no water facility. They fetch water from the main settlement. The water is also not enough for both the people and animals.

• We need electricity to ease communication e.g. to charge our mobile phones. The nearest facility for our basic needs e.g. health, charging, etc is at Sibanor which is 1.5km from the village. We encounter problems with animals and wounding our children at water points, which are terrible. When the animals need water and the children didn’t know how an animal can be brutal, when trying to drive them away and the animals will just attack them.

• The VDC is fairly selected and there is a mutual understanding in the village. All the buildings in the village are building by the villagers at no cost. You only buy corrugated iron sheet and provide lunch for the workers the days that they come to work for you. We have council of elders in the village who will mediate between the people so as to control any tension or misunderstanding. We have over 300 cattle that use the water.

• The schools expenses have cause us not to make savings. The business in this community can be viable only if you have good capital because at times food is
scarce in this community and during that period community rely on the business and if the business is not strong you end up collapsing.

- We need tractor for the village that can work for us both rainy and dry season as an income generating activities. We also need feeder road from Tamba Kunda via Kusamai to Sibanorr for a easy transport of our sick people and goods. They were friendly and welcoming. They were all eager to speak even those who were not selected were not far from the group in order to hear the contribution of their people.

D.13.2 Women

- Number People: 13
- Ages: 55, 39, 37, 42, 52, 55, 35, 50, 60, 30, 60, 70, 33
- Membership: Credit Group = 13
- Occupation: Business Ladies = 4 Farmers = 9

- Villagers in Kaimu village complained about two inadequacies of the public goods in the village by saying that the water they have is not enough for all villagers due to the time it takes to get water when gone to the pump. The villagers also said that the farm tools. They can’t use them at the same time when needed by many people and this leads to the late cultivation of farm lands by others.

- These women said that tools are the most important public goods they need. According to them they need farm tools to ease their farming and increase their produce. To them, the produce or harvest would earn them income to settle their children school bills, clothing and feeding for the family as most of these women are farmers.

- Public goods provision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. Also the few public goods available are equally use by everyone in the village.

- The Alkalo affects the decision making process for public goods provision because he has the final say in most things.

- The VDC is helpful to the villagers because since its establishment they have brought a pump well for the village and the VDC do gives out loans to villagers without any interest.

- The VDC is selected by all villagers both male and females and no one or no single person has the right to eliminate any VDC executive member without the consent of all villagers because that person that person is selected by all villagers. These VDC are people who can mobilize and bring development to the village.
• The relationship between themselves and other villagers are peacefully and unit. The women in this village said that there has been some improvement but still they have things lacking and would need water, farm tools as mentioned before, fertilizer to improved or increase their harvest. For business ladies they have said that the business is poor nowadays because the profit is low and they have no fixed places to sell their goods.

• The FGD was so interesting because most of them were contributing.

D.13.3 Youth

• Number of people: 10

• Ages: 20, 21, 28, 25, 25, 26, 29, 22, 29, 21

• Male: 3 Females: 7

• Membership: Youth group : 6 Credit Group : 4

• Occupation: Carpenter apprentice : 1, Farmers : 2, Electrician apprentice : 2, Student : 1, Housewives : 3, Driving apprentice : 1

• The youths of Kaimu did say that they also lack enough water due to the growing populace (i.e. they have only two hand pumps for the villagers) and the store is also in bad conditions because the roof is bad and nothing can be kept during the rainy seasons, for these being the case they complained of having inadequate public goods for the villagers.

• The most important thing they need is a senior secondary school or a skill centre. A senior secondary school to ease their movement or to increase their literacy level because there is no senior secondary school near to their village to avoid them from leaving their village to stay in villages where senior schools are and its difficult to have a guardian at times. We need a skills training centre in other to be self reliant.

• They said that the few available public goods are use by everyone equally and the distribution of public goods is fair and the Alkalo affects there decision making process.

• The VDC is helpful to the village as also mentioned by the youths because with their help, the villagers get another hand-pump. The selection of its executive is done fairly by all villagers and no individual has the right to dismiss any VDC executive on his/her own.

• The villagers mention that they are living peacefully within themselves and other villages.
• There has been improvement when it comes to support because for the past three years, the youth of this village has immerged winners of the Inter-village tournament but they lack football kits like jerseys, footballs, and football shoes (streaks). In terms of employment, they say they are not improving because most of them can’t secure jobs. For education, there is improvement as most of them are literate to junior secondary level.

• These youths stressed on the provision of a senior secondary school to complete their schooling as mentioned earlier, job centers to avoid them to move to urban areas in search of jobs to earn income and to help their parents.

• The FGD was interesting through the females were in majority because males of youths age were hard to get.

D.14 Kandong

D.14.1 Men

• Number of participants: 8

• Ages: 65, 84, 32, 30, 56, 66, 52

• Membership: 1 is a village elder; all the rest are members of the Men’s Group.

• Occupational Situation: farmers

• The men of Kandong village didn’t hesitate to say that they have public goods like well, mosque garden, and a store. Among the public goods available, water is the most important public good they need because the wells are uncovered wells and are two for the whole village and the water can be unhygienic. So that being the case they need the provision of taps are covered wells so that they can have clean drinking water and the garden can have enough water which would increase income and also reduce the energy needed for watering the garden. The available public goods are fairly use by all villagers.

• Public goods provision decision making process. The VDC is helpful to the village & villager because they involve or organize communal activities like cleaning the main highway and providing financial help to the village if the need arises.

• The VDC members are selected by each tribe having or choosing a member to be part of VDC. They change VDC exclusive members every 3 years but still selected in the same manner. No single person has the right to dismiss or eliminate and VDC members without the concern of other family member or villages.

• These men said that they have no conflicts between themselves and other people because they help each other in farm work, other people in neighboring villagers come for Friday prayers to their village due to the peace & harmony between them.
• These men said that they have little improvement because their farm products are very low compared to previous villagers. They mentioned the provision of farm tools and fertilizers and this would increase their farm prod which would provide income and food for their families. The emphasize those provision or ease their movement. They said good roads because it’s difficult for their wives to take their vegetables to the market for sale due to the bed condition of the road. Also if a person is sick, you use only donkey cards, horse means of transportation are slow so if a car vehicle is provided for the village it would ease their improvement.

D.14.2 Businessmen

• Number of participants:

• Ages: 29, 30

• Membership:

• Occupational Situation: Business men

• The two business men in the focus group mentioned the village has public goods like the school, garden, uncovered wells and a mosque but these public are few. This group said clean water is the most important thing they need as it is one of the most essential things in my life and they get few wells for the whole village and these are uncovered wells and is unhygienic to be using that water especially for drinking. The wells are also from other compounds. The public goods available are although few but are equally use by all villagers

• The public goods provision are fair & implementation is fairly distribute but the Alkalo has the final say and so being the case use affects. It decision making process.

• They mentioned that the VDC is helpful to the village because they raised money for the development of the village mosque. They are selected fairly by the participation of all villages and different people are selected to be executive members at different periods.

• These business men said that they do have problem with their customers that is the ones they buy stocks from and to these they sell to because of the unstable price of stocks. These problems are solved by explaining to the buyers how unstable price are from sellers.

• These men said that the business is not improving compared to previous years because their customers in the village who are mainly farmer don’t have huge harvest these years and this has made them limit there buying because they don’t have enough income. The road is bad and this affects the selling price of their stocks
• The guys mentioned that if farm tools & fertilizers are provided for the villagers their business would improve. Also if they have good road linking them to the main highway transportation would be easier and selling price would increase due to the transport cost.

D.14.3 Youth

• Number of participants: 11
• Ages: 18, 18, 20, 19, 24, 22, 18, 20
• Membership: all are members of youth’s groups
• Occupational Situation: 1 carpenter apprentice, 2 masons, 2 students; all the rest are unemployed

• The youths of kandong said they have public goods namely school, store, wells and goods are not enough because the power tiller is in the village without performing it duties due to the poor rice fields available and they want it to be performing to gain income for the village and this can be done if their rice fields are leveled. The youths Said that water is the most important public good they need because the village has open wells and they are few while other compounds are far from those wells, also the water is unhygienic because the wells are uncovered so these being the case the need taps or hand pumps wells. They said the few available are equally use by all villagers. Public goods provision fair & implementation is fairly distributed but Alkalo affects the decision making processes because he has the final say.

• The VDC is helpful because they provided the fence of the garden and also since its establishment villagers contribute in village activities in large numbers & activity.

• The VDC executives are selected fairly as mentioned by the villagers. That is they are selected by all villagers and no single person affects their selection because the VDC executives are selected by every tribe selecting its member to represent them in the executive member every few years and not specific or certain people are selected every years.

• Youths in kandong said that there are no job centers in the village and that is causing most of them to migrate to urban areas in search of job opportunities. They said they are living peacefully within themselves. They also mentioned that they are involved in decision making and their opinion is highly considered.

• The youths said that there is improvement because most of them go to school to primary level at least. But would also like the provision of farm tools as most of them help their parents in their farm and farm tools fertilizer farming would be easy and their harvest would increase. They need good roads to link them to the main road.
D.14.4 Women

- Number of participants: 9
- Ages: 55, 48, 62, 35, 30, 30, 31, 37, 61
- Membership: all are members of women groups
- Occupational Situation: All are farmers

The women of kandong village said they have public goods like a store, garden, pump wells and a power, tiller. But these are inadequate because the garden does not have enough water supplies; the hand-pumped wells are few for the populace; they need electricity in their village and a milling machine to reduce the load of household chores.

Among the public goods mentioned above, water is the most important thing they need because they have two wells for the whole village and this has made it difficult for them to get water, and the need water for their garden to increase their product. They said they would like to have taps because tap water is clean safe to drink. The public goods available are equally use by all villagers.

- Provision decision making is fair implementation is fairly distributed but the Alkalo is likely to affect its decision making process.

- The VDC is helpful to the villagers because with their help part of the garden fence is constricted and a milling machine was provided for the village but it is not working at the moment.

- The VDC members are selected by the whole villages and there is no favouration during there selection. No single individual can eliminate any member without the agreement of all villages.

- The woman said that they are living peacefully within themselves the woman said that at times they find it difficult to pay the school fees of their male children. They said they are involved in decisions making in the village and their contributions are highly considered.

- They mentioned that there has been improvement for them since 5 years because they are not paying school fees for their female children. But they said they need projects like soap&tie&dye making to have other skills and to increase their way of getting income. They would like to have good roads because it’s difficult for them to transport their goods or products to the market after cultivation.
D.15 Kerr Mot Hali

D.15.1 Men

- Number of participants: 20
- Membership: Youth Group Leader, Members of the Men’s Group, oldest person in the village acting as adviser to all the existing groups, ordinary villagers.
- Occupational Situation: Driver, farmer, sculptor, marabout, 1 businessman.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The public goods in this village are apparently far from adequate. When put to those gathered what were the most needed ones, they asserted that they are in urgent need of the following:

1. A SEED STORE: the village does not have where to keep seeds, and this has brought production down.

2. GOOD WATER SUPPLY: the inhabitants find it very tough to deal with the scarcity of water. There are only two wells to cater for the whole village.

3. A MILLING MACHINE: women in this community still employ the traditional method when milling their grains. The availability of a milling machine in their midst will be highly welcome.

4. A HOSPITAL OR A HEALTH FACILITY: the health of a community plays a major role when it comes to production. The healthier a person is, the more productive he is likely to be. Whenever somebody falls ill, they have to trek a long to have access to medication. This community would cherish it verily if a health facility were brought nearer to them.

5. A CONSUMER SHOP: this village is more or less a poor village, and should a consumer shop be brought to the village, the lot of the poorest denizens would have been bettered.

6. A SCHOOL: most children in this village are not going to school because the nearest one is more than 6 km away.

- The use of the existing public goods is fair. No one has ever experienced biasness when it comes to public goods and each one is treated fairly.

- General Question 2. Decision-making regarding public goods is fairly distributed. This village is one big family, whereby all members are consulted whenever public goods come to the village. Everybody’s view is welcome. No one, whether in, or outside, the village, is likely to affect decisions pertaining to the distribution of public goods.
WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The WDC / VDC have been very helpful towards the needs of Kerr Mot Hali. The VDC has even made the villagers all the more united. Everything that they do, they do it together, all thanks to the VDC. Those at its helm are doing their jobs as expected from them; they need a pat on the back.

