

# Religions and Development Research Programme

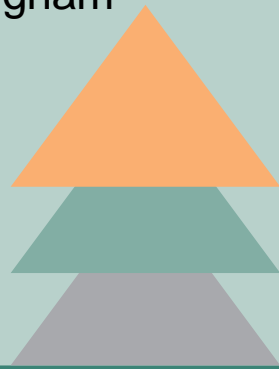
## Mapping the Development Activities of Faith-based Organizations in Tanzania

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Working Paper 58 - 2011



# Religions and Development

## Research Programme

The Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium is an international research partnership that is exploring the relationships between several major world religions, development in low-income countries and poverty reduction. The programme is comprised of a series of comparative research projects that are addressing the following questions:

- How do religious values and beliefs drive the actions and interactions of individuals and faith-based organisations?
- How do religious values and beliefs and religious organisations influence the relationships between states and societies?
- In what ways do faith communities interact with development actors and what are the outcomes with respect to the achievement of development goals?

The research aims to provide knowledge and tools to enable dialogue between development partners and contribute to the achievement of development goals. We believe that our role as researchers is not to make judgements about the truth or desirability of particular values or beliefs, nor is it to urge a greater or lesser role for religion in achieving development objectives. Instead, our aim is to produce systematic and reliable knowledge and better understanding of the social world.

The research focuses on four countries (India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania), enabling the research team to study most of the major world religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and African traditional belief systems. The research projects will compare two or more of the focus countries, regions within the countries, different religious traditions and selected development activities and policies.

The consortium consists of six research partner organisations, each of which is working with other researchers in the four focus countries:

- University of Birmingham, UK: International Development Department, Department of Theology and Religion, Centre for West African Studies, Centre for the Study of Global Ethics.
- University of Bath, UK: Centre for Development Studies.
- Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi.
- Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan.
- University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan.

In addition to the research partners, links have been forged with non-academic and non-government bodies, including Islamic Relief.

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**Key words: Muslim, Christian, Zanzibar, NGO**

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## Acronyms

ATR	African traditional religion
BAWATA	Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (National Women Council)
BAKWATA	Baraza Kuu La Waislamu Tanzania (The Muslim Council of Tanzania)
BALUKTA	Baraza la Uendelazaji Koran Tanzania (Qur'anic Reading Development Council of Tanzania)
Baraza Kuu	Baraza Kuu La Jumuiya Na Taasisi Kiislam Tanzania (Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations)
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CDA	Community development association
CDTF	Community Development Trust Fund
CPT	Christian Professionals of Tanzania
CSO	Civil society organization
CSSC	Christian Social Services Commission
CUF	Civic United Front
DDT	District Development Trust
EAMWS	East African Muslim Welfare Society
ELCT/KKKT	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania/Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania
FBO	Faith-based organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TAMPRO	Tanzania Association of Muslim Professionals
TAMTA	Muslim Teachers Association
TANGO	Tanzania Association of NGOs
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TEC	Tanzania Episcopal Conference
TEDG	Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group
UAMSHO	Association for Islamic Propagation in Zanzibar
UKUEM	Islamic Association for Education and Economic Development
WAMATA	Walio Katika Mapambano Na AIDS Tanzania (People in the fight against AIDS in Tanzania)
WAWATA	Tanzania Catholic Women Organization
WAZAZI	Parents Association of Tanzania
WCRP	World Conference on Religions for Peace
ZIADA	Zanzibar Inter-faith Association for Development and AIDS

## Summary

This study aimed to provide an overview of the scale and scope of Christian and Muslim organizations' development activities in Tanzania.

Systematic information on the nature, scale and development activities of FBOs is unavailable. The research in 2008-9 was based on semi-structured interviews with a snowball sample of key informants from nearly fifty religious and other organizations, but also drew on the limited NGO directories available, a 1993 survey of NGOs in nine districts and other secondary sources. The study reveals a wide variety of organizational arrangements, including faith-based charitable, relief and development organizations that are registered as NGOs or societies, and many development activities carried out by religious organizations (e.g. dioceses) and individual congregations (churches and mosques).

Muslims arrived in Tanzania centuries before Christians, with Islam initially becoming established in the coastal region and islands and then spreading inland along trade routes, especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Christianity's first major expansion was during the German and then British colonial periods. Currently the Catholic Church is the largest denomination, followed by Lutherans, Anglicans, Moravians, Seventh Day Adventists and, more recently, Pentecostal churches. Today, the vast majority of Tanzanians claim that their religion is Islam or Christianity, although traditional beliefs and practices are still widespread. Estimates of the proportions of people associating themselves with the two main faith traditions vary, from just under fifty per cent each, to sixty per cent Christian/forty per cent Muslim.

Welfare activities and *madrassa* education have been long associated with individual mosques and Sufi brotherhoods. After independence in 1961, Muslim organizations focused on addressing Muslim educational disadvantage, seen as arising out of a mission-dominated educational system. The East African Muslim Welfare Society, founded in 1945, was closed down by the government in 1968. Its successor, the government-approved BAKWATA (Muslim Council of Tanzania), is engaged in social service provision and development activities, but on a smaller scale than the traditional Christian churches, which developed important roles in education and health care during the colonial period.

After independence, the churches firmly supported the government's development objectives. However, the adoption of an 'African socialist' approach in the late 1960s and 1970s was accompanied by the suppression or co-optation of incipient civil society organizations and adoption of responsibility for



service provision by the government which, among other strategies, nationalized education and health facilities belonging to religious organizations. Economic crisis from the late 1970s forced the liberalization of economic policy in the 1980s and, in the early 1990s, the restoration of multi-party democracy. Today, the government continues to depend on faith-based service providers' contribution to service provision (especially education and health), under financial arrangements that have evolved over time.

The traditional churches established apex bodies to coordinate with each other and manage their relationships with government, particularly the Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (1956) and Protestant Christian Council of Tanzania (1934). Individual denominations, dioceses and the apex bodies themselves have more recently established specialized departments responsible for their development and service delivery activities, including the Relief and Service Division of the CCT (1961), Caritas Tanzania (1971) and the Christian Social Services Commission (1992).

During the 1990s, the number of NGOs of all kinds increased rapidly, leading to the establishment of a new regulatory system in 2002, which provides for the official registration of both secular and faith-based organizations, although many organizations and community groups remain informal and un-registered. Today, in addition to the churches and mosques themselves, there are numerous FBOs engaged in welfare, development and advocacy activities.

- The Catholic Church and its associated organizations have the most extensive service delivery and development programmes, followed by the second and third largest denominations, the Lutheran and Anglican churches. The geographical distribution of activities is uneven, reflecting patterns of missionary activity during the colonial period. Although there are very large numbers of Pentecostal churches, they and the Seventh Day Adventists are perceived as being more concerned with evangelism than development.
- The numbers of mosques and Muslim FBOs grew rapidly in the 1990s, although restrictions on inflows of funds and their operations post-9/11 have slowed this growth. It is estimated that perhaps a third of the approximately 9,000 mosques are engaged in some charitable, welfare or development activities (and many more if *madradas* are included).
- Government figures show that in 2003, of the 42 per cent of secondary schools that were privately run, 45 per cent were run by Christian and 12 per cent by Muslim organizations. In 2008, 40 per cent of hospitals, 22 per cent of health centres and 13 per cent of dispensaries were run by FBOs.

- FBOs' development practice has evolved from an early focus on charity, relief and service delivery to include sustainable development, advocacy, good governance and human rights. However, their scope is heavily influenced by the programmes for which external funding is available, resulting in a preoccupation since the 1990s with activities related to HIV/AIDS and caring for vulnerable children.

The main challenges facing religious organizations engaged in development activities were identified by informants as

- Dependence on external and government funding, reducing organizations' autonomy and sustainability, and resulting in some inter- and intra-religious competition for resources.
- Limited capacity, accountability and self-evaluation on the part of many FBOs.
- A mismatch in some instances between the religious composition of beneficiaries and that of catchment populations, commonly attributed to user fears that FBOs have a conversion agenda.
- Differing organizational and financial capacity (and levels of command over their member organizations) of the coordinating/apex bodies, varying from the hierarchically organized traditional churches to the more fragmented Pentecostal churches and Muslim community.
- Inter-religious competition and delicate relations with the state, despite Tanzania's long record of religious tolerance and official state secularism.

# 1 Introduction

Over the past decade or so, there has been increased interest in the role of so-called faith based organizations (FBOs) in development (see, for example, Clarke, 2007, for a discussion of some of the reasons for this). However, although the importance of such organizations in social service provision in many parts of the world (e.g. in education and health) has been noted by a number of authors (for example, ARHAP, 2008, Rookes, 2010; WHO, 2007), no systematic information is available for any country about the nature, scale and development activities of FBOs. While national surveys of NGOs and civil society have been carried out in many countries, most notably as part of the international John Hopkins study of the civil society sector, they do not differentiate FBOs from NGOs or civil society more generally. In fact, the concept is itself contested and there is no single, clear and commonly accepted definition of an FBO, as we shall see in Section 1.2 below.

## 1.1 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is therefore to provide an overview of the current nature, scale and development activities of FBOs in Tanzania, one of the four countries studied as part of the Religions and Development Research Programme, within a historical perspective that briefly summarizes the evolution of faith-based organizations in Tanzania since colonial times

The research was interested in the overall question of how religion manifests itself, in different organizational forms, for the purposes of development. Development in this context refers to a range of charitable, service delivery, emergency relief, capacity building, community development, economic development, advocacy and socio-political work. The spiritual development work of religious organizations is not covered in this study, nor is information provided about the work of missionary FBOs, either historically or today, although both are significant.

The research concentrated on Christian and Muslim organizations, given the predominance of these religions in Tanzania. Of 839 respondents in a national survey carried out in July 2000, 48 per cent identified themselves as Christians, 47 per cent as Muslims, 3 per cent as having no religion, 1 per cent as practitioners of African traditional religion (ATR) and 0.2 per cent as belonging to other religions (with 0.2 per cent not responding) (Lawi and Masanja, 2006). Of respondents in a more recent sample survey, 60 per cent identified themselves as Christian, 36 per cent as Muslim, 2 per cent as followers of ATR and 1 per cent as unaffiliated (Pew Forum, 2010). Official statistics on religious

affiliation have not been available since the 1967 census, when it was claimed that a third of the population was each Christian, Muslim and followers of ATR.

This report will not say anything about whether and how the various minority religions in Tanzania organize themselves for development. African traditional religion has also been excluded, on the basis that (unlike Christianity and Islam), it does not manifest itself organizationally for development purposes, despite its continuing importance as part of Tanzanian culture and its significant influence on the beliefs and practices of both Christians and Muslims (Lawi and Masanja, 2006).

## **1.2 Methodology and definitional issues**

This study is based on a combination of primary and secondary sources. 29 key informants were interviewed over a three week period in July 2009 (see Appendix 1 for details) by Robert Leurs and Peter Tumaini-Mungu. A variety of existing documentary sources (e.g. websites, organizational documents, newspapers and academic literature) was also consulted, resulting in profiles of 19 religious organizations. In addition, the findings presented here draw on previous work carried out for the study in 2008 by Abu Mvungi and Peter Tumaini-Mungu and some research assistants, using the same methodology. A list of potential initial informants was drawn up by the researchers and respondents were asked to suggest further useful informants. A list of the informants met is included in Appendix 2. A copy of the interview guide used in the July 2009 round of interviews can be found in Appendix 3.

As noted above, the primary aim of this study was to ‘map’ the scale, nature and activities of FBOs working in development in Tanzania. Maps can, of course, vary in the level of detail that they provide. Data about FBOs was difficult to come by, so the study aimed to produce an ‘impressionistic overview’ of FBOs and their activities rather than a comprehensive picture.

The possibility that NGO directories (produced, for instance, by civil society organizations or government bodies) might provide information about FBOs was explored but only one of the available directories or databases contained an FBO category (see Section 5). It was difficult to identify listed organizations that were faith-based by their name alone, although sometimes this could be done by looking at their ‘mission statements’ where available. In addition, it proved to be difficult to identify key

informants knowledgeable about the FBO scene as a whole. Initial visits to some organizations also revealed some reluctance to share 'sensitive' information about funding or legal status.

Some organizations do not want to identify themselves as 'religious'. According to several informants, many FBOs have deliberately adopted secular names. One of the stated reasons for this is the assumption that it might be more difficult for an FBO to access international funding from secular donors, because the latter may fear that an FBO has a conversion agenda or might discriminate in terms of their intended or actual beneficiaries. As Berger (2003, p 17) writes, some FBOs are reluctant to "use the term 'religion' in describing themselves and their activities...due largely to the potentially negative connotations associated with religious references as well as legal obstacles that arise when applying for public funding."

We were aware that organizations that appear to be secular can be strongly influenced by the religious make-up of their staff and volunteers. In Tanzania, where as noted above, an estimated 96 per cent of the population are either Muslim or Christian, the faith background of most of the staff (and volunteers) of NGOs is likely to influence their attitudes, values and development work. Indeed, Berger prefers to talk about the 'pervasiveness' of religion in different organizations, examining how religion manifests itself in their aims and operations, because this "highlights the nonexistence of purely secular or religious NGOs and conceives organizations' religious identity in degrees of 'religiosity' rather than in absolute terms" (Berger, 2003, p 25; see also Sider and Unruh, 2004; Green and Sherman, 2002).

It was therefore not straightforward to differentiate faith-based from secular organizations. In addition, deciding what sorts of religious organizations to include and which to exclude was problematic. Definitions of FBOs involved in development activities may be broad or narrow. The Global Health Council, examining the role of FBOs in addressing HIV/AIDS, adopts a broad definition, describing 'FBO' as

...a general term, used to refer to religious and religious based organisations, places of religious worship or congregations, specialised religious institutions, and registered and unregistered non-profit institutions that have religious character or missions (Global Health Council, 2005).

Other researchers have adopted narrower definitions. Berger, for example, uses the term 'religious NGOs' rather than the term FBO, defining RNGOs

...as formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions and which operate on a nonprofit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level (Berger, 2003, p 16).

Although she distinguishes religious NGOs from congregations, arguing that the latter are focused mainly on their members whereas RNGOs have a public mission, she does acknowledge that there is a relationship between the two, since "RNGOs represent congregations, denominations, spiritual or political orientations, even the entire membership of a particular religion" (Berger, 2003, p 19).

In order to identify the diversity of organizational forms that FBOs take in practice, various attempts have been made to develop typologies. Clarke (2008), for instance, argues that the international development community has tended to define FBOs in a particular way, following the emergence of the term in the 2000s against the backdrop of shifting policy approaches and agendas in the USA and Britain. In particular, he emphasizes that donors tendency to work with Christian organizations and those that explicitly claim to be 'faith-based development and charitable organizations' has missed much faith-based contribution to development. He suggests that in the context of international development, five types of FBO are evident: 1) faith-based representative organizations or apex bodies; 2) faith-based charitable or development organizations; 3) faith-based socio-political organizations; 4) faith-based missionary organizations; and 5) faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organizations. He does not include places of worship in his typology.

Because there is no single or commonly accepted definition of the term faith-based organization internationally and so little was known about the FBO terrain in Tanzania, we decided to use Clarke's typology as a starting point for this study, to provide hints about where to look for faith-based development work, and to structure and organize part of our analysis. However, organizations in the fifth category were excluded because of their sensitivity and the subjective judgements needed to assess what is 'radical' or 'terrorist'. In addition, missionary organizations were not explored in detail because of our focus on the development activities of FBOs (defined in material rather than spiritual terms), as explained above.

Another definitional issue was whether to include informal unregistered organizations in addition to formal, legally registered organizations (i.e. those registered as NGOs or societies). Although the former were considered important by various informants, it was not feasible for them to be included in the study.

### 1.3 Legal registration requirements

As a potential way of clarifying the definition of FBO in the Tanzanian context, the requirements for legal registration of various types of non-governmental organizations were examined.

Before the 2002 NGO Act, the registration of civil society organizations (CSOs) in mainland Tanzania was governed by the Societies Ordinance of 1954, which is still in force. It defines a society as “any club, company, partnership or association of ten or more persons, whatever its nature and objects” (Kiondo and Mtatifikolo, 1999, p 8). Limited companies, cooperatives, trade unions and political parties were excluded from this definition. Societies are registered under the Ministry of Home Affairs. Religious organizations like churches and mosques are registered as religious societies, others as civil societies. However, several informants told us that many individual mosques and churches are not actually registered.

No comprehensive and up to date figures were available from the Registrar of Societies, although estimates of the numbers of mosques and churches were obtained from other sources. As we shall see in Section 5, churches and mosques in Tanzania make direct and important contributions to material development and will therefore be reviewed in this study.

A non-governmental organization is defined by the 2002 NGO Act as

...a voluntary grouping of individuals or organizations which are autonomous, non-partisan, non-profit sharing and are

- a) organized at the local, national or international level for the purpose of enhancing or promoting economic, environmental, social or cultural development or protecting the environment, lobbying or advocating on such issues of public interest to a group of individuals or organisations or
- b) established under the auspices of any religious or faith propagating organization, trade union, sports club, political party, religious or faith organization or community based organization but does not include a trade union, social club, a religious or faith propagating organization or community based organizations.

This study estimates that there are hundreds of FBOs of this kind in Tanzania (see Section 5). They are the focus of this study (within the wider context of both civil society and religious societies) and a number of such FBOs are profiled in Appendices 4 and 5.

In addition, many non-governmental or civil society-type development organizations, whether established before or after the 2002 NGO Act, are registered (or are also registered) under other legal regimes as Trusteeships, Trusts or Trust Funds (under the Attorney General's Chamber) or as Companies, under the Treasury's Company Ordinance (Kiondo and Mtatifikolo, 1999, p 9). Conversely, given that registration as an NGO in accordance with the 2002 Act provides exemption from tax, it was suggested that private companies may register under that legislation. It was not possible to access any of the data sets of organizations registered under any of these other legal regimes.

Finally, local churches and mosques can also be seen as a subset of community organizations, as we shall see in Section 4. The terms community development association or community-based organization lack officially recognized definitions, but the former has been used by Kiondo (1994) to denote local level organizations, which may or may not be externally sponsored, and may either be informal or registered at the district level. Many national and international NGOs work through such organizations, which play important roles in the local development scene.

## 1.4 Structure of the report

A brief historical overview of Muslim and Christian organizations in Tanzania before independence in 1961 is provided in Section 2, followed by an examination of faith-based development during the period of Nyerere's leadership (1961-1985). Section 4 focuses on FBOs' contributions to development in Tanzania during the late 1980s and 1990s and Section 5 provides an overview of contemporary faith-based development organizations. Finally, some emerging trends and differences within and between Christianity and Islam are identified, as well as some of the challenges facing faith-based organizations in Tanzania today.



## 2 Muslim, Christian and other civil society organizations in Tanzania before independence

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief historical overview of Muslim and Christian organizations in Tanzania, to provide a context for the subsequent discussion of the development activities of FBOs since independence in 1961. However, the section will begin with a brief comment on African traditional religions and will end with a brief overview of other important civil society organizations.

### 2.1 African traditional religions

African traditional religions (ATRs) were dominant in the pre-colonial period (before 1885). By their nature, indigenous African religions were essentially local in character. The ATRs neither claimed universality nor did their adherents undertake the task of spreading their religious conceptions beyond the local context (Lawi and Masanja, 2006, p 82). Kiondo (n.d.) alludes to the existence of some early examples of African traditional institutions, which could be referred to as non-profit and philanthropic organizations, including solidarity groups at the family, clan, village and tribal levels. Most followers of traditional religion have subsequently become Christians or Muslims, with the most recent sample survey showing that only 2 per cent of adults claim to be adherents of traditional religion (Pew Forum, 2010). Traditional beliefs and practices continue to be important in Tanzanian culture, including for many Christians and Muslims, but there do not appear to be any development organizations specifically associated with 'ATR'.

