

# Civil Society in Tanzania

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# Abbreviations

BAWATA	National Women's Council
CBO	Community based organisation
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CSO	Civil society organisation
FBO	Faith based organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KEPA	Service Centre for Development Cooperation
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
MVIWATA	Farmers' Groups Network in Tanzania
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TACOSODE	Tanzania Council of Social Development
TANGO	Tanzania Association of NGOs
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TENMET	Tanzania Education Network
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UWT	Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania

# Introduction

During 2006, the Service Centre for Development Cooperation (KEPA) collected information from Southern civil societies in which it operates, several civil society representatives, activists and researchers gave their views for this purpose. This working paper is a summary of the documents collected concerning civil society in Tanzania. It is mainly based on the information given in Zaa Twalangeti's background paper *Analysis for Tanzania*, Tiina Kontinen's in-depth answers to an inquiry on civil society in Tanzania, Kenny Manara's email interview, and Tiina Kukkamaa's complementary comments.<sup>1</sup> Zaa Twalangeti works as an information and programme officer at the Tanzania Association of NGOs, TANGO. Tiina Kontinen was a researcher at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki. She has recently published a dissertation on the learning challenges of NGOs in development, focusing on Finnish NGOs in Tanzania<sup>2</sup>. Kenny Manara worked as a development policy officer and Tiina Kukkamaa as a liaison officer at KEPA's Tanzanian chapter in Morogoro. Besides, some other material has been used as an additional source of information.

## General characteristics of Tanzanian civil society

### Recent history

The origins of the modern kind of civil society in Tanzania can be traced back at least to the beginning of British colonial rule in the 1920s. The Tanganyika Territory African Civil Servants Association was established for securing the welfare of native civil servants in 1922. There were also a cooperative movement and pastoralist movements focusing on land ownership. In 1929, an organisation called the Tanganyika African

Association (TAA) was set up to promote sports and cultural activities. In the late 1940s, labour and nationalistic movements started to emerge and intense mass actions took place. In reaction to these growing mass actions, the colonial administration enacted a number of laws that enabled the heavy control and restrictions of civil movements that were feared to be a challenge to the position of colonial administration. In 1954, the leader of TAA, Julius Nyerere, reformed his association and its name was changed to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Eventually, TANU managed to become a central actor in leading Tanganyika (the mainland), to independence in 1961. Three years later, Tanganyika was united with the island of Zanzibar, and the United Republic of Tanzania was born. At the same time, the nucleus of the civil movement, which had spearheaded the independence struggle, had itself become the leading force of the state apparatus.

After multi-party elections in 1965, the constitution was changed in a manner that allowed the establishment a one-party system. Political power was concentrated on Nyerere's party and the president himself. Other political parties were not allowed. Nyerere's socialist one-party rule inherited most of the laws and institutions from the colonial period. The state also controlled the legal system, which was used to control and coerce the citizens rather than to guarantee rights for them. This political environment was very restrictive for non-governmental associations and made it virtually impossible for civil society to organise independently. Only religious groups, charity organisations and relief foundations were allowed to operate, because their activities were not considered political.

During the 1980s, privatisation and the rapid downsizing of the public sector were widely implemented under the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF and the World Bank. In Tanzania, structural adjustment led to increased funding for civil society organisations. Foreign donors' funding strategies emphasised the strengthening of the 'third sector' instead of state institutions, which were seen as inefficient and corrupt. After Nyerere's retirement in 1985, and along with the steps toward multi-party democracy in the beginning of 1990s, civil society organisations (CSOs) were given new space and they were now seen also by the state as important for community development. The numbers of CSOs started to rise rapidly. At the beginning

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<sup>1</sup> See list of sources at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> See Kontinen 2007.

of the decade, the number of registered CSOs was a few hundred, while recent estimates vary from 4,000 to 8,000. However, it can be argued that the period of mushrooming of CSOs is already over. Instead, there is competition of the 'survival of the fittest', as donor funding to CSOs is again decreasing and demands to show the impacts of their work are becoming stronger.