• General Question 4. Election to the various positions in the VDC is fair and everyone has a chance of being elected; the process is democratic in all respects. The only incentive for the officials is the amount of trust vested on them. In the event that any of them is bias or corrupt, they are advised during a duly convened meeting. Should they fail to abide by what is right, they are then removed from office and replaced by other willing ones. Rapport between the villagers and the WDC is made smooth by the existence of the VDC who serve as a link between the two.

• Specific question 1. Relationships within and between households; between groups (Men’s Group, Women’s Group and Young People’s Group); between the village and the authorities; and between this village and other villages are excellent. There has never been any conflict whatsoever between them.

• Specific question 2. Their conditions, these five years, have improved greatly, owing to the unity among them. To help them improve these conditions better, they would need good health, easy access to farming implements and a school for their young ones. The businessman among them asserted that business has taken a downhill trend these five years and the only possible way to revitalize it is through letting the businessmen have easy access to credit.

D.15.2 Women

• Number of participants: 15
• Ages: 35, 40, 52, 30, 53, 36, 49
• Membership: 1 is the leader of the Women’s Daira (Religious Group); all the rest are members of the Women’s Group
• Occupational Situation: All are farmers.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. The public goods in this village are not adequate. What they will need most are the following:

1. Potable water, as there are only four taps in the whole village;

2. Health facility because they have to trek a long way to reach the nearest one;
3. Market; there is no structure that can be called a market;

4. Milling machine to alleviate the burden of household chores on women.

- Despite the inadequacy of the available public goods, there is fairness in their use. The women maintain that they all rally behind the Alkalo, and whatever he says they go by it.

- General Question 2. The people in this village are one and the same. Whenever anything comes for the village, the Alkalo liaises with the Serign (the village Scholar), who advises him on what to do as the latter is their spiritual leader.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The VDC has been very helpful towards the needs of Kerr Mot Hali, though they do not know of the existence of the WDC. For them, the service that the VDC is rendering to the community is not, in any way, biased because everybody benefits.

- General Question 4. The election of the VDC members is fair and transparent. This is done in the village square where everybody is represented and has a say, though the outcome has to be endorsed by the Serign.

- Specific question 1. The social setup in the village is such that it does not allow room for any discord. The unavailability of a school nearby is the sole reason their children are not going to school, but they have enrolled in the Dara (Arabic school); as for health, they are strictly abiding by the rules of hygiene, which include cleansing the environment; husband-wife rapport is good; the womenfolk claim that they are included in the community’s decision-making process.

- Specific question 2. The women’s lot in this village has taken a downhill trend, these five years, and to help improve this situation, the following public goods are required:

1. A market;
2. A steady source of potable water;
3. A milling machine;
4. Easy access to credit, to enable them earn an income.
D.15.3 Youth

- Number of participants: 10 males; 6 females.
- Ages: 26, 25, 29, 23, 19, 20, 24, 19,
- Membership: Leader of the Youth Group; all the others are members of the Youth Group.
- Occupational Situation: 2 drivers, 1 welder, 1 Arabic teacher; the rest are farmers

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The youths of Kerr Mot Hali emphasise that the public goods in their community are not enough.
- For them the following public goods are the most pressing ones:
  1. A health facility for them to stay healthy;
  2. Drinking water;
  3. A gardening project
- The use of the available public is fair. All have equal access to them.
- General Question 2. Public goods decision provision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed, according to the youths. If there is anybody who can influence the decision-making process regarding the public goods, it is the Serign (Marabout), who is their spiritual leader. For them, his influence is for their own good.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The VDC has been very beneficial to the needs of the village. This assistance is for everybody; no one is favoured at the expense of the others.
- General Question 4. Election to the positions in the VDC is fair. It is democratically conducted with all the facets of the village equally represented. No one influences the election process. The job of those elected to the VDC positions is impressive. It is mainly due to their good job that there is unity among them.
- Specific question 1. Intra-household relationship is smooth and no major conflict has ever arisen between households. There may be some small quarrels among themselves, though. But these are easily taken care of, because they are one and the same people. Living conditions for the youth are good. Most of the youths are not lettered in the western type of education, which is why they not aspiring for white-collared jobs. As for infrastructures like sports facilities, music houses and
libraries...etc., their community has a religious inclination and this does not allow them to give priority to mundane things. There is good understanding between them and their elders who trust their judgment. This is why they are put at the forefront when it comes to decision-making; they are not left behind.

- Specific question 2. These five years, the conditions of the youths have improved because they are a hard-working community. Each, up to this point agricultural output has increased. To help improve more on the conditions of the young, the following public goods are needed: Electricity. Most of the youths are skilled welders, tailors...etc. the presence of electricity will make them stay here and work instead of migrating to the urban areas. A hospital. There is need for the village to have a health facility in their midst, because if the young are healthy, agricultural productivity will soar up. A skills centre for the young women.

D.16 Kulukuleh

D.16.1 Men

- Water which we regard as the most important in life is not enough in the village. Agricultural inputs are not available in the village.

- The reason for the acute water supply was due to the break down of the hand pump in the village. We normally repair it but we are unable to secure an additional one for the village. There was a time when we have a fire break out in the village and there was no water in the village. I was just luck i nearly loose my entire valuable a member of group said.

- The hand pump at the skills training is the only pump working in the village.

- We need electricity in the village so that w can utilise it to make an income. The people in this community are farmers therefore we need agricultural inputs to increase our production since the lands are no longer fertile. The skills training centre in the village is benefiting the entire community .There are mutual relationship between the house holds. The relationship between us and our neighbours are really cordial. When ever there are conflicts any where, whether in the village or out site the village a delegation from other neighbouring village will come to mediate and thank God this strategy has never fail.

- When ever there are emergencies we all join hands together. When I suffer from burn that year all the people in this area joint hands to help me throughout the rainy season it seems as if I did not have problem. In fact that year I harvested more than what I use to get , another member of the group lamented.

- We have difficulties in transporting out sick people to the health centre due to poor road condition. We need a feeder road to Basse to ease the transportation problem.
• The few public goods available in the village are equally distributed and there implementation and provision decision is fair.

• The business in this community is improving because formally we have hawkers but now we have shop keepers in the village and we are able to get most of our basic commodities in the village. We also need a market in the village where we can sell our products.

D.16.2 Women

• Number of people: 11

• Membership: Women Group: 11

• Occupation: Gardeners: 11

• The public good available in the village is not enough. The skills training centre that we are conducting this discussion has three room that are not furnished and we are making tie and dye but we are lack of materials. The women are the ones responsible of the skills centre. We would also wanted to incorporate other skills training like construction and carpentry so both men and women can train skills. If the houses in the skill centre are furnished we can use it for a guest house and an income generating for the community. We also need market for our product so that we can buy more product and save the profit.

• We would also need agricultural inputs and enough water supplies in the village.

• The 15 member VDC were selected by the entire village including both males and females. The VDC are doing extremely well in the village activities.

• Although our spouse are the major decision makers at house hold level but we are always consulted about what they intends to do. When they need a second wife, they consulted us even though we cannot change the decision. We belief that for your husband to have more than one wife is quite normal and is also a development for you the wife because the house hold core jobs are going to be divided which means you will have more time to do your own activities. This is our belief and it has never created any problem in our house hold. We have a very strong bond of relationship between us. We always consulted the village administrator like the alkalo about any development around us.

• We need a health facility to take care of our sick people since the nearest facility is at basse which is far from us.

• The condition of the women are improving now compare to five years ago because now we have a place to train a lively hood skills for the development of women in the community. We are consulted by our spouses at house hold level. We are involved in the decision making of the village and also committee members.
D.16.3 Youth

- Number of people: 13
- Male: 8
- Female: 5
- Membership: Women Group: 1 Youth Group: 1 Village Group: 11
- Occupation: Gardeners: 5 Farmers: 8

- We need sufficient and clean water facility in the village. There is only one hand pump in the village. We are all depending on this source and the alternate supplies are the open wells at the garden. The road linking the village to Basse is in a very poor state. Its condition is even worst during the rainy season. It’s very hard to transport our sick people to the health centre. We would want a good feeder road to Basse.

- We really need a football field in the village which we were unable to secure from the elders of the village. The pitch we are using belongs to a villager whom we work in the rainy season in his farm so that during the dry season we can use the pitch as a football field. These arrangements could fail when the owner needs his plot. We try several times to get a place from the elders but we could not simply because they are seeing it as a very useless.

- We did not enjoy any privilege in this village, we did not have a football field and we never have privilege at the skill centre. During the rainy season when the premises of the centre are covered with grass, they would want us to go there and do the clearing. But if we wanted any service at centre, we have to pay . There should be a mutual understanding for the smooth running of the centre and other village.

- The VDC members were selected by a very few people in the village and responsibilities were also given to them. The VDC were not accountable because the funds that the village uses for its activities were monies that we were paid for in the rainy season on hire labour. we do not know where the VDC funds were used. We are neither members of the VDC or were we aware of their selection

- Since we are the work force of the village, they should give us our basic needs so that we can also be happy in the village.

- The lack of school in the village was caused by the elders of the village. They said they did not need the school because the village never get a school. In a village where there is no access to education and no youths activities therefore the condition of the youths are going down.

- The youths were quite eager to express their feelings but also demanded for a solution to their problems. There is no place like home.
D.17 Kusamai

D.17.1 Men

- Number of people: 11
- Ages: 80, 48, 60, 60, 65, 64, 39, 54, 75, 47, 43
- Membership: Village Group: 11
- Occupation: Farmers 11

- The water in our community is not enough for us this is why our women quarrel at the well. The only well in our community is use by both is animals and the people. At time before you get water it will be late as a result all the house fetching water at one water point. The water mostly get polluted and we cant avoid drinking it since there is no alternate source which is also unhygienic to the populace. Some of the house holds are too far from this water point and fetching water and transporting it is also very difficult.

- The only alternative are the near by villages which are 2 to 3 km from the village. We also need a community center to be able to make available early childhood education in the community. As our under fives in the village will trek up to Kaimu which is too far and unsafe particularly at the busy period when they are to trek alone as a results we withdrew our kids. Now there is lack of water in the community it affects not only the people but our animal alike because when are animals lack both water and food the animal may not be very useful in the rainy season which is our only hope for income generation.

- We need a village garden with sufficient water facility so that we can all engage in irrigated agriculture and also grow tree plants like fruits to increase our income.

- The few public good in the village are equally distributed despite that they are not enough. The public goods provision decision and implementation is fair. The relationship between our house hold in the village very good and the relations between us and our neighboring village is very cordial.

D.17.2 Women

- Number of people: 9
- Ages: 40, 58, 55, 60, 52, 65, 50, 30, 45
- Membership: Credit Union: 9
- Occupation: farmers: 6, Business ladies: 3
• The women in this village did say that they have few public goods namely, a well with pump where they will get water, a garden, villagers farm and a milling machine. But with all what they mentioned, they did say that these public goods are inadequate for them. When it comes to water, they said the water supply is not enough for all villagers and others are far from the pumped well. The garden is not properly fenced and the milling machine is not good at the moment. These women mentioned that enough water supply is the most important public good they need because the supply available now is not enough and they would also need water in their garden to have enough water for their vegetables to increase their harvest and income. Albeit the ones available are few, but all villagers have equally use rights.

• Public goods provision and implementation is fairly distributed and the Alkalo affects the public good provision decision making.

• The VDC is helpful to the village as said by these villagers because since its formation there has been more unity among villagers and many people do participate in collective village activities due to the courage and motivation the VDC gives to villagers. Also a well is erected in the village through the tired less effort of the VDC executives.

• The selection process of the VDC is fair because all villagers contribute to the selection of its executive and no single person has the right to eliminate any executive member on his/her own consent.

• The women also said that there is no conflict between themselves and other villages, they share household chores within themselves and their health status is good though there is no health centre in their village. They are allowed in decision making in the village and their opinions are highly regarded.