### 2.2 Muslim organizations

Islam appeared in Tanzania centuries before Christianity came to the country (Wagao, 1993, p 123). It was the earliest foreign religion to arrive in East Africa, although there is a possibility that Arabs came to the East African coast even before the birth of Islam (Nanji, 1994, p 48). During the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, Muslim Arabs started to influence cultural and political developments among East African coastal communities. A stronger wave of Arab-Persian immigrants arrived during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, followed by another in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and Omani Arabs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The expansion of long distance trade in both the coastal areas and the interior in the 19<sup>th</sup> century helped Islam to spread (see also Mallya, 2010). The majority of Muslims are Sunni (Westerlund, 1980, p 8).<sup>1</sup> The German colonial administration established in 1885 recruited Muslim coastal people, many of mixed African and Arab origin, as administrators and soldiers, and established a government school system along the coast with Swahili as the medium of instruction, further assisting the spread of Islam

(Lodhi and Westerlund, 1999).<sup>2</sup> Poor rural Muslims did not benefit from colonial rule, instead turning to various Sufi brotherhoods that were present in Tanzania and East Africa more generally. The most prominent of these, especially after 1880, were the Qadri/Qadiriyya order (members of which are called Qadris) and the Shadhiliyya (Shadhilis). The Qadiriyya brotherhood was larger than the Shadhiliyya and also had a branch called Uwaysi that was very influential. Focusing on personal piety, open to indigenous religious beliefs and led by Africans, these brotherhoods played important roles in the expansion of Islam in Tanganyika and the rest of East Africa (Lodhi and Westerlund, 1999; Martin, 1976, p 152).

Wagao (1993, p 124) also notes that “Sufism became an important factor for the expansion of Islamic faith in Tanzania”. Sufism in this context simply meant the ‘ruralization’ of Islam. Most would-be African Muslims were first attracted by the brotherhoods, of which they became formal or informal members, and which were associated with a rule of life that makes charity obligatory and binding on all those who embrace the Muslim faith. The rich could not enter a brotherhood unless they were willing to give part of their possessions for the support of poor and needy members of the community, as a practical test of real brotherhood (Wagao, 1993). Historically, Islam grew most rapidly between 1916 and 1934, from 3 per cent to 25 per cent of the population (Lange et al, 2000).

The formation of the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) in 1945 was the first attempt to create an Islamic apex body under which Muslims from all the countries of East Africa could organize their religious affairs. The major aims of EAMWS were stated as the advancement and welfare of Muslims in East Africa. Among others, its activities included the opening, building and running of health centres and dispensaries, social centres, hospitals, schools and other charitable and benevolent institutions. The formation of EAMWS was spearheaded by the Aga Khan (the spiritual leader of Ismaili Muslims), in collaboration with other Asians associated with the Shia and Sunni sects, as well as African Muslim groups.

The All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT), formed in 1957, was another important Islamic organization, established to address the concern for Muslim advancement in education and government jobs. It urged the British government to delay Tanganyika’s independence until Muslims acquired sufficient education to be able to share equitably in the fruits of independence (Chande, 1998, p189-190).

## 2.3 Christian organizations

Christianity came to Tanzania much later than Islam. A small number of Christian missions were established on the East African coast during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, during the period of Portuguese occupation. By the time the Germans conquered Tanganyika, two large British protestant missionary societies were already active, namely the Church Mission Society and the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Several German missionary societies followed in the wake of the German colonial government (1885-1918). The first Roman Catholic missionaries (the Holy Ghost Fathers) had also started their work in Zanzibar in 1863, moving on to Bagamoyo on the mainland in 1868 (Rasmussen, 1993, p 31).

Christianity spread slowly during the period of German colonial rule, partly because it was clearly identified with colonial rule and partly because many of the African Christians at that time were rootless, persecuted or dispossessed Africans who had been excluded from their traditional communities. However, the focus of British colonial rule (1918-1961) on indirect rule through local government and its continued emphasis on education helped to promote faster expansion of Christianity between 1919 and 1945 (Rasmussen, 1993, p 32). Nevertheless, by 1957, Christians still only made up 25 per cent of the population (Lange et al, 2000).

According to Westerlund (1980), by the end of colonialism in Tanganyika in 1961, there was a great diversity of Christian denominations in the country, with the Catholic Church being by far the largest. The Lutheran and Anglican churches were also numerically strong. The various Lutheran churches united in 1963 to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika (ELCT). Other Christian denominations, such as Moravians, the Africa Inland Church, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, Mennonites, Baptists and others were relatively small at that time. It is also significant to note that, while the Catholic Church was present in virtually all parts of the country, the other denominations were concentrated in various areas and amongst selected ethnic groups, sometimes tending to cement the ethnic isolationism of these groups, for example, by insisting on the use of vernacular languages.<sup>3</sup> Many missions tended to follow the boundaries of chiefdoms.

The main contribution of the Christian missions to development during the colonial period was through the provision of social services, especially education and health, and particularly for Africans living in

the rural areas, since the provision of both the German and British colonial governments (and private providers) had focussed on white and Asian colonial settlers and in urban areas. For example, by 1914, ten missions had already established over 1,000 rural schools, serving over 110,000 students (Kiondo, n.d.).<sup>4</sup> By independence in 1961, government figures show that on the mainland, 70 per cent of African primary school children were attending schools grant-aided by government but administered by religious organizations, as were 55 per cent of those in secondary and technical schools (Munishi, 1995, p 142).<sup>5</sup> Christian mission societies played a similarly important role in the provision of health care services. For example, by 1958, they owned 42 per cent of all hospital beds in the country and 81 per cent of the primary health care facilities, mainly rural and serving Africans (Munishi, 1995, p 143). Government data provided by Jennings show that “[a]t the end of 1961, missions ran 287 hospitals, dispensaries and clinics across Tanzania, compared to just 73 government centres” (Jennings, 2008, p 95). .

## 2.4 Other important civil society organizations

Other important pre-independence civil society organizations included occupational and other associations. For example, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which became the main political party, emerged from the Tanganyika African Association, established in 1929 largely to promote sport and cultural activities. Beni dance societies, popular from around 1890 to 1930, also provided mutual aid and training for their members, as well as recreation. Urban migrants formed ethnic associations to provide social services such as burial assistance and loans. By 1954 there were 51 in Dar es Salaam alone. In the rural areas, a strong cooperative union had developed, numbering 617 societies by 1959. In the cities, TANU joined hands with the trade unions (Lange et al, 2000).

### **3 The development activities of faith-based organizations in Tanzania during the Nyerere government (1961-1985)**

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the development activities of religious organizations in Tanzania during the period of the Nyerere government (1961-1985). It will start with some introductory comments about the political philosophy of the Nyerere government and its effects on civil society organizations.

#### **3.1 The political philosophy of the Nyerere government**

During the first few years after independence, the new government prioritized economic development, creating a sense of national unity and expanding basic services to the whole population, especially the 90 per cent of people living in rural areas, but did not challenge the capitalist model. However, in 1967, with the Arusha Declaration, a development model based on so-called 'African Socialism' or *Ujamaa* as it was termed in Kiswahili (Gibbon, 1995, p 10) was adopted. During this time, the state moved to control the economic and political spheres, undertook a major programme to resettle scattered rural populations into villages and set out to become the main provider of social services by expanding its own role in production and service provision and through the nationalization of major privately owned means of production and service delivery. This was a secular socialism, based on the separation of state and religion, although allowing for freedom of religious expression, as long as such expression was not held by the government to be incompatible with national development. Gradually, elements of this model were abandoned in the years following the severe economic crisis experienced by Tanzania from the late 1970s.

#### **3.2 Civil society organizations during the period of the Nyerere government**

Ironically, the civil society organizations that allowed TANU to come to power were suppressed once independence was achieved, and especially after 1967. The largest, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour Unions, was banned and replaced by a government-controlled trade union, the National Union of Tanganyika Workers. The chiefdom system was also abolished in 1964 and former chiefs were given civil service posts, to help placate them. In 1976, the cooperative movement was banned and replaced by the Union of Cooperative Societies, initiated by the party. Other mass movement organizations co-opted by the party included the Union of Tanzanian Women, the Youth Organization and the Tanzanian Parents Association. However, smaller community based organizations (CBOs)

like women's rotating savings and credit clubs (*upatu*<sup>6</sup>) were generally not interfered with (Lange et al, 2000, p 5).

Kiondo and Mtatifikolo note that only seven NGOs were formed between 1961 and the late 1970s, with a total of only 18 NGOs registered with the Tanzania Association of NGOs (TANGO) by 1980 (Kiondo and Mtatifikolo, 1999, p 5).<sup>7</sup> The period between 1980 and 1990 witnessed the formation of only 41 new NGOs, although the first district development trusts (organizations set up in urban areas to raise funds for 'home area' community secondary schools) emerged in the early 1980s (Kiondo, 1994).

### 3.3 Muslim organizations

During the post-independence period, Muslim organizations have been mainly concerned with Muslims' backwardness in development, specifically education. For example, the Dawat El Islamia/ Dawaa al-Islamiyya, formed in 1963, was concerned with issues such as promoting Muslim unity and educational facilities through expanding the number of Muslim schools (Westerlund, 1980, p 95; Chande, 1998, p 192).

The most prominent pre-independence Muslim FBO, the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), was banned by the government in 1968.<sup>8</sup> In its place, the government backed the formation of the Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA). BAKWATA has tended to be more pro-government and thus has been coolly received by a number of other Muslim organizations in the country. It also lacked strong representation of all Muslims in Tanzania because, unlike the EAMWS, which had included Muslims of all sects, BAKWATA has been accused by some of being a sectarian organization for mainland African Sunni Muslims.

Because of BAKWATA's perceived failure to provide effective leadership for Muslims, a number of other Muslim organizations have emerged to provide socio-economic and educational services for the Muslim community (Chande, 1998, pp 159-160). In particular, a rival apex body, the Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations (Baraza Kuu), was founded in 1992, to fight for the rights of Muslims and ensure Muslim participation in development plans and activities. Both of these organizations will be discussed in greater detail in Section 5.

Politically, Muslims had been a very important part of the struggle for independence and had been dominant within TANU (although the party also included many educated elite Christians, including Nyerere himself). Some within the Muslim community wanted to challenge the secularist principles of the new state, based on an interpretation of history that maintains that Muslims have been discriminated against by a Christian-dominated state since the colonial period (Bakari and Ndumbaro, 2006). However, the state under Nyerere was committed to the notion of secular socialism, the separation of state and religion, and a desire to prevent religion from undermining perceived national development interests. An example of the latter was the government restriction (imposed in 1975) on any individual performing more than one pilgrimage to Mecca, because of the drain on foreign currency such pilgrimages imposed (Westerlund, 1982, p 100).

### 3.4 Christian organizations

The main Christian churches have more developed organizational structures than Islam in Tanzania, notably through the Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) (founded in 1956) and the Protestant Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) (founded in 1934). These apex bodies co-ordinate their members and provide development services through both their member churches and development agencies such as Caritas.

The Christian churches, which had significant resources due to their financial links with Western countries, were at independence repeatedly urged not to oppose but to cooperate with the Muslim-dominated TANU. The CCT launched a review of the role of the Protestant churches in post-colonial Tanzania, with the aim of moving away from colonial models of service provision towards a broader and deeper connection with the state's national development objectives (Jennings, 2008). Individual churches and parishes were widely engaged in development work, through their continuing role in service provision, other development projects and as members of district and village development committees. Both the CCT and the TEC created departments (the Relief and Service Division in 1963 and Caritas Tanzania in 1971 respectively) to coordinate development activity, define the churches' relationship with the state, and seek external funds. Although some within the churches feared an atheist Marxist state (Sivalon, 1995), many were prepared to support the new development philosophy of *Ujamaa*, and to work closely with the government to achieve its development objectives. According to Jennings (2008), by the mid-1960s, the re-orientation of the churches' social mission to fit in with



government development policies saw them become defenders and promoters of government policies, including villagization. Political leaders in turn “were careful not to criticize faith or pursue anti-clerical secular policies” (Jennings, 2008, p 110). This ensured the continuing influence and prominence of the churches and provided the government with well organized development partners with respected leaders.

Nevertheless, these close relationships did not protect the churches from the effects of all government policies. The Nyerere government wanted to nationalize education provision and to establish a secular school system. Its intention was to end the participation of missions in public education, which was to become the sole responsibility of the state (Mushi, 2006). Critics stressed the inequalities resulting from the mission-based system and the Catholic Church was criticized by TANU for not sufficiently championing justice and the cause of the oppressed, for its failure to sufficiently condemn white minority regimes and Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and for condemning the armed struggle in South Africa in 1974 (Westerlund, 1982, p 101-102). The government concentrated on achieving universal primary education, with the result that nearly a third of secondary school places were still provided by private and NGO schools (Munishi, 1995, p 149). Despite the churches fighting hard to preserve the system of denominational and mission schools, all government-assisted secondary schools provided by voluntary agencies were ‘nationalized’ through the Education Act of 1969 (Westerlund, 1982, p 101).<sup>9</sup> In addition, it took over many health facilities (and in 1977 proscribed private medical practice). In some cases, the government took over a facility completely (e.g. the Bugando Catholic hospital and the Lutheran Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre, which became government referral hospitals). However, some not-for-profit non-state providers were designated ‘authorized organizations’ and permitted to continue operating facilities, subject to much closer government control and regulation (Munishi, 1995).

However, few Christian organizations were banned outright. The most well-known Christian example was the Jehovah’s Witnesses, which Wilson (1973, cited in Westerlund, 1982) attributed to their refusal to join political parties, to salute the national flag or to sing the national anthem. Moreover, many Christian organizations continued to undertake development projects and provide social services and relief, including the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), Caritas Tanzania, the Christian Council of Tanzania, the Mennonite Mission of East Africa and World Vision.



### **3.5 The final years of the Nyerere government**

By the late 1970s, socio-economic difficulties had intensified under the impact of external shocks, such as the demise of the East African Community in 1977, the doubling of oil prices (1979-80) and the war with Uganda (1978-1979), which led to the doubling of defence expenditure (Gibbon, 1995, p 11). This led to a crisis in state-led social service delivery. To avert further crisis in the provision of social services, the government was forced to compromise on its earlier policy, resulting in the re-emergence of civil society organizations, including FBOs, as we shall see in the next section.

## 4 The development activities of faith-based organizations in Tanzania during the late 1980s and 1990s

In this section, important economic and political changes in Tanzania since 1985 will be summarized and their effects on the changing nature and importance of civil society (including FBOs) during the second half of the 1980s and the 1990s discussed.

### 4.1 Summary of economic and political changes

According to Kiondo and Nyang'oro (2006), it was evident by the mid-1980s that the post-colonial state had failed in its role as the sole provider and controller of all socio-economic activities in the country. Progress in all sectors was stagnant or had been reversed. The changing situation and challenges led to the necessity for political regime change as well as new economic policies. In 1985, the first President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, retired from the presidency and was replaced by Ali Hassan Mwinyi. This was the beginning of liberalization policies reflected in structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which, among other things, called for a minimal state and decentralization, including the creation of more space for civil society organizations, including FBOs.

These changes, combined with the introduction of multiparty politics, are partly responsible for the current status of civil society organizations in Tanzania. They created a different environment for the development of civil society in Tanzania, as a result of which there was a re-emergence of civil society organizations that aimed to stimulate development activities in all spheres of social life, in part to counteract the impact of the SAPs adopted by the government. In the early 1980s, while the government argued with multilateral and bilateral agencies over economic reform, official development assistance declined but existing NGOs and FBOs were able to mobilize external funds to provide relief and welfare, as well as for development projects (Lugalla, 1993; Sivalon, 1995).

The number of registered NGOs in Tanzania witnessed a large increase, from 224 in 1993 to over 2,400 by 2000, as documented in the Directory of Tanzania Non-Governmental Organizations (Kiondo and Mtatifikolo, 1999, p 11).<sup>10</sup> A Directory of Tanzanian NGOs published only five years earlier, in 1995, had listed only about a third of the number in 2000 (64 international NGOs and 749 national and local NGOs, including 155 religious organizations (OVP, cited in Lange et al, 2000, p 7). The NGOs listed in these directories were geographically concentrated in Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya and Morogoro, reflecting the districts favoured in colonial times. Of the Christian

NGO schools, for example, almost one third (43 of 154) were situated in Kilimanjaro alone. Even the Muslim schools are concentrated in this region (Lange et al, 2000, p 7).

Some sources estimated the total number of civil society organizations (presumably including unregistered as well as known registered organizations) to be much higher by this time, at about 8,500 in total (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1999; Tripp, 2000).

## 4.2 The changing nature of civil society in the 1980s and 1990s

Since the early 1980s, therefore, there has been renewed growth in non-state development activities, much of which, particularly in education and, to a lesser extent, in health, has been provided by religious organizations. For example, it was estimated that by 1992-93, in the nine districts studied by Kiondo (1995), 87 per cent of nursery schools were provided by a mixture of Christian religious organizations, private companies and individuals, while 61 per cent of secondary educational facilities were run by a mixture of religious bodies, community organizations, development trusts and branches of the state-sponsored national parents' associations (Kiondo, 1995, p 160).<sup>11</sup> By 1994, Christian organizations were running 154 secondary schools, ten times as many as those run by Muslim organizations, although the latter had started to increase (Lange et al, 2000, p 10). In 1992, at the instigation of the government, TEC and CCT formed the Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC) to coordinate and support the provision of education and health services by the churches, and enable them to negotiate policy and their financial relationships with government (Sivalon, 1995).<sup>12</sup> Other central actors in the provision of secondary schools were district development trusts (DDTs), 850 of which were formed between 1960 and 1991, the most active period being after 1980. These organizations were formed in urban areas for the benefit of a group's area of origin (similar to hometown associations) and commonly led or patronized by one or more local or national politicians or Dar es Salaam-based businessmen from the ethnic group concerned, with funds coming from fundraising dinners, taxes collected from peasants and government (Ishumi, 1995; Kiondo, 1994, 1995; Lange et al, 2000).<sup>13</sup>

In health, the state remained the main provider of all services in the nine districts studied by Kiondo (56.5 per cent of hospitals, 75.7 per cent of health centres and 62.6 per cent of dispensaries). However, NGO contributions were also very significant (e.g. 43.5 per cent of hospitals, many

dispensaries) and came mainly from religious organizations or Asian community groups (1995, p 161). While many of the facilities run by the churches were well established, Kiondo (1994) noted an increase in the numbers of existing and new Muslim organizations becoming involved in service provision and other welfare activities, including new health facilities (e.g. two hospitals in Ilala, Dar es Salaam).

Other basic state functions like security were also increasingly taken over by local defence teams, operating under different names, the most common being *sungusungu*, which were finally formally accepted by government in 1990 (Lange et al, 2000).

The international donor preference for funding international and locally-based NGOs was responded to by the state, through the establishment of apparently independent NGOs staffed by civil servants. In addition, regional officials were appointed to encourage the development of women's activities, helping such groups to acquire funds from donors. Kiondo terms these community development associations (CDAs), noting that they have a more grassroots membership, leadership and practices than the DDTs. Almost all are concerned with local income generation activities and most are organized by women. The members of many, but not all, are from poor groups (Kiondo, 1994). They range in size from a handful of members to several hundred. Some CDAs are based in a church. Many get external support from secular NGOs, politicians and businessmen, as well as the churches (and increasingly, Muslim organizations), and some were even organized in response to newly available funds. The main political parties, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (successor to TANU) and the Civic United Front (CUF), have also donated money to CDAs to win political support. However, in the early 1990s, the types and numbers of CDAs and amount of support provided to them varied hugely, with support being provided to all but one of the CDAs in Kilimanjaro District, to almost none of those in Tanga District (Kiondo, 1994, 1995).

Other important CSOs during the 1990s included health organizations, farmers' organizations and trade unions. Examples of umbrella organizations included the Tanzanian Association of the Disabled, the Tanzanian Association of the Mentally Handicapped, WAMATA, working for the rights of people living with HIV/AIDS, and MVIWATA (Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania), a network of small scale farmers. Established in 1993, MVIWATA worked in 16 regions through 75 local networks, and

claimed 3,000 members at that time. Smaller CBOs that were part of these associations engaged in practical work locally (Lange et al, 2000).

Trade unions and cooperatives were also detaching themselves from the ruling CCM party during this time. Autonomous trade unions were allowed again in 1995 and eleven were established that year. In 1999, approximately 300,000 workers were organized in twelve trade unions, the two largest being the Tanzanian Teachers Union and the Tanzanian Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers (ibid). However, Mallya (2010, p 8) argues that trade unions and cooperatives were weakened by economic liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s.

Many human rights CSOs also formed before and after the introduction of multiparty politics in 1995. They demanded more space in the political arena and a rewriting of the Tanzanian constitution (Shivji, 2003, p 8-9). Religious organizations like the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT), the Tanzanian Episcopal Conference (TEC), the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) and BAKWATA organized seminars and circulated printed materials to help their followers understand the politics of the day (Mallya, 2010). The CCT documented its position on the prevailing situation in the country and also presented the church as an advocate of political justice and democracy.