## Main actors

There is much diversity among civil society actors in Tanzania. The sector includes very different kinds of groups, from those of local women who have come together to support each other to international agencies that pay enormous salaries to their top-level employees in the local terms. Similarly, the civil society sector comprises both voluntary groups without paid workers and well-established organisations that have tens of paid employees.

A major part of Tanzanian civil society consists of informal groups and small community based organisations (CBOs), professional associations and trade unions, as well as numerous faith-based organisations (FBOs). In terms of numbers, local CBOs and informal groups may be the main actors, but there are no exact numbers available, because a substantial part of these groups are not officially registered. CBOs and informal civil society groups have much influence on people's lives, and even more so in the remoter rural areas. Usually, these smaller organisations operate at grass roots level, particularly with the poor, disadvantaged and marginalized people, in helping to improve their social situation and living conditions.

With regard to their influence on people's daily life, religious or faith-based organisations may be the most important ones in Tanzania. Most FBOs are Christian or Muslim based organisations, since these are the two main religions in the country. The power of FBOs lies in providing services for people. For instance, they run orphanages and dispensaries, and their role in providing health and education services remains especially strong.

Although the establishment of NGOs is a recent phenomenon in Tanzania, NGOs seem to be the main actors, when it comes to publicity in the media, engagement in policy formulating processes, or interaction with donors. NGOs have also had a central position, for example in fostering

women's movement and providing services. However, their number is clearly less than the number of CBOs and informal groups.

Concept of Non-governmental organisation (NGO) refers in this paper to such organisations that usually are officially registered and development or advocacy oriented organisations, and thus civil society organisation (CSO) is used as a general concept to cover all actors of civil society.

In addition to Tanzanian NGOs, there is a relatively small but influential group of international NGOs working in the country. The first ones, such as Oxfam, started operating in Tanzania already during the 1960s. Today, international NGOs play an important role as the 'capacity builders' of civil society, and they often function as donors of local organisations. Furthermore, international NGOs are important players in policy and advocacy work. The agendas and priorities of international NGOs affect local organisations, and their partner selection strategies have tended to strengthen merely the urban based elite organisations, instead of less 'modern' organisations that work remote rural areas.

District Development Trusts are influential actors in service delivery. They often establish and run secondary schools, or they may take care of local infrastructure or road maintenance. Decision-making processes in these organisations are closed and there are no elections or rotation. Development trusts are usually organised and funded by local politicians or businessmen, who also collect some kind of revenue from the people. They can also have other types of own fundraising. District Development Trusts flourished during the 1980s when other types of organisations were generally not allowed. Their significance has now decreased, but in some ways they created a political space for the NGOs that mushroomed later.

One of the traditional forms of voluntary organising is farmers' cooperatives. They aim to improve farmers' situation by sharing ownership, capital, marketing and training. Cooperatives are also spaces for learning and democratic management of common affairs. According to statistics from 2004, there were 5,730 registered cooperatives in Tanzania.

During the one-party rule workers' membership in trade unions was compulsory. In the late 1990's the legislation was renewed and trade unions were allowed to take a more independent position. In 2002 there were 16 registered trade

unions. Strikes, however, are still made complicated and it is thus uncommon.

## Geographical coverage

But there is a considerable divide in the presence of CSOs between rural and urban areas. Most NGOs are urban based, with Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar being their primary hubs. Also the Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions, where there are long traditions of popular organising, have quite a strong presence of NGOs. On the other hand, these areas are better off economically compared to other regions, they attract investors, and there are more job opportunities than in other areas. The poorer regions, such as Lindi, Singida and Shinyanga tend to have far fewer registered NGOs per person operating in the countrywide scale. The Registrar of NGOs is in Dar es Salaam, and the relatively high travelling costs affect the capability of NGOs from more remote areas to get registered.

However, official figures do not tell the whole story about the existence and activity of various other CSOs than NGOs, such as women's credit groups, cooperatives or faith based organisations. For example, co-operative societies distribute quite differently than NGOs: in 2004 there were 437 registered co-operative societies in Dar es Salaam and 166 in Arusha, compared to 620 co-operatives in Shinyanga region. Nevertheless, the number of registered CSOs is increasing in rural areas. The majority of these are CBOs that are primarily working on local issues and service provision, and usually do not focus on advocacy or political work.

