



Village Community Banks (VICOBA) in socioeconomic development in Tanzania: the only game in town? a case of selected areas in Dar es Salaam

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Abstract

The increased socioeconomic life challenges in urban settings have led to the formation of informal bonds which aim to ensure the survival of individuals and their families. Those efforts have accelerated the need to have a system of accommodating the social groups that operate informally but significantly engage in improving socioeconomic living conditions of poor urban communities. In order for informal established groups to align and collaborate, have put in place a diverse management system with established rules and regulations has been put in place. This study sought to examine the contribution of Village Community Banks (VICOBA) to socio-economic development at the individual and family levels. The study conducted a social survey among sample residents of Toangoma Ward in Temeke Municipality and Gongo la Mboto in Ilala Municipal Council. The study employed mainly quantitative methods and the data gathered was analyzed using descriptive statistics to generate frequencies and percentages. The study has found that educated and uneducated, teachers and street vendors, believers and atheists, politicians and food vendors all participated in VICOBA activities. The main reason for the popularity of VICOBA is the nature of their voluntary saving and collateral free loans. The study has found VICOBA to be very helpful in promoting the socioeconomic development of members and their communities as well. It is thus recommended for the government and other stakeholders in social sector development to promote self-help groups as a solution for transforming the socioeconomic status of poor communities in both urban and rural areas

Key words: *Socioeconomic, development, VICOBA, community*

Introduction

Tanzania has had formal systems for development. Development is a difficult word to define; however, attempts have been made by some scholars to conceptualize it. Chrisman (1984) views development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of people is generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. Development is said to be achieved if it affects all dimensions of society. Initially, development was conceived exclusively as an economic term referring to growth as “increase in per capita income”. But soon it was felt that development cannot be thought of as one-dimensional with only economic implications. Thus, development became a sociological term implying that

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economic growth without societal progress should not be termed 'development'. Thus, development currently implies improvement in both the quality of life and living conditions. When referring to a society or to a socioeconomic system, development usually means improvement, either in the general situation of the system or in some of its constituent elements (See the UNDP Human Development Index.)

Since independence, when Tanzania declared poverty, disease and ignorance as enemies of the country, the government established strategies to deal with these problems. The strategies to promote socioeconomic development included instituting good leadership, good politics, and addressing various land and population issues. Nyerere and his government promoted an ideological shift in 1967 from capitalism to democratic socialism (Ujamaa and self-reliance) with the intention being socioeconomic transformation. Corresponding efforts to promote socio-economic development since then have continued to follow a government defined path to development. All these initiatives achieved only minimal success; and in the early 1980s, Nyerere himself acknowledged the failure to eradicate poverty and called it a cancer on the nation (Dmitry et.al, 2014).

Hyden's (1992) uncaptured peasantry and economy of affection theses reveal that the Tanzanian state erred when people were told to pursue new strategies for survival. The peasants began avoiding government efforts through the formation of informal social groups for mutual aid as well as various self-help schemes. These well-meaning but ineffective practices made people avoid government efforts as they did not deliver on promises and there was no significant hope for improvement. Citizens even in rural areas started to initiate mutual aid groups for both social and economic solutions. On their part, Dean and McHenry (1981), reported that people in rural areas organized various straight-forward approaches while the complexities in urban areas lead to many varied efforts. Informal organizations were created to cater to the socioeconomic needs of urban dwellers. One of the newly mutual aid social organizations is the Village Community Banks (VICOBA). VICOBA were introduced in Tanzania by CARE in 2002 for the purpose of overcoming poverty and the lack of income among the poor rural community's residents who had no collateral required by formal financial institutions (Mkombe, 2005). The members of VICOBA make regular contributions to a common fund. After about 10 weeks of saving, members start borrowing; thus creating a revolving fund for all members. The members borrow to establish income generating activities or to pay school fees for their dependants. VICOBA originally targeted the rural communities; however, following increased urban poverty, VICOBA was adopted even in urban areas.