Elite advocacy organizations, like the Tanzania Gender Networking programme (TGNP), the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), the Women Legal Aid Centre (WLAC) and the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), were also established during this period. They were typically staffed by university-educated people and supported by international donor agencies (Lange et al, 2000, p 13). BAWATA, originally formed in 1994 at the behest of the women's wing of the CCM (the Union of Tanzanian women), "to unite women of all economic, social, and political backgrounds and to ensure gender equity in a multiparty, democratic Tanzania" which had a reputed membership of 150,000, was however accused by the government of being partisan (inciting women to vote for the main opposition party in the 1995 elections), and was therefore deregistered as a society. Even though BAWATA changed its status (and constitution) to that of a research organization, it remains de-registered (Mercer, 1999; Lange et al, 2000, p 18). Its High Court challenge to de-registration remains unresolved.<sup>14</sup>

Overall, there was such an explosion of NGOs during this period that even the distinction between NGOs and government itself became blurred as a result. For example, the government national fund for women, with an office in the Ministry of Women, Children and Community Development, referred to itself as an NGO (Mercer, 1999, p 254). A regional women's umbrella organization, administered through Regional Community Development Officers, did the same (*ibid*).

### **4.3 Types and scale of local development activities of FBOs in the early 1990s**

Kiondo (1994, 1995) provides us with the only available detailed empirical study of the contribution of FBOs to the local development scene in Tanzania during the 1990s. His findings illustrate many of more general points made above. The study covered nine districts, purposively selected to produce a balanced national picture in terms of factors such as geographical spread, better off and poorer districts, rural/urban areas and high, moderate and low NGO and CDA presence. The districts studied included Ilala in Dar es Salaam, Hai and Same in the Kilimanjaro region, Pemba south region in Zanzibar, Tanga in Tanga region, Songea in Ruvuma region, Newala in Mtwara region, Kondoa in Dodoma region and Bukoba rural in Kagera region. A summary of his detailed district level findings is provided in Appendix 6.

Kiondo concludes that local NGOs were surprisingly sparse almost everywhere, except in Ilala, where many had their national headquarters. Only the Community Development Trust Fund, the Christian organizations, the state-sponsored WAZAZI (Parents Association of Tanzania) and BAKWATA were present in more than one district, with Christian organizations dominating the scene everywhere except in the strongly Muslim districts of Ilala and Pemba south. He notes an increase in the number of Muslim organizations, suggesting that their activities and modes of operation resemble those of "the traditional Christian churches in their evangelical phase. Provision of social facilities is directly accompanied by building places of worship, proselytising [meaning evangelizing] and also by cruder patronage techniques such as giving away free food and clothing" (Kiondo, 1994, p 59). Development trusts were present in half the districts studied and community groups in all the districts. The latter consisted almost exclusively of women's groups engaged in various economic activities (Kiondo, 1995, p 162). Some of these groups were church groups and many were supported by development agencies, including some of the Christian churches. There was significant variation in the presence of

foreign donors across the nine districts. Few of the types of organization Kiondo identified were, in his view, advancing the causes of democratization, local accountability or increasing equality and self-reliance: many were elite-dominated and were not accountable to either their members or government, their distribution reflected spatial inequalities inherited from colonial times rather than compensating for them, and many depended on external funding (Kondon, 1995).

No similar detailed empirical study of FBO development work has been undertaken in Tanzania since the early 1990s. However, a study of civil society organizations (including FBOs) in Newala and Magu districts in 2009 shows how since the 1990s they have been increasingly influenced by overseas funding for HIV/AIDS and related work (e.g. working with orphaned and vulnerable children), in response to recent international donor agendas and opportunities to access funding in that area (Green et al, 2010).

## 5 The development activities of faith-based organizations in Tanzania today

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the scale and nature of development activities carried out by FBOs in Tanzania today. Section 5.1 estimates the number of civil society and non-government organizations (CSOs and NGOs) in Tanzania, but highlights the difficulty of making such estimates. Section 5.2 outlines the contributions to development made directly by or through the churches and mosques themselves. Section 5.3 briefly describes the most significant FBOs and the nature of their activities. More detailed profiles of the most significant FBOs active on the mainland are provided in Appendix 4, while Appendix 5 does the same for Zanzibar.

### 5.1 Number of CSOs/NGOs and FBOs in Tanzania today

In 2009, the Foundation for Civil Society published a Directory of Civil Society Organizations, which lists and provides information about 3,000 such organizations for the mainland (it also includes a list of 240 CSOs operating in Zanzibar), although it does not provide any definition of the term. It is not possible to tell from this database how many of the organizations can be defined as religious or faith-based, although the missions are explicitly religious and over one hundred of the organizations listed have religious names. In addition, this directory is unlikely to have captured all the informal and unregistered community development associations (CDAs) operating around the country, many of which are linked to religious congregations, as revealed by Kiondo's study (Section 4). As noted above, earlier estimates by authors such as Tripp (2000) put the total number of organizations at between eight and nine thousand. It is clear that the most important organizations engaged in development activities in both Christianity and Islam (in terms of both numbers and the overall scale of development services provided) are the various Christian congregations and mosques themselves, many of which are directly or indirectly, formally or informally, involved in various kinds of development work, as we shall see in Section 5.2 below.

As noted in Section 1, the 2002 NGO Act specifically mentions organizations "established under the auspices of any religious or faith propagating organization" (2002 NGO Act) as a particular type of NGO, although "religious or faith propagating organizations" themselves are not considered to be NGOs. There were 3,263 NGOs registered under the 2002 Act as of 30 June 2009 (NGO Desk, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children). As with the Foundation of Civil Society Directory, however, FBOs and religious NGOs are not distinguished from other NGOs, so it is not possible to derive the number of registered FBOs from that source.



It was possible to obtain an (undated) list of 61 registered Christian and 35 Muslim organizations from the Vice President's Office, although no basis for or definition used in the compilation of that list was provided. These numbers are likely to be significant under estimates of the actual number of NGO-type FBOs in the country today, given the other information presented above. For example, it is significantly lower than the 155 religious organizations already listed in the 1995 Directory of NGOs.

In practice, therefore, because of practical limitations on time, and the number of researchers and funding available, this study concentrated on profiling over thirty registered FBOs (selected on the basis of their importance in terms of the scale of their development activities) across the whole country. The study focuses on the mainland (population 33.5 million in 2002), especially on FBOs based in the capital city of Dar es Salaam, although most of those profiled operate in all or some other parts of the country as well. Some data were also collected on organizations in Zanzibar (population 982,000).<sup>15</sup>

## 5.2 Church and mosque-based development work

Whilst the collective development work of the FBOs described in the next and final parts of this section is significant, it should be noted that most of the activities of religious organizations in Tanzania today are provided directly by churches and mosques, many of which are directly engaged in providing development services, most notably education, healthcare, water supply and care of orphans and people living with HIV/AIDS.

According to the World Council of Churches website, there are 847 Catholic parishes, 1,800 smaller Anglican parishes and over 1,104 Lutheran congregations in Tanzania. In addition, according to the Secretary General of the Pentecostal Council of Tanzania (PCT), there are between five and ten thousand Pentecostal churches. A number of other Christian churches are also active (e.g. the African Inland Church, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Mormons, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the New Apostolic Christians).

While it is not known how many of these churches are directly engaged in development activities, all of the informants interviewed identified the Catholic Church as the biggest Christian provider of health and education services, followed by the Lutheran and Anglican churches. Other churches also provide

social services, but on a much smaller scale. Given the numbers of churches/parishes, one might expect the Pentecostal tradition to be the largest provider of social services and other development activities, but in practice the mainstream churches established during colonial times seem to be most involved. Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches were perceived by several informants to focus more on evangelizing and to be less involved in development than the Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran churches.

The Lutheran church was perceived by several informants to be more actively engaged than other churches in generating income through business activities and using income from these sources to fund some of its development activities. It was therefore perceived by some informants to be more financially independent than the other churches.

While the study could not obtain exact figures for the number of mosques in Tanzania, the Secretary General of BAKWATA estimated that there are more than 6,000 'minor' mosques (focussed solely on religious activities) and 2,800 'major' mosques, which are also involved in some kind of development activity. There has been a proliferation of mosques in recent years, which is attributed to both external funding (especially before 9/11) and local funding by businesspeople, as part of their *sadaka* (voluntary charitable giving). Funding from various Islamic states was perceived to have greatly decreased since 9/11, due to suspicion that such funding might be used for terrorist activities.

The main contribution to development made by churches and mosques is in education and health, although the overall scale of Muslim provision was perceived by several informants to be significantly less than Christian provision, particularly in health.

One key informant from the Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC) told us that on the mainland all the different Christian churches/denominations (including Seventh Day Adventists and the Free Pentecostals) collectively run six universities, six secondary teacher training colleges, 240 secondary schools, 154 vocational training schools and 65 primary schools. They also provide 89 hospitals (including two teaching/referral hospitals), 75 health centres and 680 dispensaries. No comparable figures were obtained for Zanzibar, for the overall scale of Muslim provision throughout the country, or how current faith-based educational provision compares with overall government provision.

However, Mushi (2006, p 463) gives figures from a 2003 report by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which show that at that time there were 646 public and 458 private secondary schools on the mainland. Of the latter, 42 per cent were run by secular organizations, 45 per cent by Christian organizations (99 Catholic, 47 ELCT/KKKT, 10 Seventh Day Adventist, 49 various others), and 12 per cent by Muslim organizations (17 by BAKWATA, 39 by various others). Geographical distribution is uneven, with 82 schools in Kilimanjaro (4.1 per cent of the national population in 2002), 54 in Dar es Salaam (7.4 per cent of the population) and 40 in Mbeya (6.2 per cent of the population), compared to fewer than ten in Lindi, Mtwara, Rukwa and Manyara (all with 3.4 per cent or less of the population) (ibid, p 466). In addition, Mallya (2010) reported that four of the twelve universities in the country are owned by religious organizations.

In terms of health services, 2007 figures from the Ministry of Health cited in Mallya (2010) showed that religious organizations ran two specialist hospitals (compared with four by government), 13 district hospitals, (compared with 55 by government), 56 other hospitals, 48 health centres (compared with 409 by government) and 612 dispensaries (compared to 2,450 government dispensaries). The government also runs 17 regional hospitals. Ministry of Health figures for 2008 given in Green et al (2010, p 41-3) show that faith-based organizations run 90 hospitals (40 per cent of the total), 125 health centres (22 per cent) and 658 dispensaries (13 per cent) on the mainland.

Based on these figures, the scale of recent and current FBO provision of health and education services clearly remains considerable. Tumaini-Mungu (2007) estimated that the CSSC managed roughly 40 per cent of the health and education services in the country at that time. However, the significance of FBOs' contribution should not be based purely on the number of facilities they run, since the size of their health facilities and schools may differ from publicly provided facilities and also the government makes a financial contribution to the costs, including staff costs, of some.

The picture painted above represents a continuation of the historical pattern observed in Section 2, in which social services were predominantly provided through a variety of Christian missions, many of which continue to receive financial support from Western countries. In contrast, informants reported that much funding from the Middle East and South Asia has been for the construction of mosques, most of which are perceived to have traditionally focussed more on religious and spiritual than

materially-oriented development activities, although they have traditionally provided welfare for the very poor.

Several informants also felt that there has been less support from international donors (both secular and religious) for Muslim FBOs than the international funding received by Christian organizations. Some Muslim FBOs were also banned after a Terrorism Act was passed in 2004/5, according to one informant. However, many informants also cited examples of educational provision through mosques, with an increasing focus on secondary education in recent years (see also Kiondo, 1994). According to the Chairperson of Baraza Kuu, about 60 per cent of mosques have a *madrassa*<sup>16</sup>, primary school, secondary school or vocational training centre. This reflects a concern with the continuing inequalities in the levels of access to schooling and educational attainment between Christian and Muslim communities.

Finally, several informants also mentioned that many churches and mosques are actively involved in running orphanages, a reflection of both the continuing impact of HIV/AIDS and the emphasis Islam places on caring for orphans.

### 5.3 The nature of FBOs and their activities in Tanzania

This final section will outline the main apex, developmental and social-political FBOs operating in Tanzania today, following the typology developed by Clarke (2008), as outlined in Section 1. More detailed profiles of these and other FBOs identified by the study can be found in Appendices 4 and 5.

There are a number of 'apex bodies' that act as national umbrella bodies for the Christian and Muslim religious communities and their institutions, but which are also directly engaged in various forms of development work and capacity building to encourage individual member churches or mosques to do the same.

As noted above, the two most important Christian apex bodies are the Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the Protestant Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT). The TEC receives both local and foreign financial support. It works in health and education with groups from all religious traditions. In 1997, it decided to set up Small Christian Communities, each consisting of between

twelve and twenty families, to drive its pastoral work at the local level, and these often act as informal self-help development groups. Many different Catholic orders (e.g. the Jesuits and Franciscans) are registered independently and have their own schools and other services, although they work with the dioceses and the TEC. The CCT similarly works in health and education, “to facilitate and coordinate the united witness of member churches and church-related organizations by building their capacity in evangelism, networking, advocacy and socio-economic development for the benefit of the community” (<http://ccttz.org>).

In 1992, the TEC and the CCT formed the Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC) as an ecumenical body to facilitate the provision of social services by the churches. As noted above, it claims to manage roughly 40 per cent of the health and education services in the country (Tumaini-Mungu, 2007). Christian bodies such as the CSSC and the Tanzania Ecumenical Development Group (TEDG) also aim to influence government policy on health and education through lobbying.<sup>17</sup>

The two most important Muslim apex bodies are the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (established in 1968), known as BAKWATA, and the Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations and Institutions in Tanzania (established in 1992), known as Baraza Kuu. As well as acting as an umbrella body for mosques throughout the country, BAKWATA runs 23 secondary schools and 110 dispensaries and is active in educational and empowerment programmes, for example entrepreneurship training and HIV/AIDS prevention, care and treatment (Interview with Secretary General, BAKWATA, July 2009). BAKWATA also develops and proposes policy priorities and guidelines to the *ulama* (much like the CSSC does to the bishops), responds to various funding opportunities, takes part in various networks (e.g. on HIV/AIDS) and seeks to influence government policy in the same sort of way as the TEC and CCT do.

However, BAKWATA was perceived by several informants to be less well funded than the TEC or the CCT and therefore only able to work on a smaller scale and exercising less influence on policy. It is also differently organized, following administrative (regional and district) rather than diocesan and parish boundaries, reinforcing the common perception that BAKWATA was artificially imposed by government, whereas the TEC and CCT are part of the churches themselves. Several informants also felt that the structure, governance and funding of the TEC and CCT are better established, partly because they have been around for longer.

The Muslim community was also perceived by several informants to lack a clear leadership hierarchy, most obviously when contrasted with the Catholic Church, which was perceived to co-ordinate and promote church-related development work more effectively at the national level. Mosques were perceived to be more decentralized and autonomous than churches, with the latter being part of a clear religious organizational hierarchy. This contributes to the perceived legitimacy problems of BAKWATA with many in the Muslim community, as mentioned in Section 3.

Baraza Kuu has a membership that includes individual mosques, Muslim NGOs<sup>18</sup> and groups organized at hamlet or street level, often for prayer, as part of a mosque community. The latter resemble the SCCs in the Catholic Church.

There are also several interfaith apex bodies, including the Tanzania Chapter of the World Conference on Religions and Peace (WCRP, established in 2000) and the Tanzanian Women and Youth Inter-faith Networks (TWIN and TYIN), which are members of the WCRP. The WCRP is involved, among other things, in the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, as well as HIV/AIDS work and peace and conflict management. Current WCRP Tanzania initiatives and projects include a village community bank scheme known as VICOBA (based on village level groups of 15-30 people) and a three year USAID-funded project on HIV/AIDS, which works through a district level inter-faith committee.

In addition to the apex bodies mentioned above, many charitable and developmental FBOs have been established in Tanzania since the 1980s. Prominent examples of older Christian development FBOs, both national and international, include Caritas Tanzania, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Tanzania Catholic Women Organization (WAWATA) and World Vision. Islamic charitable and development FBOs include the African Muslim Agency (AMA) and Dhinureyn, a Muslim FBO that runs dispensaries, schools and homes for the elderly in some regions of Tanzania. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) should also be mentioned here because of its significant range and scale of development activities, although it is not defined as an FBO, nor does it see itself as one. Further information about all these FBOs (except Dhinureyn) is provided in Appendix 4.

As has already been noted in Section 4, the huge increase in the number of developmental NGOs since the mid-1980s can be seen as a response both to the increasing gaps in service provision left by a retreating and declining state and as a response to new opportunities to access international funding, many of which favour non-state providers (including both religious and secular non-governmental organizations). International funding has changed the nature of the activities of many FBOs to reflect prevailing international development fashions and concerns. A move from direct service delivery to advocacy and capacity building and the increasing recent focus on HIV/AIDS and vulnerable children are two of the most prominent examples (see also Green et al, 2010).

FBOs involved in socio-political activities were also found in the study. Prominent examples include the Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC) and Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT). Prominent examples of Muslim socio-political FBOs include the Tanzania Association of Muslim Professionals (TAMPRO), the Muslim equivalent of the CPT. Further information about these FBOs is also provided in Appendix 4.

The establishment of FBOs with socio-political purposes can be explained by the development inequalities between the two religious communities, as well as by mutual suspicion regarding their political ambitious and religious conversion agendas. For example, some members of both religious communities suspect the other of having enjoyed privileged relationships with government, resulting in favouritism and unfair political influence.<sup>19</sup> These and other issues are explored further in Section 6.

## 6 Trends, differences and challenges

The purpose of this final section is to highlight a number of important trends and differences within and between Christian and Muslim FBOs, as well as to identify the challenges reported to us by informants and written about in the literature reviewed. Section 6.1 will outline the key trends identified. Section 6.2 will highlight perceived differences between Christian and Muslim FBOs. Section 6.3 will do the same in relation to perceived differences within each religious tradition. Sections 6.4 and 6.5 will conclude by reviewing some of the main perceived and reported internal and external challenges facing FBOs in Tanzania today, including examples of both intra and inter-religious conflicts.

### 6.1 Trends

The ability of the churches to play such a major role in welfare provision during the colonial period rested on their organizational framework (missions, dioceses and parishes), which provided them with a reach that the government could not replicate, and the “sense that Christian leaders, whether European, or increasingly African, held a degree of cultural and social authority in their areas that created a sense of local legitimacy” (Jennings, 2008, p 96). However, even the colonial government at times viewed them “with suspicion, with scepticism over their claims to represent their communities, and with concern over their claims for ever-greater shares of territorial funds... [The church] was neither a colonial stooge, nor a champion of African nationalism, but occupied a space of its own, albeit one that overlapped considerably with the colonial regime” (Jennings, 2008, p 96).

During the 1960s, the churches redefined their relationships with government primarily in development terms, emphasizing their commitment to development objectives and transforming themselves into institutions bound to the state. In effect, in Jennings’ view, this made the churches complicit in the growing authoritarianism of the single party state and the use of villagization as a means of establishing the control of the state over the rural sector (Jennings, 2008).

It did not protect them from the desire of the Nyerere government (1961-85) to take over most services, as part of its philosophy of state-led development (Section 3). However, economic crisis in the 1970s and 1980s led the government to realize that the state alone could not meet the demand for services and it has since then welcomed FBO service delivery to complement government provision, as noted in Section 4. Liberalization since the mid-1980s has been reflected in the proliferation of mosques and churches as well as NGOs and FBOs. The state no longer sees itself as the only



provider of development services and it allows religious organizations to respond to development needs as well. The policy of privatization has also been reflected in an emphasis on private education provision since the 1990s, especially community day secondary schools established by development trusts and fee paying faith-based schools. Many of the latter are not operated by community-based FBOs, but are privately owned and managed.

While the Christian churches have a long-established tradition of social service activity, mosques have tended to be more focused on religious (and also charitable) activities. However, some informants perceived that many mosques have become more developmental in recent years, particularly those run by a younger generation of more 'radical' Muslims. This trend was also observed with respect to the umbrella organization BAKWATA, which was felt by some informants to be becoming more successful in terms of accessing funds for its work from Western donor agencies (e.g. the US Agency for International Development). Both Christian and Muslim FBOs not only increasingly direct their activities to suit particular donor-funded initiatives (e.g. HIV/AIDS-related activities), but also engage in networking with government and other development organizations, as well as other FBOs. However, on the whole, Muslim and Christian organizations were perceived by the study informants to largely operate separately, despite the existence of several forums and networks (e.g. the WCRP). Another trend observed by some informants was that demands for accountability are increasing within both churches and mosques, partly due to perceived donor conditionalities and partly to internal demands from their members.