## Networking and co-operation

During the last decade the civil society sector in Tanzania has sought stronger unification and cooperation through networking. There are two general umbrella organisations for CSOs. Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSODE) unites CSOs that are engaged in service delivery, while Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (TANGO) is profiled merely as an advocacy and capacity building organisation of diverse CSOs. However, TACOSODE's strategic plan has been reviewed recently to accommodate advocacy work. Thematically, there are also other and even bigger networks for CSOs, such

as Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Farmers' Groups Network in Tanzania (MVIWATA) and Tanzania Education Network (TENMET).

Recently networks and coalitions of CSOs have emerged at the district level, some of them being large and influential. Regional and District networks link CSOs operating in the same region or district, in order to enhance cooperation and effective use of scarce resources. These networks also give CSOs possibilities to have a common and more amplified voice on issues they are working for. In addition to NGOs, some district level networks include CBOs and FBOs. During recent years these networks have clearly diminished the fragmentation of CSOs' efforts. The government has also used them to popularise its policy processes, and international NGOs have utilised these networks for capacity building of local CSOs. Originally Regional and District networks were initiated by TANGO under the facilitation of KEPA.

## Legal status of civil society organisations

The legal framework for CSOs has evolved during the multi-party era, and especially NGOs' position is now established and guaranteed by law. For the first time, NGOs were legally acknowledged in the NGO Act 2002. Some Tanzanian and international organisations, however, considered the new act merely as state's attempt to control the NGOs. Especially the coordination body that was set up along with the act for controlling the registration of NGOs was seen merely as an implementer of state policies, and not enabling an environment where CSOs can evolve independently. Pressure from the NGO sector eventually led to amendments to this act in 2005. Despite criticism, the new act has made the registration of NGOs at local and district levels easier. Recently the governmental NGO Council has engaged TANGO and other mainstream NGOs in formulating codes of conduct for NGOs, which should guide the operation of NGOs throughout the country.

The NGO Act does not cover other CSOs such as trade unions, religious organisations or community based organisations. The largest portion of the Tanzanian CSOs is still regulated under the Societies Ordinance, which the country has inherited from the colonial era. The Societies

Ordinance has been heavily criticized for not allowing the freedom of association and assembly guaranteed by Tanzania's constitution, because it gives much authoritarian power to the registrar. The Registrar of Societies has a broad mandate to decide whether to register or de-register any association under the ordinance. Registration, on the other hand, is expensive and time consuming. It can take a year to get a small CSO registered. This situation has forced thousands of small community groups to join together and form representative CSOs that can be registered under the NGO act instead of the Societies Ordinance.

## Political space for civil society

Alongside establishing multi-party democracy in the country, more freedom was given by the state and government to people's organising. This also meant more space for civil society organisations to work on political issues and get involved in the shaping and monitoring of state policies. However, the traditions of liberal democracy are quite short in Tanzania, and the associational realm is still controlled by the state. The state recognizes CSOs as partners in poverty alleviation and creates space for their involvement in policy processes, but at the same time the state creates laws to control civil society. There is a continuous drawing of lines on whether CSOs are involved in "too political" activities or seeking political power, as expressed in the NGO act. An example of this problem is the case of National Women's Council (BAWATA), which was working for women's inheritance-rights and the right to own land, and advocated for women's unity regardless of their ideological affiliations. BAWATA was de-registered in 1996 on basis of being too political in its work. It has also been stated that by this punishment of BAWATA the leaders of the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) wanted to protect the position of their own party's women's wing Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT).

Another example of the limited political space is the case of Haki Elimu. This organisation participated in promoting, advocating and monitoring the governmental Primary Education Development Programme. Haki Elimu also conducted analytical research, published reports and ran radio and TV spots that addressed the gap between the national education policies and the actual practices in the schools. Haki Elimu asked

people to judge for themselves whether government officials were implementing the agreed policies or not. Ruling elites in Tanzania, however, are not accustomed to being questioned in public, and eventually Haki Elimu was forbidden to engage in activities that relate to education. This case has clearly increased fears among other CSOs that their activities would be also considered too political.