According to Kihongo (2005), VICOBA in the urban areas addressed two main problems: the high interest rates of commercial banks and the lack of collateral of the VICOBA urban members. VICOBA seems to be a great tool which can transform the livelihoods of communities and can become a model for self-help efforts as individuals come together to address various economic and social hardships (Githinji, 2009). This study sought to demonstrate the value of VICOBA to the socioeconomic development in Tanzania despite the lack of direct government support. Though informally managed, the members utilize VICOBA to improve their socioeconomic conditions both in urban and rural areas.

Problem statement

The Government of Tanzania (GOT) sought to promote socioeconomic development throughout the country; yet the formal efforts proposed by the GOT have had little measurable impact, (Githinji, 2009). The poverty reduction strategies developed by the government have not been able to achieve widespread socioeconomic development. As a result, a number of independent strategies have been implemented with varying degrees of success, (SEDIT, 2008). The Village Community Bank program (VICOBA) represents one such strategy. These groups serve as mutual aid and self-help organizations and attract many people in different areas with a variety of backgrounds. However, since the establishment of VICOBA there have been no adequate studies done on the

impact of these groups on the socioeconomic development in urban areas where VICOBAs seem to be most popular. This study seeks to assess the contribution of VICOBAs to socioeconomic development in urban areas.

Objectives of the Study and research questions

The main objective of the study was to determine the contribution of VICOBAs on socioeconomic development at the family level. The specific objectives include: 1) assessing the membership criteria and social composition of VICOBAs, 2) method for establishing interest rates and lending/borrowing procedures, and 3) the methods used to provide social support to members. The research questions covered by the study included: Do VICOBAs have borrowing procedures? How do members rate the benefits accrued from VICOBAs in economic terms? How do VICOBAs provide mutual support and aid to one another?

Methodology

Research Design

The study comprised exploratory research, designed to examine the contribution of VICOBAs to socioeconomic development in Tanzania. The strategy employed the use of a social survey. Questionnaires were used as the main tool for primary data collection. Data collected were analyzed quantitatively using descriptive statistics.

Sample Selection

The total number of respondents was 349. Two respondents were chairpersons of VICOBAs in Gongo la Mboto and Toangoma, two low-income wards in Dar es Salaam. These two chairpersons were selected because of their roles in the management of the VICOBAs at the community level. Then remaining 347 respondents were randomly sampled from Toangoma and Gongo la Mboto wards. Gongo la Mboto and Toangoma wards were selected as they are urban areas with many residents who recently arrived from rural areas. The study used questionnaires and interview methods to collect the primary data. The questionnaires employed used a close ended interview format in order to elicit the respondents' views without injecting bias. The questionnaires administered were later coded for data analysis with the use of the SPSS computer program. Meanwhile, the interview responses from the chairpersons were designed to enable group leaders to describe their personal experiences and practices. The rationale for utilizing this multi-method data collection strategy was to increase the reliability and validity of the findings. The collected information was then used for data analysis and discussion. The subsection that follows details the theory which explains the phenomenon of social accountability and its influence on the management of financial resources in Tanzania.

Participation Theory

Brett (2003) discusses the role of participatory theory in socioeconomic development particularly in developing countries. He notes that participation in mutually supportive groups has emerged in response to global demands for greater individual and community control of development. The community, through collective action and adopting a savings model, can achieve socioeconomic transformation with a likely improvement of living standards. The mutual aid groups work to empower individuals and to promote a collective transformation in the community's economic, political and social life.

The participatory theory tests the assumptions that peoples' participation in mutual aid groups (particularly VICOBAs) empowers individuals and communities through simplified borrowing procedures, low interest rates and above all by encouraging social cohesion among community members. Perhaps the weakness of the theory is due to the fact that some people may avoid mutual aid groups due to psychological or cultural factors; and the success of VICOBAs is dependent on member participation.

Literature Review

A fundamental feature of modern African cities is the growth of the informal economic and cultural urban environment, (Dean and McHenry, 1981). Generally, informality is understood as the growing economic ties between different groups of people that are not regulated by the government and not taxed. In this research, informality is understood as the participation of citizens in the informal associations, organizations and mutual self-help groups, as well as the creation of their own grassroots socioeconomic projects that are not regulated by the state.