There also seems to have been an evolution in FBO development practice from an early focus (since pre-independence times) on charity, emergency relief and service delivery, to a more recent focus, since the 1990s, on advocacy, good governance, human rights and democracy, as well as a greater environmental focus, according to several informants. Informants did not distinguish between Christian and Muslim FBOs in this respect. Lange et al (2000, p 24) note that urban-based organizations are more likely to take up advocacy, while rural organizations focus on service delivery. Until the mid-1980s, the one party policy only allowed for a limited service implementation role for FBOs. Subsequently, the introduction of a multi-party electoral system, economic liberalization and the increased availability of international donor funding have allowed for diversification of FBO roles, in some cases influenced by international donor as well as national and local agendas.

There was a clear perception amongst informants that access to external funds of different kinds had increased in the 10-20 years prior to the study. Also congregations were perceived by some informants to raise significant amounts of money. Both politicians and businessmen make significant donations (e.g. to district development trusts in the 1990s, as noted in Section 4) and some companies sponsor development-related activity. For example, the Dogo Dogo Centre for street children is sponsored by the Sheraton Hotel (Lange et al, 2000, p 27). However, according to Lange et al (2000, p 26), there is no tradition of volunteering or voluntary giving amongst the general population, except for weddings, funerals and, occasionally, education.

Some informants also spoke of the increasing involvement of religious organizations in politics. The most recent example is perhaps the preparation of manifestoes by the Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT) and, in response, by Baraza Kuu. As noted above, the CPT is a membership organization, established in 1983 under the National Council of Catholic Laity. It facilitates the organization of co-operatives, as well as savings and credit societies, at the parish level; undertakes research, publishes its results and submits proposals to the government; monitors elections; and develops programmes on various social issues for Catholic radio stations. Its manifesto outlined its proposals for national priorities in the run up to the recent elections. In turn, Baraza Kuu produced election guidelines for Muslims called *Mwongozo*.

Muslim organizations were prominent in the political opposition to the colonial government, but were less important during the period of the Nyerere government (1961-1985). However, as seen above, they have increasingly reasserted their political identity since then around perceived grievances and inequalities, such as access to education, representation in government, the perceived greater policy influence of Christian churches (especially the Catholic Church), and perceived government bias in its treatment of Christian and Muslim FBOs (e.g. regarding the CSSC Memorandum of Understanding<sup>20</sup>, the government decision not to join the Organization of Islamic Countries and the government u-turn on FBO tax exemptions<sup>21</sup>). Muslims were and are perceived to have been left behind because of the historical legacy of mainly Christian FBO-provided education and its actual and perceived consequences in terms of unequal access to government positions and formal employment, as well as educational outcomes. Although Christian FBOs providing schools also catered for Muslim students, most of their students were Christian. A few informants were critical of the lack of any government affirmative policy for Muslims, to address these historical and ongoing inequalities.

Though secularism is institutionalized through the constitution, the separation of state and church in public matters is still questioned by many, especially Muslim voices (Jumbe, 1994, cited in Mallya, 2010). According to Mallya, FBOs have been involved in the same social service delivery agenda as the government for so long and with such intensity that doubts can be cast on the secular status of the government. Given their deep involvement, some FBOs (like the Christian TEC, CCT and CSSC) have at times had a substantial say in some policies, as well as setting priorities in the broader process of government (Mallya, 2010). Muslim FBOs like BAKWATA have so far been less successful in getting their proposed policies implemented. For example, BAKWATA recently reinvigorated a demand for the re-introduction of Kadhi courts on the mainland, to be financed by the government. Both it and other Muslim organizations threatened to withdraw the Muslim vote for the party in power, if their demand was not met. The government appointed a committee to examine the matter. Recently, it has reinforced its view that the constitution precludes it from engaging in religious matters and decided that the reinstatement of Kadhi courts on the mainland should remain a matter internal to the Muslim community.

There was also a perception amongst some informants that religious differences had become more pronounced since the 1980s, with a related perception of growing extremism on both sides, and an increase in fear and tension between the two religious communities. Several informants felt that religion is increasingly being used to divide people, create negative judgements about 'the other' and compete for resources. One informant spoke of the greater inter-religious respect in the past, which she attributed to a number of factors, such as the past existence of local by-laws sensitive to religious differences and more extensive pastoral care visits. First, according to Heilman and Kaiser (2002, p 691),

...grassroots tensions between Christians and Muslims were inflamed in the 1980s after fundamentalist 'born again' Christian preachers began holding large 'crusades' throughout the country, prompting a response in the form of some Muslim leaders engaging in public preaching where the Bible was used to criticise Christianity from a Muslim perspective.

Several informants also spoke of global Christian and Muslim differences having been imported into Tanzania through the entry of new religious actors and funds and competition for foreign resources, access to which is determined by religious allegiance.

However, a 2000 nationwide sample survey by REDET (Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania) found that “As far as relations between Muslim and Christian *believers* were concerned the responses indicating good relations [between the religions] were an overwhelming 80%, while only 3.7% of respondents thought that the relations were disharmonious” (Tambila, 2006, p 59). In addition, between 78 per cent (Muslims) and 92 per cent (Catholics) felt positively about the relationship between their religion and the state, and 78 per cent did not think that one religion was favoured above another (Bakari and Ndumbaro, 2006, p 352). One of our study informants also said that villages were still harmonious in terms of religion, although that feeling is reportedly declining. According to the REDET study, very few people explained differences in education or employment in terms of religious bias (Musoke, 2006; Chaligha, 2006). On the other hand, “there is a feeling amongst many Muslims that the country’s educated elite is disproportionately made up of Christians” (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 698).

A final interesting trend reported by several informants was the increased use of the mass media, by both religions, for development education, as well as promotion of the faith. For example, Msema Kweli (Truth Teller), established in 1993, is a Pentecostal church newspaper, owned by WAPO Mission. According to some of the informants met, there are also several Catholic and Lutheran newspapers, plus at least three Muslim newspapers. In terms of Christian radio, examples cited included the Catholic radio station (Tumaini), the Lutheran radio station (Love), Radio P (Praise Power), Radio Maria, a Seventh Day Adventist radio station and about thirty Catholic diocesan radio stations. At least two Muslim radio stations in Dar es Salaam, Radio Koran and Radio Heri, were also mentioned. Finally, informants mentioned one Catholic TV station (TV Tumaini) and at least two Pentecostal TV stations (Tranet and Agape). No Muslim TV station was mentioned.

## 6.2 Perceived differences between Christian and Muslim FBOs

Many informants (Muslim as well as Christian) spoke of the longer historical tradition of significant and externally supported Christian FBO involvement in education and, even more so, in health. Despite that, according to Galabawa (1995) there are more Christians in Muslim schools than the other way around. “While schools and hospitals run by religious organizations are open to all, direct material and economic support is distributed to the members of the congregation only” (Lange et al, 2000, p 23). Much Muslim FBO funding was perceived to have been for the construction of mosques and many

mosques were perceived to have traditionally focussed more on religious and spiritual as opposed to materially oriented development activity, although the number of Muslim organizations engaged in welfare and service delivery activities has increased since the late 1980s.

A few study informants thought that Muslim FBOs are more geographically concentrated, particularly in Dar es Salaam, than Christian organizations, which work more widely across the country. One informant also spoke of a possible greater focus of Muslim FBOs on urban secondary day schools, compared to Christian provision of boarding schools in both urban and rural areas. Some informants also spoke of a possible lesser involvement of Muslims in micro-finance, due to the Islamic prohibition on paying interest. However, this study was not able to determine the scale of Islamic FBO micro-finance provision in the country, or the extent to which Muslims make use of non-Islamic micro-finance.

BAKWATA was perceived to be less strongly structured, governed and funded than the TEC or the CCT and therefore to operate on a smaller scale. It is also differently organized, on the basis of government administrative unit boundaries rather than dioceses and parishes. The Muslim community was perceived to lack a clear leadership hierarchy, most obviously when contrasted with the Catholic Church. Despite the existence of a national Council of Mosques (BAMITA), Muslim FBO development work operating through community level mosques was perceived to be more decentralized and less structured than is the case for many Christian churches, which have a regional and national organizational structure. Although mosques have a constitution, sheikhs and imams have no explicit development roles, and the offices and officials with development roles observed in several Christian churches and dioceses do not exist.

The main Christian churches were perceived to be able to influence government policy on health and education through lobbying and advocacy bodies, such as the CSSC and the TEDG, for which there are no Muslim equivalents. In terms of relationships with the state more generally, the Catholic Church was perceived to be the most influential and the most tied to the state, while the Lutheran church was perceived to be more independent, because of the significant business income it is thought to generate.

Several informants also felt that there is less support from international donors (secular and religious) for Muslim FBOs, some of which were banned after the 2004/5 Terrorism Act.

Finally, when comparing FBOs in general with secular NGOs, the former were perceived by some informants to suffer less from corruption, as well as to have a greater and longer term presence in rural areas (see also Mallya, 2010). Mallya also sees FBOs (unlike some NGOs) as being non-elitist, more sustainable, more broad-based (rather than single issue/urban based, like many NGOs), not requiring the services of the educated, and having a national organization. On the other hand, as we will see in Sections 6.4 and 6.5, FBOs and the religious communities they represent have also suffered from several conflicts, compete for resources and influence (within and between the two religions) and, according to some, risk polarizing Tanzanian society along religious lines.

### **6.3 Perceived differences within Christian and Muslim FBOs**

Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches were perceived to focus more on evangelizing and to be relatively less involved in development services than the Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran churches. The Lutheran church was also perceived by several informants to be more actively engaged than other churches in generating income through businesses and using that income to fund some of its development activities. The perceived proliferation of Pentecostal churches was attributed to more charismatic preaching, which is said to appeal especially to young unemployed people. There is also a greater emphasis on spreading the faith in some churches (e.g. US-based Evangelical churches), according to some informants.

The number of churches and mosques and linked facilities and activities are increasing in response to community demands. In particular, the number of community churches (i.e. churches not formally initiated by or part of the TEC or the established denominations) is increasing. For example, of the 40 churches in Moshi, only eight were said to be members of the established denominations, with the remainder being Pentecostal churches established by individuals or communities. However, even the mainstream churches may have to increase the number of churches/parishes in response to demand. For example, the number of parishes in Dar es Salaam is said to have doubled from thirty to about sixty.

The perceived proliferation of mosques was partly attributed to external funding, especially pre 9/11, as well as to internal funding by business people, as part of their religious charitable giving. Family-established mosques were thought to have been more prevalent during colonial times and up to 1967. Many mosques are also said to benefit from the rents paid by shops/groceries established adjacent to them.

Some informants also spoke of healthy competition in terms of development services provided, between dioceses within and between the Christian churches. At the same time, it was also thought that there is much sharing of experience across parishes and dioceses.

## **6.4 Intra-religious conflicts and other internal challenges**

There have been several examples of a lack of consensus within both Christian and Islamic organizations and some associated intra-religious conflicts. For example, the Catholic Church has been engaged in an ongoing conflict with the Marian Faith Healing Ministry of Father Nkwera (Killian, 2006; Comoro and Sivalon, 1999). Similarly, the Lutheran church has experienced three episodes during which rebel factions have attempted to establish their own separate dioceses, stemming from complaints of the misuse of resources and nepotism along ethnic lines (Kelsall, 2000; Mmuya, 2006; Nyirabu, 2006) and the Anglican church has experienced intense disagreements over control of its Mwanza Diocese (Tambila and Sivalon, 2006). There are roughly 140 other churches in Tanzania. Conflicts that seem to be more about the control of resources than spiritual issues have been prevalent in the smaller Protestant churches, leading to a splintering of churches and leadership rivalry (ibid).

Islamic leaders derive their authority from a variety of sources, for example, a position in BAKWATA, an organization such as the Dar es Salaam Islamic Club, or an Islamic organization that is not officially recognized by the state, as well as their knowledge of Islam, including sheikhs (mosque leaders) and muftis (Islamic law specialists). As with Christians, Muslims hold a variety of complementary and conflicting perspectives (e.g. between those who believe Muslims have been held back by the state and those who do not). Coupled with struggles over the control of resources and mosques, conflicts have occasionally pitted older sheikhs, often associated with BAKWATA, and younger anti-government sheikhs against older sheikhs (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 705).



Some informants noted also that the Muslim community and its organizations are divided in terms of their allegiance to the umbrella Islamic FBOs, some belonging to or identifying with BAKWATA, others with Baraza Kuu, and many with neither. Moreover, many Muslim FBOs and mosques are said to operate independently (e.g. only two of six mosques in the area familiar to one informant were said to be registered with BAKWATA). According to some informants, BAKWATA is weak at national level, although others said that it is stronger at regional and district levels. Some informants regard Baraza Kuu as an urban, mainly Dar es Salaam-based organization, lacking both a national structure and support from government.

The fragmentation of the Pentecostal churches was another perceived internal challenge. According to one informant, the Lutheran and Catholic churches were established by philosophers – they have a structure based on principles and values, in contrast with the ‘free-for-all’ interpretation of the Bible that is, in his view, characteristic of the Pentecostal churches.

Competition amongst FBOs of the same faith was also mentioned as a challenge. One example of this can be seen in Tanga, where there are three different *madrasa* factions, the TAMTA-Tanga branch, Zahrau and Maawa. As noted by Chande (1998), while competition between *madrasas* has promoted the spread and expansion of *madrasa* education, it has also seriously affected the unity of the Tanga Muslim community.

Another problem identified by some informants, associated with the availability of donor funding, is the emergence of ‘briefcase’ FBOs (i.e. sheikhs or bishops establishing mosques or churches, or NGO-like FBOs, and then seeking donor funding for the new organization’s activities).

A further challenge identified by at least one informant was that the priorities of TEC and CCT staff are split between religious and development work. According to him, the Lutheran church is concerned that the churches are turning into development organizations.

Lack of sustainable funding was another challenge identified by several informants, with funding for core costs said to be a problem in several churches. This was attributed to the decline in mission funding from Europe and over-reliance on international donor funding, especially for some of the



Christian churches, such as the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist churches. One informant cited a study of over 100 NGOs (including five FBOs), which claimed that two thirds of NGO funding comes from overseas. In contrast, local fundraising during mosque and church services was identified as a significant and more sustainable source of funding. The African Inland Church was perceived by some informants to be less dependent on support from abroad than other denominations.

Foreign funding of Muslim FBOs was perceived to be less significant, estimated by one informant at 20-30 per cent of the pre-9/11 total. Much of that funding is said to be not responsive to locally defined needs and difficult and slow to obtain. It has to be channelled through embassies, with approval from BAKWATA and the Ministry of Home Affairs, which also monitor its use. Although local sources (fundraising events, rents from shops on land owned by mosques, *sadaka* and *zakat*) are important and may be more sustainable, Muslim FBOs were perceived to suffer more than Christian organizations from both an overall lack of funding and lack of access to funds available for some types of development activity such as microfinance.

Some informants talked about possible barriers to access to FBO-provided services, such as schools, for example the display of religious symbols. Removing such potential obstacles to greater inclusion is perceived by some as a challenge. Some informants also said that inter-faith organizations are not effectively addressing important and controversial issues, such as the demand for reinstatement of Kadhi courts on the mainland, because they are talking to each other rather than pro-actively engaging with the government on such matters.

Finally, a number of organizational challenges were identified. For example, a few informants spoke of the lack of self-assessment, evaluation of outcomes, and performance impact reporting, except in the case of a few programmes supported by external donors. Similarly, some informants spoke of limited, though improving, internal accountability and democracy in FBOs. Lack of capacity was another frequently mentioned challenge, especially in relation to some of the Muslim FBOs. The absence of a tradition of sharing experiences was also mentioned, although examples of such sharing were given in relation to some of the Christian churches.

## 6.5 Inter-religious conflicts and other external challenges

Tanzania is characterized by both widespread religious tolerance and Muslim-Christian competition, which sometimes erupts into more serious, occasionally violent, conflict. Heilman and Kaiser (2002) outline three contrasting accounts of Tanzanian history that are used as justification for different views in this respect. The 'standard' state-promoted view is that race was the primary identity during colonial times, with Muslims and Christians uniting in the struggle for independence. An 'Islamist' perspective rejects the notion that religion should be separated from politics. It accounts for and justifies the political mobilization of Islam in terms of the perceived preferential treatment given to Christians by the colonial authorities, the refusal of the post-colonial state to address historical imbalances between the two communities and the double standards exhibited by the post-colonial state in dealing with religion and with Christians and Muslims. For example, the government is alleged to have allowed the Catholic Church to run a slate of candidates in Bukoba in 1963, to oppose the TANU candidates, who were Muslim; independent Islamic organizations, such as the EAMWS and BALUKTA (Tanzania Qur'anic Council), a rival to the state-sponsored BAKWATA, were disbanded while independent and sometimes politically outspoken Christian organizations such as the CCT, the TEC and the CPT are tolerated. Thirdly, they identify a 'Christian response,' which challenges the characterization of Muslims as exploited and instead points to their role in the pre-colonial slave trade, the pre-eminence of the pre-revolutionary Omani aristocracy in Zanzibar, and their extensive participation in the German colonial administration. In this view, the perceived success of Christians can be attributed to their strong emphasis on education. It is suspicious that Muslims intend to capture the state, accusing the Mwinyi administration of violating the norm of merit by appointing Muslims to high state positions (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 699-702).

The post-independence government, especially Nyerere himself, recognized the dangers of ethnic and religious division and competition, and deliberately promoted national citizenship and unity. However, a number of specific inter-religious conflicts have occurred, including a 1993 confrontation over the destruction of pork butcheries in Dar es Salaam and a conflict in 1994 over whether Zanzibar could join the Organization of Islamic States (Forster, 1997, p 172-173, cited in Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 695). More recently, in February 2000, Muslims and Christians clashed over the use of a graveyard in the Manzese neighbourhood of Dar es Salaam. The conflict involved an attack on a funeral procession and the destruction of crosses on graves. Another incident in January 2001 involved the death of a 26

year old Mwanza resident, born into a Christian family but married to a Muslim, as both religious communities wanted to bury her according to their traditions (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 696-7). It appears that such occasional conflicts are mostly urban political phenomena that occur less often, if at all, in rural areas.

Although there were fears that ethnic and religious mobilization might accompany political liberalization, Heilman and Kaiser (2002) suggest that religion has not become a more seriously divisive issue, and nor has it been politically abused since liberalization, partly because political parties need the support of both Muslims and Christians to win elections, partly because of the prevalence of mixed marriages and therefore mixed religious families, and partly because religion cuts across several other important social axes of difference, such as ethnicity and class. There is also a shared value of tolerance and a distaste for identity politics at the national level, an important historical legacy of Nyerere (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002, p 705).

In terms of other challenges, some informants perceived 'globalization' to be eroding religion. However, there was also a consensus amongst informants that the number of mosques and some churches (e.g. the Pentecostal churches) has proliferated since the 1990s and is continuing to do so (although external funding for mosques was also perceived to have declined significantly since 9/11).

Some informants felt that government should support and involve FBOs more. The provision of more financial support to BAKWATA and encouraging greater involvement in development policy, through contributions to the formulation and implementation of poverty reduction policies, were mentioned. There was also a perception amongst some informants that government undermines the provision of health and education by religious organizations, through over-regulation, syllabus changes and political interference in decision making.

According to one key informant, religious bodies need to be both better structured and recognized by government as advisers and partners, not just limited to service delivery. He pointed out that the law recognizes a variety of organizational forms (societies, NGOs, trusteeships and political parties) but is not conducive to the recognition of new churches or other religious organizations with development purposes. However, one informant considered that the situation of FBOs, as part of the NGO sector, has improved since 2002, because of the tax exemption provided once they register under and comply

with the NGO Act (see also Lange et al, 2000). Although there is a continuing perception that the government's aim is to police NGOs, another informant claimed that government has a *laissez faire* attitude, as long as FBOs do not discriminate or incite hatred.

Finally, Muslim and Christian FBO providing development services both face a continuing challenge of inclusivity. Although they are not permitted to discriminate and most do not, according to informants, most users belong to the faith of the provider, allegedly because potential beneficiaries fear that the provider has a conversion agenda. The religious composition of the population is the main explanation where there are exceptions. For example, in interviews with Caritas-Dar es Salaam Archdiocese, it was revealed that over 90 per cent of the beneficiaries of its activities in the coastal regions are Muslims. Similarly over 99 per cent of Caritas beneficiaries in Zanzibar are Muslims. Elsewhere, the failure to ensure that the religious composition of beneficiaries reflects that of the population in the surrounding area was perceived as a challenge.