• Their evolution is better but would be best if they are provided with public goods like a Nursery school for their young children between 4 – 6 years, clinic or village doctor/nurse to be handling their health cases because the health center is about 2km away from their village and these causes trouble to them if someone is attacked by sickness during the night or while raining. Good roads to ease their movement or link to other villages.

• The FGD was also interesting because most of them were contributing.

D.17.3 Youth

• Number of people: 9

• Gender: Males: 5 Females: 4

• Ages: 19, 25, 18, 22, 20, 28, 22, 23, 19.

• Membership: Youth Group: 9
• Occupation: Farmers: 8          Student: 1

• We need enough water supplies because the people in this community lack sufficient water for both human and our animals. If we have enough water supply we can embark on irrigated agriculture by growing vegetable. The acute shortage of water in the village causes us not to do gardening as a supplement to our rainy fall agriculture in order to increase our income so that paying for our children’s school fees could be easier.

• We need a nursery school to replace the then existing one which was collapse before we cannot maintain the teacher by paying out salaries. The building was also very old.

• We have over one hundred youths who are school drop outs due to lack of fees. We need a skills training centre to provide these youths with skills in order to contribute their quota to the national development.

• We also need a garden project as a means of engagement for the youths. We also need a milling machine to ease the house hold chores. We also need a mosque so that we can perform Friday prayers in the village instead of trekking to Sibanorr which is about three kilometers.

• We need electricity so that the village can be safer at night and the students can also use the light to study. The basic amenities will also be available to reduce the drift to the urban centers.

• The few public goods in the village are fairly distributed in the village and the provision decision and implementation is fair. We are also involve in the decision making process in the village. We also need sports gears to encourage our youths in football. We have some young talents who need to be encouraged. The youths also mention about lack of employments in the village.

D.18 Latriya

D.18.1 Men

• Number of participants: 19

• Ages: 46, 50, 30, 38, 55, 65, 40, 70, 31.

• Membership:

• Occupational Situation: Arabic teacher, driver, farmer, herdsman, mason, businessman, teacher.
Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The public goods in this village are not adequate. Potable water is the main concern of the village at this juncture as the available taps are not enough (only 4 of them). This is seconded by provision of a market, a good road network to facilitate communication, a milling machine to lessen the household chores on the womenfolk and also electricity to light up the village. There is fairness in the use of the available public goods; they are easily accessed by all.

- General Question 2. Decision-making regarding the provision of the public goods is fairly implemented and all the Kabilos are fairly represented. Nobody, within and outside the village, has an influence over this decision-making process.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has been very beneficial to the village, and it is not biased in the help it provides to the community. The VDC has even brought about unity in the village

- General Question 4. Election to the various positions in the VDC is fair. People are selected from all sectors in the village. All the tribes, groups and sub groups are well represented. There is true democracy at play. The election process is not controlled by anyone. Those elected to the VDC posts are doing their job accordingly. Whenever they are from a WDC meeting, they convene another one to communicate to the populace whatever deliberations arrived at from the WDC meeting.

- Specific question 1. Relationships within and between households are excellent. There is no conflict whatsoever. Everyone looks up to the other as his / her brother / sister. There is a cordial rapport between the existing groups (men, women and youth). As for the authorities, the villagers have never had any misunderstanding with them. The other surrounding villages are sisters to Latriya. There has not been any significant conflict between them in recent history, though there is a problem between them and Busumbala Village. Some people squatted on their land. This was about 5 years or so ago. When they were confronted, they alleged to have bought the land from the Alkalo of Busumbala. After much push and pull, the matter was finally taken to the district chief where it is still pending.

- Specific question 2. These relationships have, these five years, improved for the better. To help improve these relationships, the following public goods are needed

1. A bakery;
2. A good road;
3. A market;
• Business these five years has not been as good as expected due to lack of capital. The lot of the businessman could have been improved if the banking facilities minimised the interest they levy on credit so that the former could have easy access to those credits.

D.18.2 Women

• Number of participants:
• Ages: 30, 33, 43, 45, 48, 53, 55, 62, 65, 80, 85
• Membership: All are members of the Women’s Group
• Occupational Situation: 1 is a cleaner at the clinic, 1 is a TBA (traditional Birth Attendant); all the others are farmers.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. According to the women of Latriya, it is evident even to the stranger that the public goods in the village are not adequate. A good road will be verily appreciated as it will link the village to other communities. Water is another rare commodity which they cannot go without. Women mill their grains in the traditional way, that is with mortar and pestle and this is very time consuming and tedious. The womenfolk would verily appreciate the coming in their midst of a milling machine to alleviate the burden of household chores. Their children have to trek daily to another village to attend school. For this reason, their youngest sons and daughters are not enrolled owing to the distance their elder brothers and sisters have to experience daily. The availability of a school will increase child enrolment in school. They would also like to have a market as there is no fixed structure that can be called a market; one or two women spread their wares under the shade of a tree and if the sun’s heat disturbs them they move on to another location. There is a health post in the village, albeit a small one. It is their principal wish to see it upgraded to a bigger one, as this facility is not restricted to serving the interests of this village alone; all the surrounding villages are benefiting. To enable them have easy access to a balanced diet for their families, the women asserted that there is need for them to have a horticultural garden in the village. The available public goods, though limited in supply, is accessible to all and sundry without exception. There is no discrimination in their usage, as everybody is equally treated. In short, there is absolute fairness in their use.

• General Question 2. Decision-making and implementation regarding the provision of public goods is fairly distributed and no one (within or outside the village) affects this decision-making.
WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The existence of the VDC and WDC has been instrumental in bringing about unity in the village and the availability of the existing public goods has been through the efforts of these two bodies. In a nutshell, they have helped them a lot and this help is not biased.

• General Question 4. The village is composed of a multitude of ethnic group. This diversity in ethnicity is also reflected in the various positions in the VDC. Judging by this, it is apparent that the election of the VDC officials is done in democratic manner. It is fair in all respects without any villager or outsider having any influence whatsoever in the process. Each of the officials knows that they are rendering services to their own kith and kin, which is why they are not leaving any stones unturned to ensure that they are performing their tasks as expected from them. Whenever they have met with the WDC, they come to the people and communicate to them all that has transpired.

• Specific question 1. There are no problems in intra-household life; they all live in harmony. Children’s schooling is going on accordingly, though they have to go to the next village for their education. Housework is shared equally among household members. Husband-wife rapport is excellent and the health situation is good. As for decision-making and the implementation of projects in the village, they are never consulted. In short, they do not play any role in the decision-making process: they are sidelined.

D.18.3 Youth

• Number of participants:
• Ages: 20, 19, 18, 25,
• Membership:
• Occupational Situation: Student, teacher,

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. The youths of Latriya asserted that the public goods are far from adequate. What they will need most are:

1. A market;
2. A macadamised road to facilitate communication;
3. A school to augment school enrolment for their young brothers and sisters;
4. Upgrading the small clinic to a hospital;
5. Expanding the mosque;

6. A youth centre;

- Though the public goods in the village are not enough, their use is fair; all the villagers have easy access to them. General Question 2. There is absolute fairness in the Decision-making process. Every one’s view is welcome Nobody influences this decision-making process.

**WDC / VDC questions**

- General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has been very helpful to the community, and there is no bias in the assistance it renders to the community.

- General Question 4. The election of the members of the VDC is free and fair. This community is composed of many ethnic groupings and all of them are fairly represented in the VDC. The democratic manner things are conducted in this village does not give room for anybody (within or outside the village) to have an influence in this election process. Those elected to the VDC positions are doing what is expected from them.

- Specific question 1. Intra- and inter-household relationship is excellent. There is no generation gap in the village. The elders are very responsible and the youths look up to them. There is a problem, though when it comes to accessing infrastructures like music halls, libraries, sports facilities...etc. There is a problem in landing jobs for those of them who have completed their secondary education, actually. The youths are not left behind in the decision-making process in the village; they are consulted in whatever major decisions the elders are about to make for the development of the village.

- Specific question 2. The conditions of the youths, these five years, have deteriorated. This is mainly due to the fact that most have completed their secondary education and are now sitting without job opportunities. The youths advance that if there were endowed with the following:

1. A skills centre;

2. A factory for their fruit products

3. A processing machine for their dairy products;

They will make this village second to none in the vicinity.
D.19  Maka Masireh

D.19.1  Men

- Number of people: 11
- Ages: 65, 71, 51, 68, 72, 61, 49, 54, 55, 46, 60.
- Membership: Mosque Committee: 2  Village Elders: 3  Village group: 6
- Occupation: Farmers: 9  Businessmen: 2
- We need sufficient and clean water supply in the village. We have a water supply but the water is not enough. The open wells which are about 50m depth is used by both people and animals which is very unsafe as well children using this open well for watering the animals. The supply for the borehole is not enough therefore we divide the village so that if this part uses it today the other part used it the following day. There are always push and pull at the well only because of scarcity of water. We also need a health facility in the village since the closest health centre is Baja Kunda which is more than 10km and using carts for emergency purpose can even cause more harm in . In the village when the animals destroyed a crop field, the elder will go access the damage and call the herds owner to compromise it at the village level and we thank god that we were able to control situation of all the happenings. the other problem we have is that we are at the border with Senegal. At times we borrow land for Senegal to cultivate. Sometimes we will prepared there lands already and one Senegalese in that village will just come and show his crops and said he is the owner of the land and you loose .In most instances it will be late for you to look for another land to prepared.
- The agricultural land is not fertile and there are no farm input therefore very low yields. We normally build the capital of our businesses from the sale of our harvest, Before you think of using that little capital to do business you think of how to use this amount to feed the family that is why the business are not improving on the side of the indigenous but the foreigners who have bigger capital are progressing on their business. The business is going down due to low out put which are cause by unpredictable rainfall, high cost of inputs and low facility of our agricultural land.
- The VDC is all inclusive and they are fair and accountable. The distribution of the few public goods in the village is fair as well as the provision decision and implementation is also fair.
- They know their problems and eager to talk about it so that they can have a solution. The moors people from Mauritania are helping each other to develop the business but here we did not assist each other.
D.19.2 Women

- Our problem is lack of sufficient and reliable water supply. Although we have a bore hole but it has a problem and the cost of repairs is beyond the financial capacity of the villagers. The alternative sources which are open wells of about 50m depth, is very difficult to access water under very hot sun therefore, we can get water either early morning or in the evening when the sun is not hot. Since the demand is high at times you take a longer period of time before you can have water which hinders the other domestic work that you will be doing at home. Also if you have a baby on your back standing under the sun to queue for water even have effect on both of you. The energy you loose to get that water is incomparable.

- The few public good provision decision implementation and distribution is very few. Then VDC was selected by all the villagers and all the genders are included. In the dry season when the demand of water is high lots of our animals died because there is no drinking water. The VDC is really working for the interest of the village because before there inception, the youth fight and hunt each other, the animals will destroy the crop fields and you cannot do anything but now they have change. About the animals that destroy crops field, the entire village agreed that Since every household own at least one type of animals during the planting season there should be a penalty for those whose animals destroy crop field and For the youth the offenders faces fine so discipline is now high and crop fields are now secure.

- We jointly manage our household with our spouse. We are consulted on major household decision. When a husband needs another wife they consult us and we accepted because for one to take care of all the house hold chore jobs is not possible, we will want to have mates so that the work load can be fairly reduce so that we can also stay healthy.

- We need a milling machine and water to engage in the dry season agriculture to supplement our little income that we make in rainy season.

- The situation of women in the village is not improving because of water, we cannot do anything. We did not also belief in 50/50 in the household care.

D.19.3 Youth

- The youths of this village were quick to mention the lack of sufficient water supply in the village which they said have created lot of hardship to them. The health center is far from the village and in case of emergency it is very difficult to reach the health facility because of the distance and the road conditions. The lower basic school did not have enough teachers which have a negative impact on the student performance.

- They emphasize the lack of enough water in the village which barred them to grow fruit trees and involving in irrigated agriculture as a supplement to the unpre-
dictable farming they are doing. If we have sufficient water in the village we will engage in horticulture as an employment for the youths of the village.