VICOBA are grassroots organizations which promotes the participation of members to save their money and generate income through a revolving loan fund. VICOBA groups rely on a simple structure whereby there is chairperson, secretary, treasurer, money counters and discipline master and the remaining individuals are members (SEDI, 2010). VICOBA usually contain 5-30 people who agree on a particular amount to save on a fixed interval of days, usually a 7-day week. The members rely on the mutual trust and each member contributes to the agenda of his/her VICOBA. The simplicity of VICOBA formation and the affordable requirements for loans have made VICOBA one of the most desirable group lending strategies. The VICOBA groups may arrange various group training opportunities especially to improve small business management skills. Such training can lead to improved socioeconomic status of members (URT, 2009).

VICOBA like any other microfinance schemes target low income community members to encourage savings and provide access to micro-loans for small enterprise development (SEDI, 2010). According to SEDI (2010), VICOBA schemes have proved to be very effective in rural communities where they operate with minimal cost; the groups can easily be integrated into other development initiatives and often achieve significant results within a short period. Generally, access to micro-loans can be essential in poverty alleviation especially for those poor rural households which lack access to credit from formal financial institutions due to a lack of collateral. However, the VICOBA strategy has been adopted in both urban and rural areas with comparable success.

VICOBA are socioeconomic organizations established to provide financial services to the rural and urban poor. Unlike other more formal financial institutions, VICOBA groups establish a culture of savings and lending at low interest rates, (SEDI, 2008). Initially intended for rural areas, VICOBA have now become popular in urban areas where urban poverty has escalated due to increased population and unemployment. Moreover, VICOBA protect members from the high interest rates imposed by formal macro financial institutions such as banks and SACCOs. According to Grant et al. (2002), VICOBA can be fundamental in transforming the socio-economic lives of communities through soft loans. VICOBA members are empowered to learn the importance of goals and objectives as well as the rules and regulations guiding the operations. According to SEDI (2008), VICOBA promotes the sharing of entrepreneurial skills among members. Communities, families and individuals usually achieve improved living standards with access to basic needs and improved health and education.

Researches such as Lema (2011), note that VICOBA have gained validity and recognition because the groups met the financial needs of poor people who were divorced from formal financial services due to lack of adequate collateral. VICOBA operates on the basis of mutual member support, and loans are issued to members on the basis of their membership and contributions. This is an excellent model as the poor save regularly and finally access financial services (micro-loans) from their own VICOBA treasury.

According to Carbon (2002), VICOBA have become a major source of capital for supporting the businesses of each member. The income that comes from VICOBA contributes to employment creation and the economic development of individuals. The socioeconomic impact results from

many facets of the micro-savings and micro-lending activities. For example, many members borrow some money to pay for their children education while also starting a microenterprise in order to earn the funds to repay the loan in a timely manner. While there are a multitude of benefits resulting from VICOBA, there are also many challenges.

The key difference between VICOBA and other models of microfinance is primarily the interest rates charged to beneficiaries, (Kihongo, 2005). For example, formal microfinance institutions (MFIs) are profit-oriented and charge interest rates from 17-30%; while VICOBA charge between 5% to 10% and the rate is usually determined by VICOBA members. Microfinance organizations which charge much higher interest rates, often have employed staff, are linked to various international NGOs, and thus, must cover salaries and operating expenses of many local and regional staff. VICOBA groups are self-managed and do not require paid staff on an on-going basis. VICOBA have gained popularity in urban areas as they can contribute to poverty alleviation and improved socioeconomic status of the participants/members. The low interest rates and loans requiring no collateral have made VICOBA attractive and effective in both urban and rural areas. Like their rural counterparts, urban dwellers have found VICOBA to be a source of capital and a mode of saving. Regular low payments and low interest on loans are very attractive to micro-entrepreneurs. Another reason why VICOBA is highly valued is for the required savings which accumulate for each member. For example, the literature reveals that VICOBA have spread to many parts of Tanzania since 2002 (URT, 2009). Data shows that since 2006 approximately 30 billion Tshs has been collected from groups which then use these funds as revolving loans for group members (URT, 2009). The model is based on concepts that promote creativity as well as ownership and sustainability of community activities through income generating activities that are also gender sensitive.