## Funding

As in many Southern countries, in Tanzania foreign donors have had a significant impact on the formation of modern civil society. The governments of rich industrialized countries and multilateral institutions (especially the World Bank and IMF), had a leading role in the liberalisation processes that were started in Tanzania's political and economic spheres in the 1980s. Liberalisation did not only create space for the modern type of civil society. It also created a demand for services provided by CSOs, when state's role as service provider was diminished. On the other hand, as foreign funding to CSOs has increased the state has perceived CSOs as competitors over the available funds. This is evident in the HIV/AIDS sector.

Foreign or international donors continue to have a substantial or even vital role in funding local CSOs in Tanzania. This is most evident among registered NGOs, of which about 90% are funded from foreign sources. In addition to the Northern governments' aid agencies and multilateral development institutions, also international CSOs have been, and still are, influential actors in funding Tanzanian civil society. In addition to providing funding, international CSOs link Tanzanian CSOs to other foreign funding sources. Generally, there is no domestic financial support available from the Tanzanian government for CSOs.

Despite the flows of funding from abroad, most local CSOs are struggling with scarce resources. This is most acute among those CSOs that are not situated in or do not have links to urban centres where contacts with donors are usually made. Donors still tend to steer more funding to urban-based organisations that are familiar with 'NGO jargon', and are thus able to produce proposals and reports that are required by international development organisations. On the other hand, many CSOs are faced with a challenge of translating the needs of the local community to

the priorities of the donors and government. As a result, some CSOs use consultants to write their proposals and reports, which can result in quite absurd outputs. However, this does not necessarily mean that such CSOs lack activities, commitment or actual impact on a grass roots level.

Despite criticism and recent efforts towards more participatory decision-making between donors and local CSOs, many donors still tend to set or affect CSOs' priorities and shape their organisational structures. This may be unintentional. Too often, CSOs do not have resources that would enable them to focus on certain theme or issue consistently. Trying to comply with conditions set by their donors keeps many CSOs jumping from one issue to another. This can lead to problems with the expertise needed on different issues and focus groups. Thus, most CSOs would prefer more open and flexible funding for their work. Project-bound funding is generally perceived as rigid and more likely to favour the donors' agendas. Nevertheless, there have been signs of changing attitudes and improvements leading to more equal partnerships, which are based on an ideal that both parties agree on specific benefits that they bring to the relationship. This has already decreased the need for compromises that local CSOs have had to make.

Legislation allows a CSO to make profit but this has to be invested in the CSO's own activities and cannot be shared among its members. Some of the more established NGOs have started to sell consultancy services, especially to foreign donors by such things as providing them with information on local issues or other services. Another income source for many CSOs is interest from micro-credits. However, there is generally a lack of local funding sources that are sustainable and ethical.

Today the CSO sector is an integral and important part of the national economy. The state has been worried about the direct channels through which funds are allocated to CSOs without informing the relevant state authorities. Demands have been made that the donor funding to CSOs should be reported to governmental bodies.

Lack of skills in financial management, lack of bank accounts and existing accounting systems sometimes create unintentional 'mismanagement' of finances. Sometimes the CSO leaders are in the midst of conflicting loyalties that result in using the money of the CSO for their extended family. There has also been the phenomenon of government civil servants establishing NGOs in

order to have access to the available development funds, for example in the HIV/AIDS sector. According to the sources of this summary, however, the gross misuse of funds is usually not a major problem among Tanzanian CSOs although some examples of misuse can be named.

## Civil Society in Action

### Main issues

According to the UNDP's Human Development Report 2006, about 58% of the 37 million people in Tanzania live on less than one dollar pay day, and even 90% on less than two dollars pay day. As measured by the Human Development Index, Tanzania is ranked 162 among 177 countries in the UNDP's list. According to the report under-nourishment has been on the rise during the last decade. At the beginning of the 1990s about 37% of Tanzania's population were considered malnourished and ten years later the figure was 44%. Life expectancy in the country is currently about 48 years, and the infant mortality rate is among the poorest fifth is one of the highest in the world, 115 out of 1000 births.