# Appendix 1

## List of informants met in July 2009

- 1) Suleiman Lolila, Secretary General, The National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA).
- 2) Alhaji Othman Ntarru, ex-Secretary General of BAKWATA and Chairman and CEO of Rahman Social Development Network (RSDN) and Ms. Fatma M. Kitundu, IEC Director (RSDN).
- 3) Sheikh Mussa Kundecha, Chairperson, and Mr. Ramadhan Sanze, General Secretary, Baraza Kuu and its affiliated Institutions.
- 4) David Mwasota, General Secretary, Pentecostal Council of Tanzania
- 5) Peter Maduki, Executive Secretary, Caritas Tanzania.
- 6) Petro Pamba, Information Technology Officer, Christian Social Services Commission
- 7) Alhaj Ayooob Omari, Secretary General, World Conference on Religion and Peace, Tanzania.
- 8) Bertha Macha, World Conference on Religion and Peace, Tanzania.
- 9) Pazi Semili, Secretary General, Tanzanian Association of Muslim Professionals.
- 10) Mr Sariboko Hashim, ex-Secretary General of TAMPRO, currently Headmaster of Algebra Secondary School.
- 11) John Mkhumbi, Asst. Director, Registration of NGOs, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children.
- 12) John Ulanga, Executive Director, the Foundation for Civil Society
- 13) Mrs Twissa, Treasurer, WAWATA.
- 14) Vanessa Williams, Country Team Leader, and Saidi Mpendu, Director of Programmes, the Balm in Gilead Inc.
- 15) Gunstein Instefjord, Country Representative, and Augustina Mosha, Programme Manager, Norwegian Church Aid
- 16) Ruta Mutakyahwa, Consultant, Researcher & Trainer, ROMME Centre.
- 17) Chrys Kamuzara, Prof. of Demography, Statistics Dept, University of Dar es Salaam.
- 18) Ms. Jesca Mkuchu, Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group.
- 19) Reverend Mtaita, Secretary General, Christian Council of Tanzania.
- 20) Bishop Kilaini, Assistant Archbishop of the Diocese of Dar es Salaam
- 21) Bishop Sylvester Gamanywa, WAPO (Word and Peace) Mission International.
- 22) Mr Mwasu Jingi, WAPO.
- 23) Maria Shaba, ex-Chairperson of Tanzania Association of NGOs.
- 24) Ashifa Jiwa, Aga Khan Development Network.
- 25) Mohammed Bakari, University of Dar es Salaam.
- 26) Fr. Peter Smith, Catholic Church adviser on Christian-Muslim relations, Dar es Salaam.
- 27) Said L. Tofiki, Assistant Director, NGO Monitoring and Evaluation, Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children.
- 28) Yahya Ahmed Rashid, Public Relations Officer (PRO), Africa Muslims Agency
- 29) Mr. Omar Kama, Secretary, International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), formerly under the Muslim League

## Appendix 2

### List of informants met in 2008

- 1) Bishop Method Kilaini, Assistant Archbishop of the Diocese of Dar es Salaam
- 2) Rtd bishop Elinaza Sendoro: Rtd bishop of Lutheran Evangelical Church of Tanzania- East Coast Diocese
- 3) Mr. Christian Shembilu, Director of Caritas, Diocese of Dar es Salaam
- 4) Rev. Ernest Kadiva, Assistant General Secretary of East Coast Diocese and Chaplain of Azania Front Cathedral.
- 5) Mr. Laurent Mapunda, General Secretary, World Conference on Religions and Peace (WCRP)
- 6) Mr. Placid Ngiliule, Planning and Coordination Officer, Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC)
- 7) Mr. Petro G. Pamba, Information Technology Officer-CSSC
- 8) Mr. Antony Y. Kiyanga, Lead Consultant (CSSC Legal and Management Unit)
- 9) Mr. Joseph Mzinga, Development Manager, Foundation for Civil Society (FCS)
- 10) Ms Rose Mdami, Assistant Director, Radio Tumaini, Catholic Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam
- 11) Fr. Bonaventura Kamili, Chief Editor, Kiongozi Newspaper, TEC, Dar es Salaam
- 12) Ms Agatha Damas: Caritas Tanzania, WID/GAD Programme assistant coordinator, Dar es Salaam
- 13) Mr. Mkenda Ephraim, Caritas Tanzania, Refugees and Social Welfare Programme Officer
- 14) Fr. Edgar Mbegu, Acting TEC Secretary General, TEC, Dar es Salaam
- 15) Fr. Vic Missiaen, National Adviser, CPT, Dar es Salaam
- 16) Ms Edwardina ByaMungu, WAWATA National Coordinator, Dar es Salaam
- 17) Ms Joana Mrutu: Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, NGOs Portfolio, Dar es Salaam
- 18) Mr J.L. Mkhumbi, Legal Adviser, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, NGOs Portfolio, Dar es Salaam
- 19) Mr. Peter Maduki, Caritas National Chairperson, Dar es Salaam
- 20) Mr. Chiwale, Caritas Tanzania, Planning and Coordination Officer
- 21) Mwi Yussuf H, Qiblatain Trust Fund, Dar es Salaam
- 22) Shaban Iddi, Ansar Nuslim Foundation, Tanga
- 23) Mr. Hossea, Maawal Islamic Association, Tanga
- 24) Enock Kijo, worker with FBOs since the 1980s
- 25) Al Usr Trust Fund

## Appendix 3

### Interview guide used in July 2009

What does the term faith based organization (FBO) mean to you?

Which do you think are the most significant Christian and Muslim FBOs in Tanzania and why?

For each of these most significant FBOs, please tell us about the following, giving specific examples wherever possible:

- types and relative balance of development work they each engage in (e.g. welfare/charity, development project or programme work in different sectors, advocacy and socio-political work, conflict resolution, emergency relief work etc).
- scale (e.g. in terms of areas and numbers of people they work with, or in terms of staffing and funding levels)
- location of activity (e.g. rural/urban, distribution over the country)
- sources of funding (e.g. international, national, local)
- nature of relationships with other FBOs, NGOs and government (e.g. competitive, collaborative)
- any other significant aspects or dimensions?

How would you characterize the evolution of Christian and Muslim FBOs over the last 10-20 years in terms of a) changes in the number of organizations and b) the various aspects of FBOs discussed in relation to the question above?

Which of these changes do you think are most significant and why?

What factors do you think help to explain the changes discussed in relation to the previous question and why?

What interesting differences, if any (e.g. in terms of their use of faith), do you see between a) the work of Christian and Muslim FBOs and b) between different types of Christian or Muslim FBOs?

Which of these observed differences, if any, do you think are most significant, and why?

What factors do you think help to explain any such differences, and why?

Any other comments or observations?

Any useful documentation you could suggest or provide?

Any other suggested key informants we should meet?

## Appendix 4

### Profiles of mainland FBOs in Tanzania

#### 1 Introduction

The purpose of this appendix is to profile several Christian and Islamic FBOs identified by the study in more detail, for the benefit of interested readers. Unlike the churches and mosques themselves, these FBOs are religious NGO-type organizations (though not necessarily registered under the 2002 NGO Act).

The organizations profiled below do not represent a comprehensive picture of all NGO-like FBOs active in Tanzania today. They are all based in Dar es Salaam, although many are national organizations that operate throughout or in several parts of the country. However, we are confident that they include most of the significant NGO-type FBOs operating in Tanzania today, defined in terms of the scale of their development activities.

This appendix will be organized according to three parts of the typology of FBOs developed by Clarke (2005, 2008), who identified several different types of FBO, including apex FBOs, socio-political FBOs and charitable/development FBOs (see Section 1). He also identified missionary FBOs (excluded here, because this report focuses on the material rather than spiritual activities of FBOs) and illegal, radical or terrorist FBOs. Only one of the latter was identified, namely BALUKTA, the Baraza la Ukuzaji Kurani Tanzania or Koranic Reading Development Council.

Although the boundaries between the categories used in the Clarke typology are not always clear and many FBOs can be classified under more than one of the categories, it is nevertheless felt that use of this typology provides a useful overview of different types of FBOs and their many contributions to development. A separate profile of FBOs operating in Zanzibar is included in Appendix 5.



## 2 Apex FBOs

According to Clarke (2005), apex bodies provide guidance on doctrinal matters that govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors.

### 2.1 *Christian apex organizations*

#### 2.1.1 *The Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC)*

The TEC is the official organization through which the Catholic Church is legally recognized in Tanzania. It was established in 1956 and registered as a society by Registrar of Societies under the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1967. It also received a certificate of incorporation as a registered Trust from the Registrar General in 1975. The TEC is the apex body for thirty dioceses, under each of which there are parishes and sub-parishes, each comprised of small Christian communities. The TEC has expanded significantly since 1956, with both local and foreign support

Through its departments, the TEC's developmental activities target all people, regardless of their faith. It deals with both physical and spiritual aspects of people's development in all thirty dioceses. The main developmental activities are organized by its Caritas and Justice, Peace and Development secretariats, which are present in all thirty dioceses, with health, education and communication departments.

For example, the TEC conducts civic education and awareness-raising. It is involved in a civic education project in 350 schools (both Catholic and Protestant), for which it has disseminated a textbook and provided training for civic education teachers. It also ran election follow-up programmes following the 1995, 2000 and 2005 elections, which included workshops and the production of booklets that encourage people to assess the government's performance in relation to their election promises. Also under the TEC, an HIV/AIDS Control Programme was established in 1989, with the aim of reducing new HIV/AIDS infections and mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS.

Being a Catholic FBO, the TEC is guided by the Catholic faith in its policies and operations. It is inclusive of all people, especially in catering for physical development needs, networks with various partners and solicits funds from different donors. However, it does not participate in activities contrary to its policies, for example, programmes dealing with population control using artificial means such as contraceptives.

Generally, the TEC reports that it has a positive relationship with the government. It claims that there is a culture of understanding and dialogue in all matters of concern. However, this has not always been the case, for example after the nationalization policy of 1967, under which most of its schools were taken over by the government. Today, with the ongoing privatization reforms, the TEC reports that it is negotiating with government with a view to some of the nationalized schools being returned to Catholic ownership.

### **2.1.2 The Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT)**

The CCT was founded in 1934 and it is an umbrella organization of fifteen Protestant denominations spread throughout Tanzania. It operates through about sixty dioceses of the various churches. In addition, some of the larger member churches (e.g. the Anglican and Lutheran churches) have health and education secretaries and diocesan development officers.

The mission statement of the CCT is “to facilitate and coordinate the united witness of member churches and church-related organizations by building their capacity in evangelism, networking, advocacy and socio-economic development for the benefit of the community” (<http://ccttz.org>). It operates a three year strategic planning system, based on responding to local needs, which is approved at the Annual General Meeting for Bishops.

The CCT facilitates the development work of its member churches, training diocesan development officers and encouraging sharing of resources and experiences. It stopped implementing projects directly in 2000, but is involved in ten programme areas, through its national programme officers, who support the work of their diocesan equivalents. It has programme departments covering HIV/AIDS, interfaith relations, women and community development, capacity building, justice and peace, human rights and civic education, public policy advocacy, media and community advocacy, microfinance, education and relief work. The HIV/AIDS work involves training pastors, youth leaders and choir leaders to use Christian Family Life Education Manuals, implementing peer education using its “stepping stones” curriculum and conducting support sessions with parents.

It is reported that the organization’s early focus on emergency relief work has changed to a broader development focus, as reflected in the programme areas listed above. Some changes in programme

titles also reflect secular donor agendas (e.g. the Youth and Christian Education Programme became the Youth Programme and radio and TV programming added development education to preaching).

The CCT's main funders and partners include Bread for the World, Norwegian Christian Aid, Tearfund, Christian Aid, the church of Sweden and, more recently, the US church service and the united church of Canada. The main networking and advocacy body of which the CCT is a member is the CSSC (see below).

## **2.2 Muslim apex organizations**

### **2.2.1 The National Muslim Council of Tanzania (NMCT/BAKWATA)**

As noted in Section 2, the NMCT (more commonly known as BAKWATA) is the successor to the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS). It was established in 1968 with the aim of bringing together all Tanzanian Muslims, whether Sunni or Shia, African, Asian or Arab (Campbell, 1999). According to Westerlund (1980), Muslims were brought under state control because they were perceived as politically dangerous.

It is funded largely by its membership and Arab donors (Lange et al, 2000). It is the official apex organization of all Muslims in the country. It operates under the directives of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah and engages in activities that are religious, educational and humanitarian.

BAKWATA operates through individual mosques and is organized at ward, district, regional and national levels, It has, therefore, adopted government administrative boundaries. Its activities cover the whole country. Except for religious services, which are for Muslims only, its activities and services are open to all, regardless of their faith. According to some informants, some of BAKWATA's district and regional offices are more active than others, depending on the personnel involved (as in the case of the development officers of the Christian churches) and factors such as the proportion of Muslims in the local population.

BAKWATA itself runs 23 secondary schools, as well as 110 small franchised dispensaries. It is also active in a variety of educational and empowerment programmes, for example in entrepreneurship and HIV/AIDS prevention, care and treatment (Tumaini-Mungu, 2007). It featured significantly in some of the districts covered in Kiondo's (1994) study.

BAKWATA develops and proposes policy priorities and guidelines to the Ulama (much like the Christian Social Services Commission does to the bishops); responds to funding opportunities; takes part in various networks (e.g. on HIV/AIDS, with the Tanzanian Aids Commission and several donor agencies, on health policy more generally with Norwegian Church Aid, and on civic education, with the UNDP and the US Embassy); and seeks to influence government policy, in the same way as the TEC and CCT, although on a much smaller scale, according to several informants.

BAKWATA faces a number of problems, both internal and external. Internally, the major problems are a struggle for power between different factions and insufficient funds to support the organization and its activities. External problems include political interference, in which political parties try to control and use it and rival organizations (e.g. Baraza Kuu – see below). Baraza Kuu does not recognize the organization, because it claims that BAKWATA does not represent all Muslims and Islamic institutions and that it is used by the government to suppress the interests of Muslims.

At the time BAKWATA was formed, the government banned the formation of any other apex Muslim organizations, although existing organizations were permitted to turn themselves into regional or district organizations under BAKWATA's umbrella. Although some Muslim groups have tried to organize independently of BAKWATA, most have failed to secure registration. The exceptions include Baraza Kuu, the Baraza la Uendelezaji wa Kusoma Kuran Tanzania (BALUKTA - Council for the Recitation of the Qur'an), the Council of Imams (Shura ya Maimamu) and the Dar es Salaam Islamic Club (DIC), founded in 1997.

BALUKTA was established in 1991 and has gained some prominence. Its constitution states that its main aims are promoting reading of the Qur'an and spreading Islam through providing financial and material support to Muslim schools. It has also tried to establish and operate Islamic centres and institutes for Islamic higher education. Its constitution states other aims within the educational field including, among others, publishing and conferences, as well as others including business projects like hotels and restaurants. In April 1993, some BALUKTA members, under the leadership of its president, Sheikh Yahya Hussein, attacked and destroyed three butcheries selling pork in Dar es Salaam. This led to the arrest of about thirty people, including Sheikh Hussein himself. In response, BALUKTA certificate of registration was cancelled.

## **2.2.2 The Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations and Institutions in Tanzania (Baraza Kuu)**

Another contending apex body for Muslims in Tanzania is the Supreme Council of Islamic Organizations (Baraza Kuu) founded in 1992 and registered as a Trust with the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is a membership organisation whose major activities are to fight for the rights of Muslims, ensure Muslim participation in development plans and activities, and seek funding from donors to address development problems. Baraza Kuu has a strikingly large number of university employees among its members. It is determined to take over the leading role of BAKWATA as a unified organization for all Muslims in the country.

The Chairperson of Baraza Kuu estimated its membership as 700 mosques across the country and more than 300 individual members in Dar es Salaam. Many mosques join as mosques, then start development activities with Baraza Kuu's support. However, not all Baraza Kuu members are mosques. They also include many religious NGOs (or NGO-type organizations), such as the Tanzanian Association of Muslim Professionals (TAMPRO), the Tanzania Islamic Centre (TIC), the Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC), The African Muslim Agency (AMA) and the Islamic Relief Organization (IRO). The Chairperson estimated that there are hundreds of such organizations, mainly based in Dar es Salaam, with very few in other parts of the country. The third type of Baraza Kuu members were referred to as 'schools of thought', typically prayer groups organized at hamlet or street level, under the auspices of a mosque. Like the Catholic small Christian communities mentioned above, some of these informal local groups also act as self-help development groups.

The relationship between the Baraza Kuu and the government is strained because the government supports BAKWATA. Major problems facing the organization include inadequate funds.

## **2.3 Inter-faith apex bodies**

### **2.3.1 The World Conference on Religions and Peace - Tanzania Chapter (WCRP-Tanzania Chapter)**

WCRP-International is a multi-religious organization, the largest worldwide coalition of representatives of religious communities. It seeks to assist religious communities to mobilize their unique moral and social resources in cooperative actions for peace. It is dedicated to promoting cooperation among the

world's religions, while maintaining respect for religious differences. It has members in over 100 countries and chapters in over 40 countries.

WCRP-Tanzania obtained formal recognition from WCRP-International in 1999 and was formally registered in 2000. It is a multi-religious apex FBO that unites various FBOs involved in development activities.

In its vision, WCRP/Tanzania is committed to the development of a peaceful country in which religions practise both respect and tolerance and contribute in practical ways to the equity and security of all people. It is dedicated to discerning commitments to comprehensive peace that are broadly shared and deeply held by the country's religious communities and to translating those commitments into cooperative action programmes. It is based upon respect for religious differences, as well as the conviction that religious persons and groups can cooperate on working for peace to great effect. It was established to promote constructive inter-faith cooperation, focused on the theme "people of faith working together to solve shared problems in the society". Its purpose is "to promote and support inter-religious services to solve shared problems in the society, through the effective use of dialogue, information, training and resource mobilization". It is committed to both dialogue and action in working for the realization of a peaceful country.

In order for this purpose to be achieved, resources and effort are focused on five key result areas:

- Establishment of an effective and efficient WCRP/Tanzania secretariat
- Promoting effective inter-religious dialogue at a strategic, policy-making level
- Generating and sharing relevant inter-religious information for promoting the work of WCRP/Tanzania
- Establishing effective national inter-faith service teams to develop service programmes to tackle the shared problems of poverty, violence, HIV/AIDS, gender discrimination and the donor dependency syndrome
- Facilitating relevant WCRP/Tanzania organizational development.

Over the last five years, four main inter-faith service programmes have emerged as priorities:

- Capacity development for inter-faith cooperation at national and local levels (including fundraising for inter-faith projects and activities)

- Inter-faith cooperation for economic empowerment and mainstreaming of FBOs in the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP - known as MKUKUTA)
- Inter-faith cooperation in activities related to HIV/AIDS
- Inter-faith cooperation in promoting peace and conflict management

Current WCRP Tanzania initiatives and projects include a village community bank scheme (based on village level groups of 15-30 people) and a three year USAID-funded project on HIV/AIDS, which works through a district level inter-faith committee.

WCRP Tanzania was due to be re-launched as the International Council of Religions and Peace in Tanzania in early 2010. This new body replaces the existing WRCP- Tanzania Chapter. Its establishment was, according to informants, the result of a desire to establish and run a more home-grown inter-faith organization.

Other inter-faith networks, which are also members of the WCRP, include the Tanzanian Women and Youth Inter-faith Networks (TWIN and TYIN).

### **3 Socio-political FBOs**

Clarke (2005, 2008) defines socio-political FBOs as organizations which use faith as a political construct. It is deployed to mobilize people in pursuit of a political or social aim.

#### **3.1 Muslim socio-political FBOs**

This study identified several Muslim socio-political FBOs, some of which are profiled below.

##### **3.1.1 The Tanzania Association of Muslim Professionals (TAMPRO)**

TAMPRO was established in 1997 by Muslim university students to mobilize Muslim professionals to work for the benefit of society. It is a membership organization registered as both a society and an NGO. It is funded by member subscriptions and has three full-time staff based in Dar es Salaam, including a Secretary General elected by members. It currently has about 500 members nationwide. A decline in membership since the 1990s was attributed to the increasing economic hardships faced by professionals in the country. Members use their knowledge to serve the Muslim community in

education, medical services, consultancy and legal services. For example, TAMPRO provided legal aid to arrested sheikhs in the 1990s. It also advocates on health issues. For example, it has made proposals to the Tanzania Aids Commission. It runs a secondary school and is very much concerned with the gap between Muslims and Christians in terms of education.

### **3.1.2 The Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trusteeship**

The Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trusteeship is an organization that strives to protect Muslim interests in higher education. It has produced statistics which point to the much publicized under-representation of Muslims in universities and in the administration. A parliamentary commission of inquiry has come to a similar conclusion, followed by a report of the Roman Catholic Church of Tanzania in 1992 that confirmed the political and educational imbalance between Christians and Muslims. The members of the Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trusteeship also try to promote a better understanding of Islam as a way of life (Lodhi and Westerlund, 1999).