A study done by Kihongo (2005) assessed the role of business skills for VICOBA members in Ukonga Ward in Ilala Municipal Council Dar es Salaam. The findings revealed that the impact of VICOBA groups could be enhanced if the members could be empowered with entrepreneurship skills training. The study examined the business skills of members and assessed the impact of VICOBA on socioeconomic transformation. Another study on VICOBA was conducted by Herman (2005) who focused on the extent to which the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) have contributed to the alleviation of poverty.

The unanswered question this study examines is the lack of visibility of VICOBA as an empowerment tool in socioeconomic development planning in urban areas. This study will demonstrate to policymakers and decision makers that VICOBA is an informal microfinance tool that can foster socioeconomic transformation in urban areas.

Analysis and Discussion

Membership Criteria and Social Composition of VICOBA

The findings reveal that one of the most important membership criteria are the mutual relationships and support which members provide for one another. Another criteria for membership in most VICOBA is living in the nearby areas and sometimes having a shared plan for specific microenterprises. For VICOBA members in Toangoma and Gongo la Mboto who filled the questionnaires, all agreed the shared goal for members is establishing microenterprises with loans from VICOBA. They agree that individuals who are known to each other form a group of up to 30 persons and to start saving in order to accumulate capital which is then redistributed through small loans to members with interest rates between 5 to 10 percent.

The VICOBA members said the social composition of the group does not consider religion, political affiliation or tribe. They said what matter most is the level of trust that each person will avoid defaulting on their loans.

Table 1: VICOBA Membership by Gender

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Male	158	45.3
	Female	191	54.7
	Total	349	100.0

The data show that women are more engaged in VICOBA than men. There are many reasons for this. Initially, VICOBA targeted primarily women who could plan to easily attend regular meetings and could establish microenterprises that could be incorporated into their household duties. However, the participation of both men and women gradually increased with either single gender groups or combined gender groups thus demonstrating the increased importance of VICOBA in communities. The study by SEDIT (2008) showed the participation level of women to be very high with 20% more members than men. This current study shows a positive change as men have come to understand the role of VICOBA in socioeconomic development and the number of men has increased significantly. This implies that the mutual aid organizations are no longer regarded as just for women but rather a place for changing positively the lives of both men and women.

Table 2. VICOBA Membership by Religion

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Adventist	16	4.6
	Anglican	4	1.1
	Booze	3	.9
	Catholic	140	40.1
	Christian	9	2.6
	Islam	77	22.1
	Lutheran	66	18.9
	Morovian	10	2.9
	Pentecostal	5	1.4
	Suni	9	2.6
	Traditional	7	2.0
	Total	346	99.1
Missing	System	3	.9
Total		349	100.0

The data confirms that VICOBA are secular organizations since poverty is not linked to religious beliefs. Table 2 shows a composition of diverse religious followers in VICOBA. It is an indicator that the economic and mutual aid provided by VICOBA can unify people in urban areas. Poverty does not discriminate by gender, religion, tribe, education, or ethnicity. Thus, VICOBA represents the realities of the urban poor who reside in multi-cultural communities. Accessing financial lending and saving services is important to most of the urban poor and provide the means for socioeconomic development through microenterprise formation and increased family incomes. As households increase income, often the education level for children improves and training within VICOBA groups improves the entrepreneurial skills of both men and women.