- We need a village football because the facility we are using now belongs to the school. They have a school garden near the pitch fence with barb wire that is always spoiling our footballs which are difficult for us to replace. We already have a site we need materials like post and nets. The VDC is working towards the interest of the village. There selection was fair and their membership includes both males and females. They intervene in other village matters but for youths entertainments like sports, they do not.

- The relationship between us is very cordial and our activities are also monitored by all the youths and if there is any conflict we call a youths meeting and address the problem. Those in marry relationship said they are respected by their spouse and although the Men have a final say but they are given the chance to be hard. The females said they do not deprive their husbands to go in for a second wife so that the house hold chore jobs can be divided which will give them time to do other engagements.

D.20 Mbamkam

D.20.1 Men

- Number of people: 9
- Ages: 68, 65, 60, 38, 32, 34, 30, 65, 53,
- Membership: Mosque committee: 1, School committee: 1, Village elders: 5, Youth Group: 2
- Occupation: fishermen: 2, Herder: 1, Farmers: 6

- The villagers do report that they lack enough public goods and would need more taps because the ones available are few and far from other households for about 200m. The hand pumps are also costly to repair if any breakage happens. They would also like to have some improvement in farming like the provision of farm tools and fertilizers to increase their harvest and income. The use of the available public goods are fair to all villagers. Also public good provision decision and implementation are fair and distributed fairly but the Imam and Alkalo affects the decision making process.

- The VDC is helpful to the village because since its establishment villagers have loaned to carry out other family duties. That’s money or loan is from a savings made by the VDC executives because they ask the villagers to sell some of its lands to generate the money in their savings now. The VDC members were selected by all villagers during a gathering where all household heads were represented and those
whom they think are competence were selected. Nobody or no single person affects their selection therefore, they were chosen by the whole villagers.

- Also they have no conflicts or misunderstanding between themselves and their neighboring villages.
- There has been improvement compare to 5 years ago because they’ve now got a mosque and an Arabic school and a generator for the village.
- But they stress on the provision of wires to connect to their generator for the supply of electricity which would help them to preserve their fish as many of them are fishermen. The improvement of the garden fence and enough water supplies for the garden will motivate other men to do gardening during dry seasons. Most of them also stress of the provision of farm tools, fertilizers and fishing nets to increase their income. They were eager to say their opinions.

D.20.2 Women

- Number of people: 10
- Ages: 30, 31, 45, 36, 40, 38, 35, 65, 40, 37
- Membership: VDC: 2  Women group: 8
- Occupation: Gardeners: 10

The women in Mbamkam said they need a village garden because they use their local gardens to cultivate vegetables but during the rainy season they use the same field for rice cultivation which barred them doing gardening during the rainy season but when they have a good village garden ,they will be able to do gardening all year round.

- They said that they need a milling machine that will save them from going as far as three kilometers to Mbollet-ba which they said is very much difficult during the rainy season because their coose powder will be spoilt when water wets it. The water from their hand pump in the village is bad (the odor and taste).There is an urgent need to replace it.
- The women said they need a 3 or 4 passengers boats to carry them to where they caught see food of almost all the village women are doing. Their major constrain boats. The work is profitable but if you did not have a boat, you cannot do it and that is what we make as a supplement to the crop production. We also use the catches as food for the family.
- They said getting boats and garden for them will really improve the status of women in the village. They said their spouse only embark on crop production.
The VDC is fairly selected by the whole village and the membership includes both males and females.

The few public goods available in the village are fairly distributed among the villagers and the provision decision and implementation is also fair.

They were all eager to speak about the problem of the village.

D.20.3 Youth

- Number of people: 8
- Age: 25, 22, 24, 25, 28, 20, 28, 28
- Male: 5 Female: 3
- Occupation: Gardeners: 3, Drivers: 1
- Student: 1, Security officer: 3, Unemployed: 1

The villagers said that they have few public goods namely a local pump, a garden and a school. They said these public goods are not enough for them and they need more taps or local pumps to easy their way of getting clean water because some work for almost 200m to the tap to get drinking water and its only one local pump for the whole villagers.

The villagers buttress on the need of having a proper fence and more wells or taps in the villager’s garden to ease the job of gardeners and this would also motivate some of the youths to engage in gardening to be earning income and to reduce the unemployment rate of the youths in the village. But the few available are equally use by villagers.

In the case of public goods provision decision making process, the Alkalo, Imam, and the VDC head affects those decisions but if implemented they are equally distributed.

The VDC is helpful to the village as mentioned by the villagers because since its establishment, they have been mobilizing villagers to participate in the village development like building the school and the mosque, villagers came to participate voluntarily in large numbers because of the VDC intervention.

The VDC members are selected fairly because all villagers or compound heads gather and select the person they feel can do the job. No one influences their selection process because they are selected by all villagers and the same people are still in the community since formed.
• The youths did say that they are living peaceful within themselves and other villages. It is hard to get a job within the village especially if the person has attended school. They also say that if it comes to sport they would need a good football field and football kits to improve their talents because they have good players among them.

• There has been improvement for youths because they now have a school within their village and this is increasing the number of literates among them.

• They mention the provision of public goods like goods roads to ease their movement, electricity to be keeping the fish as most of the villagers are fishermen, a milling machine to reduce the burden of household chores on their sisters, mothers and a company or factory within their area for jobs to reduce the unemployment rate.

• They are participating fully.

D.21  Mbollet Ndeng

D.21.1  Men

• Date: 18th April 2009

• Number of participants: 12

• Ages: 50, 54, 55, 59, 70, 40, and 68

• Membership:

• Occupational Situation: Almost all the participants are farmers, only one is a teacher.

The men were enthusiastic to answer all the questions. Everyone took part.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. When asked about the public goods, all of the men replied that they were not adequate. The most needed things in this community are a steady source of clean water, as there are only two pumps catering for the needs of all the villagers; a hospital to minimize or eradicate the incidence of illnesses in the village; a credit co-operative to provide them with farming inputs and implements; a good road network to enable them have easy access to neighbouring villages, especially in the rainy season. Despite their inadequacy, everybody in the village, and even outsiders, have equal opportunity in accessing the existing public goods.
• General Question 2. Provision of decision and implementation in respect of the insufficient public goods is fairly distributed. Everybody’s view in the various groups (men, women and the youth) is welcome without discrimination. No-one (in or outside the village) controls the decision making process about public goods. Everything is conducted democratically.

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The WDC / VDC is very helpful towards the needs of MbolletNdeng. This is manifested by the reclaiming of an old well now catering for the needs of almost everyone who wants to lay blocks in order to build a house. The membership went on to initiate a big farm, and the proceeds were then put into the village savings. The Arabic school was built by the VDC. They even erected the shed housing the milling machine. In short, the VDC embarks on anything that is beneficial to the village. The VDC is unbiased owing to the fact that each Kabiloo or segment of the population of the village is represented in the membership. There is no pay or incentive package for the members per se: the only incentive is to let those who perform well to carry on with their positions at the next general meeting. Should they be unfair in their decisions or are corrupt, which has never been the case here, the only thing to do is to convene a meeting and notify them of their shortfalls; if they persist, they are then removed from their posts and new members put in their stead.

• General Question 4. Election to the various positions in the VDC is fair. Members are chosen from each Kabiloo that constitute the village. The Serer, the Fula and the Manjago are equally represented.

• Specific question 1. Between households, between village groups, between the village and the neighbouring villages (Interrmarriage between MbolletNdeng and other villages is common) and even between the village and the chiefs, the cordial relationship that prevails is evident, one can feel it.

• Specific question 2. The evolution of these relationships has been for the better since five years. But should the village be endowed with a good road network, good telephone services, a hospital, a credit co-operative where they can have access to seeds and fertiliser, and a gardening project for their womenfolk, the relationships within the village and between the village and other villages will improve.

D.21.2 Women

• Date: 18th April 2009
• Number of participants: 14
• Ages: 31, 34, 39, 40, 55, 60 and 70.
• Membership: No one holds a title as such, but they are all in the women’s group
• Occupational Situation: all the women present are farmers

The discussion was lively with everyone participating.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. For the women of this community, the public goods are not adequate. Asked what they needed the most, they replied that they needed a good road because the one linking their village to the main one is in a very poor state; a school as the one their small children go to is very far away; a horticultural garden to enable them earn an income; wells because the sources of potable water are in short supply considering the population growth and a milling machine to supplement the existing one. Regardless of the inadequacy of the public goods in the village, there is absolute fairness in their usage. All are equally treated; even people from surrounding villages have easy access to these public goods.

• General Question 2. Decision-making on public goods is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. All the villagers are included in the process. Nobody from within or outside the village affects the decision-making process.

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has verily helped the community in all its needs and has not in any way been unfair to anybody in the services rendered. The officials in charge are working accordingly. After having attended a WDC meeting, they convene another one so as to communicate their deliberations to the people they represent. There is no incentive package per se. The only encouragement is to allow those who do well to continue in their office with a pat on the back. But should anyone of them go against the rules, a meeting is convened and they are advised. If, for instance they do not heed that advice, then there is no other option but to remove them.

• General Question 4. Election to the VDC is fairly conducted devoid of any inside or outside influence. This is done democratically, where all the kabiloos are represented.

• Specific question 1. There is a friendly atmosphere in intra-household and inter-household life; everybody is at peace with his / her fellow villagers. Children’s learning is going on unhindered, only that they have to trek a long way to reach their school, though their living conditions have setbacks during the rainy seasons, especially in the months of August and September when all the grains have been sown and nothing has yet ripened. Conjugal life is excellent. Rules regarding hygiene are respected to the letter, being the sole reason for the good condition of health prevalent in almost every household.
Specific question 2. Women are aware of the public goods almost at the same time as the men and their views are respected when it comes to decision-making regarding the provision and implementation of these public goods. Women’s conditions, these five years, have deteriorated owing to their low income-earning capabilities. In order to alleviate this situation and improve women’s living conditions, the public goods needed are:

1. A steady source of water supply;
2. A gardening project;
3. A good road and
4. A school.

D.21.3 Youth

- Date: 18th April 2009
- Number of participants: 18 males 0 females
- Ages: 18, 20, 21, 24, 27, 28, 29 and 30.
- Membership: None holds a position per se; they are all ordinary villagers.
- Occupational Situation: A mason, a student, a driver, the rest are farmers.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The public goods, for the youths of MbolletNding, are not adequate. The public goods needed the most are: a garden for the women; water because the whole village only two wells among themselves; a health centre to care for the sick; farming implements like a tractor to help the farmer earn more, and inputs as the fertility of the soil has deteriorated; a football field for the youth as the game of football fetches a lot of income; a milling machine to ease the burden on the women. There is fairness in the use of the existing public goods.

- General Question 2. Decision provision regarding public goods is fair and implementation fairly distributed. A general meeting of all the villagers is convened whenever a public good arrives in the village. Everyone is represented in the process.
WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has been helpful to the needs of the community. The VDC embarks on or spearheads all developmental work in the village. As for incentives, there are none offered because the youths believe that whatever the officials do is for them. But, on the other hand if anyone of them is bias or corrupt, a meeting is convened and they are advised. If, they do not take heed of that advice, then there is no other option but to remove them and others put in their stead. Whatever the populace wants to put across the WDC, they channel it through the VDC

• General Question 4. For the youth, election of the members in the VDC is fair. The officials are put in place according to their ability; it is only those who the cap fits that can wear it. This election is not influenced by anyone, either directly or indirectly.

• Specific question 1. There is a peaceful coexistence when it comes to intra-household life is for the young people. All this is because very good elders are directing them. In the past, when they were after white-collared jobs only, finding one was difficult. Now that they realize that learning a skill is more reliable, most of the youths are skilful in many trades. The youths do not have easy access to recreational facilities and also to libraries. The youths are not left behind in the decision-making process and implementation of the public goods; they are major stakeholders.