### **3.1.3 Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislam (Muslim Writers' Workshop)**

Warsha originated in 1975 as a unit in BAKWATA, its main concern being educational issues. It has a membership of young Muslim activists and is stronger in Dar es Salaam than in other regions. It was initially established for the purpose of inserting religious education into the curriculum of newly established Muslim secondary schools, by preparing a syllabus and writing books for BAKWATA's Kinondoni Secondary School and other schools. It was excluded from BAKWATA in 1982, but has devoted a great deal of energy to organizing Muslim youths to support the evolution of a broader Islamic outlook among young Tanzanian Muslim students, reforming Muslim schools, and producing devotional and economic literature (Chande, 1998, p 144; Lodhi and Westerlund, 1999).

### **3.1.4 UVIKITA/Ansaar Sunna**

UVIKITA refers to Umoja wa Vijana wa Kiislamu Tanzania (i.e. Tanzania Muslim Youth Union). It initially established a foothold in Warsha, but attempts to register itself as UVIKITA failed (Chande, 1998, p 145). Today, UVIKITA has changed its name to Ansaar Sunna Youth. It has 'puritanical' ideas and doctrines targeted at reforms that seek to regenerate society along strict Islamic lines, a stand which leads to continuous clashes with BAKWATA (ibid, p 149).



### 3.1.5 Other Muslim socio-political FBOs

Other socio-political Muslim FBOs identified by the study include

- **Baraza la Misikiti Tanzania (BAMITA)** (Council of Tanzanian Mosques). BAMITA was founded by the former President of Zanzibar, Aboud Jumbe, but is said to be weak since his fall from political grace in 1984.
- **Muslim Student Association of the University of Dar es Salaam (MSAUD)**: This is closely linked to Warsha and has been offering an Islamic correspondence course since 1986. It has also sponsored annual Islamic seminars, but is now said to be suffering from a lack of funds
- **Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC)**: This is an offshoot of MSAUD, which publishes a newsletter known as *Annur*.
- **Umoja wa Wahubiri wa Kiislamu wa Mlingano wa Dini (UWAMD)** (Union of Muslim Preachers of Comparative Religion). UWAMD was founded in 1990 and has been involved in confrontations with BAKWATA.
- **Baraza la Walimu wa Kiislamu Tanzania** (Council of Tanzanian Muslim/Islamic Teachers). This was established in 1988 by Tanzanian students studying at the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. Its objectives are to propagate Islam by opening a library, producing religious materials, and setting up schools, clinics and bookshops.

## 3.2 Christian socio-political FBOs

Three Christian socio-political FBOs are profiled below.

### 3.2.1 The Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC)

The CSSC was established jointly by the TEC and the CCT in 1992 as an ecumenical body to facilitate the provision of social services by the churches, with a focus on education and health. CSSC's membership is limited to the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) and the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC). It has a network of more than 80 dioceses and manages roughly 40 per cent of the health and education services in the country (Tumaini-Mungu, 2007). In addition, the CSSC deals with programme development, facilitation/management and monitoring of financial resources to support social services and advocates church interests to the government and church partners abroad (Mhina, 2007). It operates through five zones, with a secretary and two part-time co-ordinators (one for health and one for education) in each zone.

The overall vision of CSSC is to achieve a society in which people are enlightened, well educated, free from the diseases of poverty and enjoy a good quality of life. Its objectives are to contribute to the physical, mental, social and spiritual development of the people of Tanzania through facilitating the provision of good quality social services to all regardless of their colour, race and creed. The Commission also fosters the promotion, improvement and expansion of education, health and other social services all over Tanzania. In its Mission Statement, the CSSC claims to work to support the delivery of social services through partnerships, lobbying and advocacy in a manner that will ensure transparency, quality, equity, availability and accessibility, with compassion and the love of Christ.

The core functions of the CSSC are policy advocacy and research, technical support and logistical support services. The CSSC Secretariat represents the churches in various forums and policy formulating committees at the national level. In addition, it promotes and facilitates operational research, from which guidelines and statements of best practices are developed and disseminated. As a lead agency, the CSSC seeks to promote partnership between Christian faith-based organizations and the government in planning, implementation and the allocation of resources at district level.

The CSSC also offers technical support services to its members by supporting church health and education institutions to build their capacities through conducting in-house training, seminars and workshops. It has also established a scholarship fund to support training of staff in church social service facilities. It is also instrumental in offering logistical support to its members. For example it facilitates the registration of expatriate doctors and other professionals, follows up staff promotions, disburses government grants and subsidies for church health and education facilities, oversees the secondment of personnel to church institutions from the government, and disseminates circulars and policy or legal documents.

Apart from the foregoing supportive core functions, the Commission has a semi-autonomous Consultancy and Development Division (CDD) through which it facilitates implementation of a range of social development programmes and projects, particularly in the health and education sectors. For example, it is currently involved in Global Fund and USAID-funded projects on HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria.

### **3.2.2 *The Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group (TEDG)***

The TEDG is a TEC and CCT-mandated ecumenical group, which was established in 1992 with support from the Joint Conference Church and Development of Germany. It started as an initiative of the churches in response to the impact of structural adjustment programmes and the political changes from a single to a multi-party system. The TEDG is a think tank which has the task of raising questions and collecting, analysing and interpreting information so as to stimulate discussions in different forums. It does this by conducting research, holding workshops, information sharing, networking, and lobbying and advocacy. Its activities are many and varied, but have included training of election observers and conducting civic education programmes in 90 TEC and CCT dioceses. It works closely with the CSSC on questions of education and health. It is supported by churches in Tanzania and Germany, through Misereor, the EED (Church Development Service of the united Evangelical Church in Germany) and other donors.

### **3.2.3 *Christian Professionals of Tanzania (CPT)***

The CPT is a membership organization established in 1983 by the members of a former student organisation. It works under the National Council of Catholic Laity (NCCL), but is also registered as an NGO and is a member of the Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO). It can be seen as the Christian equivalent of TAMPRO, profiled above.

As stated in its constitution, membership of CPT is open to all Catholics with professional experience and co-opted members from other Christian churches. Its activities target all people as beneficiaries, regardless of their religious identity or any other discriminating criteria. All people are said to benefit from CPT's struggle for national good governance, human rights, social services and the sustaining of peace for development.

In its organizational structure, CPT exists at three levels, namely basic group level, diocesan level and national level. The membership of the CPT was estimated in 2009 at about 500, mostly based in Dar es Salaam. Numbers have declined since the 1980s, when the CPT had over 2,000 members all over Tanzania. As in the case of TAMPRO, this decline in membership was attributed to the increasing economic hardship faced by members. Members are obliged to pay a membership fee and annual subscription, which is determined by the general assembly.

The CPT facilitates the organization of co-operatives at local/parish level, as well as savings and credit societies. It also undertakes research, publishes its results and submits proposals to the government. It monitors elections and develops programmes for Catholic radio stations on various social issues. One of its most recent initiatives, in July 2009, was to publish a manifesto outlining development priorities for the country and the leadership qualities for which voters should be looking in the forthcoming elections.

As a Catholic organization, CPT depends on guidelines from the TEC on policy and other issues. It works under the TEC Justice and Peace Commission, operating under the Pastoral Department. As stated in the CPT's constitution, it is guided by the commandment to love God and our fellow human beings.

In the area of networking, CPT works with the International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (ICMICA), with which they have a meeting every three years to discuss performance. It also works in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF). In its advocacy on farmers' rights in Tanzania, the CPT has also been working in partnership with other organizations such as Inades-Formation and PELUM, which are NGOs that have been empowering farmers in the Dodoma region. Other partners include Norwegian Church Aid, Norwegian People's Aid and various grassroots farmers' organizations.

The CPT claims that it generally enjoys good relations with the government, with which it works in partnership from the grassroots through the local government to the national level. However, since most CPT members work in government, they report that they are sometimes not very free to give their opinions, because of the public positions they hold.

## 4 Charitable and development FBOs

Charitable and development FBOs seek resources to support the poor and needy. They channel funds into managing programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion (Clarke, 2005). The main Christian development FBOs identified by the study and profiled below include Caritas Tanzania, Catholic Relief Services, the YWCA, WAWATA, World Vision and Norwegian Church Aid. The Muslim development FBOs profiled include the Aga Khan Development Network and the African Muslim Agency.

## **4.1 Christian charitable and development FBOs**

### **4.1.1 Caritas Tanzania (CT)**

Caritas is a Latin word meaning charity in Biblical terms and representing a functional expression of love. Caritas Tanzania (CT) was established in 1971 by the decision of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference, with the intention of co-ordinating the Church's charitable and social development projects. It is engaged in both relief and development work. Based on the Catholic social gospel values and principles of love, peace and justice, CT envisages a society characterized by sustainable and integral human development. Its motto is *"Everybody is my brother/sister."* The mission of CT is to facilitate participatory community development and relief work by empowering people irrespective of race, ethnicity, creed, sex or age.

CT exists and operates at two levels, namely the national and diocesan levels. Under the auspices of TEC, the national office of CT co-coordinates the thirty diocesan Caritas offices. The Caritas Director/ Executive Secretary is assisted by three co-coordinators responsible for development, emergencies and women, children and youth. It extends its coverage to all parts of Tanzania, reaching the grassroots level through branches linked to dioceses which are the structures of the Catholic Church.

CT has divided itself into three sections, namely Emergency and Relief, Women in Development and Child Care, and Development and Youth. Each co-coordinates or facilitates various relief and development programmes which reportedly reach millions of people. It does this in collaboration with the international Caritas network, the Government of Tanzania, the UN system and local community leaders. It is a member of Caritas Internationalis, acting as a local partner for international Catholic agencies (CIDSE).

CT also encourages networking among dioceses, and between dioceses and government, international and local NGOs, and other stakeholders. It encourages sharing of information, as well as mutual visits. At diocesan level, a number of zonal programmes have been developed and implemented, as well as exposure programmes.

The CT 2005-2008 Strategic Plan shows that in fulfilling its previous strategic plan, which ended in 2005, CT facilitated the mobilization of resources at both national and diocesan levels. Funding for the

development projects/programmes submitted by CT on behalf of the dioceses to external partners increased from Tshs 150 million (£64,000) in the year 2000/01 to Tshs 956 million (approx. £400,000) in the year 2004/05, an increase of 600 per cent. This growth was attributed to the preparation of good project/programme proposals, improved management and the increased confidence of partners in CT and the dioceses. The organization mobilized Tshs 2 billion (approx. £850,000) for disaster management and social welfare projects and programmes during the strategic plan period between 2000/2001 and 2004/05.

#### **4.1.2 Catholic Relief Services (CRS)**

CRS was established in 1943 by the United States Catholic Church. It was registered in Tanzania in 1962, in Mwanza, providing relief and food aid. It closed its office in Dar es Salaam in 1994 but continued to fund local partners through CRS Kenya. A field office re-opened in Mwanza in 1997 to support activities in agriculture, HIV/AIDS and peacebuilding. It re-opened its headquarters in Dar es Salaam in 2004 and opened another office in Arusha in 2008. It employs more than 95 staff.

CRS today works in both rural and urban areas, from the lake zone in the northwest to the southern coast. It relies on the extensive network of the Catholic Church to implement development programmes countrywide. It partners with the development offices of four archdioceses and six dioceses to deliver its services in targeted regions. Its major activities continue to include agriculture (e.g. seed production), HIV/AIDS (e.g. ARV), agro-enterprise, microfinance and peacebuilding. CRS and its local partners claim to directly serve more than 600, 000 Tanzanians and to have helped nearly 2 million people.

CRS is part of a wider network that includes Family Health International (FHI), USAID, PASADA Pastoral Activities and Services for people with AIDS in Dar es Salaam Archdiocese and TACAIDS (Tanzania Commission for AIDS). Its relationships with other FBOs, mainly those related to the Catholic Church, are based on funding (e.g. PASADA provides funds). CRS also works with other NGOs like Save the Children Foundation, in an effort to build their capacity to fight female genital mutilation.

### **4.1.3 The Young Women's Christian Association of Tanzania (YWCA)**

The YWCA is the oldest voluntary ecumenical women's movement in the world. It was formally established worldwide in 1894 and serves members and non-members alike. The YWCA of Tanzania was established in 1959, with its first branches in Moshi, Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Tanga. Today it has 11 branches around the country.

The mission of the YWCA is stated as to improve the physical, mental, social, spiritual and economic wellbeing of vulnerable children, young and adult women through mobilizing efforts and resources from within and outside. It is guided by the Christian faith and the purpose of love and service.

The YWCA has operations in both rural and urban areas. It undertakes many activities, including training programmes for its own needs in the areas of leadership skills, planning and managing income generating projects, environmental and development projects, and primary health care. There are child care centres in every branch and centres for children suffering from cerebral palsy in four branches.

Other activities include providing meeting places and meals and organizing vocational training centres for youths (primary school leavers) and women, especially in handicrafts, tailoring and tie-dye. These are found in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and Dodoma. The YWCA also provides hostels for working girls in Dar es Salaam and organizes youth programmes, including skills training to enable graduates to support themselves. It also runs programmes to reduce juvenile delinquency and HIV/AIDS awareness programmes.

Branches in the rural areas engage in farming. In addition, the organization offers services, such as clean water supply (wells) and milling machines. It plans to expand its current activities to include environmental protection through tree planting, appropriate farming methods and making charcoal by using materials and technology other than felling trees.

The YWCA is mainly self-funded through its established programmes (e.g. hostels, canteens and day-care centres). However, to expand it is now seeking additional funding from outside sources.

#### **4.1.4 The Tanzania Catholic Women Organization (WAWATA)**

The Tanzania Catholic Women Organization (abbreviated in Kiswahili as WAWATA) was established under the Catholic Church in 1972. It aims to unify all Catholic Women in Tanzania to promote their contributions to development in society and it is involved in both practical development and ecclesiastical work.

WAWATA has national coverage, starting from the grassroots level among Catholic Christian communities. Several communities are co-coordinated at division level, divisions at parish level, parishes at diocese level, and dioceses at the national level. The organization has a democratically elected leadership at all of these levels, comprising a chairperson, a vice-chairperson, a secretary, a vice-secretary and a treasurer. WAWATA also has councils at these various levels, which hold regular meetings to plan, implement and follow up various programmes.

Every baptized Catholic woman is automatically a member of WAWATA. However, its beneficiaries are not confined to Catholic women. In its activities, WAWATA targets women of all faiths, all over Tanzania. For example, in the Zanzibar, Tanga and Same dioceses, most of the beneficiaries of WAWATA micro-finance projects are reported to be Muslim women.

WAWATA is active in both spiritual formation and socio-economic activities, mainly micro-finance. While the spiritual development activities are only for Catholics, the organisation's socio-economic development work is open to everybody. WAWATA currently has made loans of between 200,000 and 500,000 shillings (£85-214) to about 3,000 women across the country and about 500 group loans of 1-1.5 million shillings (£430-650). It has a trust fund of one billion shillings and will apply to the newly established Catholic Bank (which has a fund of 5 billion shillings) for further capital.

WAWATA repayment rates range from 88-99 per cent in 27 of the 31 dioceses where they are active and between 70 and 80 per cent in the remaining four. Dioceses contribute fees to the national level, which are mainly to facilitate coordination costs. In addition, 10 per cent of the interest obtained from micro-finance is used to support activities at the national level.

Internationally, the Catholic Women Organisation has developed partnership relations with various international institutions, including consultative relations with UN agencies such as UNICEF,



ECOSOC, FAO and ILO. WAWATA is a member of the World Union of Catholic Women, the WCRP-Tanzania Chapter and TANGO. WAWATA donors include Horizon 3000, Trocaire, Foundation Open Hand and Transform Africa.

The use of faith in WAWATA revolves mainly around activities related to spiritual formation for Catholic women, including prayer, seminars and workshops. For its operations, as a Catholic organisation, WAWATA depends on policy guidelines from the TEC.

Generally, WAWATA reported that it enjoys good working relationships with the government. In its projects, WAWATA works to implement government strategic plans, as stipulated in the National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA), concentrating on socio-economic activities, especially HIV/AIDS advocacy/training and micro-finance. To fulfil the legal requirements for increased formal cooperation with government institutions, WAWATA registered its trust fund in 2006.

#### **4.1.5 World Vision (WV)**

World Vision Tanzania, which started in 1981, is part of an international religious NGO. WV Tanzania is now working in thirteen regions on long term community-based area development programmes, through child sponsorship and special targeted projects. It claims to be helping more than five million people. Specific WV initiatives include:

([http://www.wv africa.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=154&Itemid=171](http://www.wv africa.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=154&Itemid=171)).

- Working with more than 1,000 schools to improve the quality of education and to highlight the importance of education, particularly for girls
- Increasing community access to primary healthcare, training local healthcare providers and fighting malaria through the provision of treated mosquito nets
- Working to reduce the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS, through integrated community based primary healthcare, advocacy, counselling and support, with a special focus on orphans and vulnerable children
- Working with farming families to improve household food security, reduce malnutrition and increase household incomes
- Increasing access to clean drinking water

### **4.1.6 Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)**

NCA is an international Christian FBO whose mission is “to work together with partners for building a just world”. The NCA in Tanzania has five permanent core programme staff, working in the following programme areas:

- HIV/AIDS
- Interfaith
- Accountability
- Water and Sanitation
- Gender

It works through local groups in all cases. Recent and ongoing initiatives include the following:

- Village community banks for Muslims and Christians, which involve about 15,000 families in about 600 groups across the country (planned to increase to 1,000 groups), benefiting about 100,000 individuals.
- The establishment of a joint standing committee on economic participation and the integrity of creation, with the TEC, the CCT and BAKWATA.
- Public expenditure tracking. The NCA facilitates the work of local inter-faith committees in this process. ■  
The mobilization of national resources for development, through advocacy for greater taxes on gold mining companies.

Finally, the NCA also plays a networking role. For example, it claims to have linked the CCT, the TEC and BAKWATA to important secular advocacy bodies such as the Women’s Legal Aid Centre (which works against domestic violence) and the Tanzania Gender Network Programme.

## **4.2 Muslim development FBOs**

### **4.2.1 The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)**

The AKDN is based on an Agreement of Cooperation signed in 1991 and revised in 2001, but can be traced back to the establishment of the first Aga Khan girls’ school in Zanzibar in 1905. The AKDN includes several agencies working in rural development, economic development, education, health, microfinance, civil society and culture. Although closely associated with the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismaili sect, and with the wider Ismaili community, the organizations do not claim to be faith-based.

In terms of rural development, the AKDN coastal rural support programme currently works with over 190 communities, covering a population of 130,000, in the Mtwara and Lindi regions of Tanzania. In 2005, the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance commenced operations in the same areas, offering loans to commercial and retail enterprises in urban areas and for agriculture in rural areas.

The economic development work of the AKDN is undertaken through its Jubilee Insurance Group, the Diamond Trust Fund/Bank and its Industrial Promotion Services. These have invested in many industries and operate two previously government owned companies; operate tourism promotion services which support the building and management of hotels, resorts and lodges; and the nation media group, which has purchased a majority shareholding in MCL, which publishes the Mwananchi, Citizen and Mwanaspoti newspapers.

Aga Khan Education Services today operates three schools in Dar es Salaam, as well as one in Mwanza. The Aga Khan Foundation has worked with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to implement whole school improvement programmes. Programmes to date have benefited close to 100,000 students and more than 850 teachers. The Foundation has also helped communities in Zanzibar to establish and manage a total of 84 madrasa schools, benefiting more than 5,000 children, over half of them girls. Finally, the Aga Khan University has been operating a US\$ 20 million teacher training initiative through the establishment of an Institute for Educational Development in Dar es Salaam. In 2007, the Aga Khan also announced plans to build a major US\$ 450 million new university complex in Arusha over the subsequent fifteen years.

In health, the Aga Khan Health Services built the first dispensary offering free services in Dar es Salaam in 1929, followed by a maternity home in 1939 and a nursing home in 1948. The Aga Khan Hospital was constructed in 1964, along with medical facilities in several other urban areas. The current emphasis is on strengthening existing health systems. The Aga Khan Foundation also works with vulnerable populations, especially mothers and children, to improve their health. The Aga Khan University offers accredited professional training, especially for nurses.

In terms of civil society, the Aga Khan Resource Centre has helped to build the capacity of 300 community based organizations to effectively implement and manage development processes. The Centre also engages in research and policy issues, to help create an enabling environment for CSOs. The Aga Khan Foundation also helps to facilitate the creation of community based groups.

Finally, the AKDN is helping to restore several sites of historical and cultural interest in Zanzibar's Stonetown.