Table 3: VICOBA Membership by Education

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	38	10.9
	Primary	73	20.9
	Secondary	57	16.3
	College	63	18.1
	University	109	31.2
	Total	340	97.4
	System	9	2.6
		349	100.0

The importance of VICOBA is seen through the membership composition whereby individuals who have not attended any formal education can join groups to save their income together with individuals who have had more formal education. This shows the importance of VICOBA as an informal socioeconomic mutual aid group which meets the economic and social goals of many individuals with varying skills and educational levels. It is not surprising that 31% of the 349 respondents have a university or higher education level. The reason for this is that the financial services provided by formal institutions are not only complicated but also require collateral which many do not have. Formal banks prefer not to lend small sums for microenterprises and the interest rates are often very high. Hence, individuals even with a university education prefer the options for both saving and borrowing provided by VICOBA.

Table 4: VICOBA Membership by Occupation

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Accountant	3	.9
	Builder	2	.6
	Business	9	2.6
	Butcher	8	2.3
	Cement	2	.6
	Chef	2	.6
	Coach	3	.9
	Driver	22	6.3
	Farmer	12	3.4
	Group Leader	2	.6
	Hairdresser	4	1.1
	Housewife	19	5.4
	Imam	2	.6
	I.T.	8	2.3
	Jail Custodian	2	.6
	Lawyer	2	.6
	Meditation Teacher	3	.9
	Nurse	2	.6
	Operation Officer	2	.6
	Plumber	2	.6
	Radioman	2	.6
	Researcher	3	.9
	Secretary	8	2.3
	Security	5	1.4
	Seller	20	5.7
	Shopkeeper	4	1.1
	Small Business	4	1.1

	Student	95	27.2
	Tailor	4	1.1
	Teacher	29	8.3
	Trader	2	.6
	Unskilled Worker	3	.9
	Welder	2	.6
	Garage Worker	44	12.6
	Total	336	96.3
Missing	System	13	3.7
Total		349	100.0

The above table shows the composition of VICOBA by occupation and demonstrates that groups are comprised of individuals from all walks of life. Students, workers in the formal sector, tailors, small business owners, shopkeepers, and housewives—all realize the importance of VICOBA in socioeconomic transformation. The formal financial system does not meet the needs of many of these people regardless of profession. Increased urban poverty encourages people from all walks of life to establish mutual groups for accessing financial services and VICOBA has become an important opportunity for increasing numbers of urban dwellers.

Table 5: VICOBA Membership by Financial Status

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Very Good	20	5.7
	Good	184	52.7
	Ordinary	102	29.2
	Bad	41	11.7
	Total	347	99.4
Missing	System	2	.6
Total		349	100.0

The field evidence reveals that members of VICOBA seek financial services in order to improve their living standards. The study shows that individuals seek VICOBA membership to improve their economic status. The percentage of survey respondents who indicated they considered themselves to having a “very good life in terms of financial stability” was around 5.8%, and simply a “good life” was about 53%. This shows that most of the respondents could be considered middle class VICOBA members. Most members of the middle class usually want to create economic opportunities in order to maintain their status and have funds to cover unexpected emergencies or other financial needs.

Only 29 percent of respondents considered themselves to have an “ordinary economic status”. This implies that these are individuals whose income may fluctuate from time to time and therefore, VICOBA is a means to meet unanticipated financial demands. The chairperson for VICOBA in Toangoma Ward observed that:

“VICOBA are very useful for our communities... They have been a source of capital for young people and women who engage in petty trade. Myself being a government employee, I find VICOBA to be an easy way of saving voluntarily and eventually accumulating capital for establishing some family income generating activities. VICOBA is a liberator of individuals with unstable incomes in urban areas. Urban poverty has now got a medicine. VICOBA pulls us from poverty”.

From this and other similar testimonies and from this study, we learn that VICOBA has become an important aspect of poverty alleviation in urban areas. VICOBA has become a source of on-going or emergency capital for many poor as well as middle class urban dwellers.

Table 6: Popularity of VICOBA in Communities

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	254	72.8
	no	82	23.5
	Total	336	96.3
Missing	System	13	3.7
Total		349	100.0

The importance of VICOBA in communities has been widespread. The field data indicates the popularity of VICOBA to be at 73% of respondents. We also note that the communities' level of awareness of VICOBA as mutual help organizations is very high. The study shows that only 24% said the VICOBA were not popular in their communities and they represent VICOBA members who have limited information on poverty alleviation strategy. The popularity of VICOBA in these communities at 73% reveals a significant level of VICOBA's contribution to socioeconomic development. VICOBA have provided a source of capital and voluntary saving schemes for the urban poor community members.