Against this background it is obvious that different poverty related issues are among the top priorities of CSOs in Tanzania. Among all types of CSOs service delivery still has a more established role than political advocacy. Most CSOs work directly with practical grass root level activities, which can be well understood when the majority of Tanzania's population is struggling with their daily income generation, if not surviving. However, during the last decade there has been a shift away from traditional service delivery that strives for concrete poverty alleviation on grass root level to advocacy and policy oriented work that aims at dismantling the impoverishing structures in the society and governance. This is most evident among those NGOs of which a substantial part combines service delivery with advocacy or research.

## *Agriculture*

More than 75% of people live in rural areas, and agriculture is still the main source of livelihood for the majority. For example, joint production and marketing of agricultural products, as well as lending micro-credits are very popular themes among CSOs working in rural areas. Many CSOs have had a substantial role in contributing to different kinds of achievements in local economic empowerment.

## *HIV/AIDS*

Estimates on the number of people living with HIV in Tanzania range between 1.3 to 2.3 million, or 3.5-6.2% of the population. Massive efforts on different sectors of the society have brought encouraging results, and HIV infections have shown a declining trend during the last few years. There are also signs that the stigma around people living with HIV is gradually decreasing as attitudes towards these people are becoming more positive. The government has set HIV/AIDS as its priority focus and doubled its spending on related activities since 2001, but the successes in this sector could not have been possible without the awareness raising and advocacy work of various CSOs throughout the country. CSOs have also been running clinical and home based care for HIV/AIDS patients, which has had a very important complementary role together with governmental efforts. The problem of HIV/AIDS is also strongly related to children's situation. As much as 43% of all people in Tanzania are under 15 years of age, and numerous CSOs focus their activities on enhancing children's rights and, for instance, running orphanages.

## *Gender*

Perhaps Tanzania's most important and visible civil movement recently has been the women's movement. The main actors in this have been various NGOs and gender networks that have created public awareness and engaged in policy making. In rural areas many CSOs work for improving the economic situation of women. Informal or traditional women's groups are also important actors on the local level. An example of such traditional organisations is small *upato* groups that rotate savings and credit groups.

Another important theme among CSOs is raising awareness on legal rights that are not respected in the society and which women are not always aware of.

CSOs have also been active in lobbying for gender issues to be included in different governmental policies. Recent achievements in this regard are adoption of the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act, ensuring a gender sensitive national budget, and amendments in the Land Act considering women's right to inheritance. These achievements have been made possible through extensive lobbying and advocacy towards members of parliament, writing commentary papers and keeping gender subjects visible in the media.

## *Good governance*

During the last decade Tanzanian CSOs have been increasingly involved in different governance processes with the aim to improve transparency and accountability of the state administration. These processes have included providing the public with more information about various policies and development programmes, mobilizing citizens to participate in public affairs, raising awareness on corruption, providing legal aid and training, as well as raising awareness on legal issues. One remarkable result is also that CSOs have managed to pressure the government to include CSOs in national budgeting and public policy formulation process for example in issues related to gender equality and the NGO Act. Other achievements include, for instance, the abolishment of *takrima* or "African hospitality" provisions from the National Elections Act, which ensured that the elections in 2005 were considerably free and fair. In the recent past CSOs have started to provide civic and voter education. Although the experiences have generally been good, there have also been cases where some CSOs have not only advised people on how to vote, but also who or which party should they vote.

## *National policies*

Tanzania's national economic policies rely primarily on accelerating economic growth. In addition to many CSOs, the government has recently acknowledged that the robust economic growth that Tanzania is currently experiencing is not

being translated in the lives of the majority of the poor. As a result, the government has named the second PRSP strategy as the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, which is commonly known by its Swahili acronym MKUKUTA. CSOs have been involved in implementation and monitoring of this strategy. However, the process has been criticised because it involves only a handful of CSOs that do not widely represent Tanzanian civil society and people. The involved CSOs, on the other hand, perceived that they did not have real participation in the MKUKUTA process. CSOs were quite critical of agreeing with the development agenda and conditionalities originally set by the World Bank and the IMF as basis of the strategy, but the government wanted to comply with the will of the World Bank and IMF, because it wanted to qualify quickly for debt relief. CSOs felt that they had undergone a very laborious and wide-reaching process in informing people about the PRSP and the Millennium Development Goals, as well as recording people's wishes concerning the new development strategies, but in the end CSOs had no real influence on the agenda of MKUKUTA.