• Specific question 2. These five years, the conditions of the young people have improved dramatically. This is because they are so hardworking; not just sitting down doing nothing. The public goods needed to help improve the conditions of the youths are:

1. Water;
2. A gardening project
3. A milling machine;
4. Implements, like tractors;
5. A school;
6. Easy access to health facilities;
7. A football field
D.22 Mbullum

D.22.1 Men

- Number of people: 8
- Ages: 59, 33, 36, 35, 33, 30, 40, 44
- Membership: VDC: 1 Male Group: 7
- Occupation: Farmer: 6 Carpenter: 1
- Businessman: 1

- The villagers said that they have few public goods like a local pump, school, mosque and garden. More local pumps or taps are the most important things they need because they have only one local pump for the whole village. Also they need a proper fencing in the village garden and more taps to increase their income generating activities as most of them are farmers and they involve in farming during the raining season but with the provision of a good fence and enough water, they can engage in gardening during the dry season too. Although the few public goods they have are equally used by all villages.

- The implementation and public goods provision, decision is fairly distributed. The Alkalo influence the public goods provision decision making process because he has the final say in most of the village decision making affairs.

- The VDC is helpful to the village as most of them in the focus group said, that since the establishment of the VDC in this village, all villagers come out when its time or when there is something to be done in the village like cleaning the village or constructing the mosque. The VDC executives play important role by convincing all villagers to participate in such activities voluntary.

- The VDC members where selected by all tribes in the village that is every tribe have a member in the VDC. Though, most of the VDC members are Sereres because they are the majority in the village so they have more representatives. The same people are still the VDC members but few were added on them to increase their number to twenty (20) and no one affects the selection process because every tribe chooses his/her representative.

- The relationships between themselves are smooth and peaceful through different tribes are inhabitants of the village, between them and other villages there has been no conflicts.

- Also there is improvement between them and other villages since the establishment of the school in 2008 because other villagers are sending their children for schooling in their village and this makes the relationship more concrete.
• The business is going smoothly compared to precious years said by one businessman among the participants because nowadays the profit margins is better than before. He and other villagers stress on the provision of farm tools and fertilizer which would increase their harvest and that would lead to the increase in their income to be able to buy goods from the businessman. The carpenter man has stress on the provision of farm tools and fertilizer to farmers to increase their income to be hiring him for some jobs.

• It was hard to forget the men but the few available did speak.

• A hospital or near by health centre was also something the village need and they buttress on it because the available health centre is 25km away.

D.22.2 Women

• Number of people: 10

• Ages: 30, 70, 65, 40, 30, 35, 33, 35, 37, 34.

• Membership: Women Group: 10

• Occupation: Farmers: 8 Petty Traders: 2

• The women started by crying out for the poor state of water supply in the village. There is no enough water in the wells and it is very deep although they cannot estimate the depth of the well. They spent long waiting time at the queue before they have the service.

• They all said that they wanted to do irrigated agriculture to supplement their little income they make from unpredictable rainy season but water is their main constrain both house hold and cropping. During the rainy season when there is long interval between rains their vegetable crops got spoilt because they did not have any supplement for the rain water.

• They said their situation is very horrible because they did not have clean and enough water supplies and the nearest clinic are at fass where they always experience lack of drugs. The alternate facility is at Essau which is about twenty kilo meters away.

• They spent all their time to queue either at the well, the health facility or at the milling machine; therefore they waste much of their time queuing without doing any thing. There little income that they make in the rainy season is the only they rely on throughout the year which is very hard for them. We envy our fellows in the other villages who are not faced with all this hardship.

• When you go to the weekly market at Fass on Wednesday you see our mates from other villages selling their vegetables you become sad.
• During the dry season we only help cashew tree growers to harvest their fruits and at the end of the day, they will give us two kilos of the cashew nut that we sell for D10. In a week your entire working time, you cannot get D100. Mostly this payment is used to pay part of the debt we already make.

• They are involved in all the village development issues and are always consulted by their spouse in major decision making of the household.

• The few public goods in the village are fairly distributed and the provision decision and implementation is fair.

• Our condition is going down because we did not have any where to involve ourselves to have an income other than farming in the rainy season. A very good garden project will empower us.

D.22.3 Youth

• Number of people: 12

• Gender: Males: 5 Females: 7

• Membership: Credit Cooperative: 7 Youth Group: 5

• Occupation: House Wife: 1 Students: 7 Farmers: 4

• The water supply in the village is not enough and they are using open wells to fetch water. The three wells for about eight hundred inhabitancy excluding the animals is really not enough.

• They said that they need a milling machine because the closest one is at Fass which is not always functioning and the alternative is at Karang in Senegal which is about six kilometers away and its operations is subject to the availability of electricity. There is also long waiting time at the queue. During the rainy season it is on safe for the kids because of the rain storm and even the powder might be spoilt when water wets it.

• We need a village garden with enough water supplies so that we can engage in vegetable gardening as an income generating activities. They said they have already identified a football field but did not have a means of developing it. When ever there is a conflict between us we sat as a group to solve it accordingly.

• The VDC is fair and accountable in their dealing. Their selection is also fair because all the villagers participated in their selection with equal representation and they include both males and females.

• The few public goods available in the village are fairly distributed and the provision decision and implementation is fair. The VDC only lack support to help in the village development activities.
• Despite the females dominating the forum, they are shy to spoke about the development issues whiles the males were contributing very well.

D.23 Missiranding

D.23.1 Men

• Date: 15th April 2009
• Number of participants: 16
• Ages: 30,33,37,40,47,75,83.
• Membership: A school Committee Member, a member of the forest Group, the leader of the Youth Group and ordinary villagers.
• Occupational Situation: Farmers, a fitter, a security officer, a fisherman, a businessman, a tailor, a driver and a mason.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. The public goods, for the men of this community, are inadequate. Asked what, in their opinion, will be needed the most, they replied that it was a felt need that they have:

1. A good water supply, as there are only two wells for the entire village;
2. A village store, because existing is in an advanced state of disrepair and the villagers do not have a place to keep their seeds and other valuables;
3. A gardening project. They realise that there is much income in this venture.

The use of the existing public goods is fair; no one is restricted from their use.

• General Question 2. The decision-making on public goods is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. Everyone has a say in it without any inside or outside influence.

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The WDC / VDC are verily helpful to the needs of Missiranding and this help reaches out to everybody without prejudice.
• General Question 4. Election to the VDC is fair and transparent. The officials are doing their job accordingly; after having attended a WDC meeting, they again meet the people and the deliberations arrived at are communicated to those they represent. Should the villagers want to communicate anything to the WDC, they channelled it through the VDC. The only incentive for the officials is being allowed to continue in office. But whenever they are unfair or corrupt, they are simply removed and replaced by other willing villagers.

• Specific question 1. Intra- and inter-household relation is friendly and everyone is his brother’s keeper. Relationship between groups (men, women, youths), between the village and the authorities and also between the village and other villages are excellent.

• Specific question 2. These relationships, since five years, have improved. To help improve these relationships, the following public goods are needed:

1. Farming implements, as they are farming community;
2. A good road network to link Missiranding with other villages and the main road;
3. A hospital to cater for their sick.

D.23.2 Women

• Date: 15th April 2009
• Number of participants: 14
• Ages: 30, 31, 32, 35, 43, 56 and 60,
• Membership: The deputy leader of the women’s group, a cashier of the women’s group and ordinary villagers.
• Occupational Situation: One or two are doing business and all of the others are engaged in farming.
• Selection was made from different sections of the community. No one was a member of the VDC.

Every one of the participants was eager to answer the questions posed.

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. All of those taking part in the discussion asserted that the public goods are inadequate. Asked what will be needed the most, they replied that they will need the following:
1. Roads and transportation facilities. The roads, especially those leading to their rice fields, are in a very poor state. There is need for a good road network and transportation facilities.

2. Well or borehole. The villagers do not have easy access to potable water. There are only two wells in the whole of Missiranding. Should they be assisted in having access to clean water supply, they’d appreciate it.

3. Milling machine. This is a most needed item for this community, as they cultivate millet for consumption.

4. Gardening project. Having a gardening project in their midst is also a felt need.

5. Electricity. Another important thing for the people of this community is to have the village electrified.

6. Storage facilities. The only store for the village is verily dilapidated.

7. Market. There is no proper market for the womenfolk

Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the public goods, none of the villagers is experiencing or has ever experienced any unfair treatment regarding their use. All have equal access to them.

General Question 2. On to the question about the decision-making regarding the provision of the public goods, they maintained that it was fair and implementation of that decision is fairly distributed. Every villager’s decision is welcome and no one has absolute control on the decision-making process.

WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The VDC is helping this community in all aspects and this help is not one-sided; everybody in the community benefits.

- General Question 4. Election to the various positions in the VDC is fair. No particular group is favoured at the expense of the others and no one influences the election process. The VDC, according to the women, are doing their job as expected of them. The community is satisfied with work of the VDC.

- Specific question 1. There is a cordial relationship within household members and between households. Up to this point, there is no problem regarding the children’s schooling and their living conditions, though a little assistance is required. Household chores are not vested on the shoulders of one person or group of persons only; they are shared in relation to what one can do best. Husband / wife rapport is at its best but when it comes to health, it has deteriorated. The womenfolk asserted that they are aware of the public goods from the Alkalo through their leader. Asked about their role in the decision-making and the implementation of the projects, they said that they are not left behind
Specific question 2. Life, for the women of this community, has been very hard since five years. Asked what kinds of public goods are in need to improve the conditions of women, they put forth the following:

1. Gardening Projects;
2. A skill centre and
3. An adult literacy programme.

D.23.3 Youth

- Date: 15th April 2009
- Number of participants: 15, all males.
- Ages: 18, 19, 20, 25 and 30.
- Membership: Members of the Youth Group, members of the Sports Group and ordinary villagers.
- Occupational Situation: Students, tailors, mason, businessmen and drivers.

The discussion was lively with everybody participating. Selection was such that no member of the VDC was present.

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. The youth of Missiranding maintain that the public goods are not adequate. To them they will need a hospital, as the nearest one is thirty kilometres (30km) away; a good source of water supply is also needed because there are only two wells in the whole village; they are in dire need of a store to keep their seeds and other village properties; the roads are in bad shape, so a good network is looked forward to; to elevate the earning power of the villagers, there is need for a good gardening project; electricity is another necessity in order to brighten up the village, not forgetting a milling machine, football field and a community centre. Regardless of the scarcity in public goods, there is fairness in their use. No one is restricted from using them; all are equally treated.

- General Question 2. The decision-making on public goods is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. Everyone has a say in it. No one, from within or outside the village, is likely to affect the public goods decision-making process.
WDC / VDC questions

- General Question 3. The help rendered to Missiranding by the WDC / VDC cannot be over-emphasised. There is no bias whatsoever in the help provided. People are even all the more united. The officials are working effectively and efficiently. Though there is no reward package per se, any officer who proves to be bias or corrupt is removed and replaced by another one.

- General Question 4. VDC elections are fair. It is conducted democratically devoid of any inside or outside influence.

- Specific question 1. There is absolute unity in intra- and inter-household life. The young people’s condition of life is somehow good, though there are many of them with skills and do lack the financial support to employ those skills to good use. When it comes to menial jobs, they are ready for anything, but those who graduated from school find it very tough to land jobs. The football field for the youth is not up to standard and they do not have access to discotheques and libraries. The youths of Missiranding are not left behind in decision-making. It is with that understanding that they are willing to do anything towards the development of the village.

- Specific question 2. The conditions of the youths, since five years, have not improved economically. Most have cut their education short due to lack of finances. What has improved a bit is their health situation. To help improve their conditions, the youths posit that the public goods they need are:

  1. A steady supply of potable water;
  2. A hospital;
  3. A good road;
  4. Electrification of the village;
  5. Farming implements;
  6. Fishing gear;
  7. A standard football field and
  8. A community centre.

D.24 Njau Sawallo

D.24.1 Men

- Number of people: 10
• Ages: 53, 36, 45, 45, 40, 39, 32, 60, 55.47

• Membership: Skill Centre: 1  Mosque Committee: 2  Youth Group: 5 Villager: 2

• Occupation: Farmer: 4  Herder: 1  Teacher: 1  Black Smith: 1  Livestock Dealer: 1  Businessman: 1  extension Worker: 1

• We need a road to our rice which we abandon due to lack of access in reaching the field. We are good at rice cultivation but now we cannot access our rice field which has contribute to our hardship. We also need agricultural inputs to improve our production since we all do farming. we also have a village garden that accommodates all the women in this village but there is only one well in the garden. It is difficult to produce any thing particularly during the dry season due acute supply of water. If we have a very good well in the garden it will help to increase the income of our spouses. The school administration is very poor because the head teacher always brought personal problem to the school where by requesting for a transfer for the teachers and now there are only two teachers in the school of six classes. The most recent one is the quranic teacher who he wanted to move.