The Contribution of VICOBA to Socioeconomic Development

In this study, the contribution of VICOBA to socioeconomic development of communities is documented through the members' acknowledgement of their changed economic status after joining VICOBA. VICOBA provides easily available loans to members with a low interest rate of 5% to 10%. The low interest rate alone has attracted members of communities from all walks of life to establish or join VICOBA. One study question that was researched was: in the event of financial problems, where do individuals go for loan? The following table details the rating of VICOBA's contribution on socioeconomic development through loans.

Table 7. VICOBA versus Other financial loaning Institutions

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	VICOBA/mutual help groups	323	94.8
	banks	18	5.2
	Total	345	98.9
Missing	System	4	1.1
Total		349	100.0

The beneficiaries of VICOBA have stated how their lives have been transformed as a result of having access to low-interest, collateral-free loans. The anecdotal evidence cited by one member of VICOBA C in Toangoma says she has been able to furnish her house with the loan of one million Tanzanian shillings which she took specifically for completing and furnishing her house. Moreover, she also spent around 100,000 Tanzanian shillings to pay school fees for her daughter in secondary school. The stories recounted by other members show the importance of VICOBA in transforming lives. The study findings also agree with the findings by Allen (2006) who studied Rural Member-Based Microfinance Institutions in Babati District, Tanzania. His study focused on the perception of the impact of rural member-based microfinance institutions on members' socioeconomic conditions. He concluded that the majority of members consider VICOBA to have a positive impact on their socioeconomic status such as being able to increase income to pay school fees. Also, the majority believe that VICOBA leads to poverty reduction in families and communities. It is therefore concluded from this study that VICOBA has a positive impact on the lives of people particularly in the urban areas where income is unstable and commercial sources of loans require collateral and have high interest rates.

Table 8. The Communities' Perception on VICOBA's Contribution to Community Development

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	190	54.4
	no	147	42.1
	Total	337	96.6
Missing	System	12	3.4
Total		349	100.0

The field evidence reveals that VICOBA has not only positively impacted the lives of individual members and their immediate families; but it also has positively changed the outlook of their communities. Table 8 reveals that 54% of the respondents agree that VICOBA can improve the lives of communities. Many members state that there is a tremendous change in their communities citing stories of men and women who borrow and repay loans who have been able to expand personal homes from a single room to three rooms. Many of the respondents revealed that they have been able to obtain small plots in "uswahilini" and their lives have changed accordingly. This implies that through VICOBA individuals have been able to achieve or improve one of their basic needs which is shelter. This is a VICOBA effect in communities. The study concludes that the communities' pace of development is dependent on the establishment of social mutually supportive groups in which savings are realized and loans guaranteed.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has examined the role of VICOBA in the socioeconomic development of communities. The study has found that VICOBA has a profound role in improving the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Urban poverty could be mitigated by encouraging mutual aid groups such VICOBA in order to increase the potential for saving and capital generation. Low and middle class people in urban areas who need financial support are attracted to and inspired by VICOBA membership. Currently, VICOBA is the only such savings and loan organization available in the area and thus, there is consistent demand for new groups attracting new members. Thus, VICOBA can potentially have a positive impact on the socioeconomic development of poor, urban residents of Dar es Salaam.

It is commendable that the Government of Tanzania has encouraged citizens to establish VICOBA groups in their neighborhoods as an informal way of addressing poverty through voluntary savings. This could improve the living standards of many communities and help the government achieve its goal of addressing poverty through self-help solutions.

The VICOBA should be strengthened through use of social, economic and political institutions. For example, many VICOBA members belong to various religious organizations. Perhaps these religious groups could promote and support the establishment of VICOBA groups for its members. Thus, many existing community organizations could promote the formation of VICOBA savings and loan groups as way to promote the socioeconomic development of their members.

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