### *Other issues*

There is of course a wide range of issues that have not been covered in this summary, especially in the service provision sector. Some of the broader themes that have lately been on the agenda of CSOs include human and labour rights, education, economic empowerment, disabilities and youth empowerment. Different environmental issues are increasingly returning to CSOs' work, along with the new initiatives taken by the new government to pay more attention to environmental protection. Water related problems such as access to clean water and sanitation are also central issues for many CSOs locally and nationally, both on service delivery and advocacy levels. Another urgent problem currently is to deal with the consequences of drought that has caused loss of crops and famine in certain parts of the country.

## **Ownership**

The culture of patronage is deeply rooted in the society and it is present also in civil society. Many CSOs have a "patron", a wealthy person like local

businessman or member of the parliament, who supports the organisation or is one of its founders. Usually the patron provides funding and has power in the decision-making process of the organisation. This is most common among the District Development Trusts, but exists also among other types of CSOs.

Some claim that CSOs prefer to work for the poor than with them and that the relationship between CSOs and marginalised is more like a patron-client or teacher-pupil relationship that leads to top-down approaches. CSOs may be training, educating or advising the marginalised, but according to critics, do not listen adequately to their ideas and opinions. In addition to the culture of patronage, one reason to this possible lack of ownership is that too many CSOs jump from one issue to another, according to where funding is available, and, above all, when they try to comply with conditions set by their donors. The problem has also been attributed to the one-party period, when people were used to the state providing services and development initiatives. It is argued that that CSOs and foreign NGOs have now replaced the state in people's minds, and still people do not consider their own initiatives possible or desirable.

On the other hand, many CSOs consist of people who are committed to collective and co-operative working, and numerous Tanzanian CSOs have had remarkable successes in promoting community's own initiatives. At least, most issues that CSOs in Tanzania are addressing are also relevant for the poor and the marginalised, as noted in the sources of this summary.

# Civil society's relations with the state and private sector and international CSOs

## Relations with the state

Although civil society representatives widely participate in policy processes in Tanzania, the government still does not favour people's direct participation in state affairs. Instead, the government regards CSOs as intermediate social agencies that are placed between individuals and government. On the other hand, the government is aware that CSOs are socially and geographically far reaching and they have closer relation to the people than the state agencies.

Since the late 1980s, when the operational space for CSOs began to increase in Tanzania, relations between civil society and governmental institutions have been co-operative in the sense of civil society's role in service provision or 'project implementation', but often suspicious and conflictive in regard to political issues. These relationships have also been muddled by the government questioning the mandate, legitimacy and credibility of CSOs. This has had a demoralising effect on some CSO workers, which have felt that they have genuinely worked for the development of the country. Many civil society actors also feel that the sector is being seen as subordinate to the private and the state sectors.

During recent years CSOs have been taking more active role in influencing state policies, budgeting and monitoring through a number of national planning committees and other platforms. On the other hand, the possibilities to influence are often hampered due to restrictions in participation and lack of appropriate information provided by the state to the CSOs. Although CSOs have expressed criticism towards certain procedures and policy issues, they have also not taken a strong 'watchdog' role towards the state, and they seldom present radical critique.

## Relations with the private sector

The relationship between civil society and private sector is still rather weak in Tanzania, and the governmental development and empowerment plans do not really link together CSOs, small business and local governance. Some CSOs have established supportive relationships with domestic industries and businesses, and now many CSOs are themselves operating in the grey zone between civil society and the private sector, when they are occupied with income generation, lending micro-credits and supporting micro-enterprises. A particular field where private sector and civil society have started to co-operate is HIV/AIDS work. Also, an awakening of private sector organisations, especially chambers of commerce, has taken place in recent years.