• There are lots of public goods in the village but the problem is the administration in the village. Despite all what we have the village cannot make good use those resources. We have milling machine for both rice and coose,a video show but all the proceeds from all these are gone for good. They all have a break down no money to repair it.

• We have a problem with the youths concerning the restructuring of the VDC but no success was made said one of the members.

• The selection of the VDC is not fair and they are not working for the interest of the village.

• The available public goods in the village are use by all the villagers but we do not know where the proceeds are gone. We need a milling machine in the village because the one before is beyond repairs which has increase burden on the women.

• The relationship between us is cordial because we are one family.

D.24.2 Women

• NUMBER OF PEOPLE: 8

• AGES: 60, 50, 30, 55, 52, 35, 54, 32

• OCCUPATION: Farmers: 8

• MEMBERSHIP: Women Group: 8
The women of Njau Sawallo said that they have public goods namely pump wells, garden, store and a mosque but these public goods are not enough. They said the hand pump is not enough for them because there is only not hand pump for the whole village.

The women complain that they spent much time to get water whilst there are other household chores at home to do. The garden needs more wells or taps to increase their vegetable growths and harvest. So these being the case the said water are the most important public good they need because without water nothing can prosper. Although, they have few public goods but the ones available are equally use by villages.

Public goods provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. The elder council affects the public goods decision making process.

The VDC is helpful to the village because by their efforts the village garden fence is on construction.

The VDC is fairly selected because every family in the village chooses its representative and no single individual has the right or ability to dismiss anyone on his or her own consent.

These women said that they have good and cordial relations between themselves and outsiders. These women said that they have a project given to them by future in our hands. This project was given to them by the help of a western lady who was in the village and knows a lot of skills on soap making, tie and dye and other skills. Women on this village are involves in decision making.

They mentioned that there has been an improvement because most of the females in the village have other skills since the establishment of the skills training centre. There is also improvement because what they harvested during the rainy season was sold instantly. The women said that if they have a market to sell their garden produce, they can use the money for the up keeping of their family.

They also would like to have a hospital because the health post in the village has no permanent staff. The nearest clinic or health centre is about 10km away. They would also like a senior secondary school in the village because their children needs to stay with a guardian in another village to be able to acquire that knowledge.

They also need electricity to operate some of their instruments in the training centre.

The FGD was perfect because these women didn’t hesitate to say their views.
D.24.3 Youth

- Number of people: 11
- Gender: Males: 7  Females: 4
- Ages: 30, 28, 29, 28, 26, 21, 30, 18, 18, 19, 19
- Occupation: Students: 2  Apprentice: 2  Drivers: 2  Fisherman: 1  Receptionist: 1  Unemployment: 3
- We need tap in the village to help reduce the burden on our women. Although we have a skills training centre; we need enough capital and market of our products.
- We also need our own football pitch despite many attempts to secure one from our elders never succeeded and the reason never known to us. The garden did not have enough water to water the crops of all the gardeners as a result we find it quite difficult to develop a garden as a supplement to our seasonal crops.
- We have a very good rice field for the village but there is no route to reach the field. We need a bridge to the rice so that the food for the house in the village can be secure.
- The lower basic school in the village is going down due to maladministration at the school. Now there are only two teachers in the school to man the six classes in the school. The village mosque is leaking and we did not have the means of repairing it. We had a meeting with an organisation and we charged all the married men two hundred dalasis each to open an account for a bore hole that they will build for us but up till now there has not been any interventions in that area. We also have a dairy plant in the village and people were train how to make bio-gas but during the production the channel leaks and it was stopped. The women uses fire wood to prepare the milk but there is no market for the products which has created a set back in the project just as the skill centre.
- The management in our village is too bad. We need an all inclusive VDC but the elders said the can offer us with two membership positions. The village have lots of resources, some needs proper management other needs little support to be useful and some were even generating an income but the village cannot maintain even one of the valuable projects and there is no fund for the village. We once took the matter to the police station in the village but we were later confronted by the elders to withdrew it.
- Those managing the affairs of the village never wanted to hand over to the most committed youths so that there could be improvement.
• The VDC is not working for the interest of the village and they are doing very little or no help to the community. They are not accountable and they never wanted to hand over and they are there for them selves.

D.25 Passamas Mandinka

D.25.1 Men

• Ages: 62, 48, 45, 50, 68, 38, 32.
• Occupation: 6 farmers, 1 photographer
• Group membership: all members of the village Association, 3 VDC members, 1 village police.
• This village has one well with hand pumps, a broken-down milling machine, a mosque and a health post that is visited once a month by a maternal and child health team.
• Everyone has equal access to the public goods. The decision regarding the provision of public goods is always a unanimous decision of the village and no single person can affect it.
• The public goods, as they are, are very inadequate, especially the water source.
• The VDC, which was set up at a meeting of the whole village, is considered useful. It has set up a village fund which provides soft loans to the villagers during the rainy season.
• Inter-household relationships are very good, virtually conflict-free. The household heads help each other during hard times. Discipline is maintained in the village by the establishment of a village code. Any serious infringement of this code is punished by a fine of five hundred dalasi.
• However, they have a land dispute with the next village, Passamas Fula. They say the Fula claim a large chunk of their ancestral lands as their own. The matter was taken to the District Chief who ruled in favour of the Fulas. Dissatisfied, the Mandinkas appealed to the High Court where the matter is still pending.
• They assert that there has been some improvement in their condition over the last five years, especially in the area of interpersonal relationships. Notwithstanding, they need more wells (with pumps). They also need to have their milling machine repaired. One man said they needed civic, which will take them out of their ignorance and isolation.
• They said they have a boat which plies the crossing to Fatoto, the nearest big town. This is an income-generating venture for the village. However, they need to have it motorised to ease their movements, especially in emergencies.
D.25.2 Women

- Ages: 38, 43, 50, 70, 31, 33, 55, 72, 35, 52.
- Occupation: 9 farmers, 1 Traditional Birth Attendant
- Group Membership: all Women’s Association, 2 Health group members, 2 VDC, 1 Literacy group.
- According to the group, the public goods which are fairly available to all without discrimination are far from adequate. As to deciding about the provision of public goods, everyone is involved and no one person can affect such decisions. They need more water points and they need to have their milling machine repaired. They need easier access to health facilities.
- Their VDC is very useful as it was instrumental in bringing the milling machine to the village. It also made it possible to have two women trained in Basse in sewing, soap-making and tye and dye. It was fairly elected by all the village people.
- There is greater harmony among and between women and their husbands, thanks to literacy classes run by an NGO (TOSTAN) for the women.
- It has made them more aware of their rights and more alive to health issues affecting their lives. As a result they pledged early in 2008 to abolish Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The decision was endorsed by the whole village.
- Their relations with women from the surrounding villages are amicable. They visit them to share with them lessons from their literacy classes. They also educate them on the harm of FGM.
- They said the last five years have seen a big improvement in their condition. They have learnt to resolve any misunderstanding that arises among them.
- However, they still need more public goods. Their needs include water and easy access to health facilities, especially for pregnant women. One woman narrated her ordeal when her pregnancy reached its term. She was pregnant with twins. Because she travelled to hospital on a horse cart, she delivered one baby on the way and other was delivered by caesarean section in Fatoto. Both mother and baby nearly lost their lives.
- The discussion was lively with everyone chipping in.

D.25.3 Youth

- Number of participants: 10 males, 4 females.
- Ages: 18, 19, 20, 21, 27 and 30.
- Membership: Village announcer, member of the youth group,
- Occupational Situation: Farmer, student,

**Public goods provision**

- General Question 1. The public goods are not adequate. This community needs the following public goods: a hospital or an easy access to a health facility; a milling machine as this community cultivates millet extensively; a good water supply because there are only two hand-pumped wells in the whole village (only one has potable water); farming implements like tractors to help the farmers; The use of these public goods is fair; all have equal access to them, no one is restricted from using them.

- General Question 2. Public goods provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. All are equally represented when it comes to decision-making and implementation regarding the public goods; and nobody (in or out of the village) has absolute control over the decision-making process.

**WDC / VDC questions**

- General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has been very helpful to the needs of the community. Its presence in the village has facilitated many things for them. It has even brought about unity in the village. There is no prejudice in the help it renders to the community. All are equally treated.

- General Question 4. Election of the members in the VDC is fair and transparent. Selection is not done from one group / kind of people always. No one, inside or out of the village, affects the election process.

- Specific question 1. Life in intra-household relationship is peaceful. The youths are hard working but their living conditions are hard, especially when they are confronted with the inability to land jobs. They depend entirely on farm work and have no other source of earning an income. There are no recreational facilities in the village. The football field is not up to standard. There are no such things like discotheques that the youth of the village have access to. Also there is no library in the village.

- Specific question 2. For the youngsters who engage themselves in farming the conditions of the youths has improved, since five years. On the other hand, those who have had western-type education maintain that theirs have deteriorated. In the view of the youths, they need farming implements and also sponsorship to enable them further their education.
D.26 Passamasi Fula

D.26.1 Men

- The men of this village were quick to spoke about lack of agricultural inputs. They also said they do store their seeds in a neighbouring village. We need a seed store to store our seeds in the village. The most needed public goods for the village is farming inputs like implements and fertilizers to improve our house hold income.

- We have a very poor water facility in the village which is in fact not enough for us and our animals. We need a clean and enough water supplies in the village for both the people and the animals.

- The VDC is very helpful in the village and the selection of the committee is fair. The few public goods in the village are fairly distributed and the provision decision and implementation is fair.

- We have a problem with one of our neighbouring village called Passamasi mandinka about the grazing land of our animals. Passamasi mandinka said the grazing land of our animals belongs to them. we made an argument to try to settle it in the village but it was impossible. we have taken the matter to the chief who rule in favour of us but they were not certify with the judgement. Now they have taken the case to the Supreme Court. Unless judgement is done about this particular land issue we cannot be united. Since this problem started their villagers has never come to our village to look for a wife and we also do not. If they inform us about any activity in their village we do attended and viz.

- The business in this community is going down because the income of the house hold is low due to poor harvest. The poor harvest was cause by unpredictable rain fall and lack of inputs as a results you have a lot of debtors and at the end you collapse.

D.26.2 Women

- Number of people: 7
- Ages: 32, 40, 45, 43, 35, 43, 38
- Membership: VDC : 3, Women group :4,
- Occupation: farmers : 7

- According to these villagers they have only few public goods namely a school, seed store and a well. They need a seed store because the one available is not good because the roof is bad. They need a bigger mosque to avoid them from going to other villages for Friday prayers. The most important public good they need is water from a tap or a hand pump because their source of water is mainly from an uncovered well and that’s unhygienic. They said they need water from a tap or
well with pump also because without water nothing can be achieve and with clean drinking water peoples health would increase. The few available public goods are equally use by everyone. The implementation and provision decision is fair and distribution is fairly done. The Alkalo and VDC head affects the decision making for public goods.

- The VDC executives are selected by all villagers. The villagers select a person whom they think can initiate and hard working to be a VDC executive member. The persons selected since its establishment are still the executives because they are hardworking. The VDC is helpful to these villagers because they’ve constructed a well in the village and has tightened the relations between villagers stronger. No single person affects their selection process because the VDC executives are selected by villagers.

- The evolution since 5 years has improved because to these women, their health is better now compared to the past years because of the monthly cleaning exercise of the whole village.

- The women mentioned that if public goods like farm tools and fertilizers are provided for them, these would increase their income and ease their feeding. Also with these tools and fertilizers the agricultural job would be easy and profitable for them. They also need a milling machine to reduce the load of household chores on them. Above all they are involved in decision making.

- The FGD was not lengthy and only few people were participating.