(Extracts from the AKDN website at [www.akdn.org/tanzania](http://www.akdn.org/tanzania))

#### **4.2.2 The African Muslim Agency (AMA)**

The AMA is an independent organisation associated with Sunni Muslims. It is registered and operates separately in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar (see Appendix 5 for details of its work in Zanzibar).

The organization started its operations on the mainland in 1987 and was officially registered by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1994. There are also about ten Muslim Trusteeships registered under the AMA. It cooperates with both BAKWATA and Baraza Kuu in its day-to-day operations. Its areas of coverage on the mainland are Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro, the Coastal Region and Mtwara. All its funding comes from the AMA headquarters in Kuwait.

The major activities undertaken by the AMA include the provision of education and health services, providing for orphans and water drilling services. The organization also distributes meals to communities during Eid. The schools under the auspices of AMA are Muslim seminaries, meaning that they only take Muslim pupils, although they teach both secular and religious subjects. In Dar es Salaam, the AMA has a nursery, a primary school, a secondary school and an orphanage centre. In Tanga there are two primary schools, two secondary schools (one for boys and one for girls) and an orphanage centre. In Moshi there is one primary school, one girl's secondary school and an orphanage centre. In Dar es Salaam, the organisation runs two health centres and a dispensary; it also runs health centres in Moshi and Tanga. It AMA has also provided more than 3,000 wells (large and small) in Dar es Salaam, the Coastal Region, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro and Mtwara. Finally, the AMA builds many mosques in Tanzania in response to applications from Muslim communities, using funds from Saudi Arabia, transmitted through its Kuwait headquarters. The number of applications is reported to exceed the AMA's capacity to meet them.

A major problem that the organization faces is said to be continued surveillance by the intelligence community, especially after the 9/11 disaster. All its funding needs to be cleared by United States intelligence. In some cases, funds pass through the USA and are released in instalments, with their

use being strictly monitored. The major source of funding is through *zakat* and *sadaka* (religiously mandatory and voluntary giving) from believers outside and inside the country. These sources are reported to be sustainable because giving *zakat* and *sadaka* is one of the pillars of Islam and failure to do so is considered a sin.

The AMA's working relationships with the government were said to be very good. For example, it cooperates with the government to provide emergency relief and claimed to have made a significant contribution during a fatal Dodoma train accident.

## Appendix 5

### Profile of FBOs based in Zanzibar

As part of this study, information was gathered on fourteen Muslim organizations, four Christian organizations and one interfaith FBO in Zanzibar. The island is predominantly Muslim and only a few Christian FBOs with significant development roles operate on the island.

#### 1) The Wakf and Trust Property Commission

The Commission is a government institution under the umbrella of the Ministry of State, Constitutional Affairs and Good Governance. It was established in 1906 and has offices in Unguja and Pemba. The Commission organizes and supports various Muslim activities and issues, such as inheritance, *zakat*, charities, offerings and alms. It is in charge of people's wealth (*waqf*) donated in trust and public trusts. It also organizes national public prayers on Muslim festival days and facilitates pilgrimages to Mecca, because it is well known in Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia. The Commission also receives aid from other countries and distributes it to the needy. It works closely with the Mufti's Office, the Kadhi office, and all the Muslim charitable societies (e.g. AMA, African Charitable Society). It also has connections with International organizations (e.g. The Balm in Gilead, SADC).

#### 2) The Islamic Association for Education and Economic Development (UKUEM)

UKUEM is a Kiswahili abbreviation for the Islamic Association for Education and Economic Development, a membership organization that was established in 1990, started its operations in 2000 and was registered in Zanzibar in 2002. Its headquarters are in Zanzibar town and it has a branch in Chake, Pemba. A majority of its members are young graduates from higher institutions within and outside the country. They have responsibilities in the government and other institutions; have different specializations, including sheikhs, lawyers, educationists, economists, engineers and lecturers; and are said to be respected. In terms of policy, UKUEM claims to be a moderate body with a high degree of tolerance for others' opinions.

Its objectives are to mobilize Muslims to understand their responsibilities, in order to participate actively in education and development activities, to establish development groups, to build the capacity of individuals and groups, and to collect resources from Muslims and development partners in order to provide services and help in social welfare activities.

UKUEM performs various activities in development, including counselling and consultancy for individuals and groups; provision of humanitarian assistance; a public lecture at SUZA hall; extra tuition for Form 2, 4 and 6 students; radio and TV programmes; and implementation of a vocational training project for families with HIV infected members. It also runs the Alfalah Secondary School, which provides ordinary and advanced level education, and supports students who have failed their secondary level examinations, particularly Form 11 students.

In terms of organizational structure, UKUEM has a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Executive Secretary, Deputy Executive Secretary and Treasurer. It also has a women's wing, which is semi-autonomous, and of which the chairperson, executive secretary and treasurer are women. For funding, UKUEM depends on a monthly contribution of Tshs 2,000 (UK£0.86) from its members, volunteers, charity and alms from other organizations and Muslims inside the country. It also relies substantially on funds from overseas development partners. It networks with Muslim Aid in the UK and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth in Saudi Arabia.

### **3) Zanzibar Imams Association (JUMAZA)**

JUMAZA was established in 1999, started its operations in the same year and was registered in 2001 in Zanzibar initially as a Committee and then in 2003 as an NGO. Its objectives are to strengthen Islamic unity and solidarity for the development of Islam and Muslims, to upgrade the standard of Islamic knowledge among Muslims in order to live according to Islamic regulations, to propagate Islam to non-Muslims and to mobilize Muslims to have influence and actively participate in educational, social, economic and cultural affairs.

Its head office is in Zanzibar town and it also has an office in Pemba and branches in every district and constituency. All the mosques in Unguja and Pemba are supposed to be its members, but to date, only 800 have joined. In terms of organizational structure, JUMAZA has a chairman/emir, and vice chairmen/emirs, executive secretaries, deputy executive-secretaries and treasurer deputies in Unguja and Pemba.

The activities performed by JUMAZA include organizing seminars and workshops for Imams and religious leaders, conducting training courses for preachers who deliver Friday sermons and *madrasa*

teachers, combating HIV/AIDS and reconciliation (for example, JUMAZA claimed that it had successfully resolved a serious confrontation between the people of Bwejuu and Michamvi).

JUMAZA obtains its contributions from Muslims attending its member mosques. It plans to make investments and to solicit funds from donors and Islamic organizations. Its future projects include the idea of organizing pilgrimages to Mecca at lower cost than other organizations (e.g Wakf government Institutions) and to introduce accounts for people who plan a pilgrimage.

#### **4) Umoja Wanawake Zanzibar (UWAZA)**

UWAZA was established in 1993 at Kikwajuni, Zanzibar. Unconfirmed information revealed that it was registered in 2003. Its organizational structure is comprised of a chairperson, secretary, treasurer and other members. This FBO operates in urban areas only and at the time of the study had no physical office. Its main aim is to support Muslims living under difficult conditions in Zanzibar, through providing support for Muslim orphans, widowed or divorced women, and disabled or old people. It also educates the public via Islamic dramas, especially for children, youth and women. It is a membership organisation with twelve members at the time of the study. It has no funds and works closely with ZAC (Zanzibar AIDS Commission), the Mufti's Office and ZIADA (Zanzibar Interfaith Association, see below).

#### **5) The Zanzibar Muslim Women's Organization**

The Zanzibar Muslim Women's Organization was established in 1984 as a committee and registered in 1990 in Zanzibar. The wife of a leader from a foreign country (Egypt), who had lived in Zanzibar for some time and visited later, influenced Zanzibari women to set up the organisation because, in her opinion, people were losing their Islamic spirit and morals compared to the time she lived in Zanzibar. This FBO was established to strengthen Islamic unity and solidarity for the development of Islam and Muslims, especially women; to upgrade the standard of Islamic knowledge and education among Muslim women, in order to live according to Islamic regulations; to support orphans; and to spread the name of God. It networks with ZAC and Women's Islamic Call in Zimbabwe. Muslim contributions support the organization.



## **6) The Zanzibar Muslim Women's Association on AIDS (ZAMWASO)**

ZAMWASO is a Muslim women's association established in Zanzibar in 1996 and registered in 2001. It distributes food, clothes and Islamic books to the needy (with the first priority being AIDS orphans), provides seasonal support to children living in difficult conditions and engages in various campaigns, such as anti-malaria activities, HIV/AIDS education and tree planting. ZAMWASO also organizes social clubs where the children participate in peer education and has a revolving fund to facilitate individual income generating activities. ZAMWASO has a coordinator (which is not a permanent post), chairman, secretary, treasurer and other committee members. It links with various other organizations to obtain funding and for other purposes. It is a donor-dependent organisation, some of whose main funding partners are USAID, UNICEF and UNDP, through AFRICARE.

## **7) The Africa Muslims Agency (AMA) - Zanzibar Office.**

The AMA is an international organization. As noted above, it was established in Tanzania in 1987. The Zanzibar Office, which has full autonomy, was registered in 1992. It has its office in Zanzibar town and a branch at Chake Chake, Pemba. As noted above, its headquarters is in Kuwait and it operates in 36 countries. Its objectives are to provide direct aid to improving social services, welfare and Muslim communities.

Currently, the director of the agency is a Moroccan. It also has an assistant director and a head of Islamic affairs, who is from Zanzibar, while the projects and financial administration officer is Sudanese. The Head of Pemba Office is from Zanzibar. The office has also a number of other staff from Zanzibar.

The AMA currently sponsors 311 orphans who live with their families in both Unguja and Pemba. It also has two orphanages, one in Unguja, which has 44 boys, and the other in Pemba, which houses 54 orphans. The AMA also administers the Ihsan Girls Secondary School and public library and gives financial support to one Imam and some Qur'anic teachers.

It has built many mosques, *madrasas* and health centres and dug wells/boreholes all over Zanzibar. In addition, it distributes food, clothes and Islamic books to the needy, translates books from other languages into Kiswahili, and provides seasonal and vocational training for teachers, Imams, Muslim

scholars and Islamic NGOs. In collaboration with the Ministries concerned, the AMA supports health and education projects, including scholarships for study inside and outside the country, from secondary to postgraduate studies. Finally, the AMA sponsors the University College of Education Zanzibar, which was established in 1997. The latter is a non-profit institution where some students are sponsored fully by the AMA and others pay only 25 per cent of the real costs. The main sources of funding for the organization come from its offices in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

### 8) Centre of Islamic Call for the Sake of Allah

This organization was established in 1989 and began its activities as a Zanzibar branch in 1992. Its headquarters are in Dar-es-Salaam. The centre was registered as an independent NGO in Zanzibar in 1999. Its offices are situated a few miles out of Zanzibar town and it also has a branch in Ole-Wete, Pemba.

The centre's objectives are to bring the Muslim religion to everyone and everywhere that it can reach, to enjoin goods and to forbid ills from an Islamic perspective. The organization is run by a Principle Secretary, with an assistant in each of Pemba and Unguja. The women's wing is managed and chaired by women. The main slogan of the organization is to help society (region to region, district to district and *shehia* to *shehia*).

The central office performs various activities, including operating a nursery and primary school in Unguja and a dispensary in Ole, taking care of a number of orphans and organizing an annual gathering of Muslims from different parts of East Africa. It also organizes a weekly evening meeting for prayers and discussion (every Thursday) and weekly lectures (every Sunday) for women in rural areas and sends groups for Islamic propagation to the rural areas and interior areas of the mainland for 40 days annually. Its funding comes mainly from its investments, member donations, and donations from mosques and individual Muslims during meeting and gatherings.

### 9) The Annour Islamic Centre

The Annour Islamic Centre was established in 1967 as a *madrassa* and registered as an NGO in 1982 under the Society Act by the Registrar, Chief Minister's Office. Its office is situated at Mkunazini, Zanzibar. The Centre's objectives are to teach sound knowledge of Islam to young people and the

wider community, to help orphans and families, to help new Muslims (converts), and to help in social welfare. Its patron is Sayyid Abduwahab Alawi and its chief adviser Dr. Ahmed Rashid Hikmany, It has a Mudir (director), vice Mudir and Secretary. It runs a nursery and primary school, a weekly television programme for *madrasas* and school students and religious classes. It also participates actively in social welfare and religious activities including HIV/AIDS programmes. It works with UNICEF, UKEUM and ZAC. In operating its activities the centre depends on volunteers who have graduated in the centre. The centre has a number of local and a foreign donors, who contribute to its funds.

#### **10) The Al Mazrui Charitable Society**

The Al Mazrui Society is a charitable organization, which was established and registered in Zanzibar in 2002 and started operations the same year. Its objective is to dedicate the wealth of the tribe of Mazrui (for the sake of Almighty Allah) to help Muslims and Zanzibaris in general. It has a compound at Mazizini, Zanzibar, in which there are mosques, an office and a vocational training centre (Mubarak al-Mazroui Technical College). The College was established in 2004 with the objective of enabling Muslim students, especially orphans, to become qualified in technical and vocational fields, so as to enable them to have better chances in society. It also assists poor families, government institutions and NGOs and plans more projects. Its funds come from the Mazrui tribe in the UAE. The founder and head of the organization lives in Abu Dhabi and there is an officer-in-charge in Zanzibar.

#### **11) The Istiqama Muslim Community, Zanzibar and Pemba Southern branches**

This community was established at the beginning of 1990 and officially registered in 1995. It has the headquarters in Muscat Oman and the patron is Oman's Mufti Sheikh Ahmed Hemed Al Khalili. There is a regional office in Tanzania, based in Dar es Salaam and branch offices, which have full autonomy in Unguja, North Pemba and south Pemba. Like other branches of the Istiqama society, the organizations' objectives are to establish unity and solidarity among followers of the Ibadh sect and other Muslims, to raise the standard of Islamic and secular education, and to participate in poverty eradication programmes and social development according to Islamic principles.

The Zanzibar community runs the Al-Rahma hospital, a primary school and a cement block producing workshop. The Zanzibar office leadership consists of a sheikh Chairman and a Secretary General. There are several departments headed by committee chairmen: Pilgrimage, Education, Propagation

and Islamic Call, Finance, Construction, and Head of the Istiqama School. Its funds are grants from Oman, alms and charitable donations from members of the community and income from investments.

The leadership of Pemba South comprises of a chairman and secretary general. It has an office in Chake Chake and sub-offices in Ibadhi mosques. It administers Ibadhi mosques, classes and *madrastas*. Its funds are grants from Oman, contributions from members and endowments kept for the benefit of the community.

### **12) The Annour Charitable Agency for the Needy (ACAN)**

This agency was established in 2002 and officially registered in 2003. It has an office in Zanzibar town. ACAN's objectives are to provide humanitarian and development assistance to Zanzibaris; to minimize the burden of life (poverty) for orphans, elders, the disabled and most vulnerable families; and to support and improve Islamic knowledge and culture in Zanzibar. Moreover, it is an agent for donors and charitable organizations, establishing projects that coincide with their objectives. It has a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Director in charge of financial affairs and three executive committee members. Annour is a membership organisation, the majority of whose members are businessmen who contribute some of their wealth for charitable activities and mobilize funds from their friends, partners, relatives and other organizations inside and outside Tanzania. ACAN has constructed many mosques, *madrastas* and water projects in urban and rural areas. It has also built and maintains some houses for vulnerable families and distributes food, clothes and money for poor families and needy people.

### **13) Zanzibar Children's Fund (ZCF)**

Zanzibar Children's Fund (ZCF) was registered as an NGO in 2003 in Zanzibar and has an office in Chake Chake, Pemba. ZCF's vision is to see a Zanzibar community free from poverty and disease, a community where opportunities exist. Its aim is to reduce poverty through charity, education, development and infrastructure projects. Its objectives are to provide education, child care and social welfare to orphans, the disabled, the poor and hospital patients. It seeks to combat HIV/AIDS, stigma and discrimination, and to eradicate poverty. It has a chairman and two assistants.

The organization:

- manages an orphanage in Chake Chake
- organizes seminars and workshops, especially on HIV/AIDS and religion.
- involves Imams/muslim leaders and *madrassa* teachers in HIV/AIDS programmes through consensus.
- operates the Aljazeera Orphan Centre in Chake Chake, which cares for 23 orphans, including some orphaned by HIV/AIDS, providing them with food, clothing, housing, school fees and medical treatment.

Its funds are mainly contributions from businessmen, income from investments and grants from international organizations like Rapid Fund Envelope (RFE) for HIV/AIDS, which is a partnership between the Tanzania Commission for AIDS, the Zanzibar AIDS Commission, and ten international donor agencies.

#### 14) The Catholic Diocese of Zanzibar

Within the structure of the Catholic Church, the whole of Zanzibar (Pemba and Unguja Islands) form one of the thirty dioceses in Tanzania. The Catholic Church started its operations in Zanzibar around 1862. Today the diocese engages with other FBOs, such as ZIADA, for the purpose of achieving unity between denominations. The Catholic Church in Zanzibar operates in both Unguja and Pemba (rural and urban) and provides various social services, including Youth Friendly Centres, a Community College in Machui for all religions and the Wisdom Centre, which is for Christians only. The Diocese also publishes a gazette known as KIONGOZI twice a year. Among the development activities it performs are education and health provision, supporting single mothers and capacity building (for youth, women and all believers on cross-cutting issues). Its main sources of funding include local fund raising, mainland sources such as Caritas Tanzania and international donors such as the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund, the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, the Pontifical Association of Holy Childhood, the Clinton Foundation and the Elton John Foundation.

#### 15) The Anglican church of Tanzania, Diocese of Zanzibar

Another Christian Church which is important to mention specifically in Zanzibar because of the significant role that it plays is the Anglican Church. Just as for the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church structure in Tanzania considers Zanzibar as a diocese. Within the Anglican Church structure, the Diocese of Zanzibar is today noted through a historic cathedral which had an important role in the

spread of Christianity in East Africa. Its story began with the appeal made by David Livingstone in 1857 to the men of the great English universities to liberate Africa from slavery. The response was to set up the University Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). Work began on mainland Tanzania, but malaria forced a withdrawal to healthier Zanzibar in 1864.

The overall goal of the Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar is to efficiently facilitate the delivery of the holistic development to the people in the community it serves to enable them enjoy the full life of God's Kingdom. The number of people covered by the Diocese is about 300,000. In January 2001 the Anglican Church in Zanzibar attained Diocesan status, with six Parishes, its own Bishop, five Pastors and 1,290 Christian community members. The staff of the diocese number 61, including five volunteers. Today, the Cathedral is a working building with daily services. It serves the Anglicans amongst Zanzibar's Christians (4 per cent of the total) and also serves the wider community of Zanzibar.

The main objectives of the Anglican Church in Zanzibar are as follows:

- To carry out the work of evangelism throughout the Christian community in Zanzibar.
- To reduce poverty and unemployment amongst youth, families, communities and entire islands.
- To fight against HIV/AIDS through programmes that involve the youth in organizing awareness-raising workshops and seminars through drama, music, video shows and sports, that can change their lives.
- To raise awareness of members of the congregation to enable them understand the vision, mission, values and future direction of the Diocese in its Strategic plan 2003-2005.
- Provision of small grants and loans for income generation activities to members of the Christian community, especially women and young people.
- Promotion of education, health, livestock rearing, hotels and tourist services.

Past and current activities include:

- Provision of social services such as education, health, hotel and tourist services.
- Promotion of holistic community development.
- Capacity building at community level (technical skills)
- Development of fund raising and resource mobilization capacity both locally and externally.
- Initiation of programmes to address poverty alleviation, diseases (HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis)

- Awareness creation and education.
- Building leadership capacity at all levels.
- Collaboration and networking with government, NGOs, other churches, religious organizations and partners.
- Capacity building in advocacy, lobbying, civic education, gender and good governance.
- Monitoring and evaluation.

The diocese's main sources of funding include the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the UK, the Ely Cathedral Church in the UK, the Argyll and Isles Diocese of Scotland in the UK, the Anglican Church of Tanzania, the Trinity Church in New York, alms from parishioners, external projects (milling machine, Mkunazini Hostel, and restaurants) and tourists' fees - visitors pay a fee to enter the museum and this usually includes a guide for the museum and the Church. Resources are provided as cash or via experts (e.g. from VSO).

#### **16) Nyumba ya walawi**

Nyumba ya walawi was formed by youth organized by the Catholic Church, with which it was originally associated. It started operating in 1980 but is not yet registered. It has a chairperson, secretary, treasurer and various committees (education, health and economics). It operates only in Unguja. Its main activities aim to strengthen and enliven families, especially those with problems and/or living in difficult conditions; to advise youth and provide consultancy on various issues related to them (adolescence, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse etc); and to build capacity through programmes and seminars that involve married couples and young people.