## International relations

Most formally established CSOs in Tanzania are networked with like-minded international or Northern CSOs. In addition to funding, the main forms of international cooperation include information sharing and capacity building. During recent years Tanzanian CSOs have also co-operated on political advocacy issues with foreign CSOs, which sometimes do not even have a working base in Tanzania. This kind of international collaboration shows that joint advocacy has become a more important strategy for Tanzanian CSOs to influence both national and international development processes. This is most evident in regard to trade related issues such as debt cancellation and increase to Northern countries' development aid. Recently, such international efforts have included the Global Call to Action Against Poverty and campaigning for the Millennium Development Goals. International CSOs have had a powerful role in forming the NGO Policy Forum, which aims to promote political advocacy of CSOs in Tanzania. Generally, international CSOs are seen to have helped the Tanzanian government and local CSOs to create a political space for participation in different development processes.

# Future challenges

Although Tanzanian civil society is diverse and well-organised there are still a number of challenges that the country's CSOs face. These challenges mainly relate to problems with legislation, geographical coverage, ownership, funding and engagement in governmental policy formulation. Of course, the primary challenge that surely is not that of local CSOs alone, is finding ways to dismantle the impoverishing structures in society both locally and internationally, and to reverse the trend of growing inequality, malnutrition and poverty.

An urgent challenge is the renewal of legislation concerning CSOs, especially those who are regulated under the Societies Ordinance. There is clearly a need for a better and up-to-date legal framework that does not allow arbitrary control by the state authorities, but allows free association that aims at public good.

The degree of networking among CSOs is considerably high, compared to neighbouring Zambia or Mozambique. However, insularity exists also among Tanzanian CSOs. They are similarly competing over foreign funding, which often makes barriers for cooperation. Better networking and cooperation would diminish overlapping activities and ensure that the programmes of CSOs are well located in the larger contexts, both physically and conceptually. Most of all, this is an issue to which the donors should pay more attention in the future.

Another central issue to be addressed in the future is promoting people's true participation and improving the ownership base of CSOs. They should strive to gain the confidence of the constituencies or people that they serve. This would strengthen their position in dealing with the government. Especially larger CSOs should pay attention to their ownership base in order to prevent civil society organisations, especially NGOs, from becoming more elitist. Further, CSOs will only be able to play an effective role in the national development process when they develop skills needed to bring issues and concerns from grass roots to the attention of policy makers.

Despite the prominent flows of foreign funding, lack of resources still creates obstacles for most CSOs. Sustainable and independent sources of funding are desperately needed, especially

when the overall trend of development aid is dwindling. Local possibilities for CSOs' own fundraising are quite few, and it is thus evident that the need for foreign support will remain in the near future. However, international CSOs should help raise people's well being and self-determination by empowering local CSOs to become masters of their own destiny and not increase their operational dependency on external donors. This can be fostered through more flexible funding agreements and budget planning where all concerned parties can have a say.

CSOs' engagement in government policy formulation has been encouraging, although this has been possible only for a small minority of Tanzanian CSOs. Generally, there are concerns about the capacity of local CSOs to take up and utilize the political space that enables them to have influence on governmental decision-making. Donors could play an important role in supporting their capacity building in this regard. Specifically, on sub-national or district levels CSOs could make a more constructive contribution to different policy issues, if they were more involved. Today, many CSOs also seek for more expertise and resources for analysis and research. Stronger cooperation with local and international development research and advocacy organisation would improve the capacity of Tanzanian CSOs in policy analysis.

Yet many of the challenges that CSOs and people in Tanzania face are international by nature, and solutions to these problems are not within their reach. Above all, many of the political measures of the governments in the North, especially in European Union and United States, destroy the good work of development organisations in the global South. Agricultural export subsidies, unfair trade rules, migration limitations, as well as policies that maintain over consumption and foster climate change are examples of problems that have local consequences also in Tanzania, but which have their origins elsewhere. International CSOs need to continue setting demands against such devastating practices and policies, and encourage people in the North to join movements for global solidarity and equality. In this way too the engagement of Tanzanian civil society with global movements, such as anti-war or environmental movements, could possibly be supported and inspired. 

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