D.26.3 Youth

- Number of people: 10
- Gender: Males: 3 Females: 7
- Membership: Women group: 3 Youth group: 7
- Occupation: Farmers: 10

- The youths of the village were very quick to mention the poor state of farming in the community which they said was due to lack of inputs. According to them if you cultivate a piece of land for over thirty years the soil lacks nutrients. They said that they need implements and fertilizer since they earn their main income from farming. They also mention the need to have modern farming implements like tractor, ploughed and seeders.

- They said they did not have a clean drinking water and the available water supply is not enough for the people and the animals in the village. We need a clean and enough water supplies in the village for both the people and the animals in the village.
village. We also need a garden project to boost our income through crop production in order to help our parents. They also spoke about the lack of employment for the youths in the community.

- They said the few available public goods in the village are fairly distributed and the decision provision of the public goods in the village is done by the elders of the village. They talk about the cooperation between the youths and the villagers as a whole. The VDC was selected by the entire villagers and it includes both males and females. The selection was also fair.

- We also need a health facility in the village to ease the burden of travelling long distance to look for medications. The cooperation between the youths of the village is very cordial. Conflicts are inevitable but always addresses all the internal conflicts among within ourselves. The relationship between us and our neighbouring youths is nice.

D.27 Sanunding

D.27.1 Men

- Number of participants: 13
- Ages: 35, 45, 48, 52, 55, 60, 65, 67, 70 and 78.
- Membership: 2 Kabilo (clan) Heads, 1 Deputy Imam; the rest are members of the Men’s Group
- Occupational Situation: 3 businessmen, 1 blacksmith; the others are farmers

Public goods provision

- General Question 1. Public goods, in this community, are inadequate. When asked what will be needed the most, those gathered were quick to put the following items forward:

1. Water: this is a rare commodity in this area as there are very few wells in the village. Electricity: it is not pleasant to be groping in the dark all the time; one may even trample upon snakes and scorpions. Having the village lit up may prevent incidences of this nature.

2. Hospital; this is a farming community, and if the health needs of the populace is taken into account, production is likely to boost. The nearest one for them is in Basse, over 25 km away.

- Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the public goods, no one is restricted from having access to them; there is fairness in their use.
• General Question 2. Decision-making pertaining to public goods is fair and implementation is also fairly distributed. Regarding this issue, all Kabilo heads are called upon to contribute their views without any single person or body likely to affect such decisions.

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The presence of the VDC has been very helpful towards their needs. Though the villagers cannot point out to any tangible structure and claim that that was due to the VDC, it has brought about peace and unity among themselves, and these two things are very important in any community.

• General Question 4. The Kabilo’s know those with potentials in their midst. When there was a need for the VDC members to be selected, each Kabilo brought forth those they believe the cap can fit; that is how the selection was conducted: without inside or outside influence.

• Specific question 1. Intra- and inter-household relationship is smooth, though there may be small occurrences of quarrelling, which are quickly dowsed before they get out of proportions. The peace which reigns among their various groups in the village is an envy to the other sister villages. The relationship between the village and the authorities is excellent and there has not been any conflict whatsoever between Sanunding and the surrounding villages.

• Specific question 2. These relationships have evolved into the best of relationships, these past five years. The public goods required to further improve these relationships are:

1. A good road;
2. A hospital;
3. A telecommunications facility;
4. A milling machine.

• The three businessmen present maintained that business is going on, though with one setback: lack of enough capital for expansion. For them, one possible remedy to this situation is that credit facilities should be made easily accessible to them. The other solution is that there should be ready markets for their agricultural produce, because most of the businessmen derive their capital from the proceeds from the groundnuts they normally sell at the Secco (i.e. the groundnut buying point). The discussion was lively with everybody participating.
D.27.2 Women

- Number of participants:

- Ages: 30, 35, 50, 40, 31, 60, 32, 30, 30,

- Membership: All are member of women groups

- Occupational Situation: farmers

- The women in sanunding village. Said that they have some public goods naming, school, taps milling machine and a garden but these are not adequate because for the schools are far. The garden doesn’t have enough wells or taps to supply them water. The milling machine can’t be use for milling coast women of this village said that water is the most important thing for them because the borehole dug for the supplying the taps has a small tank which can’t supply water. For a long time and the village populace is large for the amount of water available at a time. The few public goods available are equally use by everyone.

- The public goods provision decision is fair & implementation is fairly distributed. The Alkalo and the VDC head affect. The public goods provision making process because they are the most influential persons in the village.

- The VDC is helpful to the village because some of the public goods available are brought to the village with the help of the VDC. Also since the intervention or establishment of the VDC unity and friendship between villages has been more tightened.

- VDC executives are fairly selected. Because every family selects a person to represent the m in the VDC. No single person has the right to dismiss any executive member without the awareness of other family members since its establishment the same people have been executive and hard working.

- There are peaceful relations between women of this village and other villages. As they mentioned they help each other with house chores. The women in this village are allowed in decision making within the village and their views or opinion are taken.

- The women mentioned that their has been improvement for them since five years because two years ago there were only few pump wells but now there are taps. There was no health post for pre nodal and antenatal visits. Two years ago but now they have a health post structure where nurses do come every month and these have increased their health estates.

- These women would like to have electricity supply in this village to be having more water supplies. Goods roads to ease their movement garden tools & fertilizers to increase their harvest and income for the up keeping of their families. The business
lady mentioned the provision of leas to be able to buy many goods for the business. It pas an interesting FGD but their was a lot of noise because some of their children were around.

D.27.3 Youths

- Number of participants:
- Ages: 30, 27, 21, 28, 17, 17, 18, 26, 22, 17
- Membership: Youth club
- Occupational Situation: 2 Businessmen, 3 Unemployed, 3 Students, 1 Driver apprentice, 1 Housewife
- They youth of sanuminding mentioned that they have public goods namely school, garden, mosque & hand pumped wells. The youths said that the public available are inadequate because the mosque is old and would need a fence for the garden. The youths said that water is the most important public good they need because part of their drinking water is from uncovered wells and that is unhygienic, also the pump well are few and other compounds are far from the pump wells. They also said that the few available are equally use by all villagers.
- The implementation & provision decision of public goods are fair and fairly distributed. The Alkalo & imam affect the public goods provision decision making process because they have the final say.
- The VDC is helpful to the village according to them. Because the VDC motivates the villages to participate in community activities. Also the VDC is selected fairly because every family in the village has its representative in the VDC. No single person can dismiss or eliminate the awareness of other family members.
- These youths in this village are living peacefully within themselves and others. They said that it is difficult to get a job in the village and youths are ready to take up any job that can earn them income. In education they would like to have an Arabic school madrassa where they can learn their religion in a standard form. In terms of sport they said they would like a good football field and kits because most of them have the talents of football. They mentioned that they are allowed in decision making and their contribution is taken.
- There is improvement because many of the young are going to school now, but they need more public goods to improve their status higher. They would need a proper fence in their garden and more wells or taps to increase their harvest and income. With the provision of the fence & water both male & female youths would engage in gardening as a place of earning income. They would also need a hospital or health centre because the health facility is about 5 km from their village. They also emphasis on the provision of farm tools to ensue farming & increase their harvest.
• The FGD was interesting because most of them participating though few of them participating though few of the girls were shy to speak.

D.28 Wellingara Yareh

D.28.1 Men

• Number of participants: 13

• Ages: 35, 38, 40, 45, 50, 56, 57, 61, 67.

• Membership: 1 Deputy Imam; the head of the Men’s Group; the rest are members of the Men’s Group

• Occupational Situation: 3 businessmen, 3 blacksmith; the others are farmers

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. Public goods are not adequate in this community. The following are what will be needed the most:

1. Water: this is a rare commodity in this area as there are very few wells in the village.

2. Hospital; this is a very productive community when it comes to farming, and if the health needs of the people are considered prior to anything else, production is likely to boost. The nearest health facility for them is in Baja Kunda, more than 15 km away.

3. Good road to ease communication between villages

4. Though the public goods are not adequacy, there is fairness in their use.

• General Question 2. Decision-making on public goods is fair and their implementation is also fairly distributed. Regarding this issue, all family heads are called upon to contribute their views without anybody (inside or outside the village) likely to affect such decisions, though the Alkalo has power to veto he perceives to be un-beneficial to the community

WDC / VDC questions

• General Question 3. The VDC has been very helpful towards their needs. The coming in their midst of TOSTAN was due to the VDC; and it was also instrumental in establishing about peace and tranquility through unity among themselves, two assets vital to any community.
• General Question 4. Election to the various posts in the VDC is fair and transparent; it is democratically conducted. Its outcome is not, in any way, likely to be affected by anyone (be they from within or outside the village). The work done by those in the VDC is worth commendable. It has bridged the gap between them and the WDC; whenever they are from a WDC meeting, they come to the people and tell them about the outcome of such meetings.

• Specific question 1. Intra- and inter-household relationship is smooth, though there are occurrences of disagreement between people, but these are quickly addressed by a selected body of elders. Other villages are envious of the peace which reigns among the various groups in the village. The relationship between the village and the authorities is outstanding and there has not been any conflict whatsoever between this village and the surrounding ones.

• Specific question 2. These relationships have evolved into the best of relationships, these past five years. The public goods required to further improve these relationships are

1. A good road;
2. A hospital;
3. A milling machine.

• The three businessmen present maintained that business has gone down these five years due to the further depreciation of the Dalasi (the local currency). This has resulted in lack of enough capital for sustainability for most businesses and expansion for others. For the businessmen, there is only one possible remedy: credit facilities should bring down the amount levied on interest rates. The discussion was lively with everybody partaking in it.

D.28.2 Women

• Number of participants: 10
• Ages: 40, 36, 42, 48, 55, 48, 57, 30, 60
• Membership: All are members of the Women’s Group
• Occupational Situation: All are farmers
• Public goods are not enough to the villages because they need clean drinking water and they and they have only one hand-pump for the whole villagers. They also need a milling machine to reduce the household chores which are normally done by women.
• The available public goods are used equally by all villagers though they are few. The public goods are also fairly distributed and the Alkalo (village chief) affects most of the decision making process for the public goods.

• The VDC is fairly selected because every family in the village selects their own representative to be in the VDC. The VDC members in this village are not changed since the establishment of this committee in this village.

• The VDC is helpful to this village because since the introduction of this committee villagers are trained how to keep their domestic animals and farm animals, villagers are not allowed to be leaving their animals to roam in the village during the night, no cigarette smoking while walking and also after cooking the person should put off the fire. Failing to abide by this rule one is liable to pay a certain amount as penalty. This is put in the village coffer for development purposes in the village.

• The relationships between women in this village, other village and the neighboring villages are smooth and peaceful because there have been no conflicts or misunderstanding between themselves.

• The village has a project which was brought to them by Wuli Association for Development (WAD). The women of the village have been trained on how to make soap, and this has improved their skills. The women are allowed in decision making process in the village and their views or words are highly considered. The condition of women in this village has been uplifted to another level since the introduction of WAD in this community but they would also like to be provided with farm tools and fertilizers to increase their harvest as most of them are farmers. Also to be provided with more tools for their soap making and to be train in tie&dye making to help them generate income during the dry seasons. They would also like to have a dig and proper store for keeping their farm produce.

D.28.3 Youth

• Number of participants: 11 Males, 7 Females

• Ages: 18, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29 and 30

• Membership: Youth Leader, Assistant Youth Leader, Youth organiser. All the others are members of the youth group.

• Occupational Situation: Farmer, Driver, Blacksmith, Tailor, Carpenter

Public goods provision

• General Question 1. According to the youth Wellingara Yareh, the public goods are not enough. They attribute this to the remoteness of their village. When asked what will be needed most, they asserted that they will verily like to have a good
road, an health facility, an adequate water supply and enough qualified teachers for the lower basic school. They will also like to have a gardening project plus a tractor for the village; a skills centre for those of the youth who have dropped out of school or did not have the chance of going to school will be verily welcome. There is no milling machine in the village and they will love to have one. Another pointed out that, if they can have easy access to credit, the ones engage in the livestock business will have room for expansion. Even with the inadequacy of the available public goods, each of the villagers has easy access to their use. No one is restricted from utilising them.