#### **17) The Efatha ministry**

The Efatha ministry was long ago established in Dar es Salaam, but in Zanzibar it was established only in 2006. However, it is not yet registered in Zanzibar. It has a Prophet-Apostle-Reverend-Evangelist and a Teacher, who each have different roles. Its main activities are supporting and building the capacity of believers (e. g. support in poultry farming and fishing).

### **18) The Zanzibar Interfaith Association for Development and AIDS (ZIADA)**

ZIADA was established in 2005 and started operations the same year. It was registered in Zanzibar in 2006. Its main objectives are to coordinate the struggle against HIV/AIDS by using different religions existing in Zanzibar through the inter-faith associations which are members of ZIADA; to bring development to Zanzibar society; to coordinate poverty reduction issues (e.g. reproductive health, gender issues); and to devise strategies to bring development in general. ZIADA has a chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, treasurer and five other committee members. It raises its revenues from membership fees, contributions of members, charitable contributions, its projects and other economic activities, and grants from individuals, institutions, companies and government.



## Appendix 6

### Summary of Kiondo's 1993 district level study

A summary of the findings of the 1993 Kiondo study for each of the selected nine districts is provided below, to provide interested readers with a more detailed picture of the relative importance of faith based organizations in local development, compared to both government organizations, secular NGOs and community groups in different parts of Tanzania during the 1990s (Kiondo, 1995). Ilala, Kai and Pemba south are also analysed in Kiondo, 1994.

#### 1) Ilala

Ilala is the most urbanized and central of the Dar es Salaam Region's three districts (Kiondo, 1995, p 114).

In 1992 the district had six nursery schools, 26 primary schools, 14 secondary schools and four finance, technical, business and adult education colleges. The nursery schools were all private, some run by Asian community groups, others by religious NGOs and the remainder by private individuals. With one (NGO-run) exception, all the primary schools were run by the City Council. Eight of the fourteen secondary schools were run by the central government and the other six were private. Three of the latter were run by Muslim organizations and two by Asian ones, the sixth being an international school for expatriates (ibid, p 125).

The health sector was also relatively well served in Ilala, which includes Tanzania's national referral hospital, the civil servants' hospital, a public district hospital, six private hospitals, seven parastatal dispensaries, 21 government dispensaries and 56 private dispensaries. Four of the six private hospitals were owned by Asian organizations and two by Muslim ones, both of which had opened in the second half of the 1980s (ibid, p 125).

Many NGOs had their head offices in Ilala. Locally active NGOs included Plan International, but most international NGOs worked through local branches (e.g. the Tanzania Red Cross Association) or through local NGO or community groups. International religious NGOs like the YMCA and YWCA operated hostels in Ilala and there were clusters of community projects with a base in the international churches, such as the Roman Catholic Msimbazi Community Centre (ibid, p 126).

One of the most notable trends identified by Kiondo was an increase in Muslim NGOs and community development associations (CDAs) associated with them. “Probably the most important aspect of this [trend was] the tendency for the growing number of mosques to register themselves as Development Trust Funds and sponsor localised mosque-centred charitable and social activities. Another aspect [was] for Islamic NGOs to be formed to provide social services outside the context of the mosque.” (ibid, p 126) Examples included Allah Karim, which was running dispensaries, and the Union Islamic Association, Al-haramain Association and Al-muntzir, which were running schools and other educational facilities (including teaching training colleges), both inside and outside the district (ibid, p 126).

National secular organizations with local activities ranged from the Tanzania Media Women’s Association at one end of the spectrum to the Mission for the Needy at the other (ibid, p 127). Finally, there were 56 community groups registered with the Ilala office in 1992 (including some church groups), most of which had been established in the 1980s and the great majority of which were organized by and for women (ibid, p 128).

## 2) Hai

Hai is one of four districts in the Kilimanjaro region, northeast of Moshi town. It lies on the southern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, traditionally one of the centres of coffee production in Tanzania (Kiondo, 1995, p 115).

Hai was well provided with education and health facilities, by rural Tanzanian standards. At the time of the 1993 Kiondo study, there were 36 nursery schools in the district, all privately owned, and 139 primary schools, all publicly owned. There were also eleven secondary schools, three public and eight private. Seven of these were run by the northern diocese of the Lutheran church, and the eighth by a Muslim community organization (ibid, p 129). There were also two hospitals (one government-run), two health centres, 26 public and eight private dispensaries. All the health facilities run by FBOs were run by the Catholic and Lutheran churches. Hai also featured 114 day care centres and feeding posts in 1993, set up as a result of a UNICEF-organized campaign. The Lutheran and Catholic churches ran 48 of those and BAKWATA five (ibid, p 130).

The most important internationally linked NGOs were those sponsored by the Lutheran and Catholic churches. Besides their involvement in health and education, the churches also sponsored around a quarter of all CDA activity in the district. Important national NGOs included the Community Development Trust Fund, which also supported around one quarter of the CDA activity in the district. Much of the remaining CDA activity had been sponsored (since the 1980s) by a number of bilateral and multilateral donor agencies (ibid, p 130). Local and central government also provided some support, which was generally confined to the 41 registered CDAs. As in Ilala, almost all these groups were basically income generating co-operatives of some kind, although some carried out other social development functions (ibid, p 132).

### **3) Pemba south**

Pemba south region is part of Zanzibar. It consists of two administrative districts and includes Chake Chake, Pemba's main sea port. It is believed that over 80 per cent of the population earn their living from agriculture and fishing (Kiondo, 1995, p 117).

In 1993, Pemba South had six nursery schools (two non-state), ten primary and middle schools and four secondary schools (all public). The region's health facilities comprised two hospitals, a cottage hospital and 18 dispensaries. All but two of these were also publicly run. One dispensary had been run by the Seventh Day Adventists since 1992 and another had been built and supported (though publicly run) by the African Islamic Relief Agency in 1990. The latter had also built or rehabilitated several mosques and Qur'anic schools (ibid, p 134).

The only other explicitly foreign connected NGO in Pemba was the African Muslim Agency, which had come to the island in 1992. By 1993, it had constructed twenty wells and two mosques and had four more wells and four more mosques under construction (as well as plans to build Qur'anic schools). The AMA was also distributing food and clothing to the poor and providing help to about a hundred orphans aged up to around 12 years. The other two local NGOs were both District Development Trusts (ibid, p 134).

More than elsewhere, Pemba South had seen a remarkable upsurge of CDA groups since 1984, organized almost entirely, as elsewhere, around economic activities. By 1993 the total number of

CDAs was around 150. Many had been established spontaneously in the 1980s, with limited or no external support. However, since 1990, they had been established mainly with the expectation that they would attract external support and all but one had received external resources (ibid, pp 135-136).

#### 4) Tanga

Tanga is one of five districts in Tanga Region and consists of Tanga town plus a few villages lying on its outskirts. It is a coastal district, whose prominence during the colonial period was based on sisal. However, the district has been in economic decline since the 1970s (Kiondo, 1995, p 118).

In 1993, Tanga had 60 public primary schools, eight secondary schools (four government-run, one run by BAKWATA, one by an Asian community group, one by a parastatal organization and one by a businessman), a boarding school and four colleges, 63 adult education centres and ten centres for continuing adult education (ibid, p 137).

The publicly owned health sector consisted of a regional hospital, three health centres, eight dispensaries and one mobile clinic. Of the 29 privately owned dispensaries, fifteen belonged to various Asian communities, one to the Catholic Diocese, one to BAKWATA and the others to a range of other organizations (ibid, p 137).

The only local or foreign NGO with a presence appeared to be the Tanga AIDS Working Group (ibid, p 138). Of the 33 CDAs that existed at the time, only 28 were active. As in the other districts, the CDAs were predominantly income generating women's groups. However, unlike other districts, the great majority of groups had received no support from non-members, except for some loans from commercial banks (ibid, p 139).

#### 5) Songea

Songea district in Ruvuma Region is divided into urban and rural administrative districts, Songea Urban and Songea Rural (Kiondo, 1995, p 119).

Songea Rural had 25 nursery schools in 1993, all run by Catholic organizations; 151 primary schools (mostly government-owned), seven secondary schools (two owned by Catholic organizations), three

government-owned colleges and two vocational training centres that were also run by the Catholic Church. Songea Urban had five nursery schools (two government-owned), 33 primary schools (all but one government-owned), five secondary schools (three government-owned), a government-owned college and two privately-owned commercial schools. A Muslim community group owned one of the secondary schools (ibid, p 141).

Songea's rural health provision consisted of a Catholic-run hospital, five government and one Catholic Church-owned health centres, and 42 government-owned and 17 Catholic Church-owned dispensaries. Songea Urban had a publicly-owned hospital, a government-owned health centre and ten dispensaries, two of which were run by Catholic and Asian groups (ibid, p 141).

SNV (the main Dutch volunteer organization) and Caritas were the main international NGOs based in the area. Caritas appeared to work mainly through the Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF), the main Tanzanian based NGO located in Songea, which was involved in relatively large scale projects in water, agriculture, livestock and support to women's CDA groups. The Songea Diocese of the Catholic Church also functioned as a major NGO, being involved in water projects and support to CDA groups, as well as health and education, as described above (ibid, p 142).

Songea had 84 CDA groups in total (in 1993), almost all of which were women's groups established in the 1980s and engaged in economic activities. However, unlike in some of the other districts examined, almost half the 17 CDAs selected for closer examination were financially independent, that is to say wholly funded by members' contributions (ibid, p 143).

## **6) Same**

Same is the most southerly and one of the poorer districts in the Kilimanjaro Region (Kiondo, 1995, p. 120).

Nevertheless, like other parts of Kilimanjaro, Same was relatively well provided for educationally. All the major villages had government-owned primary schools and there were a good number of secondary schools, the majority of which were run by the Lutheran and Catholic churches. The district also had two hospitals, three health centres, 39 dispensaries and a number of mobile clinics. Catholic

organizations ran a number of dispensaries and one rural health centre, while Lutheran ones ran the Bombo Hospital and a number of dispensaries (ibid, p 143).

Major donors present in 1993 included Norwegian NORAD, Canadian CIDA, Japanese JICA, UNICEF, the ILO and Danish DANIDA. Some of them supported KKKT, the Lutheran Church, as well as the CDAs. The main foreign NGO was SNV. A second international NGO found in the district was Netherlands-based VECO (Vredeseilanden Copibo). The main Tanzanian NGOs were the Catholic diocese, the Same branch of KKKT, the Pentecostal Church of Upare, World Vision Tanzania, the YMCA Tanzania branch and the Kilimanjaro Tanzania Aids Association. The first two of these were the main development actors in Same. The most important of the local secular NGOs was the CDTF (ibid, pages 143-144).

Same had 81 CDA groups in 1993, also overwhelmingly female and oriented to income generation. 73 per cent of the sampled groups had or were receiving external assistance and all but ten had been founded since 1990, when a DANIDA programme to stimulate the growth of such groups was launched (ibid, p 145).

## **7) Newala**

Newala is part of Mtwara region in south-eastern Tanzania. The main economic activity in the district is agriculture (Klondo, 1995, p 121).

Newala had 24 nursery schools, half run by village governments, with most of the others run by churches. The state also provided 199 local government-run primary schools and one central government-run secondary school. There were three NGO-run secondary schools, two run by the Newala Development Foundation and one by WAZAZI, the government-sponsored national parents association. There was also a Catholic vocational training school and four state-run colleges (ibid, p 146). The district also had a public hospital, six health centres (five run by government and one by the Catholic Church) and 39 dispensaries, all owned by the local government (ibid, p 146).

Newala, like Tanga, seemed to have relatively few development actors, compared to the other districts studied by Kiondo. Like the Development Trust Funds in Hai, the Newala Development Foundation resembled a form of privatized local government. Meanwhile, the local government had become totally dependent on a mixture of state grants and donor project funds (ibid, p 147).

The only sizeable local NGO was the Newala Teachers Savings and Credit Cooperative Society. Newala also had only a small number of CDA groups, two of which were church-based (one Anglican and one Catholic, the latter a branch of WAWATA) and one secular group (ibid, p 151).

## **8) Kondo**

Kondo is one of four districts in Dodoma Region, a relatively arid inland area with mixed farming as its primary economic activity (Kiondo, 1995, p 122).

In 1993, Kondo had nine nursery schools (six government-run and two run by the Catholic and Lutheran churches), 174 primary schools (all government-run), four secondary schools (two government-run and one run by local Muslims) and five colleges, all government-run (ibid, p 152). The district also had a government-run hospital, eight health centres (five run by the government) and 43 dispensaries (37 run by the government). Religious bodies, mainly the Catholic Church, controlled the rest (ibid, p 152).

Several donors (e.g. the World Bank, ILO, UNDP and Swedish SIDA) were supporting various projects (in education, health, roads and support to small entrepreneurs). In addition to Oxfam and World Vision International, the main international NGO active in Kondo was the Dutch SNV (ibid, p 153).

Tanzanian NGOs active in Kondo included the CDTF and five religious organizations – the Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, African Inland Church and BAKWATA, which supported CDA groups, alongside their traditional involvement in health and education (ibid, p 154). In all, there were about 60 CDA groups (ibid, p 155), many of which were supported by one or other of the other above-mentioned organizations.

## 9) Bukoba Rural

Situated in Kagera Region in north-western Tanzania, once an area of major economic importance, Bukoba district has suffered in recent times from declines in the price for coffee, its main cash crop (Kiondo, 1995, pp 122-123).

Like Hai, Bukoba is a traditionally well-off area where there is a long-established tradition of voluntary self-help initiatives. Not surprisingly therefore, NGOs played a very prominent role in service delivery. The district had 71 nursery schools in 1993, all run by religious organizations or other non-state operators, as well as 199 government-run primary schools and 12 secondary schools, only one of which was government-run. There were also four vocational training schools, two of which were run by the Lutheran and one by the Catholic churches, as well as a government-run college (ibid, p 156). Bukoba Rural also had two non-state run hospitals in 1993, one of which was a Catholic mission hospital, as well as eight health centres (five government-run and three run by the Lutheran church) and 36 dispensaries (32 government-run and four run by the Lutheran and Catholic churches)(ibid, p 156).

In the early 1990s, the development landscape in Bukoba was dominated by the Bukoba District Rural Development Programme, mainly financed by the Dutch government, which supported agriculture, women's development and income generation projects, as well as health and education. Two other major donor projects at that time included the SIDA Health, Sanitation and Water Programme and UNICEF's Child Survival and Protection Development Programme (ibid, p 156).

Foreign NGOs or their local branches in Bukoba included the Victoria Programme, World Vision, Mediciens du Monde and the Misenye AIDS Control Programme. The presence of medical NGOs was related to the high incidence of AIDS in the district. Most of these NGOs supported local CDAs, as well as directly implementing their own projects (ibid, p 157).

Finally, there were about 80 registered CDA groups in 1993. Once again, these were women's groups engaged in various economic activities and, as in the case of Songea, about half relied on their own members' contributions and labour (ibid, p 159).



## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Most of the Shia Muslims are of Asian origin, including Ismailis. Of Muslim respondents in the Pew Forum survey, 41 per cent identified themselves as Sunni, 20 per cent as Shia, 15 per cent as Ahmadiyya, and 20 per cent as 'just a Muslim' (Pew Forum, 2010, p 21).
- <sup>2</sup> The Sultan of Oman claimed the coastal strip and islands, making Zanzibar his capital in 1840. Zanzibar and Pemba were declared a British Protectorate under indirect rule in 1890 (when the Caprivi Strip in present day Namibia became a German Protectorate). It united with Tanganyika in 1964 to form Tanzania.
- <sup>3</sup> By the time of independence in 1961, the result of the missionary efforts of all the Christian denominations had been very meagre amongst some groups and in some areas. For example, very few among the pastoral or nomadic peoples, such as the Maasai, had become Christians. Likewise, very few Asians or African or Arab Muslims had been converted and not many serious efforts had been made to reach the coastal peoples. Although conversions have continued in the years since independence, the coastal area has continued to be predominantly Muslim, whereas the interior has increasingly become Christianized.
- <sup>4</sup> By 1934, there were 2,668 Christian primary schools with 157,000 pupils, compared to only 84 government primary schools with 8,000 pupils (Ishumi, 1995, p 155).
- <sup>5</sup> Although only a small proportion of all those of school age were enrolled (predominantly boys) (Munishi, 1995).
- <sup>6</sup> Upato is Swahili for income.
- <sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, Kiondo (1993) notes that only eleven of the 163 NGOs registered with TANGO in 1993 had been established before independence (a farmers' association, six social service NGOs, one international NGO and three religious NGOs) (p 164), and that only 17 new NGOs were registered between 1961 and 1978 (seven during the 1960s and ten during the 1970s) (p 166).
- <sup>8</sup> The EAMWS was guided and heavily financially backed by Asian Shia Muslims, who were successful businessmen in commerce and industry, and therefore represented a capitalist group whose values and interests conflicted with those of Ujamaa, under which the government was attempting to build a society based on socialist principles. The EAMWS was accused of colluding with foreigners and pursuing policies opposed to the government.
- <sup>9</sup> Although according to Sivalon (1995), some Catholic bishops had already expressed concern about the ability of the Church to finance its schools, and so tensions between the Church and the state had more to do with concerns over the supposedly Marxist Ujamaa policies, criticism of Church leaders and priests for their exploitative lifestyles and employment regulations that were regarded as unwarranted state interference.
- <sup>10</sup> Kiondo (1993, p 169) noted that in 1990, 163 NGOs were registered with TANGO, of which 21 were religious NGOs. In addition, in 1992 there were 21 NGOs registered in Zanzibar, of which ten had been registered in the previous two years (Kiondo, 1995, p 109).
- <sup>11</sup> Ishumi (1995, p 160) drew on Ministry of Education records to show that between 1980 and 1990, the number of NGO secondary schools increased from 71 to 213 (compared to 83 and 135 government schools), comprising 61 per cent of schools, with 57 per cent of enrolled pupils.
- <sup>12</sup> A proposal the same year to return previously Christian-owned schools that had been nationalized to their owners met with strong Muslim opposition, leading the government to retreat. However, as part of the agreement to establish the CSSC, the government agreed not to nationalize Church facilities in future, established a Trust Fund through which to channel funding, and agreed that a proportion of the aid it was negotiating from the German government and German Catholic and Protestant umbrella bodies would be channelled through the CSSC, a 'four-party co-operation' strategy that fuelled Muslim resistance to closer state-church relations (Sivalon, 1995).

- <sup>13</sup> Another estimate suggests that in 1995, 259 schools were government-run or pre-1971 mission schools, 2 schools were run by private trusts, 119 were post-1971 ('newly constructed') church schools, 75 were run by parents' associations, 9 were government-assisted community schools, and 82 were community schools run on a self-help basis. All these were open to all. In contrast, seminaries have exclusive admissions policies: in 1995 there were 35 Christian seminaries (offering both clergy training and secular curricula to Christians) and 14 Muslim seminaries (for Muslims, but with a largely secular curriculum) (Mushi, 2006, p 436). Mushi does not state whether his figures refer to secondary schools only, although this is likely.
- <sup>14</sup> <http://www.leat.or.tz/publications/freedom.of.assoc/a.new.threat.php>.
- <sup>15</sup> [http://www.nbs.go.tz/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=103&Itemid=114](http://www.nbs.go.tz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=103&Itemid=114).
- <sup>16</sup> Kiondo (1994) notes that religious education programmes provided by madrasas appear to have become more widespread and better organized since the late 1980s, taught mainly in Arabic, starting at pre-school age and taking up to eight years to complete.
- <sup>17</sup> There are no equivalent sector-specific Muslim bodies.
- <sup>18</sup> These include the Tanzanian Association of Muslim Professionals (TAMPRO), the Tanzania Islamic Centre (TIC), the Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC), the African Muslim Agency (AMA) and the Islamic Relief Organization (IRO).
- <sup>19</sup> The Catholic Church was widely perceived by informants to have the greatest influence on government development policy.
- <sup>20</sup> Some Muslims felt that this MOU involved the government in seeking foreign donor support on a partisan religious basis.
- <sup>21</sup> Christian FBOs successfully lobbied the government not to join the OIC and to reverse its decision to scrap tax exemptions on various goods, which were perceived to have mainly benefited Christian FBOs. Both of these decisions were seen by some in the Muslim community as further evidence of greater Christian influence and pro-Christian bias on the part of government.

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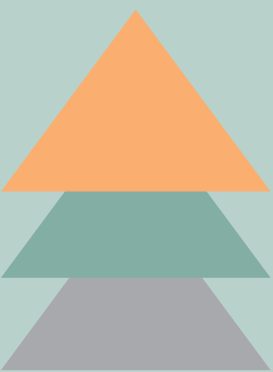
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