- General Question 2. In respect to the public goods, decision-making is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. Every Kabilo in the village is equally represented. No-one, whether inside or outside the village, has total power over the decision-making process regarding the public goods.

**WDC / VDC questions**

- General Question 3. The WDC / VDC has been very helpful to the needs of the community. Its presence in the village has facilitated many things, like TOSTAN, for them. There is no bias when it comes to service provision. All have equal access to the assistance rendered by the VDC. And thanks to the efforts to the VDC, there is absolute peace and tranquillity reigning among members of the village.

- General Question 4. Election to the various posts in the VDC is fair and transparent. It is done in a democratic manner and not one group / kind of people is always chosen. Nobody, directly or indirectly, affects the election process, be he inside or outside the village. Those VDC members are doing their job accordingly. After having attended WDC meetings they come back and communicate it to the villagers.

- Specific question 1. As for the intra-household relationship, there is a peaceful coexistence among household members. The youths are hard-working though their living conditions are hard, considering the remoteness of their village. Eighty percent of them are unlettered, which is why they are confronted with being unable to land jobs: they are always ready to engage themselves in menial jobs that enable them earn an income. There are no recreational facilities in the village. The football field is not up to standard. There is no fixed structure for the dances that the youth of the village organise. Also there is no library in the village. But these are not priorities for them, as they do not indulge in much dancing and most cannot read. The youth play a key role in decision-making. They are always at the forefront, because they are the strength of the village, the future elders of the village.

- Specific question 2. These five years, the conditions of the youths has improved because they have not been sitting idly by, doing nothing. They are good farm-
ers; some of them are businessmen, while others have trades like carpentry, masonry...etc. The help they render to each other has also contributed to this improvement. The public goods needed to improve the conditions of the young people are:

1. A skills centre for skill development;
2. A gardening project;
3. Easy access to credit.

D.29 Yalal

D.29.1 Men

- Number of people: 10
- Ages: 67, 43, 39, 45, 47, 62, 55, 40, 44, 51
- Membership: Village Elders: 3   Mosque Committee: 1   Village group: 6
- Occupation: Farmers: 10

- We need a school with higher grade because we have a lower basic school. Our main constraint is water. All the neighboring villages are embarking on horticulture but we could not because of water. The water in the village is not sufficient for both the people and the animals. If we have enough water we can sustain our self because we can do both irrigation and rain fall agriculture but now we are entirely depending on rain fall agriculture.

- As a result of this acute shortage of water we cannot afford the cost of our children’s school fees. The management of public goods in the village is also poor because nobody wants to take the blame of applying a law if we all took public goods as our own to make sure that the public goods are properly managed.

- We really have problem in acquiring fertilizer. We have been using our agricultural land for quiet a long time and our productive land is not fertile. We cannot make a good harvest without fertilizer. The VDC is dormant for the past two years. The word VDC is mention when there is this type of gathering. Most of this VDC either died or migrated. We need to restructure it again. We did not put time frame for the VDC to be reselected. For the business in the village, we have a good location but if the customers incomes are not improve, you have a lots of debtors and subsequently collapse.

- We are very near the border and if you have a very big investment we fear arm robbers. The few public goods available in the village are fairly manage and distributed among the villagers.
• They were all eager to speak about constrains they have in the village but also wanted to avoid to say any thing against their administrators.

D.29.2 Women

• Number of people: 9
• Ages: 32, 43, 30, 35, 40, 48, 39, 32, 45
• Membership: Women group: 9
• Occupation: Farmers: 9
• We need a village garden with enough water. We have a village garden but we cannot have water there for we only cultivate it during the rainy season
• We cannot involve in dry season agriculture only because of water. All our income comes from rain fall which is also unpredictable. The little we got from the rain fall agriculture cannot sustain us for the whole year. As a result we end up being debtors; finally, it is even hard to secure a debt.
• The public good provision and distribution is fair. All the public goods in the village have a management committee. There is peace and unity in the village. The VDC is working for the interest of the village. The villagers are the ones that select the VDC and it include both male and female.
• It is the garden project that can improve the condition of women in the village because if we have income we can pay for our children school fees, pay for transportation to go to Farafenni hospital and be able to pay for the medical bills. We can also eat this vegetable all year round for a more healthy life. The ones doing gardening now walk as far as Chamen which is about 3 kilometers which is really very hard and since it is too far you cannot secure your crops. We jointly discuss and manage our house hold matters with our spouses. The conditions of women are improving but a lot needs to be done to uplift the status of women in the village. We are also involved in the village development issues and our views are respected.
• Most of them are eager to speak about the village development.

D.29.3 Youth

• Number of people: 10
• Ages: 20, 25, 25, 21, 21, 19, 25, 29, 20, 25
• Membership: Youth group: 8 Youth Group: 2
• Male: 5 Female: 5
- Occupation: Farmers: 7  Carpenter: 1, House wife: 1  Student: 1

- These youths said that they have public goods like a school, mosque, garden, pump wells but say they are not enough. They said the school did not have a senior secondary level and this lead to students leaving to other villages or towns to complete their senior secondary education and its difficult to have guardians in other places. They would need a milling machine because the one available is no more working and this has increase their household chores. The most important public good they need is water because the hand pumps available are few and the populace of the village is large. They need water for their garden because they did not have sufficient water supply and that is hindering the growth of their vegetables. Albeit the public goods in the village are equally use by the villagers.

- Public goods provision decision is fair and implementation is fairly distributed. The Alkalo and ward councilor effects public good decision making.

- VDC is helpful to the village because the head always represents the village in all meetings organized by the government officials and whatever discussed there is been transferred or said to them.VDC executives are been selected by villagers. That is a meeting was called upon where all villagers meet and the person whom they think is active is selected by the executive member. No single person can eliminate an executive member without the consent of the villagers although the executive members have never been changed since its formation. The youths said that they are involved in decision making. These young people said that they are living peacefully within themselves and outsiders but it’s difficult to secure job in there village.

- The youths mentioned that there is improvement in terms of education because many of the youths are going to school. They said they would like to have skill training center to learn other skills as some of them can’t go to secondary level. The youths also mentioned the provision of farm tools and fertilizers for their garden and farms to increase their incomes generating activities as most of them are farmers. They need Job centers to stop most of them from rural-urban migration in search of jobs. Hand pumps to have adequate water supply as mentioned before that the hand pump available is for the school.

- Thus FGD was very interactive because everyone was contributing effectively.
References


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<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Government News (% of TV and newspaper users)</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marabout in the village</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Village-level information. 60 observations for each variable.

Table 15: Summary statistics on villages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of household head</td>
<td>51.75</td>
<td>15.79</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Size</td>
<td>12.78</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Household head</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound head</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polygamous</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monogamous</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non Muslim</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>workers in the household (%)</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agricultural land (hectares)</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>22.54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income per capita (GMD)</td>
<td>3,565.75</td>
<td>5,124.72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land per worker (hectares)</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>133.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agricultural income (% of total)</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high quality of land</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low quality of land</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamanyango</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self respondent</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alkalo</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vdc head</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vdc member</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officer above village level</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative of alkalo</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griot</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important rol in the village</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>member of elder council</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marabout</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imam</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional healer</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emigrants</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch tv</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read newspaper</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Note: Household-level information. 3320 observations for each variable.

Table 16: Summary statistics on households.
### Table 17: Summary statistics on networks at village level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Links</th>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Clusterness</th>
<th>Compactness</th>
<th>External Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAND</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>29.217</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>16.601</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABOUR</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>29.900</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>20.834</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INPUTS</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>39.817</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>0.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>22.520</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARRIAGE</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>49.933</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>40.886</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>0.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>147.667</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.279</td>
<td>0.978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>76.507</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREDIT</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>22.983</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>17.853</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Village-level information. 60 observations for each variable.

### Table 18: Summary statistics on networks at household level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>External In</th>
<th>External Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAND</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABOUR</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INPUTS</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARRIAGE</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.091</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREDIT</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Household-level information. 3320 observations for each variable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DENSITY</td>
<td>CLUSTERNESS</td>
<td>COMPACTNESS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*Population</td>
<td>0.027**</td>
<td>-0.015***</td>
<td>-0.053***</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.016)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.038)</td>
<td>(0.043)</td>
<td>(0.066)</td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Household</td>
<td>0.002***</td>
<td>0.001**</td>
<td>0.003**</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
<td>0.005**</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.014)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.027)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income per capita</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.012**</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.014)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.027)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Land per worker</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.003**</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.016)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Geographic</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
<td>(0.032)</td>
<td>(0.048)</td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Semi Urban</td>
<td>0.045***</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.100***</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.209**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
<td>(0.027)</td>
<td>(0.036)</td>
<td>(0.060)</td>
<td>(0.117)</td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.179)</td>
<td>(0.088)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Gini</td>
<td>0.038**</td>
<td>0.027*</td>
<td>0.058*</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.151</td>
<td>0.389***</td>
<td>0.477**</td>
<td>0.197*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.014)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
<td>(0.108)</td>
<td>(0.126)</td>
<td>(0.186)</td>
<td>(0.082)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Ethnic Conc.</td>
<td>0.022**</td>
<td>0.014*</td>
<td>0.039**</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.138*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.032)</td>
<td>(0.063)</td>
<td>(0.101)</td>
<td>(0.138)</td>
<td>(0.071)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* HH Size Conc.</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.070</td>
<td>0.108</td>
<td>0.148</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.014)</td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
<td>(0.028)</td>
<td>(0.033)</td>
<td>(0.043)</td>
<td>(0.114)</td>
<td>(0.118)</td>
<td>(0.170)</td>
<td>(0.082)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Education Conc.</td>
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<td>-0.004</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>0.003</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(0.076)</td>
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<td>(0.150)</td>
<td>(0.222)</td>
<td>(0.293)</td>
<td>(0.658)</td>
<td>(0.762)</td>
<td>(1.118)</td>
<td>(0.442)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Activity Conc.</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.098***</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>0.146</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>0.126*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.009)</td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
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<td>(0.045)</td>
<td>(0.098)</td>
<td>(0.107)</td>
<td>(0.152)</td>
<td>(0.072)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Illiteracy</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>-0.371</td>
<td>1.075</td>
<td>1.745</td>
<td>-0.496</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.093)</td>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.183)</td>
<td>(0.266)</td>
<td>(0.361)</td>
<td>(0.783)</td>
<td>(0.937)</td>
<td>(1.382)</td>
<td>(0.565)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.060*</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.997**</td>
<td>1.45**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.035)</td>
<td>(0.075)</td>
<td>(0.128)</td>
<td>(0.153)</td>
<td>(0.352)</td>
<td>(0.429)</td>
<td>(0.658)</td>
<td>(0.246)</td>
</tr>
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<td>2* Public Toiletries</td>
<td>0.025***</td>
<td>0.018***</td>
<td>0.041***</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.0317</td>
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<td>-0.033</td>
<td>-0.054</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(0.014)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.026)</td>
<td>(0.037)</td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
<td>(0.071)</td>
<td>(0.048)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* No Water</td>
<td>0.0194</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.48*</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
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<td>-0.072</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.256***</td>
</tr>
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<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.046)</td>
<td>(0.059)</td>
<td>(0.103)</td>
<td>(0.142)</td>
<td>(0.212)</td>
<td>(0.065)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Grass Hut</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.216</td>
<td>-0.16***</td>
</tr>
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<td>(0.010)</td>
<td>(0.009)</td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.044)</td>
<td>(0.079)</td>
<td>(0.094)</td>
<td>(0.143)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2* Marabout</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.002</td>
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Observations: 360 240 120 360 240 120 360 240 120
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Observations: 2784
R-squared: 0.281

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

Standard errors in parentheses

Table 20: Determinants of household centrality.
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Observations 2784 2784 2784 2784 2784 2784
R-squared 0.281 0.334 0.465 0.289 0.605 0.256

Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 21: Determinants of household centrality.
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Note: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

Standard errors in parentheses

Table 22: Determinants of household centrality.

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Table 23: Simple correlation in degree.
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Table 24: Degree as a system of equations.

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<th>max</th>
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<td>-0.17</td>
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<td>-0.03</td>
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Table 25: Actor correlations amongst networks.